# THE
# MINDE OF THE FRONT.

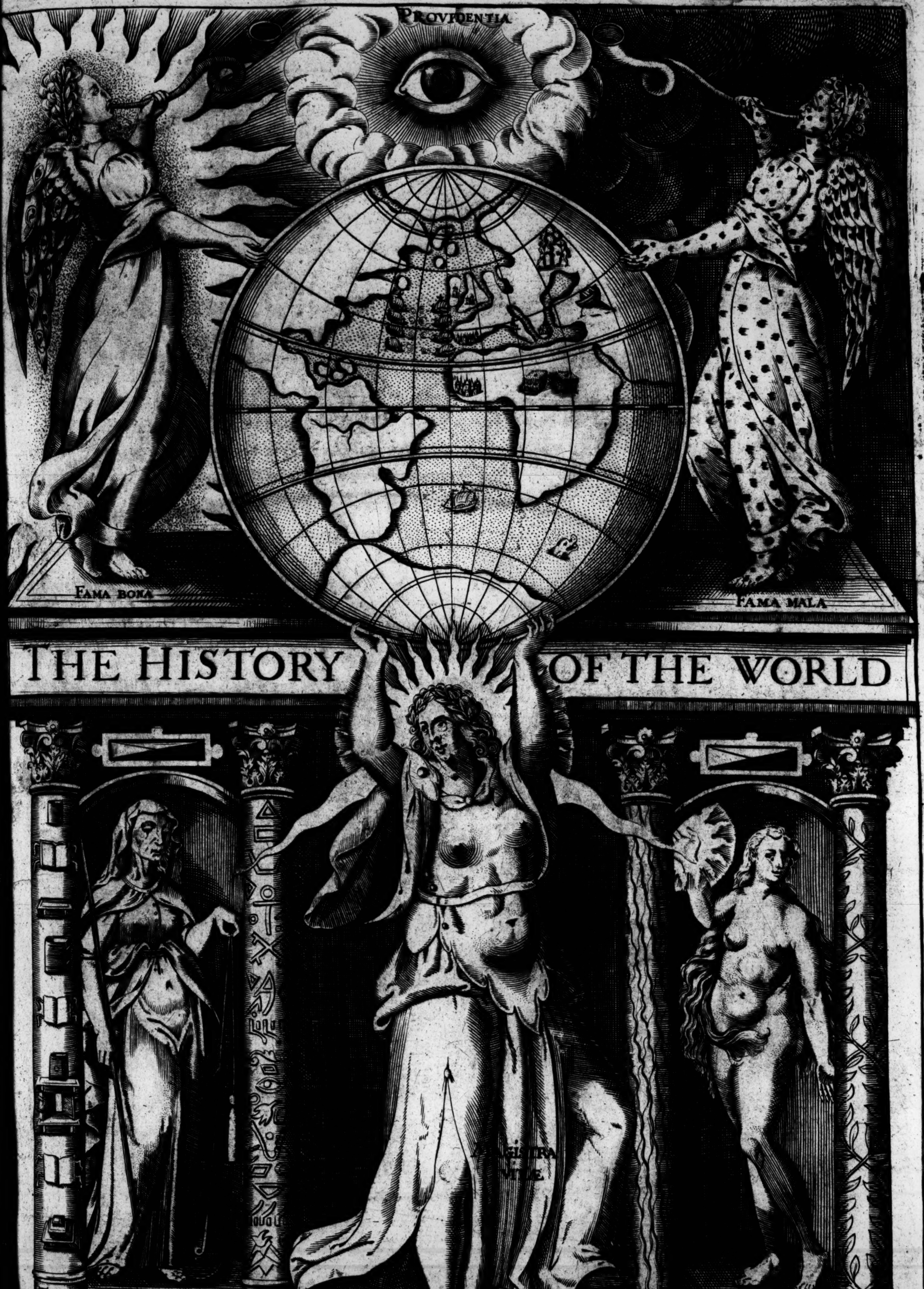
*From* Death *and darke* Oblivion *(neere the ſame)*
*The* Miſtreſſe of Mans life, *grave* HISTORIE,
*Raiſing the* World *to good, or evill* FAME,
*Doth vindicate it to* ETERNITIE.

*High* PROVIDENCE *would ſo: that nor the Good*
*Might be defrauded, nor the Great ſecur'd,*
*But both might know their waies are underſtood,*
*And the reward and puniſhment aſſur'd.*

*This makes, that lighted by the beamie hand*
*Of* TRUTH, *which ſearcheth the moſt hidden ſprings,*
*And guided by* EXPERIENCE, *whoſe ſtraight* Wand,
*Doth mete, whoſe* Line *doth ſound the depth of things;*

*Shee cheerefully ſupporteth what ſhe reares:*
*Aſſiſted by no ſtrengths, but are her owne.*
*Some note of which each varied* Pillar *beares,*
*By which, as proper Titles, ſhe is knowne,*

Times Witneſſe, Herald of Antiquity,
The Light of Truth, & Life of Memory.


PROVIDENTIA
FAMA BONA
FAMA MALA
TESTIS TEMPORV
EXPERIENTIA
NVNCIA VETVSTATIS
MAGISTRA VITÆ
MORS
OBLIVIO
LVX VERITATIS
VERITAS
VITA MEMORIÆ
Elſtrack ſculpſit

# THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD

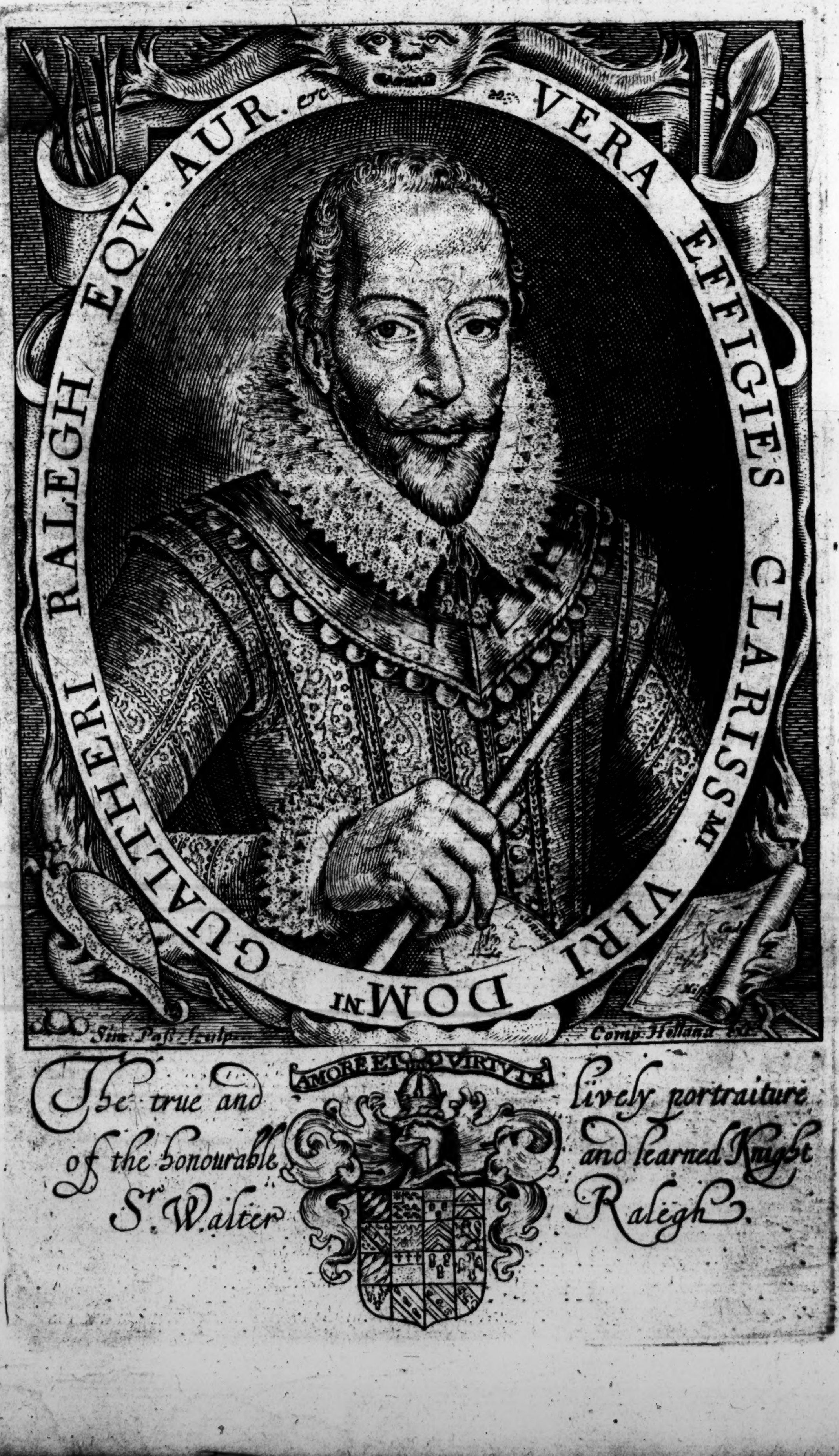
At London Printed for WALTER BVRRE.
1614

# THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

1 INtreating of the Beginning and firſt Ages of the ſame, from the Creation unto Abraham.
2 Of the Times from the Birth of Abraham, to the deſtruction of the Temple of Salomon.
3 From the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, to the time of Philip of Macedon.
4 From the Reigne of Philip of Macedon, to the eſtabliſhing of that Kingdome, in the Race of Antigonus.
5 From the ſettled rule of Alexanders Succeſſors in the Eaſt, untill the Romans (prevailing over all) made Conqueſt of Aſia and Macedon.

By Sir WALTER RALEGH, Knight.


GUALTHERI RALEGH EQV. AUR. VERA EFFIGIES CLARISS^MI VIRI DOM^NI
Sim: Paſs: ſculp.
Comp: Holland exc.
AMORE ET VIRTUTE

The true and lively portraiture of the honourable and learned Knight S^r. Walter Ralegh.

# THE PREFACE.

*HOw unfit and how unworthy a choice I have made of my ſelfe, to undertake a worke of this mixture; mine owne reaſon though exceeding weake, hath ſufficiently reſolved mee. For had it beene begotten then with my firſt dawne of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open it ſelfe to my younger yeares, and before any wound received either from Fortune or Time: I might yet wel have doubted that the darkneſs of Age & Death would have covered over both It and Mee, long before the performance. For, beginning with the Creation, I have proceeded with the Hiſtory of the World; and laſtly purpoſed (ſome few ſallies excepted) to confine my Diſcourſe, with this our renowned Iland of* Great Brittaine. *I confeſſe that it had better ſorted with my diſability, the better part of whoſe times are run out in other travailes, to have ſet together (as I could) the unjoynted and ſcattered frame of our Engliſh affaires, than of the univerſall: in whom, had there beene no other defect (who am all defect) than the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempeſtuous life, drawn on to the very evening ere I began. But thoſe inmoſt, and ſoule-piercing wounds, which are ever aking while uncured: with the deſire to ſatisfie thoſe few friends, which I have tryed by the fire of Adverſity, the former enforcing, the later perſwading; have cauſed me to make my thoughts legible, and my ſelfe the ſubject of every opinion, wiſe or weake.*

*To this World I preſent them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither have others [illegible] were, (Fortune changing) ſped much better in any age. For Proſperity [illegible] Adverſity have evermore tyed and untyed vulgar affections. And as we ſee [illegible] experience, That dogs doe alwayes barke at thoſe they know not, and that it is their nature to accompany one another in thoſe clamours: ſo it is with the inconſiderate multitude; who wanting that vertue which we call Honeſty in all men, and that eſpeciall gift of GOD which we call Charity in Chriſtian men; condemne without hearing, [illegible] wound without offence given; led thereunto by uncertaine report onely; which [illegible] Majeſty truely acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies.* Blame no man (*ſaith Siracides*) before thou have enquired the matter: underſtand firſt, and then reforme righteouſly. *Rumor, res ſine teſte, ſine judice, maligna, fallax*; Rumor is without witneſſe, without judge, malicious and deceiveable. *This vanity of vulgar opinion it was, that gave Saint* Auguſtine *Argument to affirme, That he feared the praiſe of good men, and deteſted that of the evill. And herein no man hath given a better rule, than this of* Seneca; Conſcientiæ ſatisfaciamus; nihil in famam laboremus, ſequatur vel mala, dum bene merearis. Let us ſatisfie our owne conſciences, and

*Dæmonolog. l.3.c.1.*

Eccleſ.11.v.7.

*Laudari à bonis timeo, & amari à malis deteſtor. Sen. de ira. 3. c.22.*

not trouble our ſelves with fame: bee it never ſo ill, it is to be deſpiſed ſo we deſerve well

*For my ſelfe, if I have in any thing ſerved my Country, and prized it before my private: the generall acceptation can yeeld me no other profit at this time, than doth a faire ſunſhine day to a Sea-man after ſhipwrack; & the contrary no other harm, than an outragious tempeſt after the Port attained. I know that I loſt the love of many, for my fidelity towards Her, whom I muſt ſtill honour in the duſt; though further than the defence of her excellent perſon, I never perſecuted any man. Of thoſe that did it, and by what device they did it, He that is the Supreme Judge of all the world, hath taken the accompt: ſo as for this kinde of ſuffering, I muſt ſay with* Seneca, Mala opinio, bene parta, delectat.

*As for other men; if there be any that have made themſelves Fathers of that fame, which hath been begotten for them: I can neither envy at ſuch their purchaſed glory, nor much lament mine owne miſhap in that kind; but content my ſelfe to ſay with* Virgil, Sic vos non vobis, *in many particulars. To labour other ſatisfaction, were an effect of phrenzie, not of hope, ſeeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can travaile the World without a paſſ-port. For were it otherwiſe; and were there not as many internall formes of the minde, as there are externall figures of men; there were then ſome poſſibility to perſwade by the mouth of one Advocate, even Equity alone.*

*But ſuch is the multiplying & extenſive vertue of dead Earth, & of that breath-giving life which God hath caſt upon ſlime & duſt, as that among thoſe that were, of whom we read and heare; & among thoſe that are, whom we ſee & converſe with; every one hath received a ſeverall picture of face, and every one a divers picture of minde; every one a forme apart, every one a fancy & cogitation differing: there being nothing wherein Nature ſo much triumpheth as in diſſimilitude. From whence it commeth that there is found ſo great diverſity of opinions; ſo ſtrong a contrariety of inclinations; ſo many natural & unnatural; wiſe, fooliſh, manly, & childiſh affections and paſſions in mortall men. For it is not the viſible faſhion and ſhape of plants, and of reaſonable Creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the forme internall.*

*And though it hath pleaſed God to reſerve the Art of reading mens thoughts to himſelfe: yet, as the fruit tels the name of the Tree; ſo do the outward works of men (ſo far as their cogitatiōs are acted) give us wherof to gheſs at the reſt. Nay, it were not hard to expreſſe the one by the other, very neere the life, did not craft in many, feare in the moſt, and the worlds love in all, teach every capacity, according to the compaſſe it hath, to qualifie and maske over their inward deformities for a time. Though it be alſo true,* Nemo poteſt diu perſonam ferre fictam: cito in naturam ſuam reſidunt, quibus veritas non ſubeſt: No man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behaviour: the things that are forced for pretences having no ground of truth, cannot long diſſemble their own natures. *Neither can any man (ſaith* Plutarch*) ſo change himſelfe, but that his heart may bee ſometimes ſeene at his tongues end.*

*In this great diſcord and diſſimilitude of reaſonable Creatures, if we direct our ſelves to the Multitude;* Omnis honeſtæ rei malus judex eſt vulgus: The common people are evill Judges of honeſt things, and whoſe Wiſedome *(ſaith Eccleſiaſtes)* is to be deſpiſed: *if to the better ſort; every underſtanding* *hath a peculiar judgement, by which it both cenſureth other men, & valueth it ſelf. And therefore unto me it will not ſeeme ſtrange, though I finde theſe my worthleſſe papers torn with Rats: ſeeing the ſlothfull Cenſurers of all ages have not ſpared to taxe the Reverend Fathers of the Church, with Ambitiõ; the ſevereſt men to themſelves, with Hypocriſie; the greateſt lovers of Juſtice, with Popularity; and thoſe of the trueſt valour and fortitude, with vaine-glory. But of theſe natures which lie in wait to finde fault, and to turne good into evill, ſeeing* Solomon *complained long ſince: and that the very age of the world renders it every day after other more malicious; I muſt leave the profeſſors to their eaſie wayes of reprehenſion, than which there is nothing of more facility.*

Eccleſ.c.11. *Nihil facilius quam reprehendere alium.*

*To me it belongs in the firſt part of this Preface, following the common & approved cuſtome of thoſe, who have left the memories of time paſt to after ages; to give, as neere as I can, the ſame right to Hiſtory which they have done. Yet ſeeing therein I ſhould but borrow other mens words; I will not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is that among many other benefits, for which it hath bin honoured; in this one it triumpheth over all humane knowledge, That it hath given us life in our underſtanding, ſince the world it ſelfe had life and beginning, even to this day: yea, it hath triumphed over time, which beſides it nothing but eternity hath triumphed over: for it hath carried our knowledge over the vaſt and devouring ſpace of many thouſands of yeares, and given ſo faire and piercing eyes to our mind; that we plainly behold living now (as if we had lived then) that great world,* Magni Dei ſapiens opus, The wiſe work *(ſaith Hermes)* of a great GOD, *as it was then, when but new to it ſelfe. By it (I ſay) it is, that we live in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was governed: how it was covered with waters, and againe repeopled: How Kings and Kingdomes have flouriſhed and fallen, and for what vertue and piety God made proſperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the leaſt debt which we owe unto Hiſtory, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead Aunceſtors; and, out of the depth and darkneſſe of the earth, delivered us their memory and fame. In a word, wee may gather out of Hiſtory a policy no leſſe wiſe than eternall; by the compariſon and application of other mens fore-paſſed miſeries with our owne like errours & ill deſervings. But it is neither of Examples the moſt lively inſtruction, nor the words of the wiſeſt men, nor the terrour of future torments, that hath yet ſo wrought in our blind and ſtupified mindes, as to make us remember, That the infinite eye and wiſedome of God doth pierce through all our pretences; as to make us remember, That the juſtice of God doth require none other accuſer, than our owne conſciences: which neither the falſe beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formality, which (to pacifie the opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the leaſt kind, cover from his knowledge. And ſo much did that heathen wiſedome confeſſe, no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true God. If any (ſaith Euripides)* having in his life committed wickedneſſe, thinke hee can hide it from the everlaſting gods, he thinkes not well.

*To repeat* GODS *judgements in particular, upon thoſe of all degrees, which have played with his mercies; would require a volume apart: for the* Sea *of examples hath no bottome. The markes, ſet on private men, are with their bodies caſt into the earth; and their fortunes, written onely in the memories of thoſe that lived with them: ſo as they who ſucceed, and have not ſeene the fall of others,* *doe not feare their owne faults. GODS judgements upon the greater and greateſt have beene left to poſterity; firſt, by thoſe happy hands which the Holy Ghoſt hath guided; and ſecondly, by their vertue, who have gathered the acts and ends of men mighty and remarkable in the world. Now to point farre off, and to ſpeake of the converſion of Angells into Divells, for Ambition: Or of the greateſt and moſt glorious Kings, who have gnawne the graſſe of the earth with beaſts for pride and ingratitude towards GOD: Or of that wiſe working of* Pharaoh, *when hee ſlue the Infants of* Iſrael, *ere they had recovered their Cradles: Or of the policy of* Jezabel, *in covering the murder of* Naboth *by a triall of the* Elders, *according to the Law, with many thouſands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopeleſſe proofe, that farre-off examples would not be left to the ſame farre-off reſpects, as heretofore? For who hath not obſerved, what labour, practice, perill, bloudſhed, and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the world have undergone, exerciſed, taken on them, and committed; to make themſelves and their iſſues maſters of the world? And yet hath* Babylon, Perſia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, *& the reſt, no fruit, no flower, graſs, nor leaf, ſpringing upon the face of the earth, of thoſe ſeeds: No, their very roots and ruines doe hardly remain.* Omnia quæ manu hominum facta ſunt, vel manu hominum evertuntur, vel ſtando & durando deficiunt: All that the hand of man can make, is eyther overturned by the hand of man, or at length by ſtanding and continuing conſumed. *The reaſons of whoſe ruines, are diverſly given by thoſe that ground their opinions on ſecond cauſes. All Kingdoms and States have fallen (ſay the Politicians) by outward and forrain force, or by inward negligence & diſſention, or by a third cauſe ariſing from both. Others obſerve, That the greateſt have ſunk downe under their owne weight; of which* Livie *hath a touch:* eo crevit, ut magnitudine laboret ſua: *Others, That the divine providence (which* Cratippus *objected to* Pompey*) hath ſet downe the date and period of every Eſtate, before their firſt foundation and erection. But hereof I will give my ſelfe a day over to reſolve.*

*For ſeeing the firſt bookes of the following ſtory, have undertaken the diſcourſe of the firſt Kings and Kingdomes: and that it is impoſſible for the ſhort life of a Preface, to travaile after, and overtake farre-off Antiquity, and to judge of it; I will, for the preſent, examine what profit hath been gathered by our own Kings, & their Neighbour Princes: who having beheld, both in divine & humane letters, the ſucceſſe of infidelity, injuſtice, and cruelty; have (notwithſtanding) planted after the ſame patterne.*

*True it is, that the judgements of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more ſtrange) the affection of any one man ſtirred up a-like with examples of like nature: But every one is touched moſt, with that which moſt neerely ſeemeth to touch his owne private; Or otherwiſe beſt ſuteth with his apprehenſion. But the judgements of GOD are for ever unchangeable; neyther is hee wearied by the long proceſſe of time, and won to give his bleſſing in one age, to that which he hath curſed in another. Wherefore thoſe that are wiſe, or whoſe wiſedome if it bee not great, yet is true and well grounded; will bee able to diſcerne the bitter fruites of irreligious policy, as well among thoſe examples that are found in ages removed farre from the preſent, as in thoſe of latter times. And that it may no leſſe* appeare by evident proofe, than by aſſeveration, That ill doing hath alwayes beene attended with ill ſucceſſe; I will here, by way of Preface, run over ſome examples, which the worke enſuing hath not reached.

Among our Kings of the Norman race, we have no ſooner paſſed over the violence of the Norman Conqueſt, than we encounter with a ſingular and moſt remarkable example of Gods Juſtice, upon the children of Henry the firſt. For that King, when both by force, craft and cruelty, he had diſpoſſeſt, overreacht, and laſtly made blinde and deſtroyed his elder Brother Robert Duke of Normandy, to make his owne ſonnes Lords of this Land: GOD caſt them all, Male and Female, Nephewes and Neeces (Maud excepted) into the bottome of the Sea, with above a hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the King dearly beloved.

To paſſe over the reſt, till we come to Edward the Second; it is certaine, that after the murder of that King, the iſſue of bloud then made, though it had ſome times of ſtay and ſtopping, did againe breake out, and that ſo often and in ſuch aboundance, as all our Princes of the Maſculine race (very few excepted) dyed of the ſame diſeaſe. And although the young yeares of Edward the Third, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more than ſuſpicious: yet in that he afterwards cauſed his owne Uncle the Earle of Kent to die, for no other offence than the deſire of his Brothers redemption, whom the Earle as then ſuppoſed to be living; the King making that to be treaſon in his Uncle, which was indeed treaſon in himſelf, (had his Uncles intelligence been true) this I ſay made it manifeſt, that he was not ignorant of what had paſt, nor greatly deſirous to have had it otherwiſe, though he cauſed Mortimer to die for the ſame.

This cruelty the ſecret and unſearchable judgement of GOD revenged on the Grand-child of Edward the Third: and ſo it fell out, even to the laſt of that line, that in the ſecond or third deſcent they were all buried under the ruines of thoſe buildings, of which the Mortar had beene tempered with innocent blood. For Richard the Second, who ſaw both his Treaſurers, his Chancellor, and his Steward, with divers others of his Counſellors, ſome of them ſlaughtered by the people, others in his abſence executed by his enemies; yet hee alwayes tooke himſelfe for over-wiſe, to be taught by examples. The Earles of Huntingdon and Kent, Montagu & Spencer, who thought themſelves as great Politicians in thoſe daies as others have done in theſe: hoping to pleaſe the King, and to ſecure themſelves, by the murder of Glouceſter; died ſoone after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and far more ſhamefully than did that Duke. And as for the King himſelfe (who in regard of many deedes, unworthy of his Greatneſſe, cannot be excuſed, as the diſavowing himſelfe by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons and Patents): Hee was in the prime of his youth depoſed, and murdered by his Coſen Germane and vaſſall, Henry of Lancaſter, afterwards Henry the Fourth.

This King, whoſe Title was weake, & his obtaining the Crowne traiterous; who brake faith with the Lords at his Landing, proteſting to intend onely the recovery of his proper inheritance, brake faith with Richard himſelfe; and brake faith with all the Kingdome in Parliament, to whom he ſwore that the depoſed King ſhould live. After that hee had enjoyed this Realme ſome few yeares, and in that time had beene ſet upon on all ſides by his Subjects, and never free from conſpiracies & rebellions: he ſaw (if ſoules immortall ſee & diſcern any things after the bodies death) his Grand-childe Henry the ſixt, & his Son the Prince, ſuddenly and without mercy, murdered; the poſſeſſion of the Crowne (for which hee had cauſed ſo much bloud to be poured out) transferred from his race, and by the Iſſues of his enemies worn and enjoy'd: enemies, whom by his own practice he ſuppoſed that he had left no leſſe power-leſſe, than the ſucceſſion of the Kingdom queſtionleſſe; by entailing the ſame upon his owne Iſſues by Parliament. And out of doubt, humane reaſon could have judged no otherwiſe, but that theſe cautious proviſions of the father, ſeconded by the valour & ſignall victories of his ſon Henry the fift, had buried the hopes of every Competitor, under the deſpaire of all reconqueſt and recovery. I ſay, that humane reaſon might ſo have judged, were not this paſſage of Cauſabon alſo true; Dies, hora, momentum, evertendis dominationibus ſufficit, quæ adamantinis credebantur radicibus eſſe fundatæ: A day, an houre, a moment, is enough to overturne the things, that ſeemed to have beene founded and rooted in Adamant.

Now for Henry the ſixt, upon whom the great ſtorm of his Grand-fathers grievous faults fell, as it formerly had done upon Richard the Grand-childe of Edward: although he was generally eſteemed for a gentle & innocent Prince, yet as he refuſed the daughter of Armaignac, of the Houſe of Navarre, the greateſt of the Princes of France, to whom he was affianced (by which match he might have defended his inheritance in France) & married the daughter of Anjou, (by which he loſt all that he had in France) ſo in condeſcending to the unworthy death of his Uncle of Gloceſter, the maine and ſtrong Pillar of the houſe of Lancaſter; He drew on himſelfe & this kingdom the greateſt joynt-loſſe & diſhonour, that ever it ſuſtained ſince the Norman conqueſt. Of whom it may truly be ſaid which a Counſellor of his own ſpake of Henry the third of France, Q'uil eſtoit une fort gentile Prince; mais ſon reigne eſt advenu en une fort mauvois temps: That hee was a very gentle Prince; but his reigne happened in a verie unfortunate ſeaſon.

It is true that Buckingham and Suffolk were the practiſers and contrivers of the Dukes death: Buckingham and Suffolk, becauſe the Duke gave inſtructions to their authority, which otherwiſe under the Queene had been abſolute; the Queene in reſpect of her perſonall wound, ſpretæque injuria formæ, becauſe Glouceſter diſſwaded her marriage. But the fruit was anſwerable to the ſeed; the ſucceſs to the Counſell. For after the cutting downe of Glouceſter, Yorke grew up ſo faſt, as he dared to diſpute his right both by arguments and armes; in which quarrell, Suffolke and Buckingham, with the greateſt number of their adherents, were diſſolved. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleaſed God to ſtrike down Yorke: yet his ſon the Earle of March, following the plaine path which his Father had troden out, deſpoiled Henry the Father, and Edward the Son, both of their lives and Kingdome. And what was the end now of that politique Lady the Queene, other than this, That ſhe lived to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers: that ſhe lived to looke on, while her Husband the King, and her only ſon the Prince, were hewen in ſunder; while the Crowne was ſet on his head that did it? Shee lived to ſee her ſelfe deſpoiled of her Eſtate, and of her moveables: and laſtly, her father, by rendering up to the Crowne of France the Earledome of Provence and other places, for the payment of fifty thouſand crownes for her Ranſome, to be-

*come a ſtarke Beggar. And this was the end of that ſubtilty; which* Siracides *calleth* fine *but* unrighteous: *for other fruit hath it never yeelded ſince the world was.* Sirach.19.

*And now it came to* Edward *the fourths turn (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the plants of* Lancaſter *were rooted up, one only Earle of* Richmond *excepted: whom alſo he had once bought of the Duke of Brittain, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of* Edward *ſuch a Plantation, as could any way promiſe it ſelfe ſtability. For this* Edward *the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld and allowed the ſlaughter which* Glouceſter, Dorſet, Haſtings, *and others, made of* Edward *the Prince in his owne preſence: of which tragicall Actors, there was not one that eſcaped the judgement of* GOD *in the ſame kinde. And He, which (beſides the execution of his brother* Clarence, *for none other offence than he himſelfe had formed in his own imagination) inſtructed* Glouceſter *to kill* Henry *the ſixt, his Predeceſſour; taught him alſo by the ſame Art to kill his own ſons and ſucceſſors,* Edward *and* Richard. For thoſe Kings which have ſold the bloud of others at a low rate, have but made the market for their owne enemies, to buy of theirs at the ſame price.

*To* Edward *the Fourth ſucceeded* Richard *the Third, the greateſt Maſter in miſchiefe of all that fore-went him: who although, for the neceſſity of his Tragedy, he had more parts to play, and more to performe in his owne perſon, than all the reſt; yet he ſo well fitted every affection that playd with him, as if each of them had but acted his owne intereſt. For he wrought ſo cunningly upon the affections of* Haſtings *and* Buckingham, *enemies to the Queene and to all her kindred, as he eaſily allured them to condeſcend, that* Rivers *and* Grey, *the Kings Maternall Uncle and halfe brother, ſhould (for the firſt) be ſevered from him: ſecondly, hee wrought their conſent to have them impriſoned: and laſtly (for the avoiding of future inconvenience) to have their heads ſevered from their bodies. And having now brought thoſe his chiefe inſtruments to exerciſe that common precept which the* Devill *hath written on every poſt, namely, To depreſſe thoſe whom they had grieved, and to deſtroy thoſe whom they had depreſt; Hee urged that argument ſo far and ſo forcibly, as nothing but the death of the young King himſelfe, & of his brother, could faſhion the concluſion. For he cauſed it to be hammered into* Buckinghams *head, That, whenſoever the King or his Brother, ſhould have able yeares to exerciſe their power, they would take a moſt ſevere revenge of that cureleſſe wrong, offered to their Uncle and Brother,* Rivers *and* Grey.

Scelera ſceleribus tuenda. Sen. de clem.

*But this was not his manner of reaſoning with* Haſtings, *whoſe fidelity to his Maſters Sonnes was without ſuſpect: and yet the* Divell, *who never diſſwades by impoſſibility, taught him to try him. And ſo he did. But when he found by* Cateſby, *who ſounded him, that he was not fordable; He firſt reſolved to kill him ſitting in councell: wherein having failed with his ſword, He ſet the Hangman upon him, with a weapon of more weight. And becauſe nothing elſe could move his appetite, He cauſed his head to be ſtricken off, before he eate his dinner. A greater judgement of God, than this upon* Haſtings, *I have never obſerved in any ſtorie. For the ſelfe ſame day that the Earle* Rivers, Grey, *and others, were (without triall of law, or offence given) by* Haſtings *advice executed at* Pomfret: *I ſay* Haſtings *himſelfe in the ſame day, and (as I take it) in the ſame houre, in the ſame law-leſſe manner had his head ſtricken off in the Tower of* London.

*But* Buckingham *lived a while longer; and with an eloquent oration perſwaded the* Londoners *to elect* Richard *for their king. And having received the Earledome of* Hereford *for reward, beſides the high hope of marrying his daughter to the Kings onely ſonne; after many grievous vexations of mind, and unfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and delivered up by his truſtieſt ſervant; Hee had his head ſevered from his body at* Salisbury, *without the trouble of any of his Peers. And what ſucceſſe had* Richard *himſelf after all theſe miſchiefes & murders, policies, and counter-policies to Chriſtian religion: and after ſuch time as with a moſt mercileſſe hand he had preſſed out the breath of his Nephewes & Natural Lords; other than the proſperity of ſo ſhort a life, as it tooke end, ere himſelfe could well looke over and diſcerne it? the great out-cry of innocent bloud, obtained at* GODS *hands the effuſion of his; who became a ſpectacle of ſhame and diſhonour, both to his friends and enemies.*

*This cruell King,* Henry *the 7. cut off; and was therin (no doubt) the immediate inſtrument of Gods Juſtice. A politick Prince he was if ever there were any, who by the engine of his wiſedome, beat downe and overturned as many ſtrong oppoſitions both before and after he wore the Crown, as ever King of England did: I ſay by his wiſdome, becauſe as he ever left the rains of his affectiõs in the hands of his profit, ſo he alwayes weighed his undertakings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to hazzard than ſo much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. He had well obſerved the proceedings of* Loys *the* 11. *whom he followed in all that was royall or royall-like, but he was far more juſt, & begun not their proceſſes whom he hated or feared by the execution, as* Loys *did.*

*He could never endure any mediation in rewarding his ſervants, and therin exceeding wiſe; for whatſoever himſelfe gave, he himſelfe received back the thankes & the love, knowing it wel that the affections of men (purchaſed by nothing ſo readily as by benefits) were trains that better became great kings, than great ſubjects. On the contrary, in whatſoever he grieved his ſubjects, he wiſely put it off on thoſe, that he found fit miniſters for ſuch actions. Howſoever the taking off of* Stanlies *head, who ſet the Crown on his, and the death of the young Earle of* Warwick, *ſon to* George D. of Clarence, *ſhews, as the ſucceſſe alſo did, that he held ſomewhat of the errors of his Anceſtors; for his poſſeſſion in the firſt line ended in his grand-children, as that of* Edward *the Third and* Henry *the Fourth had done.*

*Now for King* Henry *the eight: if all the pictures and patternes of a mercileſſe Prince were loſt in the World, they might all againe be painted to the life, out of the ſtory of this King. For how many ſervants did he advance in haſt (but for what vertue no man could ſuſpect) and with the change of his fancie ruined againe; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others of more deſert gave he aboundant flowers from whence to gather hony, and in the end of Harveſt burnt them in the Hive? How many wives did he cut off, & caſt off, as his fancy & affection chãged? How many Princes of the bloud (whereof ſome of them for age could hardly crawle towards the blocke) with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our common Chronicles have kept the accompt) did hee execute? yea, in his very death-bed, and when hee was at the point to have given his accompt to* GOD *for the aboundance of bloud already ſpilt: He impriſoned the Duke of* Norfolke *the Father; & executed the Earle of* Surrey *the ſon; the one, whoſe deſervings hee knew not how to value, having never omitted any thing that concerned his owne honour,*

*nour, & the kings ſervice; the other never having cōmitted any thing worthy of his leaſt diſpleaſure: the one exceeding valiant and adviſed; the other no leſſe valiant than learned, and of excellent hope. But beſides the ſorrowes which he heaped upon the Fatherleſſe and Widowes at home: and beſides the vaine enterpriſes abroad, wherein it is thought that he conſumed more treaſure, than all our victorious Kings did in their ſeverall Conqueſts: what cauſeleſſe and cruell wars did he make upon his own Nephew King* James *the fift? What Lawes and Wils did he deviſe to eſtabliſh this Kingdome in his owne Iſſues? uſing his ſharpeſt weapons to cut off, and cut downe thoſe branches, which ſprang from the ſame root that himſelfe did. And in the end (notwithſtanding theſe his ſo many irreligious proviſions) it pleaſed God to take away all his owne, without increaſe; though, for themſelves in their ſeverall kindes, all Princes of eminent vertue. For theſe words of* Samuel *to* Agag *King of the* Amalekites, *have beene verified upon many others:* As thy ſword hath made other women childleſſe, ſo ſhall thy mother be childleſſe among other women. *And that bloud which the ſame King* Henry *affirmed, that the cold aire of* Scotland *had frozen up in the North, God hath diffuſed by the ſunſhine of his grace: from whence* His Ma*jeſty now living, and long to live, is deſcended. Of whom I may ſay it truly, That if al the malice of the world were infuſed into one eye: yet could it not diſcerne in his life, even to this day, any one of thoſe foule ſpots, by which the conſciences of all the forenamed Princes (in effect) have bin defiled; nor any drop of that innocent bloud on the ſword of his juſtice, with which the moſt that fore-went him have ſtained both their hands and fame. And for this Crowne of* England; *it may truely be avowed: That he hath received it even from the hand of God, and hath ſtaied the time of putting it on, howſoever he were provoked to haſten it: That he never tooke revenge of any man, that ſought to put him beſide it: That he refuſed the aſſiſtance of Her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as ever Princeſſe did: That his* Ma*jeſty entred not by a breach, nor by bloud; but by the Ordinary gate, which his owne right ſet open; and into which, by a generall love and obedience, He was received. And howſoever* His Ma*jeſties preceding title to this Kingdome, was preferred by many Princes (witneſſe the Treaty at* Cambray *in the yeare* 1559) *yet he never pleaſed to diſpute it, during the life of that renowned* Lady *his Predeceſſor; no, notwithſtanding the injury of not being declared Heire, in all the time of Her long reigne.*

*Neither ought we to forget, or neglect our thankfulneſſe to* GOD *for the uniting of the Northen parts of Brittany to the South, to wit, of Scotland to England, which though they were ſevered but by ſmall brookes and bankes, yet by reaſon of the long continued warre, and the cruelties exerciſed upon each other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitly ſevered. This I ſay is not the leaſt of Gods bleſſings which* His Ma*jeſty hath brought with him unto this Land: No, put all our petty grievances together, & heap them up to their hight, they will appeare but as a Mole-hill compared with the Mountaine of this concord. And if all the Hiſtorians ſince then have acknowledged the uniting of the Red-Roſe, and the White, for the greateſt happineſſe (Chriſtian Religion excepted) that ever this Kingdome received from* GOD, *certainly the peace betweene the two Lions of gold and gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, beſides the ſparing of our britiſh bloud, heretofore and during the difference, ſo often and abundantly ſhed, the ſtate of England is more aſſured, the Kingdome more* enabled to recover her ancient honour and rights, and by it made more invincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies, & conqueſts. It is true that hereof we doe not yet finde the effect. But had the Duke of Parma in the yeare 1588. joyned the army which he commanded, with that of Spaine, and landed it on the ſouth coaſt; & had his Majeſty at the ſame time declared himſelfe againſt us in the North: it is eaſie to divine what had become of the liberty of England, certainly we would then without murmur have brought this union a farre greater praiſe than it hath ſince coſt us. It is true, that there was never any Cõmon weale or Kingdom in the world, wherein no man had cauſe to lament. Kings live in the world, and not above it. They are not infinit to examine every mans cauſe, or to relieve every mans wants. And yet in the latter, (though to his owne prejudice) His Majeſty hath had more compaſsion of other mens neceſsities, than of his owne Coffers. Of whom it may be ſaid, as of Solomon, Dedit Deus Solomoni latitudinem cordis: Which if other men do not underſtand with Pineda, to be meant by Liberality, but by Latitude of knowledge; yet may it be better ſpoken of His Majeſty, than of any King that ever England had; who as well in divine, as humane underſtanding, hath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.

Pin. comment. in Sal. 1. K. 4.

I could ſay much more of the Kings Majeſty, without flatterie: did I not feare the imputation of preſumption, & withall ſuſpect, that it might befall theſe papers of mine, (though the loſſe were little) as it did the Pictures of Queen Elizabeth, made by unskilfull and common Painters, which by her owne commandement were knockt in pieces and caſt into the fire. For ill Artiſts, in ſetting out the beauty of the externall; and weake writers, in deſcribing the vertues of the internall; doe often leave to poſterity, of well formed faces a deformed memory; and of the moſt Perfect and Princely mindes, a moſt defective repreſentation. It may ſuffice, and there needes no other diſcourſe; if the honeſt Reader but compare the cruell and turbulent paſſages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Princes (of whom for that purpoſe I have inſerted this briefe diſcourſe) with His Majeſties temperate, revengeleſſe and liberall diſpoſition: I ſay, that if the honeſt Reader weigh them juſtly, and with an even hand: and withall but beſtow every deformed child on his true Parent; He ſhall find, that there is no man that hath ſo juſt cauſe to complaine, as the King himſelfe hath. Now as wee have told the ſucceſſe of the trumperies and cruelties of our owne Kings, and other great perſonages: ſo we finde, that GOD is every where the ſame GOD. And as it pleaſed him to puniſh the uſurpation, & unnaturall cruelty of Henry the firſt, & of our third Edward, in their Children for many generations: ſo dealt Hee with the ſons of Loys Debonaire, the ſon of Charles the great, or Charlemaine. For after ſuch time as Debonaire of France, had torne out the eyes of Bernard his Nephew, the ſon of Pepin the eldeſt ſon of Charlemaine, and heire of the Empire, and then cauſed him to die in priſon, as did our Henry to Robert his eldeſt brother: there followed nothing but murders upon murders, poyſoning, impriſonments, and civill war; till the whole race of that famous Emperour was extinguiſhed. And though Debonaire, after he had rid himſelfe of his nephew by a violent death; and of his baſtard brothers by a civil death (having incloſed them with ſure gard, all the daies of their lives, within a Monaſtery) held himſelf ſecure from all oppoſition: Yet God raiſed up againſt him (which he ſuſpected not) his own ſons, to vex him, to invade him, to take him priſoner, and to depoſe him; his own ſons, with whom (to ſatisfie their ambition)

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*he had ſhared his eſtate, and given them Crownes to weare, and Kingdomes to governe, during his owne life. Yea his eldeſt ſon* Lothaire *(for he had foure, three by his firſt wife, and one by his ſecond; to wit,* Lothaire, Pepin, Loys, *and* Charles*) made it the cauſe of his depoſition, That hee had uſed violence towards his brothers and kinſmen; and that he had ſuffered his Nephew (whom he might have delivered) to be ſlaine.* Eo quod, *ſaith the Text,* fratribus, & propinquis violentiam intulerit, & nepotem ſuum, quem ipſe liberare poterat, interfici permiſerit: Becauſe he uſed violence to his Brothers and Kinſmen, and ſuffered his Nephew to be ſlaine whom he might have delivered.

*Step. Paſquier Recher. l.5.c.1.*

*Yet did he that which few Kings doe; namely, repent him of his cruelty. For, among many other things which hee performed in the Generall Aſſembly of the States, it followes:* Poſt hæc autem palam ſe erraſſe confeſſus, & imitatus Imperatoris *Theodoſii* exemplum, pœnitentiam ſpontaneam ſuſcepit, tam de his, quam quæ in *Bernardum* proprium nepotem geſſerat: After this hee did openly confeſſe himſelfe to have erred, and following the example of the Emperour *Theodoſius*, hee underwent voluntary penance, as well for his other offences, as for that which he had done againſt *Bernard* his own Nephew.

*Paſq. Ibidem.*

*This he did; and it was praiſe-worthy.* But the Bloud that is unjuſtly ſpilt, is not againe gathered up from the ground by repentance. Theſe Medicines, miniſtred to the dead, have but dead rewards.

*This King, as I have ſaid, had foure Sonnes. To* Lothaire *his eldeſt he gave the Kingdome of* Italy; *as* Charlemaine, *his father, had done to* Pepin *the father of* Bernard, *who was to ſucceed him in the Empire. To* Pepin *the ſecond ſon hee gave the Kingdome of* Aquitaine: *to* Loys, *the Kingdome of* Bavier: *and to* Charles, *whom he had by a ſecond wife called* Judith, *the remainder of the Kingdome of* France. *But this ſecond wife, being a Mother-in-law to the reſt, perſwaded* Debonaire *to caſt his ſon* Pepin *out of* Aquitain; *therby to greaten* Charles, *which, after the death of his ſonne* Pepin, *he proſecuted to effect, againſt his Grand-child bearing the ſame name. In the mean while, being invaded by his ſon* Loys *of* Bavier, *he dies for griefe.*

Debonaire *dead,* Loys of Bavier, *and* Charles *afterwards called the* bald, *& their Nephew* Pepin *of* Aquitaine, *joyne in league againſt the Emperour* Lothaire *their eldeſt Brother. They fight neere to* Auxerre *the moſt bloudy battaile that ever was ſtroken in* France: *in which, the marvellous loſſe of* Nobility, *& men of war, gave courage to the* Saracens *to invade* Italy; *to the* Hunnes *to fall upon* Almaine; *& the* Danes *to enter upon* Normandy. Charles *the* bald *by treaſon ſeizeth upon his Nephew* Pepin, *kils him in a* Cloyſter: Carloman *rebels againſt his Father* Charles *the* bald, *the Father burns out the eyes of his ſon* Carloman; Bavier *invades the Emperour* Lothaire *his brother,* Lothaire *quits the Empire, Hee is aſſailed and wounded to the heart by his owne conſcience, for his rebellion againſt his Father, and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monaſtery.* Charles *the* bald, *the Uncle oppreſſeth his Nephewes the Sonnes of* Lothaire, *hee uſurpeth the Empire to the prejudice of* Loys *of* Bavier *his elder Brother;* Baviers *armies and his Sonne* Carloman *are beaten, hee dies of griefe, & the Uſurper* Charles *is poyſoned by* Zedechias *a* Jew *his Phyſician, his Son* Loys le Beque *dies of the ſame drinke.* Beque *had* Charles the ſimple and two Baſtards, Loys and Carloman; they rebell againſt their Brother, but the eldeſt breakes his Neck, the younger is ſlain by a wild Bore; the ſon of Baviere had the ſame ill deſtiny, and brake his Neck by a fall out of a window in ſporting with his companions. Charles the groſſe becomes Lord of all that the ſonnes of Debonaire held in Germany; wherewith not contented, he invades Charles the ſimple: but being forſaken of his Nobility, of his wife, and of his underſtanding, he dies a diſtracted beggar. Charles the ſimple is held in Wardſhip by Eudes Maior of the Pallace, then by Robert the Brother of Eudes: and laſtly, being taken by the Earle of Vermandois, hee is forced to dye in the priſon of Peron. Loys the ſonne of Charles the ſimple breakes his Neck in chaſing a Wolfe, and of the two ſonnes of this Loys, the one dies of poyſon, the other dies in the priſon of Orleans; after whom Hugh Capet, of another race, and a ſtranger to the French, makes himſelfe King.

Theſe miſerable ends had the iſſues of Debonaire, who after he had once apparrelled injuſtice with authority, his ſonnes and ſucceſſours tooke up the faſhion, and wore that Garment ſo long without other proviſion, as when the ſame was torne from their ſhoulders, every man deſpiſed them as miſerable & naked beggars. The wretched ſucceſſe they had, (ſaith a learned French-man) ſhewes, que en ceſte mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la juſtice: that in the death of that Prince, to wit, of Bernard the ſon of Pepin, the true heir of Charlemaine, men had more medling than either God, or Juſtice had.

But to come neerer home; it is certaine that Francis the firſt, One of the worthieſt Kings (except for that fact) that ever the French-men had, did never enjoy himſelfe, after he had commended the deſtruction of the Proteſtants of Mirandol & Cabrieres, to the Parliament of Provence, which poore people were thereupon burnt and murdered; men, women, and children. It is true that the ſaid King Francis repented himſelfe of the fact, and gave charge to Henry his ſonne, to doe juſtice upon the Murderers, threatning his ſonne with GODS judgements, if he neglected it. But this unſeaſonable care of his, GOD was not pleaſed to accept for payment. For after Henry himſelfe was ſlaine in ſport by Montgomery, wee all may remember what became of his foure ſonnes, Francis, Charles, Henry, and Hercules. Of which although three of them became Kings, and were married to beautifull and vertuous Ladies: yet were they, one after another, caſt out of the world, without ſtock or ſeed. And notwithſtanding their ſubtilty, aud breach of faith; with all their Maſſacres upon thoſe of the religion, and great effuſion of blood, the Crowne was ſet on his head, whom they all laboured to diſſolve; the Proteſtants remaine more in number than ever they were, and hold to this day more ſtrong cities than ever they had.

Let us now ſee if God be not the ſame God in Spaine, as in England & France. Towards whom wee will looke no further backe than to Don Pedro of Caſtile: in reſpect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of Sicil, our Richard the third, and the great Evan Vaſilowick of Moſcovia, were but petty ones: this Caſtilian, of all Chriſtian and Heathen Kings, having beene the moſt mercileſſe. For, beſides thoſe of his own Bloud and Nobility, which he cauſed to be ſlaine in his owne Court and Chamber, as Sancho Ruis, the great Maſter of Calatrava, Ruis Gonſales, Alphonſo Tello, and Don John of Arragon, whom hee cut in pieces and caſt into the ſtreets, denying him Chriſtian burial: I ſay, beſides theſe, and the ſlaughter of Gomes Mauriques, Diego Peres, Alphonſo Gomes, *and the great Commander of* Caſtile; *He made away the two Infants of* Arragon *his Coſen-germans, his brother* Don Frederick, Don John de la Cerde, Albuquergues, Nugnes de Guzman, Cornel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes de Toledo, Guttiere *his great Treaſurer, and all his kindred; & a world of others. Neither did he ſpare his two youngeſt brothers, innocent Princes: whom after he had kept in cloſe priſon from their Cradles, till one of them had lived ſixteene yeares, and the other fourteene; he murdered them there. Nay he ſpared not his Mother, nor his Wife the Lady* Blanch *of* Bourbon. *Laſtly, as he cauſed the Archbiſhop of* Toledo, *& the Dean to be killed of purpoſe to enjoy their treaſures: ſo did he put to death* Mahomet Aben Alhamar *King of* Barbary, *with* 37. *of his Nobility, that came unto him for ſuccour, with a great ſumme of money, to levy (by his favour) ſome companies of ſouldiers to returne withall. Yea, he would needs aſſiſt the Hangman with his owne hand, in the execution of the old King; in ſo much as Pope* Urban *declareth him an enemy both to God and Man. But what was his end? Having been formerly beaten out of his Kingdome, and re-eſtabliſhed by the valour of the* Engliſh Nation, *led by the famous Duke of* Lancaſter: *He was ſtabbed to death by his younger Brother the Earle of* Aſtramara, *who diſpoſſeſt all his Children of their inheritance, which, but for the Fathers injuſtice and cruelty, had never beene in danger of any ſuch thing.*

*Hiſt. of Spaine.*

*If we can parallel any man with this King, it muſt be Duke* John *of* Burgoigne, *who, after his traiterous murder of the Duke of* Orleans, *cauſed the Conſtable of* Armagnac, *the Chancellor of* France, *the Biſhops of* Cõſtance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, *and other religious and reverend Church-men, the Earle of* gran Pré, Hector *of* Chartres, *and (in effect) all the officers of juſtice, of the Chamber of Accompts, Treaſury, and requeſt, (with ſixteene hundred others to accompany them) to be ſuddenly and violently ſlaine. Hereby, while he hoped to governe, and to have maſtred* France: *He was ſoone after ſtrucken with an axe in the face, in the preſence of the* Dauphin; *and, without any leiſure to repent his miſdeeds, preſently ſlaine.* Theſe were the Lovers of other mens miſeries: and miſery found them out.

*French invent. in Anno* 1418.

*Now for the Kings of* Spaine, *which lived both with* Henry *the ſeventh,* Henry *the eight,* Queene Mary, *and* Queene Elizabeth; Ferdinand *of* Arragon *was the firſt: and the firſt that laid the foundation of the preſent* Auſtrian *greatneſſe. For this King did not content himſelfe to hold* Arragon *by the uſurpation of his Anceſtor; & to faſten thereunto the Kingdome of* Caſtile *and* Leon, *which* Iſabel *his wife held by ſtrong hand, and his aſſiſtance, from her owne Neece the Daughter of the laſt* Henry: *but moſt cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, Hee alſo caſt his owne Neece out of the Kingdome of* Navarre, *and, contrary to faith, and the promiſe that hee made to reſtore it, fortified the beſt places, and ſo waſted the reſt, as there was no means left for any army to invade it. This King, I ſay, that betrayed alſo* Ferdinand *and* Frederick *Kings of* Naples, *Princes of his owne bloud, and by double alliance tyed unto him; ſold them to the* French: *and with the ſame Army, ſent for their ſuccour under* Gonſalvo, *caſt them out; and ſhared their Kingdome with the* French, *whom afterwards he moſt ſhamefully betrayed.*

*This wiſe and politique King, who ſold Heaven and his owne Honour, to make* his ſonne, the Prince of Spaine, the greateſt Monarch of the world: ſaw him die in the flower of his yeares; and his wife great with childe, with her untimely birth, at once & together buried. His eldeſt daughter married unto Don Alphōſo Prince of Portugall, beheld her firſt husband breake his necke in her preſence; and being with childe by her ſecond, died with it. A juſt judgement of God upon the race of John, father to Alphonſo, now wholly extinguiſhed: who had not onely left many diſconſolate Mothers in Portugall, by the ſlaughter of their children; but had formerly ſlaine with his owne hand, the ſonne and onely comfort of his Aunt the Lady Beatrix, Dutcheſſe of Viſco. The ſecond daughter of Ferdinand, married to the Arch-Duke Philip, turned foole, and died mad and deprived. His third daughter, beſtowed on King Henry the eight, He ſaw caſt off by the King: the mother of many troubles in England; and the mother of a daughter, that in her unhappy zeale ſhed a world of innocent bloud; loſt Calice to the French; and died heart-broken without increaſe. To conclude, all thoſe Kingdomes of Ferdinand have maſters of a new name; and by a ſtrange family are governed and poſſeſt.

Charles the fift, ſon to the Arch-Duke Philip, in whoſe vaine enterpriſes upon the French, upon the Almans, and other Princes and States; ſo many multitudes of Chriſtian ſouldiers, and renowned Captaines were conſumed: who gave the while a moſt perillous entrance to the Turkes, and ſuffered Rhodes, the Key of Chriſtendom, to be taken; was in concluſion chaced out of France, and in a ſort out of Germany; and left to the French, Mentz, Toule, and Verdun, places belonging to the Empire, ſtole away from Inſpurg; and ſcaled the Alpes by torch-light, purſued by Duke Maurice; having hoped to ſwallow up all thoſe dominions wherein hee concocted nothing ſave his owne diſgraces. And having, after the ſlaughter of ſo many Millions of men, no one foote of ground in eyther: Hee crept into a Cloyſter, and made himſelfe a Penſioner of an hundred thouſand Duckets by the yeare, to his ſonne Philip, from whom he very ſlowly received his meane and ordinary maintenance.

Nether-Hiſt.l.7. fol.313.

His Son againe King Philip the ſecond, not ſatisfied to hold Holland and Zeland, (wreſted by his anceſtors from Jaqueline their lawfull Princeſſe) & to poſſeſſe in peace many other Provinces of the Netherlands: perſwaded by that miſchievous Cardinall of Granvile, and other Romiſh Tyrants; not onely forgot the moſt remarkable ſervices, done to his Father the Emperour, by the Nobilitie of thoſe countries, not onely forgot the Preſent made him upon his entry, of forty millions of Florens, called the Novaile aide; nor onely forgot that hee had twice moſt ſolemnly ſworne to the Generall States, to maintaine and preſerve their ancient rights, priviledges, and cuſtomes, which they had enjoyed under their thirtie and five Earles before him, Conditionall Princes of thoſe Provinces: but beginning firſt to conſtraine them, and enthrall them by the Spaniſh Inquiſition, and then to impoveriſh them by many new deviſed and intolerable impoſitions; hee laſtly, by ſtrong hand and maine force, attempted to make himſelfe not onely an abſolute Monarch over them, like unto the Kings and Soveraignes of England and France; but Turke-like, to tread under his feet all their Naturall and fundamentall Lawes, Priviledges, and ancient Rights. To effect which, after he had eaſily obtained from the Pope a Diſpenſation of his former Oathes (which diſpenſation was the true cauſe of the war and bloudſhed ſince then.) & after he had tried what he could performe, by dividing of their owne Nobility, under the govern-

Hiſt. of the Netherlands.

ment of his baſe ſiſter, Margaret of Auſtria, & the Cardinall Granvile; He emploied that moſt mercileſs Spaniard Don Ferdinand Alvarez of Toledo, Duke of Alva, followed with a powerfull army of ſtrange Nations: by whom hee firſt ſlaughtered that renowned Captaine the Earle of Egmont, Prince of Gavare: & Philip Montmorency Earle of Horn: made away Montigue, & the Marquis of Bergues, and cut off in thoſe ſix yeares (that Alva governed) of Gentlemen & others, eighteene thouſand and ſixe hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, beſides all his other barbarous murders & maſſacres. By whoſe miniſtry when he could not yet bring his affaires to their wiſhed ends, having it in his hope to worke that by ſubtilty, which he had failed to performe by force: He ſent for Governour his baſtard brother Don John of Auſtria; a Prince of great hope, and very gracious to thoſe people. But he, uſing the ſame Papall advantage that his predeceſſors had done, made no ſcruple to take Oath upon the Holy Evangeliſts, to obſerve the treaty made with the Generall States; and to diſcharge the Low Countries of all Spaniards, & other ſtrangers therin garriſon'd: Towards whoſe Pay & Paſport, the Netherlands ſtrained themſelves to make payment of 600. thouſand pounds. Which monies received, He ſuddenly ſurpriſed the Citadels of Antwerpe & Nemures: not doubting (being unſuſpected by the States) to have poſſeſt himſelfe of all the maſtring places of thoſe Provinces. For whatſoever he overtly pretended, Hee held in ſecret a contrary counſell with the Secretary Eſcovedo, Rhodus, Barlemont, and others, Miniſters of the Spaniſh tyranny, formerly practiſed, and now againe intended. But let us now ſee the effect and end of this perjury, & of all other the Dukes cruelties. Firſt, for himſelfe; after he had murdered ſo many of the Nobility; executed (as aforeſaid) eighteen thouſand ſix hundred in ſix yeares, and moſt cruelly ſlain Man, woman, and Child, in Mecklin, Zutphen, Naerden, and other places: and after he had conſumed ſix and thirty millions of treaſure in ſix yeares: notwithſtanding his Spaniſh vant, That he would ſuffocate the Hollanders in their owne butter-barrels, and milk-tubbes: Hee departed the country no otherwiſe accompanied, than with the curſe and deteſtation of the whole Nation; leaving his Maſters affaires in a tenfold worſe eſtate, than hee found them at his firſt arrivall. For Don John, whoſe haughty conceit of himſelfe overcame the greateſt difficulties; though his judgement were over-weake to mannage the leaſt: what wonders did his fearefull breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his brothers jealouſie and diſtruſt, with the untimely death that ſeized him, even in the flower of his youth? And for Eſcovedo his ſharpe-witted Secretarie, who in his owne imagination had conquered for his Maſter both England and the Netherlands; being ſent into Spaine upon ſome new project, Hee was at the firſt arrivall, and before any acceſſe to the King, by certain Ruffians appointed by Anthony-Peres (though by better warrant than his) rudely murdered in his own lodging. Laſtly, if we conſider the King of Spaines carriage, his counſell and ſucceſſe in this buſineſſe, there is nothing left to the memory of man more remarkeable. For he hath paid above an hundred Millions, & the lives of above foure hundred thouſand Chriſtians, for the loſſe of all thoſe countries; which, for beauty, gave place to none, and for revenue, did equall his Weſt Indies: for the loſſe of a nation which moſt willingly obeyed him, and who at this day, after forty yeares warre, are in deſpight of all his forces become a free Eſtate, and far more rich and powerfull than they were, when he firſt began to impoveriſh and oppreſſe them.

Oh by what plots, by what forſwearings, betrayings, oppreſsions, impriſonments, tortures, poyſonings, and under what reaſons of State, and politique ſubtlety, have theſe forenamed Kings, both ſtrangers, and of our owne Nation, pulled the vengeance of GOD upon themſelves, upon theirs, and upon their prudent miniſters! and in the end have brought thoſe things to paſſe for their enemies, and ſeene an effect ſo directly contrary to all their own counſels and cruelties; as the one could never have hoped for themſelves; and the other never have ſucceeded; if no ſuch oppoſition had ever been made. GOD hath ſaid it and performed it ever: Perdam ſapientiam ſapientum; I will deſtroy the wiſedome of the wiſe.

But what of all this? and to what end doe we lay before the eyes of the living, the fall and fortunes of the dead: ſeeing the world is the ſame that it hath bin; and the children of the preſent time, will ſtill obey their parents? It is in the preſent time, that all the wits of the world are exerciſed. To hold the times wee have, wee hold all things lawfull: and either we hope to hold them for ever; or at leaſt wee hope, that there is nothing after them to bee hoped for. For as wee are content to forget our owne experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our owne knowledge, in all things that concerne our ſelves; or perſwade our ſelves, that GOD hath given us letters patents to purſue all our irreligious affections, with a non obſtante: ſo we neither looke behinde us what hath been, nor before us what ſhall be. It is true, that the quantity which we have, is of the body: wee are by it joyned to the earth: wee are compounded of earth; and wee inhabit it. The Heavens are high, farre off, and unſearcheable: we have ſenſe and feeling of corporall things; and of eternall grace, but by revelation. No marvaile then that our thoughts are alſo earthly: and it is leſſe to be wondred at, that the words of worthleſſe men cannot cleanſe them: ſeeing their doctrine and inſtruction, whoſe underſtanding the Holy Ghoſt vouchſafed to inhabite, have not performed it. For as the Prophet Eſay cryed out long agone, Lord, who hath beleeved our reports? And out of doubt, as Eſay complained then for himſelfe and others: ſo are they leſſe beleeved, every day after other. For although Religion, and the truth thereof be in every mans mouth, yea, in the diſcourſe of every woman, who for the greateſt number are but Idols of vanity: what is it other than an univerſall diſsimulation? Wee profeſſe that we know GOD: but by workes wee deny him. For Beatitude doth not conſiſt in the knowledge of divine things, but in a divine life: for the Divels know them better than men. Beatitudo non eſt divinorum cognitio, ſed vita divina. And certainly there is nothing more to be admired, and more to bee lamented, than the private contention, the paſsionate diſpute, the perſonall hatred, and the perpetuall war, maſſacres, and murthers, for Religion among Chriſtians: the diſcourſe whereof hath ſo occupied the World, as it hath well neere driven the practice thereof out of the World. Who would not ſoone reſolve, that tooke knowledge but of the religious diſputations among men, and not of their lives which diſpute, that there were no other thing in their deſires, than the purchaſe of Heaven; and that the World it ſelfe were but uſed as it ought, and as an Inne or place, wherein to repoſe our ſelves in paſsing on towards our celeſtiall habitation? when on the contrary, beſides the diſcourſe and outward profeſsion, the ſoule hath nothing but hypocriſie. We are all (in effect) become Comœdians in religion: and while wee act in geſture and voyce, divine vertues, in all the courſe of our lives wee renounce our Perſons, and the parts wee play. For Charity, Juſtice, and Truth,

Paul to Titus Ch.1.ver.10.

*have but their being* in termes, *like the Philoſophers* Materia prima.

*Neither is it that wiſedome, which* Solomon *defineth to be the* Schoole-Miſtreſſe of the knowledge of God; *that hath valuation in the world: it is enough that we give it our good word: but the ſame which is altogether exerciſed in the ſervice of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which wee purchaſe and obtaine honour, with the many reſpects which attend it. Theſe indeed bee the markes, which (when we have bent our conſciences to the higheſt) we all ſhoot at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our owne; the care our owne in this life, the perill our owne in the future: and yet when we have gathered the greateſt aboundance, we our ſelves enjoy no more thereof, than ſo much as belongs to one man. For the reſt, He that had the greateſt wiſdome, and the greateſt ability that ever man had, hath told us that this is the uſe:* When goods increaſe (*ſaith Solomon*) they alſo increaſe that eate them; and what good commeth to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes? *As for thoſe that devoure the reſt, and follow us in faire weather: they againe forſake us in the firſt tempeſt of misfortune, and ſteere away before the Sea and Winde; leaving us to the malice of our deſtinies. Of theſe, among a thouſand examples, I will take but one out of Maſter* Dannet, *and uſe his owne words:* Whileſt the Emperour *Charles* the fift, after the reſignation of his eſtates, ſtaied at Uloſhing for winde, to carry him his laſt journey into Spaine, He conferred on a time with *Seldius*, his brother *Ferdinands* Embaſſadour, till the deepe of the night. And when *Seldius* ſhould depart: the Emperour calling for ſome of his ſervants, and no body anſwering him, (for thoſe that attended upon him, were ſome gone to their lodgings, and all the reſt aſleepe) the Emperour tooke up the candle himſelfe, and went before *Seldius* to light him downe the ſtaires, and ſo did, notwithſtanding all the reſiſtance that *Seldius* could make. And when He was come to the ſtaires foote, Hee ſaid thus unto him: *Seldius*, remember this of *Charles* the Emperour, when he ſhall be dead and gone, That Him, whom thou haſt knowne in thy time environed with ſo many mighty Armies and Guards of ſouldiers, thou haſt alſo ſeene alone, abandoned, and forſaken, yea even of his owne domeſticall ſervants, &c. I acknowledge this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of GOD, which I will by no meanes goe about to withſtand.

Eccleſ.5.10.

*But you will ſay, that there are ſome things elſe, and of greater regard than the former. The firſt, is the reverend reſpect that is held of great men, and the Honour done unto them by all ſorts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward love for their juſtice and piety, accompany the outward worſhip given to their places and power; without which what is the applauſe of the Multitude, but as the out-cry of an Heard of* Animals, *who without the knowledge of any true cauſe, pleaſe themſelves with the noyſe they make? For ſeeing it is a thing exceeding rare, to diſtinguiſh Vertue and Fortune: the moſt impious (if proſperous) have ever been applauded; the moſt vertuous (if unproſperous) have ever beene deſpiſed. For as Fortunes man rides the Horſe, ſo Fortune her ſelfe rides the Man. Who when he is deſcended and on foote: the Man taken from his Beaſt, and Fortune from the Man; a baſe groome beates the one, and a bitter contempt ſpurnes at the other, with equall liberty.*

*The ſecond is the greatning of our poſterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom we leave behinde us. Certainely, of thoſe which conceive that their ſoules departed take any comfort therein, it may be truly ſaid of them, which* Lactantius *ſpake of certaine Heathen Philoſophers,* quod ſapientes ſunt in re ſtulta. *For when our ſpirits immortall ſhall be once ſeparate from our mortall bodies, and diſpoſed by* GOD: *there remaineth in them no other joy of their poſterity which ſucceed, than their doth of pride in that ſtone, which ſleepeth in the Wall of a Kings Palace; nor any other ſorrow for their poverty, than there doth of ſhame in that, which beareth up a Beggars cottage.* Neſciunt mortui, etiam ſancti, quid agunt vivi, etiam eorum filii, quia animæ mortuorum rebus viventium non interſunt: The dead, though holy, know nothing of the living, no, not of their owne children: for the ſoules of thoſe departed, are not converſant with their affaires that remaine. *And if wee doubt of Saint* Auguſtine, *wee cannot of* Job; *who tels us,* That wee know not if our ſonnes ſhall bee honourable: neither ſhall wee underſtand concerning them, whether they ſhall bee of low degree. *Which* Eccleſiaſtes *alſo confirmeth*: Man walketh in a ſhadow, and diſquieteth himſelfe in vaine: hee heapeth up riches, and cannot tell who ſhall gather them. The living (*ſaith hee*) know that they ſhall die, but the dead know nothing at all: for who can ſhew unto man, what ſhall be after him under the Sun? *Hee therefore accounteth it among the reſt of worldly vanities, to labour and travaile in the world; not knowing after death, whether a foole or a wiſe man ſhould enjoy the fruits thereof*: which made mee (*ſaith he*) endeavour even to abhorre mine own labour. *And what can other men hope, whoſe bleſſed or ſorowfull eſtates after death God hath reſerved? mans knowledge lying but in his hope, ſeeing the Prophet* Eſay *confeſſeth of the elect,* That Abraham is ignorant of us, and Iſrael knowes us not. *But hereof we are aſſured, that the long and darke night of death, (of whoſe following day wee ſhall never behold the dawne till his returne that hath triumphed over it) ſhall cover us over till the world be no more. After which, and when we ſhall againe receive Organs glorified and incorruptible, the ſeats of Angelicall affections: in ſo great admiration ſhall the ſoules of the bleſſed be exerciſed, as they cannot admit the mixture of any ſecond or leſſe joy; nor any returne of forgone and mortall affection towards friends, kindred, or children. Of whom whether we ſhall retaine any particular knowledge, or in any ſort diſtinguiſh them, no man can aſſure us; & the wiſeſt men doubt. But on the contrary; If a divine life retaine any of thoſe faculties, which the ſoule exerciſed in a mortall body; wee ſhall not at that time ſo divide the joyes of Heaven, as to caſt any part thereof on the memory of their felicities which remain in the World. No, be their eſtates greater than ever the World gave, we ſhall (by the difference knowne unto us) even deteſt their conſideration. And whatſoever comfort ſhall remaine of all forepaſt, the ſame will conſiſt in the charity, which we exerciſed living: and in that Piety, Juſtice, and firme Faith, for which it pleaſed the infinite mercy of God to accept of us, and receive us. Shall wee therefore value honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as unneceſſarie and vaine? Certainly no. For that infinite wiſedome of God, which hath diſtinguiſhed his Angels by degrees: which hath given greater and leſſe light and beauty, to Heavenly bodies: which hath made differences betweene beaſts and birds: crea-*

*Lact. de falſa ſap. 3. c. 29.*

*S. Aug. de cura pro mort.*

Job. 14. 21.

Pſal. 39.

Eccl. 9. 5. & 1. 2.

Eſay 63. 16.

*ted the Eagle and the Flye, the Cedar and the Shrub; and among ſtones, given the faireſt tincture to the Ruby, and the quickeſt light to the Diamond; hath alſo ordained Kings, Dukes or Leaders of the people, Magiſtrates, Judges, and other degrees among men. And as honour is left to poſterity, for a marke and enſigne of the vertue and underſtanding of their Anceſtors: ſo (ſeeing* Siracides *preferreth* Sira.c.40.v.28. *Death before Beggary: and that titles, without proportionable eſtates, fall under the miſerable ſuccour of other mens pity;) I account it fooliſhneſſe to condemne ſuch a care: Provided, that worldly goods be well gotten, and that we raiſe not our owne buildings out of other mens ruines. For, as* Plato *doth firſt preferre the* Plat.de leg.1.2. 6.& in Gorgeo. *perfection of bodily health; ſecondly, the forme and beauty; and thirdly,* Divitias nulla fraude quæſitas: *ſo Jeremy cries,* Woe unto them that erect their hou- Ier.22.13. ſes by unrighteouſneſſe, and their chambers without equity: *and Eſay the ſame,* Woe to thoſe that ſpoile and were not ſpoiled. Eſay 33. *And it was out of the true wiſdome of* Solomon, *that he commandeth us,* not to drinke the wine of Prov.1.18.12. violence; not to lie in wait for bloud, and not to ſwallow them up alive, Pro.23.1.2.8.9. 25.9,8. whoſe riches we covet: for ſuch are the wayes (*ſaith hee*) of every one that is greedy of gaine.

*And if we could afford our ſelves but ſo much leiſure as to conſider, That hee which hath moſt in the world, hath, in reſpect of the world, nothing in it: and that he which hath the longeſt time lent him to live in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, ſetting it either by that which is paſt, when we were not, or by that time which is to come, in which we ſhall abide for ever: I ſay, if both, to wit, our proportion in the world, and our time in the world, differ not much from that which is nothing; it is not out of any excellency of underſtanding, that we ſo much priſe the one, which hath (in effect) no being: and ſo much neglect the other, which hath no ending: coveting thoſe mortall things of the world, as if our ſoules were therein immortall, and neglecting thoſe things which are immortall, as if our ſelves after the world were but mortall.*

*But let every man value his owne wiſedome, as he pleaſeth. Let the Rich man thinke all fooles, that cannot equall his abundance; the Revenger eſteeme all negligent, that have not trodden down their oppoſites; the Politician, all groſſe that cannot merchandize their faith: Yet when we once come in ſight of the Port of death, to which all windes drive us, & when by letting fall that fatall Anchor, which can never be weighed again, the Navigation of this life takes end: Then it is, I ſay, that our own cogitations (thoſe ſad & ſevere cogitations, formerly beaten from us by our Health and Felicity) returne againe, and pay us to the uttermoſt for all the pleaſing paſſages of our lives paſt. It is then that we cry out to God for mercy; then, when our ſelves can no longer exerciſe cruelty to others: and it is onely then, that we are ſtrucken through the ſoule with this terrible ſentence,* That God will not Gal.6.7. be mockt. *For if according to* S. Peter, The righteous ſcarcely be ſaved: and 1 Pet.4. that God ſpared not his Angels: *where ſhall thoſe appeare, who, having ſerved their appetites all their lives, preſume to think, that the ſevere Commandements of the All-powerfull God were given but in ſport; and that the ſhort breath, which we draw when death preſſeth us, if we can but faſhion it to the ſound of* Mercy *(without any kind of ſatisfaction or amends) is ſufficient?* O quam multi, *ſaith a reverend Father,* cum hac ſpe ad æternos labores & bella deſcendunt! *I confeſſe that it is a great comfort to our friends, to have it ſaid, that we ended well; for we all* *deſire (as* Balaam *did )* to die the death of the righteous. *But what ſhall wee call a diſeſteeming, an appoſing, or (indeed) a mocking of God: if thoſe men doe not appoſe him, diſeſteeme him, and mocke him, that thinke it enough for God, to aske him forgiveneſſe at leaſure, with the remainder and laſt drawing of a malicious breath? For what doe they otherwiſe, that die this kinde of wel-dying, but ſay unto God as followeth? We beſeech thee, O God, that all the falſhoods, forſwearings, and treacheries of our lives paſt, may be pleaſing unto thee; that thou wilt for our ſakes (that have had no leaſure to doe any thing for thine) change thy nature (though impoſsible) and forget to be a juſt God; that thou wilt love injuries and oppreſsions, call ambition wiſedome, and charity fooliſhneſſe. For I ſhall prejudice my ſonne (which I am reſolved not to doe) if I make reſtitution; and confeſſe my ſelfe to have beene unjuſt, (which I am too proud to doe) if I deliver the oppreſſed. Certainly, theſe wiſe worldlings have either found out a new God; or made One: and in all likelihood ſuch a Leaden One, as* Lewis *the eleventh ware in his Cappe; which when he had cauſed any that he feared, or hated, to be killed, he would take it from his head and kiſſe it: beſeeching it to pardon him this one evill act more, and it ſhould be the laſt; which (as at other times) he did, when by the practice of a* Cardinall *and a falſified Sacrament, he cauſed the* Earle of Armagnac *to be ſtabbed to death: mockeries indeed fit to be uſed towards a Leaden, but not towards the everliving God. But of this compoſition are all devout lovers of the World, that they feare all that is dureleſſe and ridiculous: they feare the plots and practices of their oppoſites, and their very whiſperings: they feare the opinions of men, which beate but upon ſhadowes: they flatter and forſake the proſperous and unproſperous, be they friends or Kings: yea they dive under water, like Duckes, at every pebble ſtone, that is but throwne towards them by a powerfull hand: and on the contrary, they ſhew an obſtinate and Giant-like valour, againſt the terrible judgements of the All-powerfull God: yea they ſhew themſelves gods againſt God, and ſlaves towards men; towards men whoſe bodies and conſciences are alike rotten.*

*Now for the reſt: If we truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit, of the rich and mighty, whom we call fortunate; and of the poore & oppreſſed, whom we account wretched: wee ſhall finde the happineſſe of the one, and the miſerable eſtate of the other, ſo tied by God to the very inſtant, and both ſo ſubject to enterchange (witneſſe the ſudden downefall of the greateſt Princes, and the ſpeedy upriſing of the meaneſt perſons) as the one hath nothing ſo certaine, whereof to boaſt; nor the other ſo uncertaine, whereof to bewaile it ſelfe. For there is no man ſo aſſured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life; but that he may be deprived of eyther, or all, the very next houre or day to come.* Quid veſper vehat, incertum eſt, What the evening will bring with it, it is uncertaine. And yet ye cannot tell (*ſaith S. James*) what ſhall be to morrow. To day he is ſet up, and to morrow he ſhall not be found; for hee is turned into duſt, and his purpoſe periſheth. *And although the aire which compaſſeth adverſity, be very obſcure: yet therin we better diſcerne God, than in that ſhining light which environeth worldly glory; through which, for the cleereneſſe thereof, there is no vanity which eſcapeth our ſight. And let adverſity ſeem what it will, to happy men ridiculous, who make themſelves merry at other mens misfortunes; and to thoſe under the croſſe; grievous: yet this is true, That for all that is paſt, to the very inſtant, the portions remaining are equall to either. For bee it that wee* *have lived many yeares,* and (*according to* Solomon) in them all wee have rejoyced; *or be it that we have meaſured the ſame length of dayes and therein have evermore ſorrowed: yet looking backe from our preſent being, wee finde both the one and the other, to wit, the joy and the woe, ſayled out of ſight; and death, which doth purſue us and hold us in chace, from our infancy, hath gathered it.* Quicquid ætatis retro eſt, mors tenet: Whatſoever of our age is paſt, death holds it. *So as whoſoever hee bee, to whom Fortune hath beene a ſervant; and the Time a friend: let him but take the accompt of his memory (for wee have no other keeper of our pleaſures paſt) and truly examine what it hath reſerved eyther of beauty and youth, or fore-gone delights; what it hath ſaved, that it might laſt, of his deareſt affections, or of whatever elſe the amorous Spring-time gave his thoughts of contentment, then unvaluable; and hee ſhall finde that all the Art which his elder yeares have, can draw no other vapour out of theſe diſſolutions, than heavie, ſecret, and ſad ſighes. He ſhall finde nothing remaining, but thoſe ſorrowes, which grow up after our faſt-ſpringing youth; overtake it, when it is at a ſtand; and over-topt it utterly, when it beginnes to wither: inſomuch as looking back from the very inſtant time, & from our now being, the poore, diſeaſed, and captive creature, hath as little ſenſe of all his former miſeries and paines, as hee, that is moſt bleſt in common opinion, hath of his fore-paſſed pleaſure and delights. For whatſoever is caſt behinde us, is juſt nothing: and what is to come, deceitfull hope hath it:* Omnia quæ eventura ſunt, in incerto jacent. *Onely thoſe few blacke Swannes I muſt except: who having had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their owne price; doe, by retayning the comfortable memory of a well acted life, behold death without dread, and the grave without feare; and embrace both, as neceſſary guides to endleſſe glory.*

*For my ſelfe, this is my conſolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the ſorrowes of this life are but of two ſorts: whereof the one hath reſpect to GOD; the other, to the World. In the firſt we complaine to GOD againſt our ſelves, for our offences againſt him; and confeſſe,* Et tu juſtus es in omnibus quæ venerunt ſuper nos, And thou O Lord art juſt in all that hath befallen us. *In the ſecond wee complaine to our ſelves againſt GOD: as if hee had done us wrong, either in not giving us worldly goods and honours, anſwering our appetites: or for taking them againe from us having had them; forgetting that humble & juſt acknowledgment of* Job, the Lord hath given, & the Lord hath taken. *To the firſt of which* Saint Paul *hath promiſed bleſſedneſſe; to the ſecond, death. And out of doubt he is either a foole, or ungratefull to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how meane ſoever his eſtate be, that the ſame is yet far greater, than that which God oweth him: or doth not acknowledge, how ſharpe ſoever his afflictions bee, that the ſame are yet far leſſe, than thoſe which are due unto him. And if an Heathen wiſe man cal the adverſities of the world but* tributa vivendi, the tributes of living: *a wiſe Chriſtian man ought to know them, & beare them, but as the tributes of offending. He ought to beare them manlike, & reſolvedly; & not as thoſe whining ſouldiers doe,* qui gementes ſequuntur imperatorem.

*For ſeeing God, who is the Author of all our tragedies, hath written out for us, & appointed us all the parts we are to play: and hath not, in their diſtribution, beene partiall to the moſt mighty Princes of the world; That gave unto* Darius *the part of the greateſt Emperour, and the part of the moſt miſerable beggar,* a beggar begging water of an Enemy, to quench the great drought of death; That appointed Bajazet to play the Grand Signior of the Turks in the morning, & in the ſame day the Footſtoole of Tamerlane (both which parts Valerian had alſo plaid, being taken by Sapores:) that made Belliſarius play the moſt victorious Captaine, & laſtly the part of a blinde beggar; of which examples many thouſands may be produced: why ſhould other men, who are but as the leaſt wormes, complaine of wrongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world, than to reſolve, That the change of fortune on the great Theater, is but as the change of garments on the leſſe. For when on the one and the other, every man weares but his own skin, the Players are all alike. Now if any man out of weakneſs prize the paſſages of this world otherwiſe (for ſaith Petrarch, Magni ingenii eſt revocare mentem a ſenſibus) it is by reaſon of that unhappy fantaſie of ours, which forgeth in the braines of Man all the miſeries (the corporall excepted) whereunto he is ſubject. Therein it is, that Miſfortune and Adverſity work all that they worke. For ſeeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, whatſoever Fortune or Force takes from any one; it were a fooliſh madneſſe in the ſhipwracke of worldly things, where all ſinkes but the Sorrow, to ſave it. That were, as Seneca ſaith, Fortunæ ſuccumbere, quod triſtius eſt omni fato: To fall under Fortune, of all other the moſt miſerable deſtinie.

But it is now time to ſound a retrait; and to deſire to be excuſed of this long purſuit: and withall, that the good intent, which hath moved mee to draw the picture of time paſt (which we call Hiſtory) in ſo large a Table, may alſo bee accepted in place of a better reaſon.

The examples of divine providence, every where found (the firſt divine Hiſtories being nothing elſe but a continuation of ſuch examples) have perſwaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For though theſe two glorious actions of the Almighty be ſo neere, and (as it were) linked together, that the one neceſſarily implyeth the other: Creation inferring Providence (for what father forſaketh the childe that he hath begotten?) and Providence preſuppoſing Creation: Yet many of thoſe that have ſeemed to excell in worldly wiſedome, have gone about to diſ-joyne this coherence; the Epicure denying both Creation and Providence, but granting that the world had a Beginning; the Ariſtotelian granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.

Now although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for by faith we underſtād, that the world was made by the word of God) be too weighty a worke for Ariſtotles rotten ground to beare up, upon which he hath (notwithſtanding) founded the Defences and Fortreſſes of all his Verball Doctrine: Yet that the neceſſity of infinite power, and the worlds beginning, and the impoſſibilitie of the contrary even in the judgement of Naturall reaſon, wherein he beleeved, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be marvelled at. And it is no leſſe ſtrange, that thoſe men which are deſirous of knowledge (ſeeing Ariſtotle hath failed in this maine point; and taught little other than termes in the reſt) have ſo retrencht their mindes from the following and overtaking of truth, and ſo abſolutely ſubjected themſelves to the law of thoſe Philoſophicall principles; as all contrary kinde of teaching, in the ſearch of cauſes, they have condemned either for phantaſticall, or curious. But doth it follow, that the poſitions of Heathen Philoſophers are undoubted grounds and principles *indeed, becauſe ſo called? Or that ipſi dixerunt, doth make them to be ſuch? Certainly no. But this is true, That where natural reaſon hath built any thing ſo ſtrong againſt it ſelfe, as the ſame reaſon can hardly aſſaile it, much leſſe batter it downe: the ſame in every queſtion of Nature, and infinite power, may be approved for a fundamentall law of humane knowledge. For ſaith* Charron *in his booke of wiſdome,* Tout propoſition humaine a autant d' authorite quel' autre, ſi la raiſon n' on fait la difference; Every humane propoſition hath equall authority, if reaſon make not the difference, *the reſt being but the fables of principles. But hereof how ſhall the upright and unpartiall judgement of man give a ſentence, where oppoſition and examination are not admitted to give in evidence? And to this purpoſe it was well ſaid of* Lactantius, Sapientiam ſibi adimunt, qui ſine ullo judicio inventa majorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur: They neglect their owne wiſdome, who without any judgement approve the invention of thoſe that fore-went them; & ſuffer themſelves after the manner of Beaſts, to be led by them. *By the advantage of which ſloth and dulneſſe, ignorance is now become ſo powerfull a Tyrant, as it hath ſet true Philoſophy, Phyſick, and Divinity in a Pillory; and written over the firſt,* Contra negantem Principia; *over the ſecond,* Virtus ſpecifica; *and over the third,* Eccleſia Romana.

Charron de Sageſſe.

Lact. de orig. Erroris. l.2.c.8.

*But for my ſelfe, I ſhall never be perſwaded, that God hath ſhut up all light of Learning within the lanthorne of* Ariſtotles *braines: or that it was ever ſaid unto him, as unto* Eſdras, Accendam in Corde tuo Lucernam intellectus: *that God hath given invention but to the Heathen, and that they onely invaded Nature, and found the ſtrength and bottome thereof; the ſame Nature having conſumed all her ſtore, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That theſe and theſe bee the cauſes of theſe and theſe effects, Time hath taught us; and not reaſon: and ſo hath experience without Art. The Cheeeſe-wife knoweth it as well as the Philoſopher, that ſowre Rennet doth coagulate her milke into a curd. But if wee aske a reaſon of this cauſe, why the ſowreneſſe doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I think that there is nothing to be found in vulgar Philoſophy, to ſatisfie this and many other like vulgar queſtions. But man to cover his ignorance in the leaſt things, who cannot give a true reaſon for the Graſſe under his feet, why it ſhould be greene rather than red, or of any other colour; that could never yet diſcover the way and reaſon of Natures working, in thoſe which are far leſſe noble creatures than himſelfe; who is farre more Noble than the Heavens themſelves:* Man (*ſaith* Solomon) that can hardly diſcerne the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour finde out the things that are before us; *that hath ſo ſhort a time in the world, as he no ſooner begins to learne, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his underſtanding, nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Eſſence of his owne ſoule, and which the wiſeſt of the Naturaliſts (if* Ariſtotle *be he) could never ſo much as define, but by the Action & Effect, telling us what it works (which all men knew as well as he) but not what it is, which neither he, nor any elſe, doth know, but GOD that created it;* ( For though I were perfect, yet I know not my ſoule, *ſaith* Job.) *Man, I ſay, that is but an idiot in the next cauſe of his owne life, and in the cauſe of all actions of his life: will (notwithſtanding) examine the Art of GOD in creating the World; of GOD, who (ſaith* Job) is ſo excellent as we know him not;

Salomon 1.9.

Job 26.

*and examine the beginning of the worke, which had end before Mankinde had a beginning of being. He will diſable Gods power to make a world, without matter to make it of. He will rather give the motes of the Aire for a cauſe; caſt the work on neceſsity or chance; beſtow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the* Matter, *the other of the* Forme; *and laſtly, for want of a worke-man, have it Eternall: which latter opinion* Ariſtotle, *to make himſelfe the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World: and his* Sectatours *have maintained it;* parati ac conjurati, quos ſequuntur, Philoſophorum animis invictis opiniones tueri. *For* Hermes, *who lived at once with, or ſoone after* Moſes, Zoroaſter, Muſæus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Meliſſus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cleanthes, Pythagoras, Plato, *and many others (whoſe opinions are exquiſitely gathered by* Steuchius Eugubinus*) found in the neceſsity of invincible reaſon,* One eternall and infinite Being, *to be the Parent of the univerſall.* Horum omnium ſententia quamvis ſit incerta, eodem tamen ſpectat, ut Providẽtiam unam eſſe conſentiant: ſive enim Natura, ſive Æther, ſive Ratio, ſive mens, ſive fatalis neceſſitas, ſive divina Lex; idem eſt quod à nobis dicitur Deus: All theſe mens opinions (*ſaith Lactantius*) though uncertain, come to this; That they agree upon one Providence; whether the ſame be Nature, or light, or Reaſon, or underſtanding, or deſtinie, or divine ordinance, that it is the ſame which we call *G O D. Certainly, as all the Rivers in the world, though they have divers riſings, and divers runnings; though they ſometimes hide themſelves for a while under ground, and ſeem to be loſt in Sea-like Lakes; doe at laſt find, and fall into the great* Ocean: *ſo after all the ſearches that humane capacity hath; and after all Philoſophicall contemplation and curioſity; in the neceſsity of this infinite power, all the reaſon of man ends and diſſolves it ſelfe.*

Lact.5.

*As for others; and firſt touching thoſe which conceive the* matter *of the World to have beene* eternall, *and that God did not create the World* ex nihilo, *but* ex materia præexiſtẽte: *the Suppoſition is ſo weak, as is hardly worth the anſwering. For (ſaith* Euſebius*)* Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annectere, They ſeeme unto me, which affirme this, to give part of the work to God, & part to Fortune: *inſomuch as if God had not found this* firſt matter *by chance, He had neither beene Author, nor father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Univerſall. For were the* Matter *or* Chaos *eternall: it then followes, That either this ſuppoſed* Matter *did fit it ſelfe to God, or God accommodate himſelfe to the* matter. *For the firſt; it is impoſsible, that things without ſenſe could proportion themſelves to the Work-mans will. For the ſecond; it were horrible to conceive of God, That as an Artificer he applyed himſelfe, according to the proportion of* matter *which he lighted upon.*

Euſeb. de præp. Evang. l.7. c.8.

*But let it be ſuppoſed, That this* matter *hath bin made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wiſe: I would gladly learne how it came to paſſe, that the ſame was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent and infinitely wiſe; and no more, nor no leſſe, than ſerved to receive the form of the Univerſall. For, had it wanted any thing of what was ſufficient; then muſt it be granted, That God created* out of nothing *ſo much of new* matter, *as ſerved to finiſh the worke of the World: Or had there bin more of this matter, than ſufficed, then God did diſſolve & annihilate whatſoever remained and was ſuperfluous. And this muſt every reaſonable*

*ſonable ſoule confeſſe, That it is the ſame worke of God alone, to create any thing* out of nothing, *And by the ſame art and power, and by none other, can thoſe things, or any part of that eternall* matter, *be againe changed into Nothing; by which thoſe things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.*

*Againe, to ſay that this* matter *was the cauſe of it ſelfe; this, of all other, were the greateſt Idiotiſme. For, if it were the cauſe of it ſelfe at any time; then there was alſo a time when it ſelfe was not: at which time of not being, it is eaſie enough to conceive, that it could neither procure it ſelfe; nor any thing elſe. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impoſsible.* Nihil autem ſeipſum præcedit, neq; ſeipſum componit corpus: There is nothing that doth precede it ſelfe, neither doe bodies compound themſelves.

*For the reſt, Thoſe that faine this matter to be eternall, muſt of neceſsity confeſſe, that Infinite cannot bee ſeparate from Eternity. And then had* infinite matter *left no place for* infinite forme, *but that the* firſt matter was finite, *the* forme *which it received proves it. For concluſion of this part, whoſoever will make choice, rather to beleeve in eternall deformity, or in eternall dead matter, than in eternall light and eternall life: let eternall death be his reward. For it is a madneſſe of that kind, as wanteth tearmes to expreſſe it. For what reaſon of man (whom the curſe of preſumption hath not ſtupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of ſhadow,* quia comprehenſio eſt intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant) *hath any thing wanting in it ſelf, either for* matter *or* form; *yea for as many worlds (if ſuch had beene Gods will) as the* Sea *hath ſands? For where the power is without limitation, the work hath no other limitation, than the workmans will. Yea Reaſon it ſelfe finds it more eaſie for infinite power, to deliver from it ſelfe a finite world, without the help of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a foole and duſt, to change the forme of matter made to his hands. They are* Dionyſius *his words,* Deus in una exiſtentia omnia præhabet: *and againe,* Cap.16.v.21. Eſſe omnium eſt ipſa Divinitas, omne quod vides, & quod non vides; *to wit,* cauſaliter, *or in better tearmes,* non tanquam forma, ſed tanquam cauſa univerſalis. *Neither hath the world univerſall cloſed up all of GOD:* For the moſt part of his workes (*ſaith Siracides*) are hid. *Neither can the depth of his wiſedome bee opened, by the glorious worke of the world: which never brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded and made finite. And hereof it comes; That wee ſeldome entitle GOD the* all-ſhewing, *or the* all-willing; *but the* Almighty, *that is, infinitely able.*

*But now for thoſe, who from that ground,* That out of nothing nothing is made, *inferre the Worlds eternity; and yet not ſo ſalvage therein, as thoſe are, which give an eternall being to dead matter: It is true, if the word* (nothing) *be taken in the affirmative; and the* making, *impoſed upon Naturall Agents and finite power; That out of nothing, nothing is made. But ſeeing their great Doctor* Ariſtotle *himſelfe confeſſeth,* quod omnes antiqui decreverunt quaſi quodam rerum principium, ipſumq; infinitum: That all the Ancient decree a kind of beginning, and the ſame to be infinite: *and a little after, more largely and plainly,* Principium ejus eſt nullum, ſed ipſum omnium cernitur eſſe principium, ac omnia complecti ac regere: *it is ſtrange that this Philoſopher, with his followers, ſhould rather make choice out of falſhood, to conclude falſly; than out of truth, to reſolve truly. For if we compare the world Univerſal, & all the* Steuc.Eug.l.5. c.9.ex Ariſt. Phyſ.3.20.

*unmeaſurable Orbes of Heaven, and thoſe marvellous bodies of the* Sun, Moone, *and* Stars, *with* ipſum Infinitum *: it may truly be ſaid of them all, which himſelf affirmes of his imaginary* Materia prima, *That they are neither* quid, quale, *nor* quantum; *and therfore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite* (qui deſtruit omnem proportionẽ) *is no wonder in Gods power. And therfore* Anaximander, Meliſſus, & Empedocles, *call the world univerſall, but* particulam Univerſitatis *and* infinitatis, a parcell of that which is the univerſality and the infinity it ſelf; *&* Plato, *but a* ſhadow of *God. But the other* to prove *the worlds eternity, urgeth this* Maxime, *That,* A ſufficient & effectual cauſe being granted, an anſwerable effect therof is alſo granted. *Inferring that God being for ever a ſufficient & effectual cauſe of the world; the effect of the cauſe ſhould alſo have bin for ever; to wit, the world univerſall. But what a ſtrange mockery is this in ſo great a Maſter, to confeſſe a ſufficient & effectual cauſe of the world, (to wit, an almighty God) in his Antecedent; & the ſame God to be a God reſtrained in his concluſion; to make God free in power, & bound in wil; able to effect, unable to determine; able to make all things, and yet unable to make choice of the time when? For this were impiouſly to reſolve of God, as of naturall neceſsity; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor underſtanding; which cannot but worke matter being preſent: as fire, to burne things combuſtible. Againe he thus diſputeth, That every Agent which can work, and doth not work, if it afterward worke, it is either thereto moved by it ſelfe, or by ſomewhat elſe: and ſo it paſſeth from power to Act: But God (ſaith he) is immoveable, and is neither moved by himſelfe, nor by any other: but being alwayes the ſame, doth alwayes worke. Whence he concludeth, If the world were cauſed by God, that he was for ever the cauſe thereof: and therefore eternall. The anſwer to this is very eaſie, For that Gods performing in due time that, which he ever determined at length to performe, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather conſtancy in him. For the ſame action of his will, which made the world for ever, did alſo with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this anſwer, in it ſelfe ſufficient, others add further, that the Patterne or Image of the World may be ſaid to be eternall: which the* Platonicks *call,* ſpiritualem mundum; *and doe in this ſort diſtinguiſh the* Idæa *and* Creation in time. Spiritualis ille mundus, mundi hujus exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vita æquali eſt Architecto, fuit ſemper cum illo, eritque ſemper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod ſecundum opus eſt Dei, decedit jam ab opifice ex parte una, quia non fuit ſemper: retinet alteram, quia ſit ſemper futurus: That repreſentative, or the intentionall world (*ſay they*) the ſampler of this viſible world, the firſt worke of *GOD*, was equally ancient with the Architect; for it was for ever with him, and ever ſhall bee. This materiall world, the ſecond worke or creature of *GOD*, doth differ from the worker in this, That it was not from everlaſting, and in this it doth agree, that it ſhall be for ever to come. *The firſt point, That it was not for ever, all Chriſtians confeſſe: The other they underſtand no otherwiſe, than that after the conſũmation of this world, there ſhalbe* a new Heaven and a new Earth, without any new creation of matter. *But of theſe things we need not here ſtand to argue: though ſuch opinions be not unworthy the propounding, in this conſideration, of an eternall and unchangeable cauſe, producing a changeable and temporall effect. Touching which point* Proclus *the* Platoniſt *diſputeth,*

*Mar. Ficin. de immort. Animæ l. 18. c. 1.*

*That the compounded eſſence of the World (and becauſe compounded, therefore diſſipable) is continued, & knit to the Divine Being, by an individual & inſeparable power, flowing from Divine unity; & that the Worlds naturall appetite of God ſheweth, that the ſame proceedeth from a good and underſtanding divine; and that this vertue, by which the World is continued & knit together, muſt be infinite, that it may infinitely and everlaſtingly continue and preſerve the ſame. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (ſaith he) is not capable of, but receiveth it from the divine infinite, according to the temporall Nature it hath, ſucceſſively every moment by little and little; even as the whole Materiall World is not altogether: but the aboliſhed parts are departed by ſmall degrees, and the parts yet to come, doe by the ſame ſmall degrees ſucceed; as the ſhadow of a tree in a River, ſeemeth to have continued the ſame a long time in the water, but it is perpetually renewed, in the continuall ebbing and flowing thereof.*

*But to returne to them, which denying that ever the World had any beginning, withall deny that ever it ſhall have any end, and to this purpoſe affirm, That it was never heard, never read, never ſeene, no not by any reaſon perceived, that the Heavens have ever ſuffered corruption; or that they appeare any way the older by continuance; or in any ſort otherwiſe than they were; which had they been ſubject to finall corruption, ſome change would have been diſcerned in ſo long a time. To this it is anſwered, That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather prove their newneſſe, and that they have not continued ſo long; than that they wil continue for ever as they are. And if conjecturall arguments may receive anſwer by conjectures: it then ſeemeth that ſome alteration may bee found. For either* Ariſtotle, Plinie, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas, *and others, were groſſely miſtaken: or elſe thoſe parts of the world, lying within the burnt* Zone, *were not in elder times habitable, by reaſon of the Suns heate, neither were the* Seas, *under the Equinoctial, navigable. But wee know by experience, that thoſe Regions, ſo ſituate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the* Sea, *over which we Navigate, paſſable enough. We reade alſo many Hiſtories of deluges; and how that in the time of* Phaeton, *divers places in the World were burnt up, by the Suns violent heate.*

*Ariſt.Met.2.*
*Plin.l.2.c.8.*
*Strab.l.3.*
*Beda de ratione tem.11.c.32.*
*Thom.p.1.q. 102.art.2.*

*But in a Word, this obſervation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certain, That ſtone-wals, of matter moldring and friable, have ſtood two, or three thouſand yeares: that many things have beene digged up out of the earth, of that depth, as ſuppoſed to have beene buried by the generall floud; without any alteration either of ſubſtance or figure; yea it is beleeved, and it is very probable, that the gold which is daily found in Mynes, and Rockes, under ground, was created together with the Earth.*

*And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldeſt times have not invaded and corrupted: what great alteration ſhould we looke for in Cœleſtiall and quinteſſentiall bodies? And yet we have reaſon to thinke, that the Sunne, by whoſe help all Creatures are generate, doth not in theſe latter Ages aſſiſt* Nature, *as heretofore. We have neither Giants, ſuch as the eldeſt world had: nor mighty men, ſuch as the elder world had; but all things in generall are reputed of leſſe vertue which from the Heavens receive vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger diſcourſe, we might eaſily fetch ſtore of proofe; as that this world ſhall at length have end, as that once it had beginning.*

*And I ſee no good anſwer that can bee made to this objection: if the World* *were eternall; why not all things in the World Eternall? If there were no* firſt, *no* cauſe, *no* Father, *no* Creator, *no* incomprehenſible wiſedome, *but that every* Nature *had beene alike eternall; and Man more rationall than every other* Nature: *Why had not the eternall reaſon of Man, provided for his eternall being in the World? For if all were equall, why not equall conditions to all? why ſhould heavenly bodies live for ever; and the bodies of Men rot and dye?*

*Againe, who was it that appointed the Earth to keepe the center, and gave Order that it ſhould hang in the Aire: that the* Sunne *ſhould travaile betweene the Tropicks, and never exceed thoſe bounds, nor faile to performe that Progreſſe once in every yeare: the* Moon *to live by borrowed light: the fixed Stars (according to common opinion) to bee faſtned like Nailes in a Cart-wheele; and the Planets to wander at their pleaſure? Or if none of theſe had power over other: was it out of Charity and Love, that the* Sunne *by his perpetuall travaile within thoſe two Circles, hath viſited, given light unto, and relieved all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turnes and times? Out of doubt, if the* Sunne *have of his owne accord kept this courſe in all eternity: He may juſtly be called eternall Charity, and everlaſting Love. The ſame may be ſaid of all the Stars: who being all of them moſt large and cleare fountaines of vertue and operation, may alſo bee called eternall vertues: the Earth may be called eternall patience; the Moone, an eternall borrower and beggar; and Man of all other the moſt miſerable, eternally mortall. And what were this, but to beleeve againe in the old Play of the gods? Yea in more gods by Millions, than ever* Heſiodus *dream'd of. But inſtead of this mad folly, we ſee it well enough with our feeble and mortall eyes: and the eyes of our reaſon diſcerne it better; That the Sun, Moon, Stars, and the Earth, are limited, bounded, and conſtrained: themſelves they have not conſtrained, nor could.* Omne determinatum cauſam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinaverit: Every thing bounded hath ſome efficient cauſe, by which it is bounded.

*Now for* Nature; *As by the ambiguity of this name, the ſchoole of* Ariſtotle *hath both commended many errours unto us, and ſought alſo thereby to obſcure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, ſhining in the Creation, and in the governing of the World: ſo if the beſt definition be taken out of the ſecond of* Ariſtotles Phyſicks, *or* primo de Cœlo, *or out of the fift of his* Metaphyſicks; *I ſay that the beſt is but nominall, and ſerving onely to difference the beginning of Naturall motion from Artificiall: which yet the* Academicks *open better, when they call it* A Seminary ſtrength, infuſed into matter by the Soule of the World: *who give the firſt place to* Providence, *the ſecond to* Fate, *and but the third to* Nature. Providentia *(by which they underſtand GOD)* dux & caput; Fatum, medium ex providentia prodiens; Natura poſtremum. *But be it what he will, or be it any of theſe (God excepted) or participating of all: yet that it hath choice or underſtanding (both which are neceſſarily in the cauſe of all things) no man hath avowed. For this is unanſwerable of* Lactantius, Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut ſcientiam: He onely can be ſaid to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.

Ficin. in Plat. *But the will and ſcience of Nature, are in theſe words truly expreſt by* Ficinus: Poteſt ubiq; Natura, vel per diverſa media, vel ex diverſis materiis, diverſa facere: ſublata vero mediorũ materiarumq; diverſitate, vel unicũ, vel ſimilimum operatur, neque poteſt quando adeſt materia non operari; It is the power of Nature by diverſity of meanes, or out of diverſity of matter, to produce divers things: but taking away the diverſity of meanes, and the diverſity of matter, it then workes but one or the like worke; neither can it but worke, matter being preſent. *Now if* Nature *made choice of diverſity of matter, to worke all theſe variable workes of Heaven and Earth, it had then both underſtanding and will; it had counſell to beginne; reaſon to diſpoſe; vertue and knowledge to finiſh, and power to governe: without which all things had been but one and the ſame: all of the matter of Heaven; or all of the matter of Earth. And if wee grant* Nature *this will, and this underſtanding, this counſell, reaſon, and power:* Cur Natura potius quam Deus nominetur? *Why ſhould we then call ſuch a cauſe rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men have notion, and give the firſt and higheſt place to Divine power:* Omnes homines notionem deorum habent, omneſq; ſummum locum divino cuidam numini aſſignant. *And this I ſay in ſhort; that it is a true effect of true reaſon in man (were there no authority more binding than reaſon) to acknowledge and adore the firſt and moſt ſublime power.* Vera Philoſophia, eſt aſcenſus ab his quæ fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere ſunt, & ſemper eadem: True Philoſophy, is an aſcending from the things which flow, and ariſe, and fall, to the things that are for ever the ſame.

*Lact. de ira Dei. l.1.c.10.*

*Ariſt. l.1. de Cœlo. c.3. T. 22.*

*For the reſt; I doe alſo account it not the meaneſt, but an impiety monſtrous, to confound God and Nature: be it but in tearmes. For it is God, that only diſpoſeth of all things according to his own will, & maketh of one Earth,* Veſſels of honour & diſhonor. *It is Nature that can diſpoſe of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherin it worketh. It is God that cõmandeth al: It is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God that doth good unto all, knowing and loving the good he doth: It is Nature, that ſecondarily doth alſo good, but it neither knoweth nor loveth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himſelfe: Nature, nothing in it ſelf. It is God, which is the Father, and hath begotten all things: It is Nature, which is begotten by all things, in which it liveth and laboureth; for by it ſelfe it exiſteth not. For ſhall we ſay, that it is out of affection to the Earth, that heavie things fall towards it? Shal we call it Reaſon, which doth conduct every River into the ſalt Sea? Shall we tearme it knowledge in fire, that makes it to conſume combuſtible matter? If it be Affection, Reaſon, and Knowledg in theſe: by the ſame Affection, Reaſon, and Knowledge it is, that Nature worketh. And therefore ſeeing all things worke as they doe, (call it by* Forme, *or* Nature, *or by what you pleaſe) yet becauſe they worke by an impulſion, which they cannot reſiſt; or by a faculty, infuſed by the ſupremeſt power: we are neither to wonder at, nor to worſhip, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder: and to him is the worſhip due, who hath created ſuch a Nature in things, & ſuch a faculty, as neither knowing it ſelfe, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it hath; doe yet worke all things to their laſt and uttermoſt perfection. And therefore every reaſonable man, taking to himſelfe for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquitie, and by all men truly learned that ever the world had; to wit; That there is a power infinite, and eternall (which alſo neceſſity doth prove unto us, without the helpe of Faith, and Reaſon, without the force of Authority) all things do as eaſily follow which have bin delivered by divine letters, as the* *were eternall; why not all things in the World Eternall? If there were no* firſt, *no* cauſe, *no* Father, *no* Creator, *no* incomprehenſible wiſedome, *but that every* Nature *had beene alike eternall; and Man more rationall than every other* Nature: *Why had not the eternall reaſon of Man, provided for his eternall being in the World? For if all were equall, why not equall conditions to all? why ſhould heavenly bodies live for ever; and the bodies of Men rot and dye?*

*Againe, who was it that appointed the Earth to keepe the center, and gave Order that it ſhould hang in the Aire: that the* Sunne *ſhould travaile betweene the Tropicks, and never exceed thoſe bounds, nor faile to performe that Progreſſe once in every yeare: the* Moon *to live by borrowed light: the fixed Stars (according to common opinion) to bee faſtned like Nailes in a Cart-wheele; and the Planets to wander at their pleaſure? Or if none of theſe had power over other: was it out of Charity and* Love, *that the* Sunne *by his perpetuall travaile within thoſe two Circles, hath viſited, given light unto, and relieved all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turnes and times? Out of doubt, if the* Sunne *have of his owne accord kept this courſe in all eternity: He may juſtly be called eternall Charity, and everlaſting Love. The ſame may be ſaid of all the Stars: who being all of them moſt large and cleare fountaines of vertue and operation, may alſo bee called eternall vertues: the Earth may be called eternall patience; the Moone, an eternall borrower and beggar; and Man of all other the moſt miſerable, eternally mortall. And what were this, but to beleeve againe in the old Play of the gods? Yea in more gods by Millions, than ever* Heſiodus *dream'd of. But inſtead of this mad folly, we ſee it well enough with our feeble and mortall eyes: and the eyes of our reaſon diſcerne it better; That the Sun, Moon, Stars, and the Earth, are limited, bounded, and conſtrained: themſelves they have not conſtrained, nor could.* Omne determinatum cauſam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinaverit: Every thing bounded hath ſome efficient cauſe, by which it is bounded.

*Now for* Nature; *As by the ambiguity of this name, the ſchoole of* Ariſtotle *hath both commended many errours unto us, and ſought alſo thereby to obſcure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, ſhining in the Creation, and in the governing of the World: ſo if the beſt definition be taken out of the ſecond of* Ariſtotles Phyſicks, *or* primo de Cœlo, *or out of the fift of his* Metaphyſicks; *I ſay that the beſt is but nominall, and ſerving onely to difference the beginning of Naturall motion from Artificiall: which yet the* Academicks *open better, when they call it* A Seminary ſtrength, infuſed into matter by the Soule of the World: *who give the firſt place to* Providence, *the ſecond to* Fate, *and but the third to* Nature. Providentia (*by which they underſtand GOD*) dux & caput; Fatum, medium ex providentia prodiens; Natura poſtremum. *But be it what he will, or be it any of theſe (God excepted) or participating of all: yet that it hath choice or underſtanding (both which are neceſſarily in the cauſe of all things) no man hath avowed. For this is unanſwerable of* Lactantius, Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut ſcientiam: He only can be ſaid to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.

Ficin. in Plat.

*But the will and ſcience of Nature, are in theſe words truly expreſt by* Ficinus: Poteſt ubiq; Natura, vel per diverſa media, vel ex diverſis materiis, diverſa facere: ſublata vero mediorũ materiarumq; diverſitate, vel unicũ, vel ſimilimum

limum operatur, neque poteſt quando adeſt materia non operari; It is the power of Nature by diverſity of meanes, or out of diverſity of matter, to produce divers things: but taking away the diverſity of meanes, and the diverſity of matter, it then workes but one or the like worke; neither can it but worke, matter being preſent. *Now if* Nature *made choice of diverſity of matter, to worke all theſe variable workes of Heaven and Earth, it had then both underſtanding and will; it had counſell to beginne; reaſon to diſpoſe; vertue and knowledge to finiſh, and power to governe: without which all things had been but one and the ſame: all of the matter of Heaven; or all of the matter of Earth. And if wee grant* Nature *this will, and this underſtanding, this counſell, reaſon, and power:* Cur Natura potius quam Deus nominetur? *Why ſhould we then call ſuch a cauſe rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men have notion, and give the firſt and higheſt place to Divine power:* Omnes homines notionem deorum habent, omneſq; ſummum locum divino cuidam numini aſsignant. *And this I ſay in ſhort; that it is a true effect of true reaſon in man (were there no authority more binding than reaſon) to acknowledge and adore the firſt and moſt ſublime power.* Vera Philoſophia, eſt aſcenſus ab his quæ fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere ſunt, & ſemper eadem: True Philoſophy, is an aſcending from the things which flow, and ariſe, and fall, to the things that are for ever the ſame.

*Lact. de ira Dei. l.1.c.10.*

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Lact. l. 4. c 4. de vera ſapientia.

Iſaac de defin.

*This much I ſay it is, that Reaſon it ſelfe hath taught us: and this is the beginning of knowledge.* Sapientia præcedit, Religio ſequitur: quia prius eſt Deum ſcire, conſequens colere; *Sapience goes before, Religion followes: becauſe it is firſt to know God, and then to worſhip him. This Sapience* Plato *calleth* abſoluti boni ſcientiam, *The ſcience of the abſolute good: and another* ſcientiam rerum primarum, ſempiternarum, perpetuarum. *For Faith (ſaith* Iſidore*) is not extorted by violence; but by reaſon and examples perſwaded:* fides nequaquam vi extorquetur, ſed ratione & exemplis ſuadetur. *I confeſſe it, That to enquire further, as of the eſſence of God, of his power, of his Art, & by what meane He created the world: Or of his ſecret judgement, & the cauſes, is not an affect of Reaſon.* Sed cum ratione inſaniunt, *but they grow mad with reaſon, that inquire after it: For as it is no ſhame nor diſhonour (ſaith a French Author)* de faire arreſt au but qu'on naſceu ſurpaſſer, *For a man to reſt himſelf there, where he finds it impoſsible to paſſe on further: ſo whatſoever is beyond, and out of the reach of true reaſon, it acknowledgeth it to be ſo; as underſtanding it ſelf not to be infinite, but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that beſt knowes the end of his own Art. For ſeeing both Reaſon & Neceſsity teach us (Reaſon, which is* pars divini ſpiritus in corpus humanum merſi) *that the world was made by a power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teath us: and ſeeing the ſame Reaſon and Neceſsito make us know, that the ſame infinite power is every where in the world; and yet how every where; it cannot informe us: our beliefe hereof is not weakned, but greatly ſtrengthened, by our ignorance, becauſe it is the ſame Reaſon that tels us, That ſuch a Nature cannot be ſaid to be God, that can be in all conceived by man.*

Quod eſt infinitum & non ſecundum naturam terminatum non continetur à ſcientia. Ariſt. poſter.

*I have been already over-long, to make any large diſcourſe either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine owne excuſe: eſpecially in the excuſe of this or that paſſage; ſeeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the groſſeſt, the unſutable diviſion of the bookes, I could not know how to excuſe, had I not beene directed to enlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the firſt part finiſhed. All men know that there is no great Art in the dividing evenly of thoſe things, which are ſubject to number and meaſure. For the reſt, it ſutes well enough with a great many Bookes of this Age, which ſpeake too much, and yet ſay little;* Ipſi nobis furto ſubducimur; *We are ſtollen away from our ſelves, ſetting a high price on all that is our owne. But hereof, though a late good Writer make complaint, yet ſhall it not lay hold on mee, becauſe I beleeve as hee doth; That who ſo thinkes himſelfe the wiſeſt man, is but a poore and miſerable ignorant. Thoſe that are the beſt men of war, againſt all the vanities and fooleries of the World, do alwayes keepe the ſtrongeſt guards againſt themſelves, to defend them from themſelves; from ſelfe love, ſelfe eſtimation, and ſelfe opinion.*

*Generally concerning the order of the Worke, I have onely taken counſell from the Argument. For of the* Aſſyrians, *which after the downe-fall of* Babel *take up the firſt part, and were the firſt great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of poſterity: ſome few enterpriſes, greater in fame than faith, of* Ninus *and* Semiramis, *excepted.*

*It was the ſtory of the* Hebrewes, *of all before the* Olympiads, *that overcame the conſuming diſeaſe of time, and preſerved it ſelfe, from the very cradle and be-*

ginning to this day: and yet not ſo entire, but that the large diſcourſes thereof (to which in many Scriptures we are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the actions of thoſe Kings and Princes which ſhot up here and there in the ſame time, I am driven to relate by way of digreſsion: of which wee may ſay with Virgil:

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vaſto;
They appeare here and there floting in the great gulfe of time.

To the ſame firſt Ages doe belong the report of many Inventions therein found, and from them derived to us; though moſt of the Authors Names have periſhed in ſo long a Navigation. For thoſe Ages had their Lawes; they had diverſity of Government; they had Kingly rule; Nobility; Policy in war; Navigation, and all, or the moſt of needfull Trades. To ſpeak therfore of theſe (ſeeing in a generall Hiſtory we ſhould have left a great deale of Nakedneſſe, by their omiſsion) it cannot properly be called a digreſsion. True it is, that I have made alſo many others: which if they ſhall be laid to my charge, I muſt caſt the fault into the great heape of humane error. For ſeeing we digreſſe in all the waies of our lives: yea, ſeeing the life of man is nothing elſe but digreſsion; I may the better be excuſed, in writing their lives & actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Lawes of Hiſtory, and of the Kindes.

The ſame hath been taught by many, but by no man better, and with greater brevity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman Sir Francis Bacon. Chriſtian Lawes are alſo taught us by the Prophets and Apoſtles; and every day preacht unto us. But we ſtill make large digreſsions: yea, the Teachers themſelves doe not (in all) keepe the path which they point out to others.

For the reſt, after ſuch time as the Perſians had wreſted the Empire from the Chaldæans, and had raiſed a great Monarchy, producing Actions of more importance than were elſewhere to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire, whilſt it ſo flouriſhed, that the affaires of the nations adjoyning had reference thereunto. The like obſervance was to be uſed towards the fortunes of Greece, when they againe began to get ground upon the Perſians; as alſo towards the affairs of Rome, when the Romans grew more mighty thã the Greeks.

As for the Medes, the Macedonians, the Sicilians, the Carthaginians, and other Nations who reſiſted the beginnings of the former Empires, and afterwards became but parts of their compoſition and enlargement: it ſeemed beſt to remember what was knowne of them from their ſeverall beginnings, in ſuch times and places as they in their flouriſhing eſtates oppoſed thoſe Monarchies, which in the end ſwallowed them up. And herein I have followed the beſt Geographers: who ſeldome give names to thoſe ſmall brookes, whereof many, joyned together, make great Rivers, till ſuch time as they become united, and run in maine ſtreame to the Ocean Sea. If the Phraſe be weak, & the Stile not every-where like it ſelf; the firſt ſhews their legitimation and true Parent; the ſecond will excuſe it ſelf upon the Variety of Matter. For Virgil, who wrote his Eclogues, gracili avena, uſed ſtronger pipes, when he ſounded the wars of Æneas. It may alſo be laid to my charge, that I uſe divers Hebrew words in my firſt booke, and elſewhere: in which language others may thinke, and I my ſelfe acknowledge it, that I am altogether ignorant: but it is true, that ſome of them I find in Montanus, others in latin Caracter in S. Senenſis, and of the reſt I have borrowed the interpretation of ſome of my friends. But ſay I had bin beholding to neither, yet were it not to be wondred at, having had an eleven yeares leaſure, to attaine the knowledge of that, or of any other tongue; Howſoever, I know that it will be ſaid by many, That I might have been more pleaſing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine owne times, having been permitted to draw water as neare the Well-head as another. To this I anſwer, that whoſoever in writing a moderne Hiſtory, ſhall follow truth too neare the heeles, it may haply ſtrike out his teeth. There is no Miſtreſſe or Guide, that hath led her followers and ſervants into greater miſeries. He that goes after her too far off, loſeth her ſight, and loſeth himſelf: and he that walkes after her at a middle diſtance; I know not whether I ſhould call that kinde of courſe, Temper, or Baſeneſſe. It is true, that I never travelled after mens opinions, when I might have made the beſt uſe of them: and I have now too few dayes remaining, to imitate thoſe, that either out of extreme ambition, or extreme cowardiſe, or both, doe yet (when death hath them on his ſhoulders) flatter the world, between the bed and the grave. It is enough for me (being in that ſtate I am) to write of the eldeſt times: wherein alſo why may it not be ſaid, that in ſpeaking of the paſt, I point at the preſent, and taxe the vices of thoſe that are yet living, in their perſons that are long ſince dead; and have it laid to my charge? But this I cannot helpe, though innocent. And certainly if there be any, that finding themſelves ſpotted like the Tigers of old time, ſhal find fault with mee for painting them over anew, they ſhall therein accuſe themſelves juſtly, and me falſly.

For I proteſt before the Majeſty of God, That I malice no man under the Sunne. Impoſsible I know it is to pleaſe all: ſeeing few or none are ſo pleaſed with themſelves, or ſo aſſured of themſelves, by reaſon of their ſubjection to their private paſsions, but that they ſeem divers perſons in one & the ſame day. Seneca hath ſaid it, and ſo do I: Unus mihi pro populo erat: and to the ſame effect Epicurus, Hoc ego non multis ſed tibi; or (as it hath ſince lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the reſolution of an ancient Philoſopher, Satis eſt unus, Satis eſt nullus. For it was for the ſervice of that ineſtimable Prince Henry, the ſucceſsive hope, and one of the greateſt of the Chriſtian World, that I undertooke this Worke. It pleaſed him to peruſe ſome part thereof, and to pardon what was amiſſe. It is now left to the World without a Maſter: from which all that is preſented, hath received both blows and thanks: Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus eſt omnis judicii, in quo lis ſecundum plures datur. But theſe diſcourſes are idle. I know that as the charitable will judge charitably: ſo againſt thoſe, qui gloriantur in malitia, my preſent adverſity hath diſarmed me. I am on the ground already, & therefore have not far to fall: and for riſing againe, as in the Naturall privation there is no receſsion to habit; ſo it is ſeldome ſeene in the privation politique. I do therefore forbeare to ſtile my Readers Gentle, Courteous, and Friendly, therby to beg their good opinions, or to promiſe a ſecond and third volume (which I alſo intend) if the firſt receive grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough, and too much: and it is certaine, let us claw the Reader with never ſo many courteous phraſes, yet ſhall we evermore be thought fooles, that write fooliſhly. For concluſion, all the hope I have lies in this, That I have already found more ungentle and uncourteous Readers of my Love towards them, and well-deſerving of them, than ever I ſhall doe againe. For had it been otherwiſe, I ſhould hardly have had this leiſure, to have made my ſelfe a foole in print.

# *THE*
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CHAP.

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†. III.

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§. IX.
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§. X. The

§. X.

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## *The Warres of the* Romans *with* Antiochus *the Great, and his Adherents.*

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*What kings of the races of* Seleucus *and* Ptolomie, *reigned in* Aſia *&* Egypt *before* Antiochus *the Great.*

§. II.

*The beginning of the great* Antiochus *his reigne. Of* Ptolomie Evergetes *and* Philopator, *Kings of* Egypt. *Warre betweene* Antiochus *and* Philopator, *&c.*

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§. V.

*Of the long warres which the Romans had with the Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of* M. Porcius Cato. *Injuries done by* Maſaniſſa *to the Carthaginians; that ſue unto the Romans for juſtice in vaine.*

§. VI.

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§. VII.

Antiochus *perſwaded by* Thoas *the Ætolian, comes over into Greece, ill attended. Sundry paſſages between him, the Ætolians, Chalcidians, and others. He wins Chalcis, and therby the whole Ile of Eubœa. The vanity of the Kings Embaſſadours, & the Ætolians: with the civill anſwer of* Titus *to their diſcourſe, before the Achæans. That it concerned the Greeks to have deſired peace, betwene the Romans and* Antiochus: *as the beſt aſſurance of their owne liberty, &c.*

§. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, *having with him* Publius *the African his elder brother, for his Lievtenant, is ſent into Greece. He grants long truce to the Ætolians, that ſo hee might at leiſure paſſe into Aſia. Much troubleſome buſineſſe by Sea, and divers fights. An invaſion upon* Eumenes *his kingdome: with the ſiege of* Pergamus, *rayſed by an handfull of the Achæans.* L. Scipio *the Conſull comes into* Aſia, *where* Antiochus *moſt earneſtly deſires peace and is denied it. The battell of Magneſia: wherein* Antiochus *being vanquiſhed, yeeldeth to the Romans good pleaſure. The conditions of the peace. In what ſort the Romans uſed their victory.* L. Cornelius Scipio, *after a moſt ſumptuous Triumph over* Antiochus, *is ſurnamed* The Aſiatique, *as his brother was ſtiled* The African.

§. IX.

*The* Ætolians *and the* Gallo-Greekes, *vanquiſhed by the* Roman *Conſuls* Fulvius *and* Manlius, *&c.*

## CHAP. VI.

## *The ſecond Macedon Warre.*

### §. I.

T*He condition wherein thoſe Princes and Eſtates remained, which were aſſociates of the* Romans, *when the warre with* Antiochus *was finiſhed. The* Romans *quarrell with* Philip, *&c.*

### §. II.

*The death of* Philopœmen, Hannibal, *and* Scipio, *&c.*

### §. III.

Philip *making proviſion for warre againſt the* Romans, *deales hardly with many of his owne ſubjects. His Negotiation with the* Baſtarnæ. *His crueltie. He ſuſpected his ſon* Demetrius. Demetrius *accuſed by his Brother* Perſeus: *and ſhortly after ſlain by his fathers appointment, &c.*

### §. IIII.

*How the* Baſtarnæ *fell upon* Dardania. *The behaviour of* Perſeus *in the beginning of his reigne. Some wars of the* Romans: *and how they ſuffered* Maſaniſſa *cruelly to oppreſſe the* Carthaginians. *The quarrell with* Perſeus, *&c.*

### §. V.

*How* Eumenes *King of* Pergamus *was buſied with* Pharnaces, *the* Rhodians, *and others. His hatred to the* Macedonian: *whom he accuſeth to the* Roman *Senate, &c.*

### §. VI.

*The* Romans *ſolicite the* Greekes *to joyne with them in the war againſt* Perſeus. *How the* Greekes *ſtood affected in that warre. The timorouſneſſe of* Perſeus. Martius *a* Roman *Embaſſadour deludes him with the hope of peace. His forces. He takes the field, and wins part of* Theſſaly. *The forces of* Licinius *the* Roman *Conſul: and what aſſiſtants the* Romans *had in this warre, &c.*

### §. VII.

Q. Martius *the* Roman *Conſul, with extreme difficulty and danger, enters into* Tempe. *The cowardize of* Perſeus *in abandoning* Tempe. *The Towne of* Dium *quitted by* Martius, *repaired and fortified by the King. The* Romans *attempt many places, with ill ſucceſſe.* Martius *a cunning and a bad man.*

### §. VIII.

*Of* L. Æmylius Paulus, *the Conſul. His journey Hee forceth* Perſeus *to diſcampe. Hee will not hazzard battaile with any diſadvantage. Of an Eclipſe of the Moone.* Æmylius *his ſuperſtition. The battel of* Pydna. Perſeus *his flight. He forſakes his Kingdome; which haſtily yeelds to* Æmylius. Perſeus *at* Samothrace. *He yeelds himſelfe to the* Roman *Admirall: and is ſent priſoner to* Æmylius.

### §. IX.

Gentius *King of the* Illyrians, *taken by the* Romans.

### §. X.

*How the* Romans *behaved themſelves in* Greece *and* Macedon, *after their victorie over* Perſeus.

### §. XI.

*The warre of* Antiochus *upon* Egypt *brought to end by the* Roman *Embaſſadors.*

### §. XII.

*How the* Romans *were dreadfull unto all Kings. Their demeanour towards* Eumenes, Pruſias, Maſaniſſa, *and* Cotys. *The end of* Perſeus *and his children. The inſtabilitie of Kingly Eſtates. The triumphes of* Paulus, Anicius, *and* Octavius: *With the Concluſion of the Worke.*

FINIS.

# THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE BEGINNING, AND
firſt Ages of the ſame, from the Creation,
unto ABRAHAM.

## THE FIRST BOOKE.

## CHAP. I.

### Of the Creation, and Preſervation of the World.

### §. I.
### That the inviſible God is ſeene in his Creatures.

GOD, whom the wiſeſt men acknowledge to bee a Power uneffable, and Vertue infinite, a Light by abundant claritie inviſible; and Underſtanding which it ſelfe can onely comprehend, an Eſſence eternall and ſpirituall, of abſolute pureneſſe and ſimplicity; was, and is pleaſed to make himſelfe knowne by the worke of the World: in the wonderfull magnitude whereof, (all which He imbraceth, filleth and ſuſtaineth) we behold the Image of that glory, which cannot be meaſured, and withall that one, and yet univerſall Nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious Lights of Heaven, we perceive a ſhadow of his divine Countenance; in his mercifull proviſion for all that live, his manifold goodneſſe: and laſtly, in creating and making exiſtent the World univerſall, by the abſolute Art of his owne Word, his Power and Almightineſſe; which Power, Light, Vertue, Wiſdome, and Goodneſſe, being all but attributes of one ſimple Eſſence, and one God, we in all admire, and in part diſcerne *per ſpeculum creaturarum*, that is, in the diſpoſition, order, and variety of Celeſtiall and Terreſtriall bodies: Terreſtriall, in their ſtrange and manifold diverſities; Celeſtiall, in their beauty and magnitude; which in their continuall and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By theſe potent effects, we approch to the knowledge of the Omnipotent cauſe, and by theſe motions, their Almighty Mover.

In theſe more than wonderfull workes, God (ſaith * *Hugo*) ſpeaketh unto man, and it is true, that theſe be thoſe diſcourſes of God, whoſe effects, all that live, witneſſe in themſelves; the ſenſible, in their ſenſible natures; the reaſonable, in their reaſonable ſoules: for according to S. * GREGORY, *Omnis homo eo ipſo quòd rationalis conditus eſt, ex ipſa ratione, illum qui ſe condidit, Deum eſſe colligere debet*; Every man, in that he is reaſonable, out of the ſame reaſon may know, that he which made him, is God. This God all men behold (ſaith *Job:*) which is according to the *Fathers*, *Dominationem illius conſpicere in Creaturis*, *To diſcerne him in his providence by his Creatures*. That God hath beene otherwiſe ſeene, to wit, with corporall eyes, exceedeth the ſmall proportion of my underſtan-

* Hugo *ſuper Eccleſ. Homil. 8.*

* *Greg. in Mor.*

*Herm. ad fil. Tat l. 5. Unus verò ingenitus, & non apparens & immanifeſtus, omnia autem manifeſtans, per omnia apparet, & in omnibus. Apparentia ſolùm generatorum eſt, nihil apparitio quàm generatio.*

Joh.5.3. 1.Tim.6.16. Origen.l.2.περὶ ἀρχῶν,c.22. Cyril.& Chryſ. in Joh hom.14. Greg.Naz.l.2. Theolog Hier.in Eſaiam.Aug l.2. de Trin.c.12. & 13.Greg.Mag. l.18.Mor.Evar. epiſt.1.Decret. Alcuin l 2.de Trin.c.16.D.Areop.cap 4.Cæl. Hierar.Thom p. 2.q.12.art 11. & alibi.*Deus, qui natura inviſibilis eſt,ut à viſibilibus poſſet ſciri,opus fecit,quod Opificem ſui viſibiliter manifeſtaret,ut per certum incertum ſciretur,& ille Deus omnium eſſe crederetur,* Amb.in epiſt. ad Rom c.1. Cuſan.de gen. dialog. Rom.1.20.

ding, grounded on theſe places of S. *John* and S. *Paul*, *Yee have not heard his voice at any time, neither have ye ſeene his ſhape*. And againe, *Whom never man ſaw, nor can ſee*.

And this, I am ſure, agreeth with the nature of Gods ſimplicity, of which S. *Auguſtine*, *Ipſa enim natura, vel ſubſtantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandum eſt, id ipſum quod Deus eſt, corporaliter videri non poteſt*; That nature, or that ſubſtance, or by whatſoever name that is to be called which is God, whatſoever that be, the ſame cannot be corporally perceived. And of this opinion were *Origen, Cyril, Chryſoſtome, Gregory Nazianzenus, Hierome, Auguſtine, Gregory* the great, *Evariſtus, Alcuinus, Dionyſius Areopagita, Aquinas*, and all others of authoritie. But by his owne Word, and by this viſible World, is God perceived of men; which is alſo the underſtood language of the Almighty, vouchſafed to all his Creatures, whoſe Hieroglyphicall Characters, are the unnumbred Starres, the Sunne and Moone, written on theſe large Volumes of the Firmament: written alſo on the Earth and the Seas, by the letters of all thoſe living Creatures, and Plants, which inhabite and reſide therein. Therefore ſaid that learned CUSANUS, *Mundus univerſus nihil aliud eſt, quàm Deus explicatus*; The World univerſall, is nothing elſe but God expreſt. And the inviſible things of God (ſaith S. *Paul*) are ſeene by creation of the World, being conſidered in his Creatures. Of all which, there was no other cauſe preceding, than his owne Will, no other matter than his owne Power, no other workman than his owne Word, no other conſideration than his owne infinite Goodneſſe. The example and patterne of theſe his Creatures, as hee beheld the ſame in all eternity in the abundance of his owne love, ſo was it at length in the moſt wiſe order, by his unchanged Will moved, by his high Wiſedome diſpoſed, and by his almighty Power perfected, and made viſible. And therefore (ſaith *Mirandula*) we ought to love God, *Ex fide, & ex effectibus*, (that is) both perſwaded by his Word, and by the effects of the Worlds creation: *Neq; enim qui cauſa caret, ex cauſa & origine ſciri, cognoſciq; poteſt, ſed vel ex rerum, quæ factæ ſunt, quæq; fiunt & gubernantur obſervatione & collatione, vel ex ipſius Dei verbo*: For he of whom there is no higher cauſe, cannot be knowne by any knowledge of cauſe or beginning, (ſaith *Montanus*) but either by the obſerving and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and governe, or elſe by the Word of God himſelfe.

A Mont.Nat. Hiſt.fol.7.

## §. II.

### *That the wiſeſt of the Heathen, whoſe authority is not to be diſpiſed, have acknowledged the world to have beene created by God.*

THis worke and creation of the World, did moſt of the ancient and learned Philoſophers acknowledge, though by divers termes, and in a different manner expreſt, I meane all thoſe who are intitled by S. AUGUSTINE, *Summi Philoſophi*, Philoſophers of higheſt judgement and underſtanding. *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus* calleth God, *Principium univerſorum*; The originall of the univerſall: to whom he giveth alſo the attributes of *Mens, Natura, Actus, Neceſſitas, Finis, & Renovatio*. And wherein he truely, with S. *Paul*, caſteth upon God all power; confeſſing alſo, that the world was made by Gods almighty Word, and not by hands: *Verbo, non manibus fabricatus eſt mundus*. *Zoroaſter* (whom *Heraclitus* followed in opinion) tooke the word *Fire*, to expreſſe God by (as in *Deuteronomy*, and in S. *Paul* it is uſed) *Omnia ex uno igne genita ſunt*; *All things* (ſaith he) *are cauſed, or produced, out of one fire*.

Herm.in Pœmandro,& in ſermone ſacro.

Deut.4.24. Heb.12.19.

So did *Orpheus* plainely teach, that the world had beginning in time, from the Will of the moſt High God; whoſe remarkeable words are thus converted: *Cùm abſcondiſſet omnia Jupiter ſummus, deindè in lumen gratum emiſit, ex ſacro corde operans cogitata & mirabilia*: Of which I conceive this ſenſe; *When great Jupiter had hidden all thing in himſelfe; working out of the love of his ſacred heart, he ſent thence*, or brought forth *into gratefull light, the admirable workes which he had fore-thought*.

*Pindarus* the Poet, and one of the wiſeſt, acknowledged alſo one God, the moſt High, to be the Father and Creator of all things; *Unus Deus, Pater, Creator ſummus*. PLATO calleth God the cauſe and originall, the nature and reaſon of the univerſall; *Totius rerum natura, cauſa, & origo Deus*. But hereof more at large hereafter.

Vid.cap.6.

Now, although the curioſity of ſome men have found it ſuperfluous, to remember the opinions of Philoſophers, in matters of Divinity: (it being true, that the Scripture hath not want of any forraine teſtimonie)yet as the ***Fathers***,with others excellently learned,are my examples herein; ſo S.***Paul*** himſelfe did not deſpiſe, but thought it lawfull and profitable, to remember whatſoever hee found agreeable to the Word of God among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all eſcape, by way of ignorance, God rendring vengeance to them that know him not: as in the Epiſtle to ***Titus*** he cyteth ***Epimenides*** againſt the ***Cretians***, and to the ***Corinthians***, ***Menander***; and in the ſeventeenth of the ***Acts***, ***Aratus &c.*** For, Truth(ſaith S.***Ambroſe***)by whomſoever uttered, is of the holy Ghoſt; ***Veritas à quocunq; dicatur, à Spiritu ſancto eſt***: and laſtly,let thoſe kind of men learne this rule; ***Quæ ſacris ſerviunt, prophana non ſunt***; ***Nothing is prophane that ſerveth to the uſe of holy things.***

## §. III.

## *Of the meaning of* In Principio, *Geneſ.1.1.*

THis viſible world of which ***Moſes*** writeth, God created in the beginning,or,firſt of all: in which (ſaith ***Tertullian***) things began to be. This word ***Beginning***(in which the ***Hebrewes*** ſeeke ſome hidden myſterie,and which in the ***Jewes Targum*** is converted by the word ***Sapientia***) cannot be referred to ſucceſſion of time, nor to order, as ſome men have conceived, both which are ſubſequent: but onely to Creation then. For before that Beginning,there was neither primarie matter to be informed, nor forme to informe,nor any being,but the Eternall. Nature was not, nor the next Parent of Time begotten, Time properly and naturally taken: for if God had but diſpoſed of Matter already in being, then as the word ***Beginning*** could not be referred to all things, ſo muſt it follow,that the inſtitution of Matter proceeded from a greater power,than that of God. And by what name ſhall wee then call ſuch an One (ſaith ***Lanctantius***) as exceedeth God in potency: for it is an act of more excellencie to make,than to diſpoſe of things made: whereupon it may be concluded,that Matter could not be before this Beginning: except we faine a double creation, or allow of two powers,and both infinite,the impoſſibility whereof ſcorneth defence. ***Nam impoſsibile plura eſſe infinita: quoniam alterum eſſet in altero finitum***; ***There cannot be more infinites than one: for one of them would limit the other.***

*Cuſan. de Mente lib. 3.*

## §. IV.

## *Of the meaning of the words* Heaven *and* Earth, *Geneſ.1.1.*

THe univerſall matter of the world(which ***Moſes*** comprehendeth under the names of ***Heaven*** and ***Earth***) is by divers diverſly underſtood: for there are that conceive, that by thoſe words was meant the firſt matter, as the Peripatetickes underſtand it; to which S.***Auguſtine*** and ***Iſidore*** ſeeme to adhere. ***Feciſti mundum*** (ſayth S.***Auguſtine***)***de materia informi, quam feciſti de nulla re, penè nullam rem***: that is,***Thou haſt made the world of a matter without forme; which matter thou madeſt of nothing, and being made, it was little other than nothing.***

But this potentiall and imaginarie ***materia prima***, cannot exiſt without forme. ***Peter Lombard, the Schoolemen, Beda, Lyranus, Comeſtor, Toſtatus***, and others affirme, that it pleaſed God firſt of all to create the Empyrean Heaven: which at the ſucceeding inſtant (ſaith ***Beda*** and ***Strabo***)he filled with ***Angels***. This Empyrean Heaven ***Steuchius Eugubinus*** calleth ***Divine clarity, and uncreated***: an errour, for which he is ſharpely charged by ***Parerius***,though (as I conceive) he rather failed in the ſubſequent,when he made it to be a place, and the ſeate of Angels and juſt Soules, than in the former affirmation: for of the firſt, That God liveth in eternall Light,it is written; ***My ſoule, praiſe thou the Lord, that covereth himſelfe with light***: and in the Revelation; ***And the City hath no need of the Sunne, neyther of the Moone to ſhine in it: for the glory of God did light it.*** And herein alſo ***John Mercer*** upon Geneſis, differeth not in opinion from ***Eugubinus***: for as by Heaven created in the beginning,was not meant the inviſible or ſupercæleſtiall, ſo in his judgement, becauſe it was in all eternitie the glorious ſeat of God himſelfe, it was not neceſſarie to be created; ***Quem mundum ſupercæleſtem meo judicio creari*** (ſaith ***Mercer***) ***non erat neceſſe.***

*Beda Hex. Strabo ſuper Gen. Eug. Coſ. & denat. in corp.*

*Pſal. 104. 12.*

*Claritas divina non eſt lux facta, ſed ſapientia Dei, non creata, ſed nata.*

*Apoc. 21. 23.*

*Mercer in Gen. cap. 7. verſ. 1.*

But as ***Moſes*** forbare to ſpeake of Angels,and of things inviſible and incorporate, for the weakneſſe of their capacities, whom he then cared to informe of thoſe things which were more manifeſt, (to wit) that God did not only by a ſtrong hand deliver them from the bondage of *Egypt*, according to his promiſe made to their forefathers; but alſo that he created, and was the ſole cauſe of this aſpectable, and perceiveable Univerſall: ſo on the other ſide I dare not thinke, that any ſupercelestiall Heaven, or whatſoever elſe (not himſelfe) was increate and eternall: and as for the place of God before the world created, the finite wiſdome of mortall men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the ſeat of infinite power, no more than infinite power it ſelfe can be limitted: for his place is in himſelfe, whom no magnitude elſe can containe: *How great is the houſe of God* (ſaith BARUCH) *how large is the place of his poſſeſsion! it is great, and hath no end, it is high and unmeaſurable.*

Bar. 3. 24. 25.

But leaving multiplicity of opinion, it is more probable and allowed, that by the words *Heaven* and *Earth*, was meant the ſolid matter and ſubſtance, aſwell of all the Heavens, and Orbes ſupernall, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which covered it over, (to wit) that very matter of all things, *materia, Chaos, poſsibilitas, ſive poſſe fieri.* Which matter (ſaith *Calvin*) was ſo called, *quòd totius mundi ſemen fuerit; Becauſe it was the ſeed of the Univerſall*: an opinion of ancient Philoſophers long before.

Cuſan. in compend. fol. 224. Operis.

Calvin. in Gen.

## §. V.

### *That the ſubſtance of the waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, is by* MOSES *underſtood in the word Earth: and that the Earth, by the attributes of unformed and voide, is deſcribed as the Chaos of the ancient Heathen.*

MOSES firſt nameth Heaven and Earth (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word Earth; but afterwards hee nameth them apart, when God by his Spirit began to diſtinguiſh the confuſed Maſſe, and (as *Baſil* ſaith) *præparare naturam aquæ ad fœcunditatem vitalem; to prepare the nature of water to a vitall fruitfulneſſe.*

For under the word *Heaven*, was the matter of all heavenly bodies, & natures expreſt: and by the name of *Earth* and *waters*, all was meant, whatſoever is under the Moone, and ſubject to alteration. Corrupt ſeedes bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure heavens are not ſubject, though ſubject to periſhing. *They ſhall periſh* (ſaith *David*) *and the heavens ſhall vaniſh away like ſmoake*, ſaith *Eſay*. Neither were the waters the matter of Earth: for it is written, *Let the waters under the heavens be gathered into one place, and let the drie land appeare*: which proveth, that the drie land was mixt and covered with the waters, and not yet diſtinguiſhed; but no way, that the waters were the matter or ſeede of the Earth, much leſſe of the Univerſall. *Initio tu Domine terram fundaſti, Thou, O Lord, in the beginning haſt founded the Earth*: and againe, *The Earth was covered with the Deepe* (meaning with waters) *as with a garment*; ſaith *David*. And if by naturall arguments it may be proved, that water by condenſation may become earth, the ſame reaſon teacheth us alſo, that earth rarified may become water: water, aire: aire, fire; and ſo on the contrarie. *Deus ignis ſubſtantiam per aërem in aquam convertit, God turneth the ſubſtance of fire, by aire, into water.* For the Heavens and the Earth remained in the ſame ſtate, in which they were created, as touching their ſubſtance, though there was afterwards added multiplicitie of perfection, in reſpect of beauty and ornament. *Cælum verò & terra in ſtatu creationis remanſerunt, quantum ad ſubſtantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis poſtmodum ſuperaddita eſt.* And the word which the Hebrews call *Maim*, is not to be underſtood according to the Latine tranſlation ſimply, and as ſpecificall water; but the ſame more properly ſignifieth liquor. For (according to *Montanus*) *Eſt autem Maim liquor geminus, & hoc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero aquas fecit. For Maim* (ſaith he) *is a double liquor* (that is, of divers natures) *and this name or word the Latines, wanting a voyce to expreſſe it, call it in the Plurall*, Aquas, *Waters.*

Pſal. 102. 26.
Eſay. 51.
Gen. 1. v. 9.
Pſal. 104. 6.
Zeno.
Gul. Pariſ. 600.
A. Mont. de nat.

This Maſſe, or indigeſted matter, or Chaos created in the beginning, was without forme, that is, without the proper forme, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had ſeparated the Earth, and digeſted it from the waters. *And the earth was voide*: that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after *the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters*, and wrought this indigeſted matter into that forme, which it now retayneth, then did *the earth bud forth the herbe, which ſeedeth ſeede, and the fruitfull tree according to his kind, and God ſaw that it was good*: which

Gen. 1. 2.
12.

attribute was not given to the Earth, while it was confuſed; nor to the Heavens, before they had motion, and adornement. *God ſaw that it was good*; that is, made perfect: for perfection is that to which nothing is wanting. *Et perfecti Dei perfecta ſunt opera*; *The works of the perfect God, are perfect.*

From this lump of imperfect Matter had the ancient Poets their invention of *Demogorgon*: *Heſiodus* and *Anaxagoras* the knowledge of that Chaos: of which *Ovid*;

*Ante Mare, & Terras, & (quod tegit omnia) Cælum,*
*Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in Orbe,*
*Quem dixêre Chaos, rudis indigeſtaq; moles.*
Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heaven, that all doth hide,
In all the World one onely face of Nature did abide:
Which Chaos hight, a huge rude heape.

Ovid.in Meta. lib.1.

## §. VI.

### *How it is to be underſtood that the Spirit of God moved upon the Waters, and that this is not to be ſearched curiouſly.*

After the Creation of Heaven and Earth, then void and without forme, the Spirit of God moved upon the Waters. The *Seventy Interpreters* uſe the word *ſuperferebatur*, moved upon or over: *incubabat*, or *fovebat* (ſaith *Hierome*) out of *Baſil*; and *Baſil* out of a Syrian Doctor; *Equidem non meam tibi, ſed viri cujuſdam Syri ſententiam recenſebo* (ſaith *Baſil*:) which words *incubare* or *fovere*, importing warmith, hatching, or quickning, have a ſpeciall likeneſſe. *Verbum tranſlatum eſt ab avibus pullitiei ſuæ incubantibus, quamvis ſpirituali, & planè inenarrabili, non autem corporali modo*; *The word is taken of birds hatching their yong, not corporally, but in a ſpirituall and unexpreſſible manner.*

Baſil.Hexam.
Junius.

Some of the Hebrewes convert it to this effect, *Spiritus Dei volitabat*; *The Spirit of God did flutter*: the Chaldæan Paraphraſt in this ſenſe. *Ventus à conſpectu Dei ſufflabat*: or as other underſtand the Chaldæan, *Flabat, pellebat, removebat*: *The wind from the face of God did blow under, drive, or remove*, or *did blow upon*; according to the 147. *Pſalme*, *He cauſed his wind to blow, and the waters increaſe*: but there was yet no wind nor exhalation. *Arias Montanus* in theſe words, *Et Spiritus Elohim Meracheſet, id eſt, efficaciter motitans, confovens, ac agitans ſuper facies gemini liquoris*; *The Spirit of God effectually & often moving, keeping warme, and cheriſhing, quickning and ſtirring upon the face of this double liquor.* For he maketh foure originals, whereof three are agents, and the laſt paſſive and materiall, to wit, *Cauſa*, which is the divine goodneſſe: *Jehi*, which is, *fiat* ſive, *erit*, *Let it bee*, or *it ſhall be*. *Quæ vox verbo Dei prima prolata fuit*: *Which voice* (ſaith he) *was the firſt that was uttered by the word of God.* The third, *Spiritus Elohim*, the Spirit of God, *id eſt, vis quædam divina, agilis ac præſens, per omnia pertingens, omnia complens*; that is, *A certaine divine power, or ſtrength every where, active and extending, and ſtretching through all, filling and finiſhing all things.* The fourth he calleth *Maim, id eſt, materies ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis*; *Matter apt to become every thing.* For my ſelfe, I am reſolved (*Cùm Deus ſit ſuper rationale omni ratione*; *Seeing God is in all reaſon above reaſon*) that although the effects which follow his wonderfull waies of working, may in a meaſure be perceived by mans underſtanding, yet the maner and firſt operation of his divine power, cannot be conceived by any mind, or ſpirit, compaſſed with a mortall body. *Animalis homo quæ Dei ſunt, non percipit*: *For my thoughts* (ſaith the Lord in Esay) *are not your thoughts, neither are your wayes my wayes.* And as the world hath not knowne God himſelfe: ſo are his wayes (according to S. Paul) *paſt finding out.* *O righteous Father, the world hath not knowne thee*, ſaith Chriſt. And therefore, whether that motion, vitality and operation, were by incubation or how elſe, the manner is onely knowne to God. *Quomodo in omnibus ſit rebus vel per eſſentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noſter non capit*; *For, how God* (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, ſpeaking of his Ubiquitie) *is in all things, either by eſſence, preſence, or power, our underſtanding cannot comprehend.* *Nihil inter Deum hominemq; diſtaret, ſi conſilia, & diſpoſitiones illius Majeſtatis æternæ, cogitatio aſſequeretur humana*: *There would be no difference betweene God and Man, if mans underſtanding could conceive the counſels and diſpoſing of that eternall Majeſty*; and therefore to be over-curious in ſearching how the all-powerfull Word of God wrought in the Creation of the World, or his all-piercing and operative Spirit diſtinguiſhing, gave forme to the Matter

Pſal.147.18.
Ar.Mont.ut ſup.Eugub.in Coſ.fol.13.
Ar.Mont.de natura,pag.1[illegible]
Eſa.55.[illegible]
Aug.Tract.106 in Joh.17.25.
Lact.in Præfat.

of the Univerſall, is a labour and ſearch like unto his, who not contented with a knowne and ſafe Foord, wil preſume to paſſe over the greateſt River in all parts, where he is ignorant of their depths: for ſo doth the one loſe his life, and the other his underſtanding. We behold the Sunne, and enjoy his light, as long as wee looke towards it, but tenderly, and circumſpectly: we warme our ſelves ſafely, while we ſtand neere the fire; but if we ſeeke to out-face the one, to enter into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt.

*Nazian.lib.2. Theol.*

But to eſchew curioſity: this is true, that the Engliſh word (*moved*) is moſt proper and ſignificant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatſoever is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truely called, *Principium motus*, and with MIRANDULA, *Vis cauſæ efficientis, The force of the efficient cauſe*; S. *Auguſtine* ſometimes taketh for the holy Ghoſt; ſometime for a wind or breath, *Sub nomine Spiritus, under the name of a Spirit*, which is ſometimes ſo taken: or for *virtualis creatura, For a created virtuality: Tertullian* and *Theodoret* call it alſo a breath or winde: *Mercurius* nameth it, *Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem, A pure or thin intelligible Spirit*: ANAXAGORAS, *Mentem*: TOSTATUS, *Voluntatem & mentem Dei*; *The will and minde of God*; which *mens, Plato in Timæo*, maketh *Animam mundi, The ſoule of the world*: and in his ſixt Booke *de Republica*, he calleth it *the Law of Heaven*; in his Epiſtles, *The Leader of things to come, and the preſence of things paſt*. But as *Cyprian* wrote of the Incarnation of Chriſt our Saviour, *Mens deficit, vox ſilet, & non mea tantùm, ſed etiam Angelorum*; *My minde fayleth, my voyce is ſilent, and not mine onely, but even the voyce Angels*: ſo may all men elſe ſay in the underſtanding, and utterance of the wayes and works of the Creation; for to him (ſaith *Nazianzenus*) there is not one ſubſtance by which he is, and another, by which hee can, *Sed conſubſtantiale illi eſt, quicquid ejus eſt, & quicquid eſt*; *Whatſoever attribute of him there is, and whatſoever he is, it is the very ſame ſubſtance that himſelfe is.*

*Wiſd.c.1.v.7.*

But the Spirit of God which moved upon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or wind, nor for any other creature, ſeparate from the infinite active power of God, which then formed and diſtinguiſhed, and which now ſuſtaineth, and giveth continuance to the Univerſall. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the ſame is it *which maintayneth all things*, ſaith SALOMON. *If thou ſend forth thy Spirit* (ſaith DAVID) *they are created*: And GREGORY, *Deus ſuo præſentiali eſſe, dat omnibus rebus eſſe, ita quòd ſi ſe rebus ſubtraheret, ſicut de nihilo facta ſunt omnia, ſic in nihilum defluerent univerſa*; *God giveth being to all things, by being preſent with all things, ſo as if he ſhould withdraw himſelfe from them, then as of nothing the world was made, it would againe fall away and vaniſh into nothing*. And this working of Gods Spirit in all things, *Virgil* hath expreſt excellently:

*Virg.Æneid. lib.8.724.*

*Principio Cœlum ac Terras, campoſq; liquentes,*
*Lucentemq; globum Lunæ, Titaniaq; aſtra,*
*Spiritus intus alit: totamq; infuſa per artus,*
*Mens agitat molem, & magno ſe corpore miſcet.*

The Heaven, and Earth, and all the liquid Mayne,
The Moones bright Globe, and Stars Titanian,
A Spirit within maintains: and their whole maſſe,
A Mind, which through each part infus'd doth paſſe,
Faſhions, and workes, and wholly doth tranſpierce
All this great Body of the Univerſe.

*Job c.26.v.13.*

*Gen.1.5.*

And this was the ſame Spirit, which moved in the Univerſall, and thereby both diſtinguiſhed and adorned it. *His Spirit hath garniſhed the Heavens*, ſaith *Job*. So then the Spirit of God moved upon the waters, and created in them their ſpirituality, and naturall motion; motion brought forth heate; and heate rarifaction, and ſubtilty of parts. By this Spirit (which gave heate and motion, and thereby, operation to every nature, while it moved upon the waters, which were in one indigeſted lump, and Chaos, diſpoſed to all formes alike) was begotten Aire: an element ſuperior, as lighter than the waters, through whoſe vaſt, open, ſubtile, Diaphanicke, or tranſparent body, the light afterwards created might eaſily tranſpierce: Light for the excellency thereof being the firſt creature which God called good, whoſe creation immediatly followed. This Spirit *Chryſoſtome* calleth a vitall Operation, *Aquis à Deo inſitam, ex qua aquæ non ſolùm motionem, ſed & vim procreandi animalia habuerint*. Hee calleth it, *A vitall Operation given by God unto the waters, whereby the waters had not onely motion, but alſo power to procreate or bring forth living Creatures.*

§.VII.

## §. VII.

### *Of the light created, as the materiall ſubſtance of the Sunne: and of the nature of it, and difficultly of knowledge of it: and of the excellency and uſe of it: and of motion, and heate annexed unto it.*

These waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea: and this Light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and united, and called the Sunne, the Organ, and inſtrument of created light. For this firſt and diſperſed light did not (as I conceive) diſtinguiſh the night from the day, but with a reference to the Sunnes creation, and the uniting of the diſperſed light therein. This is proved by theſe words, *Let there be lights in the Firmament, to ſeparate the day from the night:* which lights in the firmament of Heaven, were alſo made for ſignes, & for ſeaſons, and for dayes, and for yeares, implying a motion inſtantly to follow, by which, dayes and yeares are diſtinguiſhed; after which ſucceeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the meaſure of motion) began. For that ſpace of the firſt three dayes which preceded the Sunnes creation, or formall perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be meaſured, and the day named in the fift Verſe; was but ſuch a ſpace, as afterwards by the Sunnes motion made a civill or naturall day. And as Waters were the matter of Aire, of the firmament, and of the lower and upper waters, and of the Seas, and Creatures therein: Earth, the matter of Beaſts, Plants, Minerals, and Mans body: ſo may Light (for expreſſion ſake) be called the Chaos, or materiall ſubſtance of the Sunne, and other lights of heaven: Howbeit, neither the Sunne, nor any thing ſenſible, is that Light it ſelfe, *Quæ cauſa eſt lucidorum, which is the cauſe that things are lightſome* (though it make it ſelfe & all things elſe viſible): but a body moſt illightned, which illuminateth the Moon, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the *Greeks* call *Æther*, the place of the ſuppoſed Element of fire) is affected and qualified, and by it all bodies living in this our aire. For this light *Avicenna* calleth *vehiculum & fomentum omnium cæleſtium virtutum, & impreſſionum: The conducter, and preſerver, or nouriſher of all celeſtiall vertues and impreſſions*, nothing deſcending of heavenly influences, but by the *medium*, or meanes of light. *Ariſtotle* calleth light a quality, inherent, or cleaving to a Diaphanous body, *Lumen eſt qualitas inhærens Diaphano:* but this may be better avouched of the heate, which it tranſporteth and bringeth with it, or conducteth: which heate (ſay the Platonicks) *Abeunte lumine reſidet in ſubjecto, The light being departed, doth reſide in the ſubject*, as warmth in the aire, though the ſame be deprived of light. This light *Plotinus* and all the *Academicks* make incorporall, & ſo doth Montanus, *Cui nec duritia reſiſtit, nec ſpatium; Which neither hardneſſe reſiſteth, nor ſpace leaveth.*

*Geneſ.1.14.*

*Lux dicitur, quæ ſe, & omnia viſibilia facit. Cuſan. in Compend. cap.7. & exercit. lib.5.*

*Ficin. lib. de Lumine, cap.11.*

*Ariſtotle* findeth corporality in the beames of light; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, ſaith *Picolomineus*. *Democritus*, *Leucippus*, and *Epicurus*, give materiality to light it ſelfe, but improperly: for it paſſeth at an inſtant, from the Heaven to the Earth, nor is it reſiſted by any hardneſſe, becauſe it pierceth through the ſolid body of glaſſe, or other Cryſtalline matter; & whereas it is withſtood by uncleane, and unpure earthy ſubſtances, leſſe hard, and more eaſie to invade than the former, the ſame is, *Quòd obſtaculum naturâ terreum atq; ſordidum, non capit candidam luminis puritatem; Becauſe an obſtacle by nature earthy and foule, doth not receive the pure cleareneſſe of light:* alluding to that moſt divine Light, which onely ſhineth on thoſe mindes, which are purged from all worldly droſſe, and humane uncleanneſſe.

*Pic. de finit.*

*Plotin.*

But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion; neither doe I marvaile at it, for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philoſophers, or Schoole-men, or other ancient or later Writers, that any of them underſtood either it or themſelves therein: all men (to caſt off ignorance) have diſputed thereof, but there is no man that hath beene taught thereby. *Thomas Aquinas* (not inferiour to any in wit) as hee hath ſhewed little ſtrength of argument in refuting the opinions of *Beda, Hugo, Lombard, Lyranus*, and others: ſo is his owne judgement herein, as weake as any mans; and moſt of the Schoole-men were rather curious in the nature of termes, and more ſubtile in diſtinguiſhing upon the parts of doctrine already laid downe, than diſcoverers of any thing hidden, either in Philoſophy or Divinity: of whom it may be truely ſayd, *Nihil ſapientiæ odioſius acumine nimio, Nothing is more odious to true wiſedome, than too acute ſharpneſſe.* Neither hath the length of time, and the ſearch of many learned men, (which the ſame time hath brought forth and devoured) reſolved us, whether this light be ſubſtantiall, corporall, or incorporall: Corporall they ſay it cannot be, becauſe then it could neither pierce the aire, nor thoſe hard, ſolid, and Diaphanous bodies; which it doth, and yet every day we ſee the aire illightned: incorporall it cannot be, becauſe it ſometime affecteth the ſight of the eye with offence, and therefore by moſt of the Fathers ſo eſteemed. Others ſay (as *Patricius*) that it cannot be matter, becauſe no forme ſo excellent as it ſelfe to informe it: neither can it be any accident, which is not ſeparable without the deſtruction of the ſubject: for light being taken from the Sunne, the Sunne is no more the Sunne in exiſtence. Secondly, if light were proceeding from matter and forme, then either, or both muſt be one of theſe, lucide or bright, darke or opake, Diaphanous or tranſparent; but darkeneſſe cannot be parent of light; and things Diaphanous (being neither light, nor darkneſſe, but capable of either) cannot be the cauſe of either, and therefore muſt the matter, or forme, or both, be lucide and ſhining. Lucide and ſhining obtaine their ſo being of the light; and therefore, if wee derive this being of light from a former, then would the progreſſe goe on infinitely and againſt nature; and therefore he concludeth, that light in the Sunne hath his being primarily, and immediately of it ſelfe, and is therefore the Sunnes forme, and the forme of all lucide and ſhining bodies: but what is taught hereby, let others judge.

*Lucida corpora ſunt plena ſua luce, alienis tenebris impervia. Opacá ſunt plena ſuis tenebris alieno lumine. Tranſparentia ſeu Diaphana carent ſuis & lumine & tenebris: alienis & lumine & tenebris permeantur. Scal. ſubt. ex. 71.*

But in my underſtanding, *Lumen* (which may be Engliſhed by the word *Shine*) is an intentionall Species of that, which may bee Engliſhed by Light, and ſo, this ſhining which proceedeth from the Sunne, or other lights of Heaven, or from any other light, is an Image, or intentionall Species thereof; & an intentionall Species may be underſtood by the example of a red, or greene colour, occaſioned by the ſhining of the Sun through red or greene glaſſe: for then we perceive the ſame colour caſt upon any thing oppoſite; which redneſſe or other colour, we call the *intentionall Species* of the colour in that glaſſe. And againe, as this light, touching his ſimple nature, is no way yet underſtood: ſo it is diſputed, whether this light firſt created, bee the ſame which the Sunne inholdeth and caſteth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer than till the Sunnes creation.

*Geneſ. 1.*
*Verſ. 12.*
2.

But by the moſt wiſe and unchanged order, which God obſerved in the worke of the World, I gather, that the Light, in the firſt day created, was the ſubſtance of the Sunne: for *Moſes* repeateth twice the maine parts of the Univerſall: firſt, as they were created in matter; ſecondly, as they were adorned with forme: firſt, naming the Heavens, the Earth, the Waters, all confuſed; and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made drie Land, and the Heavens diſtinguiſhed from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was uncovered, and before it was called *Arida*, or drie Land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or inriched with their vertuall formes: So the Sun although it had not his formall prefection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the ſubſtance thereof in the firſt day (under the name of Light) created; and this Light formerly diſperſed, was in the ſame fourth day united, and ſet in the Firmament of Heaven: for, to Light created in the firſt day, God gave no proper place or fixation; and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation*, (which was to ſeparate day from night) were preciſely performed, after this Light was congregated, and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wiſedome of God finde cauſe why it ſhould move (by which motion, dayes and nights are diſtinguiſhed) till then: becauſe there was not yet any Creature produced, to which, by moving, the Sunne might give light, heate and operation.

But after the Earth (diſtinguiſhed from Waters) began to bud forth the bud of the herbe, &c. God cauſed the Sunne to move, and (by enterchange of time) to viſite every part of the inferiour world; by his heate to ſtirre up the fire of generation, and to give activity to the ſeedes of all natures: For, as a King, which commandeth ſome goodly building to be erected, doth accommodate the ſame to that uſe and end, to which it was ordained; ſo it pleaſed God (ſaith *Procopius*) to command the Light to bee; which by his all-powerfull Word hee approved, and approving it, diſpoſed thereof, to the uſe and comfort of his future Creatures.

*Quemadmodum Rex aliquis, &c. Procop. in Gen. 1.*

*Job 38. 24.*
9.

But in that it pleaſed God to aske of JOB, *By what way is the light parted, and where is the way where light dwelleth?* we thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not under mans underſtanding; and therefore let it ſuffice, that by Gods grace we enjoy the effects thereof. *For this light is of the treaſure of God* (ſaith Esdras:) *And thoſe which inhabite the Heavens, doe only know the Eſſence thereof. Nihil ignotum in cœlo, nihil notum in terra: Nothing unknowne in Heaven, nothing perfectly knowne on earth. Res veræ ſunt in mundo inviſibili; in mundo viſibili umbræ rerum: Things themſelves are in the inviſible world; in the world viſible, but their ſhadowes.* Surely, if this Light be not ſpirituall, yet it approcheth neereſt unto ſpiritualitie; and if it have any corporalitie, then of all other the moſt ſubtile and pure; for howſoever, it is of all things ſeene, the moſt beautifull, and of the ſwifteſt motion, of all other the moſt neceſſary and beneficiall. For it miniſtreth to men, and other creatures, all celeſtiall influences; it diſſipateth thoſe ſad thoughts and ſorrowes, which the darkneſſe both begetteth and maintayneth; it diſcovereth unto us the glorious workes of God, and carryeth up with an Angelicall ſwiftneſſe, our eyes unto Heaven, that by the ſight thereof, our minds being informed of his viſible marvailes, may continually travaile to ſurmount theſe perceived Heavens, and to finde out their omnipotent Cauſe and Creator. *Cognitio non quieſcit in rebus creatis; Our knowledge doth not quiet it ſelfe in things created. Et ipſa lux facit, ut cætera mundi membra digna ſint laudibus, cùm ſuam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet; It is the Light* (ſaith Saint Ambrose) *that maketh the other parts of the world ſo worthy of praiſe, ſeeing that it ſelfe communicateth its goodneſſe and beauty unto all.* Of which *Ovid* out of *Orpheus*:

*Eſd.l.2.c.6.40.*
*Herm.*
*Ficin.*

> *Ille ego ſum, qui longum metior annum,*
> *Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus,*
> *Mundi oculus.*

*Ovid.Met.l.1.*

> The World diſcernes it ſelfe, while I the World behold,
> By me the longeſt yeares, and other times are told,
> I the worlds eye.

Laſtly, if we may behold in any creature, any one ſparke of that eternall fire, or any far-off dawning of Gods glorious brightneſſe, the ſame in the beautie, motion, and vertue of this Light, may be perceived. Therefore was God called *Lux ipſa*, and the Light, by *Hermes* named *Lux ſancta*, and *Chriſt* our Saviour ſaid to be *that Light, which lighteneth every man that commeth into the world.* Yet in reſpect of Gods incomprehenſible ſublimitie, and puritie, this is alſo true, that God is neither a minde, nor a Spirit of the nature of other ſpirits; nor a light, ſuch as can be diſcerned. *Deus profectò non mens eſt, at verò ut ſit mens cauſa eſt; nec ſpiritus, ſed cauſa qua ſpiritus extat; nec lumen, ſed cauſa qua lumen exiſtit: God* (ſaith Hermes in Pœmandro) *certainly is not a minde, but the cauſe that the minde hath his being; nor ſpirit, but the cauſe by which every ſpirit is; nor light, but the cauſe by which the light exiſteth.*

*Joh.1.9.& 12. 46.*

So then the *Maſſe* and *Chaos* being firſt created, void, darke, and unformed, was by the operative Spirit of God, pierced and quickned; and the Waters, having now received Spirit and motion, reſolved their thinner parts into Aire, which God illightned: the Earth alſo by being contiguat, & mixt with waters (participating the ſame divine vertue) brought forth the bud of the herbe that ſeedeth ſeede, &c. and for a meane and organ, by which this operative vertue might be continued, God appointed the Light to be united, and gave it alſo motion and heate, which heate cauſed a continuance of thoſe ſeverall *ſpecies*, which the Earth (being made fruitfull by the Spirit) produced, and with motion begat the time and times ſucceeding.

*Gen.1.12.*

## §. VIII.

### *Of the Firmament, and of the waters above the Firmament: and whether there be any Cryſtalline Heaven, or any* Primum mobile.

After that the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters, and light was created, God ſaid, *Let there be a Firmament in the middeſt of the waters, and let it ſeparate the waters from the waters*: that is, thoſe waters which by rarifaction and evaporation were aſcended, and thoſe of the Earth and Sea.

But theſe waters ſeparate above this extenſion, which the Latine Tranſlation calleth *firmamentum*, or *expanſum* (for ſo *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius* turne it) are not the Cryſtalline Heavens, created in the imaginations of men; which opinion *Baſilius Magnus* calleth a childiſh ſuppoſition, making in the ſame place many learned arguments

Mont. Nat. hiſt. fol. 152.

againſt this infancie. For the waters above the firmament, are the waters in the ayre above us, where the ſame is more ſolid and condenſe, which God ſeparated from the neather waters by a firmament, that is, by an extended diſtance and vaſt ſpace: the words *Raquia*, which *Montanus* writeth *Rakiagh*, and *Shamajim*, being indifferently taken for the heaven and for ayre, and more properly for the ayre and *Æther*, than for the heavens, as the beſt Hebricians underſtand them, *Quo ſuprema ac tenuia ab infimis craſsis diducta, interſectaq; diſtarent*, for that *whereby the ſupreme and thin bodies were placed in diſtance, being ſevered and cut off from low and groſſe matters*: and the waters above the firmament, expreſt in the word *Majim*, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters above the ayre, or in the uppermoſt region of the ſame.

Gen. 49. 25.
* Pſal. 104. 12.
a Gen. 19. 24. ſ
Cap. 27. 28.
Deut. 11. 11.
Job 38. 29.
Math. 6. 26.
Gen. 11. 4.

And that the word Heaven is uſed for the Ayre, the Scriptures every where witneſſe; as in the bleſſings of *Joſeph*, and in the 104. Pſalme:* *By theſe Springs ſhall the fowle of the Heaven dwell*; and a *upon Sodome and Gomorrha it rained brimſtone and fire out of the Heaven*; and in *Iſaacs* bleſſing to *Jacob*, *God give thee therefore of the dew of Heaven*: and in *Deuteronomy* the 11. *But the land whither you goe to poſſeſſe it, is a land that drinketh water of the rayne of Heaven*; and in *Job*, *Who hath ingendred the froſts of Heaven*; and in S. *Matthew*, *Behold the Fowles of Heaven, for they ſow not*. So as in all the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament throughout, is the word Heaven very often uſed for Ayre, and taken alſo hyperbolically for any great height, as, *Let us build us a Tower, whoſe top may reach to Heaven &c.* And in this very place *Baſil* avoucheth, that this appellation of Heaven for the Firmament, is but by way of ſimilitude: his owne words be theſe; *Et vocavit Deus firmamentum cœlum. Hæc appellatio alii quidem propriè accommodatur, huic autem nunc ad ſimilitudinem*; *And God called the firmament Heaven: This appellation* (ſaith *Baſil*) *is properly applyed to another* (that is, to the Starrie Heaven) *but to this* (that is, to the Firmament dividing the waters) *it is impoſed by ſimilitude*. And if there were no other proofe, that by the firmament was meant the Ayre, and not the Heaven, the wordes of *Moſes* in the eighth verſe, conferred with the ſame word *Firmament* in the twentieth verſe, make it manifeſt: for in the eighth verſe it is written, that God called the Firmament, which divided waters from waters, Heaven; and in the twentieth verſe he calleth the firmament of Heaven, Ayre, in theſe words: *And let the Fowle flye upon the earth in the open firmament of Heaven.* And what uſe there ſhould be of this ycie or cryſtalline, or waterie Heaven, I conceive not, except it bee to moderate and temper the heate, which the *primum mobile* would otherwiſe gather and increaſe: though in very truth, in ſtead of this helpe, it would adde an unmeaſurable greatneſſe of circle, whereby the ſwiftneſſe of that firſt Moveable would exceed all poſſibilitie of beleefe. *Sed nemo tenetur ad impoſsibilia*; *but no man ought to be held to impoſsibilities*: and faith it ſelfe (which ſurmounteth the height of all humane reaſon) hath for a forcible conducter, the Word of Truth, which alſo may be called *lumen omnis rationis & intellectus*; *the light of all reaſon and underſtanding*. Now that this ſuppoſed firſt Moveable, turneth it ſelfe ſo many hundred thouſand miles in an inſtant (ſeeing the Scriptures teach it not) let thoſe that can beleeve mens imagination, apprehend it, for I cannot. But of theſe many Heavens, let the Reader that deſireth ſatisfaction, ſearch *Orontius*, and of this waterie Heaven, *Baſilius Magnus*, in his *Hexam. fol. 40. 41. &c.* and *Matth. Beroaldus*, his ſecond Booke and ſixt chapter. For my ſelfe, I am perſwaded, that the waters called, The waters above the Heavens, are but the clouds and waters engendred in the uppermoſt ayre.

## §. IX.

*A concluſion, repeating the ſumme of the workes in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads: The creation of matter, The forming of it, The finiſhing of it.*

TO conclude, it may be gathered out of the firſt Chapter of *Geneſis*, that this was the order of the moſt wiſe God in the beginning, and when there was no other nature, or being, but Gods incomprehenſible eternitie. Firſt, hee created the matter of all things: and in the firſt three dayes hee diſtinguiſhed and gave to every nature his proper forme; the forme of levitie to that which aſcended; to that which deſcended, the forme of gravitie: for hee ſeparated light from darkeneſſe, divided waters from waters, and gathered the waters under the firmament into one place. In the laſt three dayes, God adorned, beautified, and repleniſhed the World: hee ſet in the Firmament of Heaven, the Sunne, Moone, and Starres; filled the Earth with Beaſts, the Aire with Fowle, and the Sea with Fiſh, giving to all that have life, a power generative, thereby to continue their Species and kindes; to Creatures vegetative and growing, their ſeedes in themſelves; for *he created all things, that they might have their being: and the generations of the world are preſerved.*

Wiſd.Sol.c.1.14.

## §. X.

*That Nature is no* Principium per ſe; *nor Forme the giver of being: and of our ignorance how ſecond cauſes ſhould have any proportion with their effects.*

AND for this working power, which we call Nature, the beginning of motion and reſt, according to *Ariſtotle*, the ſame is nothing elſe, but the ſtrength and faculty, which God hath infuſed into every creature, having no other ſelfe-ability, than a Clocke, after it is wound up by a mans hand, hath. Theſe therefore that attribute unto this faculty, any firſt or ſole power, have therein no other underſtanding, than ſuch a one hath, who looking into the Sterne of a Ship, and finding it guided by the Helme and Rudder, doth aſcribe ſome abſolute vertue to the peece of wood, without all conſideration of the hand that guides it, or of the judgement, which alſo directeth and commandeth that hand: forgetting in this and in all elſe, that by the vertue of the firſt act, all Agents worke whatſoever they worke: *Virtute primi actus agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt*: for as the minde of man ſeeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the eares, and maketh choyce by the will: and therefore wee attribute ſight to the eye, and hearing to the eares, &c. and yet it is the minde onely, that giveth ability, life, and motion to all theſe his inſtruments and Organs; ſo God worketh by Angels, by the Sunne, by the Starres, by Nature, or infuſed properties, and by men, as by ſeverall Organs, ſeverall effects; all ſecond cauſes whatſoever, being but inſtruments, conduites, and pipes, which carry and diſperſe what they have received from the head and fountaine of the Univerſall. For as it is Gods infinite power, and everie-where-preſence (compaſſing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giveth to the Sunne power to draw up vapours, to vapours to be made cloudes, cloudes to containe raine, and raine to fall: ſo all ſecond and inſtrumentall cauſes, together with Nature it ſelfe, without that operative faculty which God gave them, would become altogether ſilent, vertueleſſe, and dead: of which excellently ORPHEUS; *Per te vireſcunt omnia, All things by thee ſpring forth in youthfull greene.* I enforce not theſe things, thereby to annihilate thoſe variable vertues which God hath given to his creatures, animate and inanimate, to heavenly and earthly bodies, &c. for all his workes in their vertues prayſe him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each other, which the Heathen Philoſophers, and thoſe that follow them, have taken on them to teach: I ſay, there is not any one among them, nor any one among us, that could ever yet conceive it, or expreſſe it, ever enrich his owne underſtanding with any certaine truth, or ever edifie others (not fooliſh by ſelfe-flattery) therein. For (ſaith *Lactantius*, ſpeaking of the wiſedome of the Philoſophers) *Si facultas inveniendæ veritatis huic ſtudio ſubjaceret, aliquandò eſſet inventa; cùm verò tot temporibus, tot ingeniis in ejus inquiſitione contritis, non ſit comprehenſa, apparet nullam ibi eſſe ſapientiam; If in this ſtudie* (ſaith hee) *were meanes to find out the truth, it had ere this bin found out: but ſeeing it is not yet comprehended, after that ſo much time, and ſo many wits have beene worne out in the inquirie of it, it appeareth, that there is no wiſedome there to be had. Nam ſi de una re præciſa ſcientia haberetur, omnium rerum ſcientia neceſſariò haberetur: If the preciſe knowledge of any one thing were to be had, it ſhould neceſſarily follow, that the knowledge of all things were to be had.* And as the Philoſophers were ignorant in Nature, and the wayes of her working: ſo were they more curious, than knowing, in their firſt matter and Phyſicall forme. For if their firſt matter had any being, it were not then the firſt matter: for, as it is the firſt matter, it hath onely a power of being, which it altogether leaveth, when it doth ſubſiſt. And ſeeing it is neither a ſubſtance perfect, nor a ſubſtance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other ſubſtance ſhould thence take concreſcence, it hath not beene taught, neyther are theſe formes (ſaith a learned Author) any thing, *ſi ex ea exprimatur potentia, quæ nihil eſt.* Againe, how this firſt matter ſhould bee *ſubjectum*

*Natura enim remota providentia & poteſtate divina, prorſus nihil eſt.* Lact. de falſ. Sapientia. l.3.c.28.

Cypr. de mente, lib 3.

*jectum formarum*, and paſſive, which is underſtood to precede the forme, it is hard to conceive: for to make forme, which is the cauſe, to be ſubſequent to the thing cauſed (to wit, to the firſt matter) is contrary to all reaſon, divine and humane: onely it may bee ſaid, that originally there is no other difference betweene matter and forme, than betweene heate and fire, of which the one cannot ſubſiſt without the other, but in a kinde of rationall conſideration. Leaving therefore theſe Riddles to their Lovers, who by certaine ſcholaſticall diſtinctions wreſt and pervert the truth of all things, and by which *Ariſtotle* hath laboured to prove a falſe eternitie of the World, I thinke it farre ſafer to affirme with Saint AUGUSTINE, ***That all ſpecies and kindes are from God, from whom, whatſoever is naturall proceedeth, of what kinde or eſtimation ſoever, from whence are the ſeedes of all formes, and the formes of all ſeedes and their motions***; ***A quo eſt omnis ſpecies, à quo eſt quicquid naturaliter eſt, cujuſcunq; generis eſt, cujuſcunq; æſtimationis eſt, à quo ſunt ſemina formarum, formæ ſeminum, motus ſeminum atq; formarum.*** And thus much *Averrois* is forced to confeſſe. ***For all forme*** (ſaith hee) ***are in primo motore***; which is alſo the opinion of *Ariſtotle* in the twelfth of his ***Metaph.*** and of ***Albertus*** upon ***Dionyſius***.

*12.Metaph.*

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## §. XI.

### *Of Fate; and that the Starres have great influence: and that their operations may diverſly be prevented or furthered.*

AND, as of Nature, ſuch is the diſpute and contention concerning Fate or Deſtinie, of which the opinions of thoſe learned men that have written thereof, may be ſafely received, had they not thereunto annexed and faſtened an inevitable neceſſity, and made it more generall, and univerſally powerfull than it is, by giving it Dominion over the minde of man, and over his will, of which ***Ovid*** and ***Juvenal***:

*Juven.ſat.7.201.*

*Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet.*
*Servis regna dabunt, captivis Fata triumphos.*
'Gainſt Fate no counſell can prevaile.
Kingdomes to Slaves by Deſtinie,
To Captives triumphs given be.

*Baſil.Eſſa.4.*
*Aug.de hæreſ. 70.c.35.*
*Tho.cont.Gent. 3.cap.8.3.*
*Ficin.in.12.de leg.*
*Cic.de fat.*

An errour of the Chaldæans, and after them of the Stoicks, the Phariſees, Priſcillianiſts, the Bardiſaniſts, and others, as ***Baſil***, ***Auguſtine***, and ***Thomas*** have obſerved: but that Fate is an obedience of ſecond cauſes to the firſt, was well conceived of ***Hermes***, and ***Apuleius*** the Platoniſt. ***Plotinus*** out of the Aſtronomers calleth it a diſpoſition from the acts of celeſtiall Orbes, unchangeably working in inferiour bodies, the ſame being alſo true enough, in reſpect of all thoſe things which a rationall minde doth not order nor direct. ***Ptolomie, Seneca, Democritus, Epicurus, Chryſippus, Empedocles***, and the Stoicks, ſome of them more largely, others more ſtrictly, aſcribe to Fate a binding and inevitable neceſſity; and that it is the ſame which is ſpoken and determined by God (***quod de unoquoq; noſtrum fatus eſt Deus***) and the definite lot of all living. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Stars are inſtruments of far greater uſe, than to give an obſcure light, and for men to gaze on after Sun-ſet: it being manifeſt, that the diverſity of ſeaſons, the Winters, and Summers, more hote and cold, are not ſo uncertained by the Sunne and Moone alone, who alway keepe one and the ſame courſe, but that the Starres have alſo their working therein.

And if we cannot deny, but that God hath given vertues to Springs and Fountaines, to cold earth, to plants and ſtones, Mineralls, and to the excrementall parts of the baſeſt living creatures, why ſhould we robbe the beautifull Starres of their working powers? for ſeeing they are many in number, and of eminent beauty and magnitude, wee may not thinke, that in the treaſurie of his wiſedome, who is infinite, there can bee wanting (even for every Starre) a peculiar vertue and operation; as every herbe, plant, fruit, and flower adorning the face of the Earth, hath the like. For as theſe were not created to beautifie the earth alone, and to cover and ſhadow her duſtie face, but otherwiſe for the uſe of man and beaſt, to feede them and cure them; ſo were not thoſe uncountable glorious bodies ſet in the Firmament, to no other end, than to adorne it, but for Inſtruments and Organs of his divine providence, ſo farre as it hath pleaſed his juſt will to determine. *Origen* upon this place of *Geneſis*, *Let there be light in the Firmament*, &c. affirmeth, that the Starres are not cauſes (meaning perchance binding cauſes) but are as open Bookes, wherein are contained and ſet down all things whatſoever to come; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wiſedome: which latter part I beleeve well, and this ſaying of *Syracides* withall: *That there are hid yet greater things than theſe be, and we have ſeene but a few of his workes.* And though, for the capacity of men, we know ſomewhat, yet in the true and uttermoſt vertues of herbes and plants, which our ſelves ſow and ſet, and which grow under our feet, we are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of celeſtiall bodies. For *hardly* (ſaith Salomon) *can wee diſcerne the things that are upon the Earth, and with great labour finde we out thoſe things that are before us: who can then inveſtigate the things that are in Heaven? Multum eſt de rebus cœleſtibus aliquid cognoſcere: It is much to know a little of heavenly things.* But in this queſtion of Fate, the middle courſe is to be followed, that as with the Heathen wee doe not binde God to his creatures, in this ſuppoſed neceſſity of deſtiny; ſo on the contrary, we doe not robbe thoſe beautifull creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of theſe ſecond cauſes deſpoyled God of his prerogative, or had God himſelfe conſtrained the minde and will of man to impious acts by any celeſtiall inforcements, then ſure the impious excuſe of ſome were juſtifiable; of whom S. Augustine: *Impiâ peruerſitate in malis factis rectiſsimè reprehendendis ingerunt accuſandum potius auctorem ſyderum, quàm commiſſorem ſcelerum. Where we reprehend them of evill deeds, they againe with wicked perverſeneſſe urge, that rather the Author and Creator of the Starres, than the doer of the evill, is to be accuſed.*

*Gen.1.15.*
*Eccl.42.c.32.*
*Wiſd.9.16.*
*Ariſtotle.*
*Aug.20.ſuper Gen.ad lit.*

But that the Starres and other celeſtiall bodies incline the will by mediation of the ſenſitive appetite, which is alſo ſtirred by the conſtitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. *Corpora cœleſtia* (ſaith Damascene) *conſtituunt in nobis habitus, complexiones, & diſpoſitiones. The heavenly bodies* (ſaith he) *make in us habits, complexions, and diſpoſitions:* for the body (though *Galen* inforce it further) hath undoubtedly a kinde of drawing after it the affections of the minde, eſpecially bodies ſtrong in humour, and weake in vertues: for thoſe of cholericke complexion are ſubject to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they ſuffer themſelves to bee tranſported, where the minde hath not reaſon to remember, that paſſions ought to be her Vaſſals, not her Maſters. And that they wholly direct the reaſonleſſe minde, I am reſolved: For all thoſe which were created mortall, as birds, beaſts, and the like, are left to their naturall appetites; over all which, celeſtiall bodies (as inſtruments and executioners of Gods providence) have abſolute dominion. What we ſhould judge of men, who little differ from beaſts, I cannot tell: for as he that contendeth againſt thoſe inforcements, may eaſily maſter or reſiſt them; ſo whoſoever ſhall neglect the remedies by vertue and piety prepared, putteth himſelfe altogether under the power of his ſenſuall appetite; *Vincitur fatum ſi reſiſtas, vincit ſi contempſeris: Fate will be overcome, if thou reſiſt it; if thou neglect, it conquereth.*

*Gal.l.uor.an ſeq.temp.*
*Quint.*

But that either the Starres or the Sunne have any power over the mindes of men immediately, it is abſurd to thinke, other than as aforeſaid, as the ſame by the bodies temper may be effected. *Lumen ſolis ad generationem ſenſibilium corporum confert, & ad vitam ipſam movet, & nutrit, & auget, & perficit: The light of the Sunne* (ſaith S. Augustine) *helpeth the generation of ſenſible bodies, moveth them to life, and nouriſheth, augmenteth and perfecteth them:* yet ſtill as a Miniſter, not as a Maſter: *Bonus quidem eſt Sol, in miniſterio, non imperio; The Sunne is good to ſerve, not to ſway* (ſaith S. Ambroſe.) And Saint Augustine: *Deus regit inferiora corpora per ſuperiora; God ruleth the bodies below by thoſe above;* but hee avoucheth not, that ſuperiour bodies have rule over mens mindes, which are incorporeall.

*Aug.de Civit. Dei, lib.5.*
*Hex.lib.4.de term.3.*

But howſoever we are by the Starres inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in Nature and Art, that encounter the ſame, and weaken their operation: and *Ariſtotle* himſelfe confeſſeth, that the Heavens do not alwaies worke their effects in inferiour bodies no more than the ſignes of raine and winde doe alwayes come to paſſe. And it is divers times ſeene, that paternall vertue and vice hath his counter-working to theſe inclinations. *Eſt in Juvencis patrum virtus; In the yongue off-ſpring the Fathers vertue is*, and ſo the contrary, *patrum vitia*: and herein alſo there is often found an enterchange; the Sonnes of vertuous men, by an ill conſtellation become inclinable to vice; and of vicious men, to vertue.

*Hor.lib.4.Od.4. 30.*

*Egregia eſt ſoboles ſcelerato nata parente:*

A worthy ſonne is borne of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods reſerved power) that ſo much ſetteth this art of influence out of ſquare and rule, as education doth: for there are none in the World ſo wickedly inclined, but that a religious inſtruction and bringing up may faſhion anew and reforme them; nor any ſo well diſpoſed, whom (the reines being let looſe) the continuall fellowſhip and familiarity, and the examples of diſſolute men may not corrupt and deforme. Veſſels will ever retaine a ſavour of their firſt liquor: it being equally difficult eyther to clenſe the minde once corrupted, or to extinguiſh the ſweet ſavour of vertue firſt received, when the minde was yet tender, open, and eaſily ſeaſoned; but where a favourable conſtellation (allowing that the Starres incline the will) and a vertuous education doe happily arrive, or the contrary in both, thereby it is that men are found ſo exceeding vertuous or vicious, Heaven and Earth (as it were) running together, and agreeing in one: for as the ſeedes of vertue may by the art and husbandry of Chriſtian counſaile produce better and more beautifull fruit, than the ſtrength of ſelfe-nature and kind could have yeelded them; ſo the plants apt to grow wilde, and to change themſelves into weedes, by being ſet in a ſoyle ſutable, and like themſelves, are made more unſavoury and filled with poyſon. It was therefore truly affirmed, ***Sapiens adjuvabit opus aſtrorum, quemadmodùm agricola terræ naturam; A wiſe man aſsiſteth the worke of the Starres, as the Husbandman helpeth the nature of the ſoyle.*** And ***Ptolemie*** himſelfe confeſſeth thus much, ***Sapiens, & omina ſapientis medici dominabuntur aſtris; A wiſe man, and the ominous art of a wiſe Phyſician ſhall prevaile againſt the Starres.*** Laſtly, we ought all to know, that God created the Starres, as he did the reſt of the Univerſall, whoſe influences may be called his reſerved and unwritten Lawes. But let us conſider how they bind: even as the Lawes of men doe; for although the Kings and Princes of the World have by their Lawes decreed, that a Thiefe and a Murderer ſhall ſuffer death; and though their Ordinances are daily by Judges and Magiſtrates (the Starres of Kings) executed accordingly; yet theſe Lawes doe not deprive Kings of their naturall or religious compaſſion, or binde them without prerogative, to ſuch a ſevere execution, as that there ſhould be nothing left of liberty to judgment, power, or conſcience: the Law in his owne nature, being no other than a deafe Tyrant. But ſeeing that it is otherwiſe, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) doe ſometimes for cauſes to themſelves knowne, and by mediation, pardon offences both againſt others and themſelves, it were then impious to take that power and liberty from God himſelfe, which his Subſtitutes enjoy; God being mercy, goodneſſe, and charity it ſelfe. Otherwiſe that example of Prayer by our Saviour taught; ***And let us not be led into temptation, but deliver us from evill,*** had borne no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which onely knoweth the operation of his owne creatures truely) hath aſſured us, that there is no inclination or temptation ſo forcible, which our humble Prayers and Deſires may not make fruſtrate and breake aſunder: for were it (as the Stoicks conceive) that Fate or Deſtiny, though depending upon eternall power, yet being once ordered and diſpoſed, had ſuch a connexion and immutable dependency, that God himſelfe ſhould in a kinde have ſhut up himſelfe therein: ***How miſerable then were the condition of men*** (ſaith S. AUGUSTINE) ***left altogether without hope!***

Mat. 6.13.

And if this ſtrength of the Starres were ſo transferred, as that God had quitted unto them all dominion over his creatures; be he Pagan or Chriſtian that ſo beleeveth, the onely true God of the one, and the imaginary gods of the other, would thereby be deſpoyled of all worſhip, reverence, or reſpect.

And certainly, God which hath promiſed us the reward of well-doing, which Chriſt himſelfe claimed at the hands of the Father, (***I have finiſhed the worke which thou gaveſt mee to doe:***) and the ſame God, who hath threatned unto us the ſorrow and torment of offences, could not, contrary to his mercifull nature, be ſo unjuſt, as to bind us inevitably to the Deſtinies or influences of the Starres, or ſubject our ſoules to any impoſed neceſſity. But it was well ſaid of ***Plotinus***, that the Starres were ſignificant, but not efficient, giving them yet ſomething leſſe than their due: and therefore as I doe not conſent with them, who would make thoſe glorious creatures of God vertueleſſe: ſo I thinke that wee derogate from his eternall and abſolute power and providence, to aſcribe to

John 17.4.

them the ſame dominion over our immortall ſoules, which they have over all bodily ſubſtances, and periſhable natures: for the ſoules of men, loving and fearing God, receive influence from that divine light it ſelfe, whereof the Sunnes clarity, and that of the Starres, is by *Plato* called but a ſhadow. *Lumen eſt umbra Dei, Deus eſt lumen luminis*; *Light is the* Plat pol.6.
*ſhadow of Gods brightneſſe, who is the light of light*: But to end this queſtion, because this Ficin.in l.7.pol.
Deſtiny, together with Providence, Preſcience, and Predeſtination are often confounded, I thinke it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two; for every man hath not obſerved it, though all learned men have.

## §.XII.

### *Of Preſcience.*

PReſcience, or fore-knowledge (which the Greekes call *Prognoſis*, the Latines *præcognitio*, or *præſcientia*) conſidered in order and nature (if we may ſpeake of God after the manner of men) goeth before Providence: for God fore-knew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Preſcience is no other than an infallible fore-knowledge. For whatſoever our ſelves fore-know except the ſame be to ſucceed accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Preſcience of God (as it is Preſcience onely) is not the cauſe of any thing futurely ſucceeding: neither doth Gods fore-knowledge impoſe any neceſſity, or binde. For in that we fore-know that the Sunne will riſe, and ſet; that all men borne in the World ſhall dye againe; that after Winter, the Spring ſhall come; after the Spring Summer and Harveſt; and that according to the ſeverall ſeeds that we ſow, we ſhall reap ſeverall ſorts of graine; yet is not our fore-knowledge the cauſe of this, or any of theſe: neither doth the knowledge in us bind or conſtraine the Sunne to riſe and ſet, or men to dye; for the cauſes (as men perſwade themſelves) are otherwiſe manifeſt and knowne to all. *The eye of man* (ſaith BOETIUS) *beholdeth thoſe things ſubject to ſenſe, as they are; the eye ſeeth that ſuch a beaſt is an horſe, it ſeeth men, trees, and houſes, &c. but our ſeeing of them (a they are) is not the cauſe of their ſo being, for ſuch they be in their owne natures.* And a- Boetius de conſol.
gaine out of the ſame Author; *Divina providentia rebus generandis non imponit neceſſitatem, quia ſi omnia evenirent ex neceſſitate, præmia bonorum, & pœna malorum periret*; *Divine Providence* (ſaith he) *impoſeth no neceſſity upon things that are to exiſt; for if all came to paſſe of neceſſity, there ſhould neither be reward of good, nor puniſhment of evill.*

## §. XIII.

### *Of Providence.*

NOw Providence (which the *Greekes* call *Pronoia*) is an intellectuall knowledge, both fore-ſeeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not onely behold all paſt, all preſent, and all to come, but is the cauſe of their ſo being, which Preſcience (ſimply taken) is not: and therefore Providence by the Philoſophers (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) is divided into Memory, Knowledge, and Care: Memory of the paſt, Knowledge of the preſent, and Care of the future: and wee our ſelves account ſuch a man for provident, as, remembring things paſt, and obſerving things preſent, can by judgement, and comparing the one with the other, provide for the future, and times ſucceeding. That ſuch a thing there is as Providence, the Scriptures every-where teach us; *Moſes* in many places, the Prophets in their Predictions, Chriſt himſelfe and his Apoſtles aſſure us hereof: and beſides the Scriptures, *Hermes*, *Orpheus*, *Euripides*, *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Plotinus*, and (in effect) all learned men acknowledge the Providence of God: yea the *Turkes* themſelves are ſo confident therein, as they refuſe not to accompany and viſit each other, in the moſt peſtilent diſeaſes, nor ſhun any perill whatſoever though death therein do manifeſtly preſent it ſelfe.

The places of Scripture proving Providence, are ſo many, both in generall and particular, as I ſhall neede to repeate but a few of them in this place. *Sing unto God* (ſaith
DAVID) *which covereth the Heavens with cloudes, and prepareth raine for the earth, and ma-* Pſal.147.8.
*keth the graſſe to grow upon the Mountaines, which giveth to beaſts their food, and feedeth the*
*yongue Raven that cries: All theſe wait upon thee, that thou mayeſt give them food in due* 9.
*ſeaſon*: *And thou ſhalt drinke of the River Cheareth* (ſaith God to ELIAH) *and I have* Pſal.104.27. & 145.15.
*com-*

1 Reg.17.4.
Matth.6.26.
Luke 12.6.7.
1 Pet.5.7.
Pſal.36.6.

*commanded the Ravens to feed thee there. Behold, the Fowles of the Ayre, they ſow not, nor reape, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them:* Againe, *Are not two Sparrowes ſold for a farthing? and one of them ſhall not fall on the ground without your Father: yea all the hayres of your head are numbred:* And S. Peter, *Caſt all your care on him, for hee careth for you: And his judgements are written,* ſaith David.

Jer.23.24.
Iſay 42.8.
Joh.ep.1.c.4. ver.8.
God is love.

God therefore, who is every-where preſent, *who filleth the Heavens and the Earth, whoſe eyes are upon the Righteous, and his countenance againſt them that doe evill,* was therefore by *Orpheus* called *oculus infinitus, an infinite eye,* beholding all things; & cannot therefore be eſteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any other: for it is contrary to his owne Word: *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo: I will not give my glory to another.* No man commandeth in the Kings preſence, but by the Kings direction; but God is every-where preſent, and King of kings. The example of Gods univerſall Providence is ſeene in his creatures. The Father provideth for his children: beaſts and birds and all livings for their young ones. If Providence be found in ſecond Fathers, much more in the firſt and Univerſall: and if there be a naturall loving care in men, and beaſts, much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whoſe Divine love was the beginning, and is the bond of the Univerſall: *Amor divinus rerum omnium eſt principium, & vinculum univerſi* (ſaith Plato.) *Amor Dei eſt nodus perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumq; ejus immobile ſuſtentaculum, ac univerſæ machinæ fundamentum; The love of God is the perpetuall knot, and linke or chaine of the world, and the immoveable pillar of every part thereof, and the Baſis and foundation of the univerſall.* God therefore who could onely be the cauſe of all, can onely provide for all, and ſuſtaine all; ſo as to abſolute power; to every-where preſence; to perfect goodneſſe; to pure and divine love; this attribute tranſcendent hability of Providence is onely proper and belonging.

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## §.XIV.

### *Of Predeſtination.*

Rom.8 & 9.
Lomb.l.1.diſt. 39.
Thom.part.1. diſt.23.
Bern.de Probl. de p.d.
Aug.l.15.c.1.de Civit.Dei.
Cal.in cap.9.ad Rom.v.11.
Bez.in magn. annot.in cap.9. ad Rom.
Danæus,l.3.de Salut.
Greg.Magn. Job 9.
Aug.ad Polin. ep.59.

NOw for Predeſtination, we can difference it no otherwiſe, from Providence and Preſcience, than in this, that Preſcience onely fore-ſeeth; Providence fore-ſeeth and careth for, and hath reſpect to all creatures, even from the brighteſt Angels of Heaven, to the unworthieſt Wormes of the Earth: and Predeſtination (as it is uſed ſpecially by Divines) is onely of men, and yet not of all to men belonging, but of their ſalvation properly, in the common uſe of Divines, or perdition, as ſome have uſed it. Yet *Peter Lombard, Thomas, Bernenſis Theologus,* and others, take the word Predeſtination more ſtrictly, and for a preparation to felicity: divers of the Fathers take it more largely ſometimes: among whom Saint *Auguſtine* ſpeaking of two Cities, & two Societies, uſeth theſe words, *Quarum eſt una, quæ prædeſtinata eſt in æternum regnare cum Deo, altera æternum ſupplicium ſubire cum Diabolo; Whereof one is it, which is predeſtinated to reigne for ever with God, but the other is to undergoe everlaſting torment with the Devill:* for according to Nonius Marcellus, *deſtinare eſt præparare;* and of the ſame opinion are many Proteſtant writers, as *Calvin, Beza, Buchanus, Danæus,* and ſuch like: and as for the manifold queſtions hereof ariſing, I leave them to the Divines; and why it hath pleaſed God to create ſome veſſels of honour, and ſome of diſhonour, I will anſwer with *Gregory,* who ſaith, *Qui in factis Dei rationem non videt, infirmitatem ſuam conſiderans, cur non videat, rationem videt; He that ſeeth no reaſon in the actions of God, by conſideration of his owne infirmity perceiveth the reaſon of his blindneſſe.* And againe with S. Auguſtine, *Occulta eſſe cauſa poteſt, injuſta eſſe non poteſt; Hidden the cauſe of his Predeſtination may be, unjuſt it cannot be.*

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## §. XV.

### *Of Fortune: and of the reaſon of ſome things that ſeeme to be by fortune, and againſt Reaſon and Providence.*

LAſtly, ſeeing Deſtiny or Neceſſity is ſubſequent to Gods Providence, and ſeeing that the Starres have no other dominion, than is before ſpoken, and that Nature is nothing, but as *Plato* calleth it, *Dei artem, vel artificioſum Dei Organum; The art, or artificiall Organ of God:* and Cuſanus, *Divini præcepti inſtrumentum;*

*The art, or artificiall Organ of God :* and Cusanus, *Divini præcepti inſtrumentum* ; *The inſtrument of the divine precept :* we may then with better reaſon reject that kinde of Idolatry, or God of fooles, called *Fortune* or Chance : a Goddeſſe, the moſt reverenced, and the moſt reviled of all other, but not ancient ; for *Homer* maketh her the Daughter of *Oceanus*, as *Pauſanias* witneſſeth in his *Meſſeniacks*. The *Greekes* call her τυχὴν, ſignifying a relative being, or betiding, ſo as before *Homers* time this great Lady was ſcarce heard of ; and *Heſiodus*, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all theſe counterfeit gods, hath not a word of *Fortune :* yet afterward ſhe grew ſo great and omniptent, as from Kings and Kingdomes, to Beggars and Cottages, ſhe ordered all things, reſiſting the wiſedome of the wiſeſt, by making the Poſſeſſor thereof miſerable : valuing the folly of the moſt fooliſh by making their ſucceſſe proſperous ; inſomuch as the actions of men were ſaid to be but the ſports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens lives, but her paſtimes : of which Palladius, *Vita hominum ludus fortunæ eſt* ; *The life of man is the play of Fortune :* and becauſe it often falleth out, that enterpriſes guided by ill counſels, have equall ſucceſſe to thoſe by the beſt judgement conducted, therefore had Fortune the ſame externall figure with Sapience ; whereof *Athenæus :*

*Sen.ep.91. Aur.vict de pertinace.Sen. ep.74.Demetrius Poliorcetes* in the great and often changes of his Fortune, is ſaid to have uſed to cry out upon *Fortune*, applying to her a Verſe of Æſchilus, *Tu me extuliſti, eadem me is (ſentio) perditum.*

*Longiſſimè à Sapientia Fors diſſidet,*
*Sed multa perficit tamen ſimillima :*

From Wiſedome Fortune differs farre,
And yet in workes moſt like they are.

But I will forbeare to be curious in that, which ( as it is commonly underſtood ) is nothing elſe but a power imaginary, to which the ſucceſſe of humane actions and endevours were for their variety aſcribed ; for when a manifeſt cauſe could not be given, then was it attributed to fortune, as if there were no cauſe of thoſe things, of which moſt men are ignorant ; contrary to this true ground of Plato : *Nihil eſt ortum ſub Sole, cujus cauſa legitima non præceſſerit* ; *Nothing ever came to paſſe under the Sunne, of which there was not a juſt preceding cauſe.* But *Aquinas* hath herein anſwered in one diſtinction, whatſoever may be objected ; for many things there are ( ſaith he ) which happen, *beſides the intention of the Inferior, but not beſides the intention of the Superior* ; *Præter intentionem Inferioris, ſed non præter intentionem Superioris*, (to wit, the ordinance of God ;) and therefore (ſaith Melanchton) *Quod Poetæ fortunam, nos Deum appellamus* ; *whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God.* And that this is true, the Scripture in many places teacheth us ; as in the Law of Murder, *He that ſmiteth a man, and he dye, ſhall dye the death ; and if a man hath not laid waite, but God hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither hee ſhall flee.* Now, where the Scripture hath theſe words, *God hath offered him into his hands*, we ſay, If he hurt him by Chance : and in *Deuteronomy* the nineteenth, where the ſlipping of an Axe from the helve, whereby another is ſlaine, was the worke of God himſelfe, we in our phraſe attribute this accident to Chance or Fortune : and in the *Proverbes* the ſixteenth, *The lot is caſt into the lap, but the whole diſpoſition thereof is of the Lord :* ſo as that which ſeemeth moſt caſuall and ſubject to Fortune, is yet diſpoſed by the ordinance of God, as all things elſe ; and hereof the wiſer ſort, and the beſt learned of the Philoſophers were not ignorant, as *Cicero* witneſſeth for them, gathering the opinion of *Ariſtotle* and his Sectators, with thoſe of *Plato*, and the *Academicks*, to this effect, That the ſame power which they called *animam mundi* ; *The ſoule of the World*, was no other than that incomprehenſible wiſedome, which we expreſſe by the name of God, governing every being aſwell in heaven as in earth ; to which wiſedome and power they ſometime gave the title of Neceſſity or Fate, becauſe it bindeth by inevitable ordinance : ſometime, the ſtyle of Fortune, becauſe of many effects there appeare unto us no certaine cauſes. To this effect ſpeaketh S. *Auguſtine* in his queſtions upon *Geneſis* the firſt Booke : the ſame hath *Seneca* in his fourth of *Benefits* ; which was alſo the doctrine of the *Stoicks*, of which Sect he was : *For whatſoever ( ſaith hee ) thou calleſt God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one & the ſame differenced by divers termes, according as he uſeth, & exerciſeth his power diverſly.*

*Te facimus Fortuna Deam, cœloq; locamus.* Sat.10.366.

Exod.21.12.13.

*Verſ.5.*

*Verſ.33.*

*Cic.ac quæſt.l.1.*

*Senec.l.4.c.7.*

But it may be objected, That if Fortune and Chance were not ſometimes the cauſes of good and evill in men, but an idle voice, wherby we expreſſe ſucceſſe ; how comes it then, that ſo many worthy and wiſe men depended upon ſo many unworthy and empty-headed fooles ; that riches and honour are given to externall men, and without kernell: and ſo many learned, vertuous, and valiant men weare out their lives in poore and dejected eſtates. In a word, there is no other inferior, or apparent cauſe, beſide the partiality of mans affection, but the faſhioning and not faſhioning of our ſelves according to the nature of the time wherein we live: for whoſoever is moſt able, and beſt ſufficient to diſcerne, and hath withall an honeſt and open heart and loving truth; if Princes, or thoſe that governe, endure no other diſcourſe than their owne flatteries, then I ſay ſuch an one, whoſe vertue and courage forbiddeth him to be baſe and a diſſembler, ſhall evermore hang under the wheele; which kinde of deſerving well and receiving ill, we alwayes falſly charge Fortune withall. For whoſoever ſhall tell any great Man or Magiſtrate, that he is not juſt; the Generall of an Army, that he is not valiant, and great Ladies that they are not faire; ſhall never be made a Counſeller, a Captaine, or a Courtier. Neither is it ſufficient to be wiſe with a wiſe Prince, valiant with a valiant, and juſt with him that is juſt, for ſuch a one hath no eſtate in his proſperity; but he muſt alſo change with the ſucceſſor, if he be of contrary qualities; ſaile with the tyde of the time, and alter forme and condition, as the Eſtate or the Eſtates Maſter changeth: Otherwiſe how were it poſſible, that the moſt baſe men, and ſeparate from all imitable qualities, could ſo often attaine to honour and riches, but by ſuch an obſervant ſlaviſh courſe? Theſe men having nothing elſe to value themſelves by, but a counterfeit kinde of wondring at other men, and by making them beleeve that all their vices are vertues, and all their duſty actions cryſtalline, have yet in all ages proſpered equally with the moſt vertuous, if not exceeded them. For according to MENANDER, *Omnis inſipiens arrogantia & plauſibus capitur; Every foole is wonne with his owne pride, and others flattering applauſe:* ſo as whoſoever will live altogether out of himſelfe, and ſtudy other mens humours, and obſerve them, ſhall never be unfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and vertue (except the ſeaſon wherein he liveth be of all theſe, and of all ſorts of goodneſſe fruitfull) ſhall never proſper by the poſſeſſion or profeſſion thereof. It is alſo a token of a worldly wiſe man, not to warre or contend in vaine againſt the nature of times wherein he liveth: for ſuch a one is often the author of his owne miſery; but beſt it were to follow the advice, which the Pope gave the Biſhops of that age, out of *Ovid*, while the Arian Hereſie raged:

*Ovid:rem.am. lib.1.*

*Dum furor in curſu eſt, currenti cede furori.*
While fury gallops on the way,
Let no man furies gallop ſtay.

And if *Cicero* (than whom that world begat not a man of more reputed judgement) had followed the counſell of his brother QUINTUS *Potuiſſet* (ſaith PETRARCH) *in lectulo ſuo mori, potuiſſet integro candavere ſepeliri; He might then have dyed the death of nature, and beene with an untorne and undiſſevered body buried;* for as *Petrarch* in the ſame place noteth: *Quid ſtultius quàm deſperantem (præſertim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicari? What more fooliſh than for him that deſpaires (eſpecially of the effect) to be intangled with endleſſe contentions?* Whoſoever therefore will ſet before him MACHIAVELS *two markes to ſhoote at* (to wit) Riches, and Glory, muſt ſet on and take off a backe of yron to a weake woodden Bow, that it may fit both the ſtrong and the feeble: for as he that firſt deviſed to adde ſayles to rowing veſſels, did either ſo proportion them, as being faſtened aloft, and towards the head of his Maſt, he might abide all windes and ſtormes, or elſe he ſometime or other periſhed by his owne invention: ſo that man which prizeth vertue for it ſelfe, and cannot endure to hoiſe and ſtrike his ſailes, as the divers natures of calmes and ſtormes require, muſt cut his ſailes and his cloth of meane length and breadth, and content himſelfe with a ſlow and ſure navigation, (to wit) a meane and free eſtate. But of this diſpute of Fortune, and the reſt, or of whatſoever Lords or Gods, imaginary powers, or cauſes, the wit (or rather fooliſhneſſe) of man hath found out: let us reſolve with S. *Paul*, who hath taught us, that there is *but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom are all things, and we by him;* there are diverſities of operations, but God is the ſame which worketh all in all.

*1 Cor.c.8.v.6. cap.12.verſ.6.*

# Chap. II.

## *Of mans eſtate in his firſt Creation, and of Gods reſt.*

### §. I.

### *Of the Image of God, according to which man was firſt created.*

THe creation of all other creatures being finiſhed, the heavens adorned, and the earth repleniſhed, God ſaid, *Let us make man in our own Image, according to our likeneſſe.* Man is the laſt and moſt admirable of Gods workes to us knowne: *ingens miraculum homo*; *Man is the greateſt wonder* (ſaith Plato out of Mercurius:) *Naturæ ardentiſſimæ artificium, The artificiall worke of the moſt ardent or fire-like nature* (as ſaith *Zoroaſter*) though the ſame be meant, not for any excellency externall, but in reſpect of his internall forme, both in the nature, qualities, and other attributes thereof: in nature, becauſe it hath an eſſence, immortall, and ſpirituall; in qualities, becauſe the ſame was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, becauſe Man was made Lord of the world, and of the creatures therein.

*Gen.1.26.*

*Triſ.Aſcl.2.& de volunt.Dei.*
*Plat.leg.l.1.*

*Sanctius his animal mentiſq; capacius altæ*
*Deerat adhuc: & quod dominari in cætera poſſet,*
*Natus homo eſt.*

More holy than the reſt, and underſtanding more,
A living creature wants, to rule all made before:
So man began to be.

*Sanctum, quia pars potior immortalis; animal, quia in mortali. In locum Ovid. Met.l.1.76.*

Of this Image and Similitude of God, there is much diſpute among the Fathers, Schoole-men, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceive, that man was made after the Image of God, in reſpect chiefly of Empire and Dominion, as S. *Chryſoſtome* *Ambroſe*, and ſome others: which S. *Ambroſe* denieth to the woman in theſe words, *Ut ſicut Deus unus, ab eo fieret homo unus, & quomodo ex Deo uno omnia, ita ex uno homine omne genus eſſet ſuper faciem totius terræ: Unus igitur, unum fecit, qui unitatis ejus haberet imaginem; That as God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewiſe of one man the whole kinde ſhould be upon the face of the whole earth: Therefore hee being one, made one, that ſhould have the Image of his unity.* But whereas it is gathered out of the following words of the ſame Verſe, that man was after the Image of God in reſpect of rule and power, it is written *Dominamini* in the plurall number, *and let them rule over the fiſh in the Sea, &c.* and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceive, that man is ſaid to be after the Image of God in reſpect of his immortall ſoule onely, becauſe as God is inviſible, ſo the ſoule of man is inviſible; as God is immortall and incorporall, ſo is the ſoule of man immortall and incorporall, and as there is but one God which governeth the world, ſo but one ſoule which governeth the body of man; and as God is wholly in every part of the world, ſo is the ſoule of man wholly in every part of the body: *Anima eſt tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte; The ſoule is wholly in the whole body, and wholly in every part thereof;* according to *Ariſtotle*; though *Chalcidius*, and other learned men deny that doctrine; which that it is otherwiſe than potentially true, all the Ariſtotelians in the world ſhall never prove. Theſe and the like arguments doe the *Jewes* (make ſaith *Toſtatus*) and theſe reſemblances, betweene the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The Schoole-men reſemble the Minde or Soule of Man to God, in this reſpect eſpecially; becauſe that as in the Minde there are three diſtinct powers, or faculties (to wit) Memory, Underſtanding, and Will; and yet all theſe, being of reall differences, are but one minde: ſo in God there are three diſtinct perſons, the Father, Sonne, the holy Ghoſt, and yet but one God. They alſo make the Image and Similitude divers; and againe, they diſtinguiſh betweene *Imaginem Dei*, and *ad Imaginem Dei*, and ſpinne into ſmall threds, with ſubtile diſtinctions, many times the plaineneſſe and ſincerity of the Scriptures: their wits being like that ſtrong water, that eateth thorow and diſſolveth the pureſt gold. *Victorinus* alſo maketh the Image of God to bee ſubſtantiall, but not the ſimilitude: *ſed in ſubſtantia nomen qualitatis declarativum*; *A word declaring quality in the ſubſtance.* Out of which words, and that which followeth, it is inferred, that as the image and ſimilitude doe greatly differ: ſo the ſinfull ſoule doth not therefore leave to be the image of God; but it hath not his ſimilitude, except it be holy and righteous. S. *Auguſtine* alſo againſt *Adimantus* the *Manichee* affirmeth, that by ſinne, the perfection of this image is loſt in man; and in his Retractations maintaineth the ſame opinion, and alſo affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken, than the Image.

But howſoever the Schoolemen and others diſtinguiſh, or whatſoever the Fathers conceive, ſure I am that S. *Paul* maketh the ſame ſenſe of the image, which *Victorinus* doth of the ſimilitude, who ſaith: *As wee have borne the image of the earthly, ſo ſhall we beare the image of the heavenly*; and it cannot bee gathered out of the Scriptures, that the words Image and Similitude were uſed but in one ſenſe, and in this place the better to expreſſe each other; whatſoever *Lombard* hath ſaid to the contrary. For God knowes, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himſelfe in the Scriptures, which neither *Moſes*, the *Prophets*, or *Apoſtles*, ever conceived. Now as S. *Paul* uſeth the word (Image) for both: ſo Saint *James* uſeth the word (Similitude) for both in theſe words: *Therewith bleſſe we God even the Father, and therewith curſe wee Men, which are made after the ſimilitude of God.* Howſoever therefore S. *Auguſtine* ſeemeth, out of a kind of elegancy in writing, to make ſome difference: as where he writteth, *Confitemur imaginem in æternitate, ſimilitudinem in moribus inveniri*; *We confeſſe that this image is found in eternity, but his ſimilitude in manners*, that is, in the ſpirituall diſpoſitions and qualities of the minde; yet thus he elſewhere ſpeaketh plainly: *Quaſi vero poſſit eſſe imago aliqua, in qua ſimilitudo non ſit: ſi enim omnino ſimilis non eſt, procul dubio nec imago eſt*; *As if* (ſaith he) *there could be any image, where the ſimilitude is not: no, out of doubt, where there is no likeneſſe, there is no image.* The very words of the Text make this moſt manifeſt, as, *Let us make man in our image, according to our likeneſſe*: which is, Let us make man in our image, that he may be like us: and in the next Verſe following, God himſelfe maketh it plaine; for there he uſeth the word (Image) onely, as thus: *God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him.* And to take away all diſpute or ambiguity, in the firſt Verſe of the fift Chapter, the word (Similitude) is uſed againe by it ſelfe, as, *In the day that God created* ADAM, *in the likeneſſe of God made he him.* And this ſimilitude S. *Paul* Coloſ. the third, calleth the Image. *Put on* (ſaith he) *the new man which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him.* And in *Syracides* it is written, *He made them according to his image.* Now if we may beleeve Saint *Paul* before *Peter Lombard* and other Schoolemen, then it is as manifeſt as words can make it, that the image and ſimilitude is but the ſame; for S. *Paul* uſeth both the words directly in one ſenſe. *For they turned the glory of the incorruptible God, to the ſimilitude of the image of a corruptible man.*

1 Cor.15.49.
Iam.3.9.
Vt ſupra.
Aug.ut ſupr.
Verſ.10.
Rom.1.23.

*Zanchius* laboureth to prove, that man was formed after the image of God, both in body and minde: *Nulla pars in homine quæ non fuerit hujuſce imaginis particeps*; *No part in a man* (ſaith he) *which was not participating Gods image: for God ſaid, Let us make man according to our owne image.* But the ſoule alone is not man, but the *Hypoſtaſis* or whole man compounded of body and ſoule. The body of man (ſaith he) *is the image of the world, and called therefore Microcoſmus*; but the *Idæa* and exemplar of the world was firſt in God, ſo that man, according to his body, muſt needes be the image of God. Againſt which opinion of this learned man, his owne objection ſeemeth to me ſufficient, where he alleageth that it may be ſaid, that *Moſes* ſpake by the figure *Synecdoche*, as when a man is called a mortall man, yet is not the whole man mortall, but the body onely: ſo when God ſaid, Let us make man after our image, he meant the ſoule of man, and not the body of earth and duſt: *Maledictus qui Deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert* (ſaith Saint AUGUSTINE:) *Curſed is he that referreth the Deity of God to the lineaments of mans body: Deus enim non eſt humanæ formæ particeps, neq; corpus humanum divinæ* (ſaith PHILO;) *God is not partaker of humane forme, nor humane body of the forme divine.* The *Hebrew* word for image, is *Tſelem*, which ſignifieth a ſhadow or obſcure reſemblance: *In imagine pertranſit homo*; *Man paſſeth away in a ſhadow*: Let us then know and conſider, that God, who is eternall and infinite, hath not any bodily ſhape or compoſition; for it is both againſt his Nature and his Word; an error of the *Anthropomorphitæ*, againſt the very eſſence and Majeſty of God.

Zanch.de op. Dei.l.3.cap.1.
In Gen.

Surely *Cicero*, who was but a *Heathen*, had yet a more divine underſtanding than theſe groſſe Heretikes: *Ad ſimilitudinem Dei propriùs accedebat humana virtus, quàm figura; The vertue which is in man* (ſaith he) *came neerer the ſimilitude of God, than the figure.* For God is a ſpirituall ſubſtance, inviſible, and moſt ſimple; God is a juſt God: God is Mercifull; God is Charity it ſelfe, and (in a word) Goodneſſe it ſelfe; and none elſe ſimply good. And thus much it hath pleaſed God himſelfe to teach us, and to make us know of himſelfe. What then can be the ſhadow of ſuch a ſubſtance, the image of ſuch a nature, or wherein can man be ſaid to reſemble his unexcogitable power and perfectneſſe? certainely, not in Dominion alone: for the Devill is ſaid to be the Prince of this World, and the Kingdome of Chriſt was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father; neither becauſe man hath an immortall ſoule, and therein the faculties of Memory, Underſtanding, and Will; for the Devils are alſo immortall, and participate thoſe faculties, being called *Dæmones*, becauſe *ſcientes* of Knowledge, and ſubtilty; neither becauſe we are reaſonable creatures, by which we are diſtinguiſhed from beaſts: for who have rebelled againſt God? who have made gods of the vileſt beaſts, of Serpents, of Cats, of Owles, yea, even of ſhamefull parts, of luſts and pleaſures, but reaſonable men? yet doe I not condemne the opinion of Saint *Chryſoſtome* and *Ambroſe*, as touching dominion, but that, in reſpect thereof, man was in ſome ſort after the image of God, if we take Dominion, ſuch as it ought to be, that is, accompanied with Juſtice and Piety: for God did not onely make man a Ruler and Governour over the Fiſhes of the Sea, the Fowles of Heaven (or of the aire) and over the Beaſts of the Field; But God gave unto man a dominion over men, he appointed Kings to governe them, and Judges to judge them in equity. Neither doe I exclude Reaſon, as it is the ability of Underſtanding. For I doe not conceive, that *Irenæus* did therefore call man, the image of God, becauſe he was *animal rationale* only; but that he underſtood it better, with SYBILLA: *Imago mea eſt homo, rectam rationem habens: Man that is endued with right reaſon, is ſaid to reſemble God,* (that is) by right reaſon to know and confeſſe God his Creatour, and the ſame God to ſerve, love, and obey: and therefore ſaid S. *Auguſtine* (who herein came neerer the Truth) *Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & ſimilitudinem ſuam in mente; God made man, in reſpect of the intellect, after his owne Image and ſimilitude;* and REYNERIUS; *Homo, quòd habet mentem, factus eſt ad imaginem Dei; Man was made after the Image of God, in minde,* or *in that he had a minde.*

Eph.6.12.
Joh.18.36.
Plat.in Cratyll.
Oſorius de Juſt. lib.5.
Reyn.de ment.

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## §.II.

### *Of the intellectuall minde of man, in which there is much of the Image of God: and that this Image is much deformed by Sinne.*

BUt *Mens* is not taken here for *anima phyſica*, according to *Ariſtotle*, which is *forma, vel natura hominis: The forme or nature of man*, but this faculty or gift of God, called *Mens*, is taken for *prima vis animi; the principall ſtrength of the minde*, or ſoule, *cujus actus eſt perpetua veritatis contemplatio; whoſe act*, exerciſe, or office, *is the perpetuall contemplation of truth*; and therefore it is alſo called *intellectus divinus, intellectus contemplativus, & anima contemplativa. A divine underſtanding, and an intellect or minde contemplative. Eſt autem mens noſtra* (ſaith CUSANUS) *vis comprehendendi, & totum virtute ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compoſitum: Our intellectuall minde* (ſaith he) *is a power of comprehending, even the whole, that is in this kinde powerfull, compounded of all the powers of comprehenſion:* unto which *Mercurius* attributeth ſo much (if his meaning accompany his words) that he eſteemeth it to be the very eſſence of God (which was alſo the errour of the *Manichees*, and others) and no otherwiſe ſeparate from God (ſaith he) than the light from the Sunne: for this *Mens* or underſtanding (ſaith MERCURIUS) *eſt Deus in hominibus: Is God in men*, or rather (and which I take to be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For as the Sunne is not of the ſame eſſence or nature with the divine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; ſo is this *Mens* or underſtanding in men, not of the eſſence of Gods infinite underſtanding, but a power and faculty of our ſoules the pureſt; or the *lumen animæ rationalis*, by the true and eternall light illightned. And this *Mens* others call *animam animæ, The ſoule of the ſoule*, or with S. *Auguſtine*, the eie of the ſoule, or receptacle of Sapience and divine knowledge, *quæ amorem ſapientiæ tanquam ducem ſequitur, Which followeth*

Pœmander.
De mente Idiota.l.3.
Sen.ep.65.f.31.f.

*after the love of ſapience as her guide* ( ſaith *Philo* ) betweene which and reaſon, betweene which and the minde, called *anima*, betweene which and that power which the Latines call *animus*, there is this difference. Reaſon is that faculty by which we judge and diſcourſe; *Anima*, by which we live. Hereof it is ſaid, *Anima corpus animat, id eſt, vivificat; or the ſoule is that which doth animate the body, that is, giveth it life*. for death is the ſeparation of body and ſoule; and the ſame ſtrength ( ſaith *Philo* ) which God the great Director hath in the World, the ſame hath this *Anima*, or minde, or ſoule in man. *Animus*, is that, by which we will and make election; and to this *Baſil* agreeth, which called this *Mens*, or divine underſtanding, *perſpicacem animæ partem, the perceiving part of the minde*, or the light by which the Soule diſcerneth: *dormientium mens, non anima, ſopitur, & in furioſis mens extinguitur, anima manet: In men that ſleepe it is this (mens) or underſtanding, and not the mind or ſoule, which reſteth*, during which time it is but habituall in wiſe men, *& in mad men this* ( *Mens* ) *is extinguiſhed, and not the ſoule*: for mad men doe live, though diſtract.

Therefore this word being often uſed for the Soule giving life, is attributed abuſively to mad men, when we ſay that they are of a diſtract minde, in ſtead of a broken underſtanding: which word (Mind) we uſe alſo for opinion, as, I am of this minde, or that minde: and ſometimes for mens conditions or vertues, as, He is of an honeſt minde, or, a man of a juſt minde: ſometimes for affection, as, I doe this for my mindes ſake; and *Ariſtotle* ſometimes uſeth this word ( *Mens* ) for the phantaſie, which is the ſtrength of the imagination: ſometimes for the knowledge of principles, which we have without diſcourſe: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels and Intelligences: but as it is uſed in the proper ſignification, including both the underſtanding agent and poſſible, it is deſcribed to bee a pure, ſimple, ſubſtantiall act, not depending upon matter, but having relation to that which is intelligible, as to his firſt object: or more at large thus; A part or particle of the Soule, whereby it doth underſtand, not depending upon matter, nor needing any organ, free from paſſion comming from without, and apt to be diſſevered, as, eternall from that which is mortall Hereof excellently Mercurius: *Anima eſt imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti praeſt, mens animæ, anima corpori; The Soule* (meaning that which giveth life) *is the Image of this underſtanding*, or *Mens, and this* ( *Mens* ) or *underſtanding is the Image of God. God is Preſident or Ruler over this underſtanding, this underſtanding over the Soule, and this Soule over the body*. This diviſion and diſtinction out of the *Platonikes* and *Peripatetikes*, I leave to the Reader to judge of. That, *Mens humana* hath no need of any organ, *Marſilius Ficinus* in his ninth Booke of the Soules immortality laboureth to prove. *Zanchius* doth not differ from *Ficinus* in words: for ( ſaith he ) *Ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam non eget Mens organo; tanquam medio, per quod intelligat: quanquam eget objecto in quod intuatur, & ex quo intellectionem concipiat: hoc autem objectum ſunt phantaſmata, ſeu rerum à ſenſibus perceptarum ſimulachra ad phantaſiam prolata: To exerciſe the faculty of underſtanding, the minde of man* ( ſaith he) *needeth no inſtrument, as a meane, by which it may underſtand: but it needeth an object, whereon to looke, and whence to conceive the act of underſtanding. This object are the phantaſmes, or the reſemblances of things received from the ſenſe, and carried to the phantaſie*. But in effect his concluſion ſeemeth to carry a contrary ſenſe, when hee maketh the Phantaſie, in repreſenting the object to the underſtanding, to be a corporall *Organum*; neither can it be underſtood to be an *Organum* of any thing, but of the underſtanding. And he addeth, that the reſemblance of things in mans imagination, are to his underſtanding and minde, as colours are to the ſight: whence it ſo followeth, that the imagination or phantaſie it ſelfe is to the faculty of underſtanding, as the eye is to the faculty of ſeeing; and as this is an *organum*, ſo that. Of this queſtion, How the minde in all her actions maketh uſe of the body, and hath communion with the body, I referre the Reader to a moſt grave and learned Diſcourſe in the laſt Reply of M.D. *Bilſon*, late Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, unto *Henry Jacob*. Howſoever the Truth be determined, wee muſt conclude, that it is neither in reſpect of reaſon alone, by which we diſcourſe, nor in reſpect of the minde it ſelfe by which wee live, nor in reſpect of our ſoules ſimply, by which we are immortall, that we are made after the Image of God. But moſt ſafely may we reſemble our ſelves to God *in mente*, and in reſpect of that pure faculty which is never ſeparate from the contemplation and love of God. Yet this is not all. For Saint *Bernard* maketh a true difference betweene the nature and faculties of the Minde or Soule, and betweene the infuſion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being

*Lib.9.cap.5. Zanch. de oper. Dei, part.3. lib.1. cap.2.*

*Pag.185. & ſequent.*

*Ad imaginem Dei creavit illum, id eſt, ſapientiæ, virtutis, ac bonitatis compotem, qui ſeſe intuitus Creatorem agnoſceret ſuum, atq; imitari, proq; ingenii, proq; auctoritatis, ſibi conceſſæ ratione ſtuderet. Exam.*

being added to the nature, eſſence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the Image of God, whoſe words are theſe: *Non propterea imago Dei eſt, quia ſui meminit Mens, ſeq; intelligit & diligit* (which alſo was the opinion of Saint Augustine) *ſed quia poteſt meminiſſe, intelligere ac diligere eum à quo facta eſt,* (that is) *The Minde* (or *Mens*) *was not therefore the Image of God, becauſe it remembreth, underſtandeth, and loveth it ſelfe, but becauſe it can remember, underſtand, and love God, who created it.* And that this Image may be deformed and made unprofitable, heare Basil: *Homo ad imaginem & ſimilitudinem Dei factus eſt, peccatum verò imaginis hujus pulchritudinem deformavit, & inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis concupiſcentiæ affectibus immerſit: Man was made after the Image and ſimilitude of God, but ſinne hath deformed the beauty of this Image, and made it unprofitable by drawing our minds into corrupt concupiſcence.*

It is not therefore (as aforeſaid) by reaſon of Immortalility, nor in Reaſon, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of theſe by it ſelfe, nor in all theſe joyned, by any of which or by all which we reſemble, or may be called the ſhadow of God, though by reaſon and underſtanding, with the other faculties of the Soule, we are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in reſpect of the habit of Originall righteouſneſſe, moſt perfectly infuſed by God into the Minde and Soule of man in his firſt Creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberality, that we were printed with the ſeale of Gods Image (though Reaſon may be ſaid to be of her gift, which joyned to the ſoule is a part of the Eſſentiall Conſtitution of our proper *Species*) but from the bountifull grace of the Lord of all goodneſſe, who breathed life into Earth, and contrived within the Trunke of Duſt and Clay, the inimitable hability of his own Piety, and Righteouſneſſe.

So long therefore (for that reſemblance which Dominion hath) doe thoſe that are powerfull retaine the Image of God, as according to his Commandements they exerciſe the Office or Magiſtracy to which they are called, and ſincerely walke in the wayes of God, which in the Scriptures is called, *walking with God*; *Gen.5.22.* and all other men ſo long retaine this Image, as they feare, love and ſerve God truly, that is, for the love of God alone, and doe not bruiſe and deface his Seale by the weight of manifold and voluntary offences, and obſtinate ſinnes. For the unjuſt minde cannot be after the Image of God, ſeeing God is Juſtice it ſelfe; The bloud-thirſty hath it not; for God is Charity, and Mercy it ſelfe: Falſhood, cunning practice, and ambition, are properties of Sathan; and therefore cannot dwell in one ſoule, together with God: and to be ſhort, there is *2 Cor.6.14.* no likelihood betweene pure light and blacke darkneſſe, betweene beauty and deformity, or betweene righteouſneſſe and reprobation. And though Nature, according to common underſtanding, have made us capable by the power of reaſon, and apt enough to receive this Image of Gods goodneſſe, which the ſenſuall ſoules of beaſts cannot perceive; yet were that aptitude naturall more inclinable to follow and imbrace the falſe and dureleſſe pleaſures of this Stage-play World, than to become the ſhadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanſhip of Gods Wiſedome, and the liberality of his Mercy, formed eyes to our ſoules, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impurity of our fleſh, behold the higheſt Heavens, and thence bring Knowledge and Object to the Minde and Soule, to contemplate the everduring Glory, and termeleſſe Joy, prepared for thoſe, which retaine the Image and ſimilitude of their Creatour, preſerving undefiled and unrent the garment of the new man, *2 Cor.3.18.* which, after the Image of God, is created in Righteouſneſſe, and Holineſſe, as ſaith Saint *Paul.* Now, whereas it is thought by ſome of the Fathers, as by S. *Auguſtine*, with whom *S.Ambroſe.* S. *Ambroſe* joyneth, that by ſinne, the perfection of the Image is loſt, and not the Image it ſelfe; both opinions by this diſtinction may be well reconciled (to wit) that the Image of God, in man, may be taken two wayes; for either it is conſidered, according to naturall gifts, and conſiſteth therein: namely, to have a reaſonable and underſtanding nature, &c. and in this ſenſe, the Image of God is more loſt by ſinne, than the very reaſonable or underſtanding nature, &c. is loſt, (or ſinne doth not aboliſh and take away theſe naturall gifts:) or, the Image of God is conſidered, according to ſupernaturall gifts, namely, of Divine Grace and heavenly Glory, which is indeed the perfection and accompliſhment of the naturall Image; and this maner of ſimilitude and Image of God is wholly blotted out and deſtroyed by ſin.

§. III.

## §.III.

### *Of our baſe and fraile bodies: and that the care thereof ſhould yeeld to the immortall Soule.*

Arias Mont. de nat. f.156.

THe externall man God formed out of the duſt of the Earth, or according to the ſignification of the word, *Adam*, of *Adamath*, of red Earth, or, *ex limo terræ*, out of the ſlime of the Earth, or a mixed matter of Earth and Water. *Non ex qualibet humo, ſed ex ghaphar adamath (id eſt) ex pinguiſſima & molliſſima: Not th*[illegible]*od made an Image or Statue of Clay, but out of Clay, Earth or Duſt God formed and made fleſh, bloud, and bone, with all parts of man.*

Gen.18.27. Job 4.27.

That man was formed of Earth and Duſt did *Abraham* acknowledge, when in humble feare hee called unto God, to ſave *Sodome: Let not my Lord now be angry, if I ſpeake, I that am but duſt and aſhes:* And, *In theſe Houſes of Clay, whoſe foundation is in the duſt, doe our ſoules inhabite*, according to *Job*. And though our owne eyes doe every-where behold the ſudden and reſiſtleſſe aſſaults of Death, and Nature aſſureth us by never-failing Experience, and Reaſon by infallible demonſtration, that our times upon the Earth have neither certainty nor durability, that our Bodies are but the Anviles of paine and diſeaſes, and our Mindes the Hives of unnumbred cares, ſorrowes and paſſions: and that (when we are moſt glorified) we are but thoſe painted poſts, againſt which Envie and Fortune direct their darts; yet ſuch is the true unhappineſſe of our condition, and the darke ignorance which covereth the eyes of our underſtanding, that we onely prize, pamper, and exalt this Vaſſall and Slave of death, and forget altogether (or onely remember at our caſt-away leiſure) the impriſoned immortall Soule, which can neither dye with the Reprobate, nor periſh with the mortall parts of vertuous men: ſeeing Gods juſtice in the one, and his goodneſſe in the other is exerciſed for evermore, as the ever-living ſubjects of his reward and puniſhment. But when is it that we examine this great account? Never while we have one vanity left us to ſpend: we plead for Titles, till our breath faile us; digge for Riches, whiles our ſtrength enableth us; exerciſe malice, while we can revenge; and then when Time hath beaten from us both youth, pleaſure, and health, and that Nature it ſelfe hateth the houſe of old age, we remember with *Job*, that *we muſt goe the way from whence we ſhall not returne, and that our bed is made ready for us in the darke*; And then I ſay, looking over-late into the bottome of our conſcience (which Pleaſure and Ambition had locked up from us all our lives,) wee behold therein the fearefull Images of our actions paſt, and withall this terrible Inſcription: *That God will bring every worke into judgement, that man hath done under the Sunne.*

Job 10.21.&17.13.

Eccl.12.14.

But what examples have ever moved us? what perſwaſions reformed us? or what threatnings made us affraid? we behold other mens Tragedies plaid before us, we heare what is promiſed and threatned: but the Worlds bright glory hath put out the eyes of our minds, and theſe betraying lights, (with which we onely ſee) doe neither looke up towards termeleſſe joyes, nor downe towards endleſſe ſorrowes, till we neither know, nor can looke for any thing elſe, at the Worlds hands. Of which excellently *Marius Victor*:

*Nil hoſtes, nil dira fames, nil deniq; morbi*
*Egerunt, fuimus, qui nunc ſumus, iiſq; periclis*
*Tentati, nihilo meliores reddimur unquam,*
*Sub vitiis nullo culparum fine manentes.*

Diſeaſes, Famine, Enemies, in us no change have wrought,
What erſt we were, we are; ſtill in the ſame ſnare caught:
No time can our corrupted manners mend,
In Vice we dwell, in Sinne that hath no end.

Bern. in Pſal. Qui habitat.

But let us not flatter our immortall Soules herein: for to neglect God all our lives, and know that wee neglect him; to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, caſting our hopes on the Peace, which we truſt to make at parting, is no other than a rebellious preſumption, and (that which is the worſt of all) even a contemptuous laughing to ſcorne, and deriding of God, his Lawes and Precepts. *Fruſtra ſperant qui ſic de miſericordia Dei ſibi blandiuntur*; *They hope in vaine*, ſaith BERNARD, *which in this ſort flatter themſelves with Gods mercy.*

§.IV.

## §. IV.

### Of the Spirit of Life, which God breathed into man in his Creation.

IN this frame and carcaſſe God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a living Soule: (that is) God gave a body of Earth and of corruptible matter, a Soule ſpirituall and incorruptible; not that God had any ſuch bodily inſtruments as men uſe, but God breathed the Spirit of Life and Immortalitie into man, as hee breatheth his grace daily into ſuch as love and feare him. *The Spirit of God* (ſaith Elihu in Job) *hath made mee, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me Life: In qua ſententia* (ſaith Rabanus) *vitanda eſt paupertas ſenſus carnalis, ne forte putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formaſſe corpus hominis, vel faucibus aut labiis ſuis inſpiraſſe in faciem formati, ut vivere poſſit & ſpiraculum vitæ habere: Nam et Propheta cum ait, Manus tuæ fecerunt me, &c. Tropica hac locutione magis quam propria, (id eſt) juxta conſuetudinem, qua ſolent homines operari, loquutus eſt: In which ſentence* (ſaith hee) *the beggarlineſſe of carnall ſenſe is to bee avoided, leſt perhaps wee ſhould thinke, either that God with bodily hands made mans body of ſlime, or breathed with jawes or lips upon his face (being formed) that he might live, and have the Spirit of Life: for the Prophet alſo when he ſaith, Thy hands have made mee, ſpake this Tropically, rather than properly (that is) according to the cuſtom which men uſe in working. Quantum eſt periculi his, qui Scripturas ſenſu corporeo legunt? In what danger are they that reade the Scriptures in a carnall ſenſe?* By this breath was infuſed into man both life and ſoule; and therefore this (Soule) the Philoſophers call *Animam, qua vivificat corpus, & animat; Which doth animate, and give life to the body. The inſpiration of the Almighty giveth underſtanding*, ſaith Job; and this ſpirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reaſonable ſoule of man, returneth againe to God that gave it, as the body returneth unto the Earth, out of which it was taken; according to *Eccleſiaſtes: And duſt ſhall returne to the Earth, out of which is was taken, and the ſpirit ſhall returne to God that gave it.* Neither is this word (Spirit) uſually otherwiſe taken in the Scriptures, than for the ſoule; as when *Stephen* cried unto God: *Domine, ſuſcipe ſpiritum meum; Lord Jeſus receive my ſpirit:* and in S. John, *And Jeſus bowed his head and gave up the Ghoſt*, or Spirit; (which was) that his life and ſoule left his body dead. And that the immortall ſoule of man differeth from the Soules of beaſts, the manner of creation maketh it manifeſt: for it is written, *Let the waters bring forth in abundance every creeping thing, and let the Earth bring forth the living thing, according to his kinde, the beaſt of the Earth, &c.* But of man it is written, *Let us make man in our owne Image, &c.* and further, that *the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life.* Wherefore, as from the Water and Earth were thoſe creatures brought forth, and thence received life; ſo ſhall they againe be diſſolved into the ſame firſt matter, whence they were taken: but the life of breath everlaſting, which God breathed into man, ſhall according to *Eccleſiaſtes, returne againe to God that gave it.*

Job 33.4.
Eccleſ.12.7.
Act.7.59.
John 19.30.
Gen.1.20.
24.
26.
Gen.2.7.
Eccl.12.7.

## §. V.

### That man is (as it were) a little World: with a digreſſion touching our mortality.

MAn, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abſtract or modell, or briefe Storie of the Univerſall: in whom God concluded the Creation, and worke of the World, and whom hee made the laſt and moſt excellent of his Creatures, being internally endued with a divine underſtanding, by which hee might contemplate and ſerve his Creatour, after whoſe image hee was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of Reaſon and other abilities, that thereby alſo hee might governe and rule the World, and all other Gods creatures therein. And whereas God created three ſorts of living natures, (to wit) Angelicall, Rationall, and Brutall; giving to Angels an intellectuall, and to Beaſts a ſenſuall nature, he vouchſafed unto Man, both the intellectuall of Angels, the ſenſitive of Beaſts, and the proper rationall belonging unto man: and therefore (ſaith Gregory Nazianzene) *Homo eſt utriuſq; naturæ vinculum, Man is the bond and chaine which tyeth together both natures:* and becauſe in the little frame of mans body there is a repreſentation of the Univerſall, and (by alluſion) a kinde of participation of all the parts there, therefore was man called *Microcoſmos*, or the little World. *Deus igitur hominem factum, velut alterum quendam mundum,*

Ar.Phyſ.l.8.
c.2.t.17.f.
Greg.Naz.Epiſt.
*Omnis in homine creatura, & cœlum & terra.*
Aug.l.qu.83.q.
67 retr.l.1.c.2.

*dum, in brevi magnum, atq; exiguo totum, in terris ſtatuit*; *God therefore placed in the Earth the man whom he had made, as it were another World; the great and large World in the ſmall and little World*: for out of the Earth and Duſt was formed the fleſh of man, and therefore heavie and lumpiſh: the bones of his body we may compare to the hard Rockes and Stones, and therefore ſtrong and durable; of which OVID:

Ovid.Met.l.1.

*Inde genus durum ſumus, experienſq; laborum,*
*Et documenta damus quà ſimus origine nati:*

From thence our Kind hard-hearted is, enduring paine and care,
Approving, that our bodies of a ſtonie nature are.

His bloud, which diſperſeth it ſelfe by the branches of veines through all the body, may be reſembled to thoſe waters, which are carried by Brookes and Rivers over all the Earth; his breath to the Aire, his naturall heate to the incloſed warmth which the Earth hath in it ſelfe, which, ſtirred up by the heate of the Sunne, aſſiſteth Nature in the ſpeedier procreation of thoſe varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth; Our radicall moiſture, Oyle, or Balſamum (whereon the naturall heate feedeth and is maintained) is reſembled to the fat and fertilitie of the Earth; the haires of mans body, which adornes or over-ſhadowes it, to the graſſe, which covereth the upper face and skin of the Earth; our generative power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the light, wandering & unſtable clouds, carried every where with uncertain winds; our eies, to the light of the Sun and Moone; and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very ſhort time, or with the Sunnes heat, dry up, and wither away, or the fierce puffes of winde blow them from the ſtalkes; the thoughts of our minde, to the motion of Angels; and our pure underſtanding (formerly called *Mens*, and that which alwayes looketh upwards) to thoſe intellectuall natures, which are alwayes preſent with God; and laſtly our immortall ſoules (while they are righteous) are by God himſelfe beautified with the title of his owne Image and ſimilitude. And although, in reſpect of God, there is no man juſt, or good, or righteous: for *in Angelis deprehenſa eſt ſtultitia*, *Behold, hee found folly in his Angels* (ſaith *Job*) yet with ſuch a kind of difference, as there is betweene the ſubſtance and the ſhadow, there may be found a goodneſſe in man: which God being pleaſed to accept, hath therefore called man, the image and ſimilitude of his owne righteouſneſſe. In this alſo is the little World of man compared, and made more like the univerſall (man being the meaſure of all things; *Homo eſt menſura omnium rerum*, ſaith *Ariſtotle* and *Pythagoras*) that the foure Complections reſemble the foure Elements, and the ſeven Ages of man the ſeven Planets: Whereof our infancie is compared to the *Moone*, in which we ſeeme onely to live and grow, as Plants; the ſecond Age to *Mercurie*, wherein we are taught and inſtructed; our third Age to *Venus*, the dayes of Love, Deſire, and Vanitie; the fourth to the *Sunne*, the ſtrong, flouriſhing, and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which we ſeeke honour and victorie, and in which our thoughts travaile to ambitious ends; the ſixth Age is aſcribed to *Jupiter*, in which we beginne to take accompt of our times, judge of our ſelves, and grow to the perfection of our underſtanding; the laſt and ſeventh to *Saturne*, wherin our dayes are ſad and over-caſt, and in which we find by deare and lamentable experience, & by the loſſe which can never be repaired, that of all our vaine paſſions and affections paſt, the ſorrow only abideth: Our attendants are ſickneſſes, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more we are accompanied with plentie, by ſo much the more greedily is our end deſired, whom when *Time* hath made unſociable to others, we become a burthen to our ſelves: being of no other uſe, than to hold the riches we have, from our Succeſſors. In this time it is, when (as aforeſaid) we, for the moſt part, and never before, prepare for our eternall habitation, which we paſſe on unto, with many ſighes, grones and ſad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanſhip of death, finiſh the ſorrowfull buſineſſe of a wretched life, towards which we alwaies travell both ſleeping and waking: neither have thoſe beloved companions of honor and riches any power at all, to hold us any one day, by the glorious promiſe of entertainments; but by what crooked path ſoever we walk, the ſame leadeth on directly to the houſe of death; whoſe doores lye open at all houres, and to all perſons. For this tyde of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a perpetuall Ebbe and falling Streame, but never floweth againe: our Leafe once fallen, ſpringeth no more,

Job 4.18.

Ariſt.10.Metaph. c.1.f.

neither doth the Sunne or the Summer adorne us againe, with the garments of new Leaves and Flowers.

*Redditur arboribus florens revirentibus ætas,*
*Ergò non homini, quod fuit antè, redit.*

To which I give this ſenſe.

The Plants and Trees made poore and old
By Winter envious,
The Spring-time bounteous
Covers againe from ſhame and cold:
But never man repair'd againe
His youth and beautie loſt,
Though Art, and care, and coſt,
Doe promiſe Natures helpe in vaine.

*And of which,*

Catullus Epigram.53.
*Soles occidere & redire poſſunt:*
*Nobis cùm ſemel occidit brevis lux,*
*Nox eſt perpetua una dormienda.*

The Sunne may ſet and riſe:
But we contrariwiſe
Sleepe after our ſhort light
One everlaſting night.

For if there were any baiting place, or reſt, in the courſe or race of mans life, then according to the doctrine of the *Academicks*, the ſame might alſo perpetually bee maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in naturall living things, and as the ſap and juyce, wherein the life of Plants is preſerved, doth evermore aſcend or deſcend; ſo is it with the life of man, which is alwayes either increaſing towards ripeneſſe and perfection, or declining and decreaſing towards rottenneſſe and diſſolution.

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## §. VI.

### *Of the free power, which man had in his firſt Creation, to diſpoſe of himſelfe.*

Theſe be the miſeries which our firſt Parents brought on all Mankinde, unto whom God in his creation gave a free and unconſtrained will, and on whom he beſtowed the liberall choice of all things, with one onely prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God ſet before him, a mortall and immortall Life, a nature celeſtiall and terrene, and (indeed) God gave man to himſelfe, to bee his owne Guide, his owne Workeman, and his owne Painter, that hee might frame or deſcribe unto himſelfe what hee pleaſed, and make election of his owne forme. *God made man in the beginning* (ſaith Siracides) *and left him in the hands of his owne counſell.* Such was the liberalitie of God, and mans felicitie: whereas beaſts, and all other creatures reaſonleſſe, brought with them into the World (ſaith *Lucilius*) and that even when they firſt fell from the bodies of their Dams, the nature, which they could not change; and the ſupernall Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or ſoone after, of that condition, in which they remaine in perpetuall eternitie. But (as aforeſaid) God gave unto man all kind of Seeds and Grafts of life (to wit) the vegetative life of Plants, the ſenſuall of Beaſts, the rationall of Man, and the intellectuall of Angels; whereof which ſoever he tooke pleaſure to plant and cultive, the ſame ſhould futurely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his owne choice and plantation. This freedome of the firſt man *Adam*, and our firſt Father, was ænigmatically deſcribed by *Aſclepius Athenienſis* (ſaith *Mirandula*) in the perſon and Fable of *Proteus*, who was ſaid, as often as he pleaſed, to change his ſhape. To the ſame end were all thoſe celebrated *Metamorphoſes* among the Pythagorians, and ancient Poets, wherein it was fained, that men were transformed into divers ſhapes of beaſts, thereby to ſhew the change of mens conditions, from Reaſon to Brutalitie, from Vertue to Vice, from Meekneſſe to Crueltie, and from Juſtice to Oppreſſion. For by the lively Image of other creatures did thoſe *Ancients* repreſent the variable paſſions, and affections of mortall men; as by Serpents were ſignified Deceivers; by Lyons, Oppreſſors, and cruell men; by Swine, Men given over to luſt and ſenſualitie; by Wolves, ravening, and greedie Men; which alſo Saint *Matthew* reſembleth to falſe prophets, *which come to you in ſheepes clothing, but inwardly they are ravening Wolves:* by the images of ſtones and ſtockes, fooliſh and ignorant Men; by Vipers, ungratefull Men: of which S. John Baptist, *O yee generation of Vipers, &c.*

Eccleſ.15.14.

Matth.7.15.

Matth.3.7.

### §. VII.

*Of Gods ceaſing to create any more: and of the cauſe thereof, becauſe the Univerſall created was exceeding good.*

IN this worke of Man, God finiſhed the Creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore reſted: for God commanded, and it was finiſhed, *Cui voluiſſe eſt feciſſe*; *With whom, to will is to make*, ſaith *Beda*. Neither did God ſo reſt, that hee left the World made, and the Creatures therein to themſelves: for *my Father worketh to this day* (ſaith *Chriſt*) *and I worke*; but God reſted (that is) hee created no new *ſpecies* or kinds of creatures, but (as aforeſaid) gave unto man a power generative, and ſo to the reſt of living creatures, and to Plants and Flowers their ſeeds in themſelves; and commanded man to multiply and fill the Earth, and the Earth and Sea to bring forth creatures according to their ſeverall kinds: all which being finiſhed, God ſaw that his workes were good; not that he fore-knew not, and comprehended not the beginning and end before they were; for God made every Plant of the field before it was in the Earth; but hee gave to all things which hee had created the name of good, thereby to teach men, that from ſo good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and from whoſe ſimple puritie and from ſo excellent a cauſe, there could proceed no impure or imperfect effect. For man having a free will and liberall choice, purchaſed by diſobedience his owne death and mortalitie, and for the crueltie of mans heart, was the Earth afterward curſed, and all creatures of the firſt Age deſtroyed, but the righteous man *Noah* and his Family, with thoſe creatures which the Arke contayned, reſerved by God to repleniſh the Earth.

*Iohn 5.17.*

*Gen.1.28.22.24.*

## CHAP. III.

## *Of the Place of Paradiſe.*

### §. I

*That the ſeate of Paradiſe is greatly miſtaken: and that it is no marvell that men ſhould erre.*

COncerning the firſt Habitation of man, we reade, that *the Lord God planted a Garden Eaſtward in Eden, and there hee put the man whom hee made*, GEN.2.6. Of this ſeate and place of *Paradiſe*, all Ages have held diſpute; and the opinions and judgements have beene in effect, as divers, among thoſe that have written upon this part of *Geneſis*, as upon any one place therein, ſeeming moſt obſcure: ſome there are, that have conceived the being of the terreſtriall *Paradiſe*, without all regard of the Worlds Geographie, and without any reſpect of the Eaſt and Weſt, or any conſideration of the place where *Moſes* wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the Heavens) the way how to find out and judge, in what Region of the World this Garden was by God planted, wherein hee was exceeding reſpective and preciſe. Others, by being themſelves ignorant in the *Hebrew*, followed the firſt Interpretation, or truſting to their owne judgements, underſtood one place for another; and one Errour is ſo fruitfull, as it begetteth a thouſand Children, if the licentiouſneſſe thereof bee not timely reſtrayned. And thirdly, thoſe Writers which gave themſelves to follow and imitate others, were in all things ſo abſervant Sectatours of thoſe Maſters, whom they admired and beleeved in, as they thought it ſafer to condemne their owne underſtanding, than to examine theirs. For (ſaith *Vadianus* in his Epiſtle of *Paradiſe*) *Magnos errores, magnorum virorum authoritate perſuaſi, tranſmittimus; Wee paſſe over many groſſe errours, by the authoritie of great men led and perſwaded.* And it is true, that many of the Fathers were farre wide from the underſtanding of this place. I ſpeake it not, that I my ſelfe dare preſume to cenſure them, for I reverence both their Learning and their Pietie, and yet not bound to follow them any further, than they are guided by truth: for they were men; *Et humanum eſt errare.* And to the end that no man ſhould bee proude of himſelfe, God hath diſtributed unto men ſuch a proportion of Knowledge, as the wiſeſt may behold in themſelves their owne weakeneſſe:

*Nulli unquam dedit omnia Deus; God never gave the knowledge of all things to any one.* Saint *Paul* confeſt that he knew not, whether he were taken up into the third heaven in the fleſh, or out of the fleſh; and Chriſt himſelfe acknowledgeth thus much, that neither Men, nor Angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, ſeeing knowledge is infinite, it is God (according to S. *Jude*) who is only wiſe. *Sapientia ubi invenitur?* (ſaith Job) *but where is wiſedome found? and where is the place of underſtanding? man knoweth not the price thereof; for it is not found in the Land of the living.* And therefore ſeeing God found folly in his Angels, mens judgements (which inhabite in houſes of clay) cannot be without their miſtakings: and ſo the Fathers, and other learned men, excuſable in particulars, eſpecially in thoſe whereupon our ſalvation dependeth not.

*2.Cor.12.2.*
*Matth.24.36.*
*Jude Ep.v.27.*
*Job 28.12.13*
4.18.

## §. II.

### *A recitall of ſtrange opinions touching Paradiſe.*

Now touching *Paradiſe*, firſt it is to be enquired, whether there were a *Paradiſe*, or no: or whether *Moſes* deſcription were altogether myſticall, and allegoricall: as *Origen, Philo, Fran. Georgius*, with others have affirmed; and that under the names of thoſe foure Rivers, *Piſon, Gehon, Hidekel*, and *Perath, the tree of life, and the tree of Knowledge*, there were delivered unto us other myſteries and ſignifications; as, that by the foure Rivers were meant the foure Cardinall vertues, *Juſtice, Temperance, Fortitude*, and *Prudence*; or (by other) Oyle, Wine, Milke, and Hony. This Allegoricall underſtanding of *Paradiſe* by *Origen* divulged, was againe by *Franciſcus Georgius* received (ſaith *Sixtus Senenſis*;) whoſe frivolous imaginations *Sixtus* himſelfe doth fully and learnedly anſwer, in the 34. Annotation of his fift Booke, *fol.*338. the laſt Edition.

*Bartaſ.ſem.2. l.1.143.*

S. *Ambroſe* alſo leaned wholly to the Allegoricall conſtruction, and ſet *Paradiſe* in the third Heaven, and in the vertues of the minde, *& in noſtro principali*, which is, as I conceive it, *in mente*, or in our ſoules: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this ſort. By the place or garden of *Paradiſe*, was meant the ſoule or minde; by *Adam, Mens*, or Underſtanding; by *Eve*, the Senſe; by the *Serpent*, Delectation; by the *Tree* of good and evill, Sapience; and by the reſt of the Trees, the vertues of the minde, or in the minde planted, or from thence ſpringing. Notwithſtanding all which, upon the firſt of the *Corin.c.6.* he in direct words alloweth both of a celeſtial and terreſtriall *Paradiſe*; the one into which S. *Paul* was rapt; the other, into which *Adam* was put by God. *Aug.Chryſamenſis* was of opinion, that a *Paradiſe* had beene, but that there was not now any marke thereof on the earth: the ſame being not only defaced, but withall the places now not ſo much as exiſting. To which *Luther* ſeemeth to adhere.

*Amb.de Parad.*

The *Manichees* alſo underſtood, that by *Paradiſe* was ment the whole Earth; to which opinion, *Vadianus* inclineth, as I conceive his words, in two ſeverall places. Firſt, upon this: *Fill the earth*, Gen.10. Of which he giveth this judgement. *Hoc ipſo etiam quod dixit, Replete terram, dominamini univerſis animantibus, ſubjicite terram, clariſſimè docet, totam terram extantem, & omnigenis (ut tum erat) fructibus conſitam, ſedem & hortum illum* Adæ, *& poſteritatis futuræ fuiſſe; These words* ſaith he) *in which God ſaid, Bring forth fruit and multiply, and fill the earth, and ſubdue it, and rule over every creature, doe cleerly ſhew, that the Univerſall earth ſet or filled with all ſorts of fruits (as then it was) was the garden and ſeate of* Adam, *and of his future poſteritie.* And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out of the *Acts Cap* 17. *Apoſtolus ex uno ſanguine omne genus humanum ideo factum docet, ut habitarent ſuper univerſam faciem terræ: tota igitur terra Paradiſus ille erat; The Apoſtle* (ſaith he) *teacheth, that God hath made of one bloud all mankinde, to dwell over all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth* (ſaith he) *was that Paradiſe.* Which conjectures I will anſwer in order. *Goropius Becanus* differeth not much from this opinion, but yet he acknowledgeth that *Adam* was firſt planted by God in one certaine place, and peculiar Garden; which place *Goropius* findeth neere the River of Aceſines, in the confines of India.

*Verſe 26.*

*Tertullian, Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*, make *Paradiſe* under the Equinoctiall, and *Poſtellus*, quite contrary, under the North pole: the Chaldæans alſo for the moſt part, & all their Sectators, followed the opinion of *Origen*, or rather *Origen* theirs, who would either make *Paradiſe* a figure, or Sacrament only, or elſe would have it ſeated out of this ſenſible world, or raiſed into ſome high and remote Region of the Ayre. *Strabus*, and

*Bart.16.126.*

Bed.in Gen. Pet.Comeſt.l.1. cap.3. Moſes Barc.de Par.

*Rabanus*, were both ſicke of this vanitie, with *Origen*, and *Philo*: ſo was our venerable *Beda*, and *Peter Comeſtor*, and *Moſes Barcephas* the Syrian, tranſlated by *Maſius*. But as *Hopkins* ſayes of *Philo Judæus*, that hee wondred, *Quo malo genio afflatus*; *By what evill Angell he was blowne up into this errour*: ſo can I not but greatly marvell at the learned men, who ſo groſſely and blindely wandred; ſeeing *Moſes*, and after him the Prophets, do ſo plainely deſcribe this place, by the Region in which it was planted, by the kingdomes and provinces bordering it, by the Rivers which watered it, and by the points of the Compaſſe upon which it lay, in reſpect of Judæa, or Canaan.

*Noviomagus* alſo upon *Beda*, *De natura rerum*, beleeveth that all the Earth was taken for *Paradiſe*, and not any one place. For the whole earth (ſaith he) hath the ſame beauty aſcribed to *Paradiſe*. He addeth, that the Ocean was that fountaine, from whence the foure Rivers, Piſon, Gehon, Tigris, and Euphrates, had their beginning: for he could not thinke it poſſible, that theſe Rivers of Ganges, Nilus, Tigris, and Euphrates (whereof the one ranne through India, the other through Egypt, and the other through Meſopotamia and Armenia) could riſe out of one fountaine, were it not out of the Fountaine of the Ocean.

## §. III.

### *That there was a true locall Paradiſe Eaſtward, in the Countrey of Eden.*

Gen.cap.2.

TO the firſt therefore, that ſuch a place there was upon the earth, the words of *Moſes* make it manifeſt, where it is written, *And the Lord God planted a garden Eaſtward in Eden, and there hee put the man whom hee had made.* And howſoever the vulgar tranſlation, called *Hieromes* tranſlation, hath converted this place thus, *Plantaverat Dominus Deus Paradiſum voluptatis à principio*; *The Lord God planted a Paradiſe of pleaſure from the beginning*; putting the word *(pleaſure)* for Eden, & *(from the beginning)* for *Eaſtward*: it is manifeſt, that in this place Eden is the proper name of a Region. For what ſenſe hath this tranſlation (ſaith our *Hopkins*, in his Treatiſe of *Paradiſe*) that hee planted a garden in pleaſure, or that a River went out of pleaſure to water the garden? But the ſeventy Interpreters call it *Paradiſum Edenis*, *the Paradiſe of Eden*, and ſo doth the Chaldæan Paraphraſt truely take it for the proper name of a place, and for a Noune appellative; which Region, in reſpect of the fertilitie of the ſoyle, of the many beautifull Rivers and goodly Woods, and that the trees (as in the Indies) doe alwayes keepe their leaves, was called Eden, which ſignifieth in the Hebrew, pleaſantneſſe, or delicacie, as the Spaniards call the Country, oppoſite to the *Iſle of Cuba*, *Florida*: and this is the miſtaking, which may end the diſpute, as touching the double ſenſe of the word, that as Florida was a Countrey, ſo called for the flouriſhing beauty thereof; ſo was Eden a Region called pleaſure, or delicacy, for its pleaſure, or delicacy: and as Florida ſignifieth flouriſhing; ſo Eden ſignifieth pleaſure: and yet both are the proper names of Countries; for Eden being the proper name of a Region (called pleaſure in the Hebrew) and *Paradiſe* being the choice ſeate of all that Region, *Paradiſe* was truly the Garden of Eden, and truely the Garden of pleaſure.

Now, for Eaſtward, to tranſlate it, *from the beginning*, it is alſo contrary to the tranſlation of the Seventy; to the ancient Greeke Fathers, as *Baſil*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Theodoret*, *Gregorie*; and to the Rabines, as *Ramban*, *Rabbi Salomon*, *R. Abraham*, and *Chimchi*; and of the Latines, *Severinus*, *Damaſcenus*, *&c.* who plainly take Eden for the proper name of a Region, and ſet the word (*Eaſtward*) for *ab initio*: for *Damaſcens* owne words are theſe, *Paradiſus eſt locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter conſitus*; *Paradiſe is a place, marvellouſly planted by the hands of God, in Eden, toward the Eaſt.*

And after all theſe Fathers, *Guilhelmus Pariſienſis*, a great learned man, and *Sixtus Senenſis*, of later times, doe both underſtand theſe words of Eden, and of the Eaſt, contrary to the vulgar tranſlation; *Pariſienſis*, as indifferent to both, and *Sixtus Senenſis*, directly againſt the vulgar: of which theſe are their owne words: *After this I will begin to ſpeake of Paradiſe terreſtriall, which God planted from the beginning, or Eaſtward &c. Poſt hæc incipiam loqui de Paradiſo terreſtri, quem plantâſſe Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem &c.* And then *Senenſis*; MOSES *enim clariſſimè prodit, Paradiſum à Deo conſitum in regione terræ Orientalis, quæ dicitur Heden: Heden autem eſſe proprium nomen apparet ex quarto capite Gen. ubi legimus* CHAM *habitâſſe ad Orientalem plagam Heden*; For MOSES (ſaith he) *doth ſhew moſt cleerely, that Paradiſe was planted of God in a Region of the Eaſt Countrie, which is called Heden: but that Heden is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Geneſis, where we reade, that* Cham *dwelt on the Eaſt border of Heden.* *Verſ.16.* Pererius endevoureth to qualifie this tranſlation; for this particle (ſaith he) *ab initio*, is referred to all the time of the creation, and not to the very firſt day; alledging this place of Chriſt, that although the Divell was ſaid to be a man-ſlayer from the beginning, yet *John 8.44.* that was meant but after the ſixth day. But ſurely, as I thinke (referring my ſelfe to better judgement) the Devill was from the inſtant of his fall a man-ſlayer in diſpoſition, though he had not whereon to practiſe till mans creation. And for concluſion, S. *Hierome* (if that be his tranſlation) adviſeth himſelfe better in the end of the third Chapter of *Geneſis*, converting the word (*Eden*) by (*antè*) and not (*à principio*) as, *God did ſet a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden; Collocavit Deus ante Paradiſum voluptatis Cherubin*; and *Pererius* himſelfe acknowledgeth, that this is the true ſenſe of this place, preciſely taken, according to the Hebrew. *Poſuit à parte Orientali horti Heden, Cherubin; Hee ſet* *Gen.3.24.* *on the Eaſt-ſide of the Garden of Heden, a Cherubin.* Becanus affirmeth, that the Hebrew word (*Be*) ſignifieth (with) as well as (in) and ſo the Text beareth this ſenſe; That God planted a Garden with pleaſure (that is to ſay) full of pleaſure. But *Becanus* followeth this conſtruction, onely to the end, to finde *Paradiſe* upon the River of Aceſines: for there he hath heard of the Indian Fig-tree in great aboundance, which he ſuppoſeth to be the tree of Knowledge of good and evill, and would therefore draw *Paradiſe* to the Fig-tree: which conceit of his I will anſwer hereafter.

Now, becauſe *Paradiſe* was ſeated by *Moſes* toward the Eaſt, thence came the cuſtome of praying towards the Eaſt, and not by imitation of the Chaldæans: and therefore all our Churches are built Eaſt and Weſt, as to the point where the Sun riſeth in March, which is directly over *Paradiſe* (ſaith *Damaſcenus:*) affirming, that we alwayes pray towards the Eaſt, as looking towards *Paradiſe*, whence we were caſt out; and yet the Temple of *Solomon* had their Prieſts and Sacrifices, which turned themſelves in their ſervice and divine ceremonies, alwayes towards the Weſt, thereby to avoide the ſuperſtition of the Egyptians and Chaldæans.

But becauſe Eaſt and Weſt are but in reſpect of places; (for although *Paradiſe* were Eaſt from Judæa, yet it was Weſt from Perſia) and the ſerving of God is every where in the world; the mattter is not great which way we turn our faces, ſo our hearts ſtand right, other than this, that we who dwell Weſt from *Paradiſe*, and pray turning our ſelves towards the Eaſt, may remember thereby to beſeech God, that as by *Adams* fall wee have loſt the *Paradiſe* on earth; ſo by Chriſts death and paſſion we may be made partakers of the *Paradiſe* celeſtiall, and the Kingdome of heaven. To conclude, I conceive, that there was no other myſterie in adding the word (Eaſt) to Eden by *Moſes*, than to ſhew, that the Region of Eden, in which *Paradiſe* was, lay Eaſtward from Judæa and Canaan: for the Scriptures alwayes called the people of thoſe Nations, the Sons of the Eaſt which inhabited Arabia, Meſopotamia, Chaldæa, and Perſia: of which *Ovid*.

*Eurus ad Euroram, Nabatæaq; regna receſſit,*
*Perſidaq; & radiis juga ſubdita matutinis.*

The Eaſt winde with *Aurora* hath a biding
Among th' *Arabian*, and the *Perſian* Hils,
Whom *Phœbus* firſt ſalutes at his up-riſing.

And if it be objected, that *Hieremy* the Prophet, threatning the deſtruction of *Hieruſalem*, doth often make mention of Northerne Nations, it is to be noted, that the North is there named, in reſpect of thoſe nations that followed *Nabuchodonozer*, and of whom the greateſt part of his Army was compounded; not that Babylon it ſelfe ſtood North from Hieruſalem, though inclining from the Eaſt towards the North.

Now to the difference of this Tranſlation, *Peter Comeſtor* giveth beſt ſatisfaction: for he uſeth the word, *From the beginning, that is, from the firſt part of the World*, (*à principio*) *id eſt*, (ſaith he) *à prima orbis parte*; and afterward hee affirmeth, that *à principio*, and *ad Orientem*, have the ſame ſignification: *From the beginning & Eaſt-ward is all one; à principio idem eſt quod ad Orientem.*

But to returne to the proofe of this place, and that this Story of Mankind was not Allegoricall, it followeth in the Text of the 2. Chap. & 9. Verſe, in theſe words: *For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every Tree pleaſant to the ſight, and good for meat, &c.* ſo as firſt it appeared that God created *Adam* elſewhere, as in the World at large, and then *put him into the Garden*: and the end why, is expreſt: *that he might dreſſe it and*

*keepe*

*Verſe* 18. *keepe it*; *Paradiſe* being a Garden or Orchard filled with Plants, and Trees, of the moſt excellent kinds, pleaſant to behold, and (withall) good for meate: which proveth that *Paradiſe* was a terreſtriall Garden, garniſhed with Fruits, delighting both the eye and taſte. And to make it more plaine, and to take away all opinion of Allegoricall conſtruction, he affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a River; expreſſing alſo the Region, out *Verſe* 10. *Ezech.* 27.23. of which this River ſprang, which he calleth Heden; and that Heden is alſo a Countrie neere unto Charan in Meſopotamia, *Ezechiel* witneſſeth.

But to all theſe Cabaliſts, which draw the Truth and Storie of the Scriptures into Allegories, *Epiphanius* anſwereth in theſe words: *Si Paradiſus non eſt ſenſibilis, non eſt etiam fons, ſi non eſt fons, non eſt flumen, ſi non eſt flumen, non ſunt quatuor principia, non Piſon, non Gehon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates, non eſt ficus, non folia, non comedit* EVA *de arbore, non eſt* ADAM, *non ſunt homines, ſed veritas jam fabula eſt, & omnia ad Allegorias revocantur: If Paradiſe be not ſenſible, then there was no fountaine, and then no river; if no river, then no ſuch foure heads or branches, and then not any ſuch river, as Piſon, or Gehon, Tigris, or Euphrates, no ſuch fig-tree, or fruit, or leaves;* EVE *then did not eate of the fruit, neither was there any* ADAM, *or any man, the truth was but a fable, and all things eſteemed are called back into Allegories.* Words to the ſame effect hath S. *Hierome* upon DANIEL: *Contiteſcant eorum deliramenta, qui umbras & imagines in veritate ſequentes, ipſam conantur evertere veritatem, ut Paradiſum & flumina, & arbores putent Allegoriæ Legibus ſe debere ſubruere: Let the dotage of them be ſilent, who following ſhadowes and images in the Truth, endevour to ſubvert the Truth it ſelfe, and thinke that they ought to bring Paradiſe, and the Rivers, & the Trees under the Rules of Allegorie.*

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the Storie is the place made more manifeſt. For, God gave *Adam* free libertie to eate of every Tree of the Garden, (the Tree of knowledge excepted) which Trees *Moſes* in the ninth verſe ſaith that they were good to eat; meaning the fruit which they bare. Beſides, God left all beaſts to *Adam* to be named, which he had formerly made; and theſe beaſts were neither in the third Heaven, nor neer the circle of the Moon, nor beaſts in imagination: for if all theſe things were Enigmaticall or myſticall, the ſame might alſo be ſaid of the creation of all things. And *Ezechiel*, ſpea- *Ezech.* 31.9. king of the glory of the Aſſyrian Kings, uſeth this ſpeech: *All the Trees of Eden, which were in the Garden of God, envied him*; which proveth both *Eden*, and *Paradiſe* therein ſeated, to be terreſtriall: for the Prophets made no imaginary compariſons. But *Moſes* wrote plainly, and in a ſimple ſtile, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and preciſe in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*, than in any other place of Scripture; of purpoſe to take away all ſcruple from the incredulitie of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecie) to be apt to fabulous inventions, and that if he had not deſcribed both the region and the Rivers, and how it ſtood from Canaan, many of the unbeleeving Iſraelites & others after them, would have miſconſtrued this Storie of Mankind. And is it likely, there would have beene ſo often mention made of *Paradiſe* in the Scriptures, if the ſame had beene an *Utopia*? For wee finde that the Valley, wherein *Sodome* and *Gomorrha* ſtood, (ſometimes called Pentapolis, of the five principall Cities therein) was before the deſtruction (which their unnaturall ſinne purchaſed) compared to the *Para-* *Gen.* 13.10. *diſe* of the Lord, and like to the Land of Egypt toward Zoar: In like manner was Iſrael reſembled to the *Paradiſe* of GOD, before the Babylonians waſted it: which proveth plainly, that *Paradiſe* it ſelfe exceeded in beauty and fertility, and that theſe places had but a reſemblancee thereof: being compared to a ſeate and ſoyle of farre exceeding excellency.

Beſides, whence had *Homer* his invention of *Alcinous* Gardens, as *Juſtin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moſes* his deſcription of *Paradiſe*? *Gen.* 2. and whence are their praiſes of the Elizian fields, but out of the ſtory of *Paradiſe*? to which alſo appertaine thoſe Verſes of the Golden Age in *Ovid*:

*Ovid Metom. l.* 2.
*Ver erat æternum, placidiq; tepentibus auris*
*Mulcebant Zephyri natos ſine ſemine flores.*

The joyfull Spring did ever laſt,
And Zephyrus did breede
Sweete flowers by his gentle blaſt,
Without the helpe of Seed

And it is manifeſt, that *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Pindarus*, *Heſiodus*, and *Homer*, and after him, *Ovid*, one out of another, and all theſe together with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and their

Sectatours, did greatly enrich their inventions, by venting the ſtolne Treaſures of Divine Letters, altered by prophane additions, and diſguiſed by poeticall converſions, as if they had bin conceived out of their owne ſpeculations and contemplations.

But beſides all theſe teſtimonies, if wee finde what Region *Heden* or *Eden* was; if we prove the River that ran out of it, and that the ſame afterwards was divided into foure branches; together with the Kingdomes of *Havila* and *Cuſh*, and that all theſe are Eaſtward from *Canaan*, or the Deſarts of the *Amorites*, where *Moſes* wrote; I then conceive that there is no man that will doubt, but that ſuch a place there was. And yet I doe not exclude the Allegoricall ſenſe of the Scripture; for as well in this there were many figures of Chriſt, as in all the old Teſtament throughout: the Storie being directly true notwithſtanding. And to this purpoſe (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) *Tres ſunt de Paradiſo generales ſententiæ: una eſt eorum, qui tantummodo corporaliter Paradiſum intelligi volunt: alia eorum, qui ſpiritualiter tantùm (id eſt) Eccleſiam: tertia eorum, qui utroq; modo Paradiſum accipiunt*, (that is) *There are three opinions of Paradiſe: the one of thoſe men, which will have it altogether corporall: a ſecond of thoſe, which conceive it altogether ſpirituall, and to bee a figure of the Church: the third of thoſe which take it in both ſenſes*; which third opinion S. *Auguſtine* approveth, and of which *Suidas* giveth this allowable judgement: *Quemadmodum homo ſenſibilis, & intelligibilis ſimul conditus erat: ſic & hujus ſanctiſſimum nemus, ſenſibile ſimul & intelligibile, & duplici ſpecie eſt præditum*; (that is) *As man was created at one time both ſenſible and intelligible: ſo was this holy Grove or Garden to be taken both wayes, and endued with a double forme.*

*Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 13. c. 21.*
*Suidas in verbo Paradiſus.*

## §. IV.

### *Why it ſhould be needfull to intreat diligently of the place of Paradiſe.*

But it may be objected, that it is needleſſe, and a kinde of curioſitie to enquire ſo diligently after this place of *Paradiſe*, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no uſe. To which I anſwer, that there is nothing written in the Scripture, but for our inſtruction; and if the truth of the Storie be neceſſarie, then by the place proved, the ſame is alſo made more apparent. For if wee ſhould conceive that *Paradiſe* were not on the Earth, but lifted up as high as the Moone; or that it were beyond all the *Ocean*, and in no part of the knowne World, from whence *Adam* was ſaid to wade through the Sea, and thence to have come into *Judæa*, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the World, that would give any credit unto it. For what could ſeeme more ridiculous than the report of ſuch a place? and beſides, what maketh this ſeate of *Paradiſe* ſo much diſputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Piſhon* ſhould be *Ganges*, which watereth the Eaſt *India*, and *Gehon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Egypt*, and theſe two Rivers ſo farre diſtant, as (except all the World were *Paradiſe*) theſe ſtreames can no way be compriſed therein?

Secondly, if the birth and workes, and death of our Saviour, were ſaid to have beene in ſome ſuch Countrey, of which no man ever heard tell, and that his Miracles had bin performed in the Ayre, or no place certainly knowne: I aſſure my ſelfe, that the Chriſtian Religion would have taken but a ſlender roote in the minds of men: for times and places are approved witneſſes of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we ſhould rely, or give place to the judgement of ſome Writers upon this place of *Geneſis* (though otherwiſe for their doctrine in generall, they are worthy of honour and reverence) I ſay that there is no fable among the *Grecians* or *Egyptians* more ridiculous: for who would beleeve that there were a piece of the World ſo ſet by it ſelfe and ſeparated as to hang in the Ayre under the circle of the Moone? or who ſo doltiſh to conceive, that from thence the foure Rivers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, ſhould fall downe, and run under all the Ocean, and riſe up againe in this our habitable world, and in thoſe places where they are now found? Which leſt any man thinke that I enforce or ſtrain to the worſt, theſe are *Peter Comeſtors* own words. *Eſt autem locus amæniſſimus, longo terræ & maris tractu à noſtra habitabili Zona ſecretus, adeò elevatus, ut uſq; ad lunarem globum attingat, &c.* (that is) *It is a moſt pleaſant place, ſevered from our habitable Zone by a long tract of Land and Sea, elevated ſo that it reacheth to the globe of the Moone.*

And *Moſes Barcephas* upon this place writeth in this manner: *Deinde hoc quoq; reſponſũ*

*Bar. converted by Maſius.*

*volumus, Paradiſum multò ſublimiore poſitum eſſe regione, atq; hac noſtra extet terra, eoq; fieri ut illinc per præcipitium delabantur fluvii tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non poſsis; eoq; impetu impulſi preſsiq; ſub Oceani vado rapiuntur, unde rurſus proſiliant ebulliantq; in hoc à nobis culto orbe:* which have this ſenſe: *Furthermore* (ſaith he) *we give this for an anſwer, that Paradiſe is ſet in a Region farre raiſed above this part which wee inhabite; whereby it comes to paſſe, that from thence theſe rivers fall downe with ſuch a headlong violence, as words cannot expreſſe; and with that force ſo impulſed and preſt, they are carried under the deepe Ocean, and doe againe riſe and boyle up in this our habitable World:* and to this he addeth the opinion of *Ephram*, which is this. *Ephram dicit Paradiſum ambire terram, atq; ultra Oceanum ita poſitum eſſe, ut totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet regione, non aliter atq; Lunæ orbis Lunam cingit;* (which is) *That Paradiſe doth compaſſe or embrace the whole Earth, and is ſo ſet beyond the Ocean Sea, as it environeth the whole Orbe of the Earth on every ſide, as the Orbe of the Moone doth embrace the Moone.* To the end therefore that theſe ridiculous expoſitions and opinions doe not bring queſtion unto Truth it ſelfe, or make the ſame ſubject to doubts or diſputes, it is neceſſary to diſcover the true place of *Paradiſe, which God in his wiſedome* appointed in the very Navell of this our World, and (as *Melancthon* ſaies) *in parte Terræ meliore, in the beſt part thereof*, that from thence, as from a Center, the Univerſall might be filled with people and planted; and by knowing this place, we ſhall the better judge of the beginning of Nations, and of the worlds inhabitation: for neere unto this did the Sons of *Noah* alſo diſperſe themſelves after the floud, into all other remote regions and countries. And if it be a generous deſire in men, to know from whence their owne forefathers have come, and out of what regions and Nations, it cannot be diſpleaſing to underſtand the place of our firſt Anceſtor, from whence all the ſtreames and branches of Mankind have followed and bin deduced. If then it doe appeare by the former, that ſuch a place there was as *Paradiſe*, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be unprofitable, it followeth in order to examine ſeverall opinions before remembred, by the Truth it ſelfe; and to ſee how they agree with the ſenſe of the Scripture, and with common reaſon, and afterward to prove directly, and to delineate the Region in which God firſt planted this delightfull Garden.

### §. V.

### *That the Floud hath not utterly defaced the markes of Paradiſe, nor cauſed Hils in the Earth.*

AND firſt, whereas it is ſuppoſed by *Aug. Chyſamenſis*, that the Floud hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in ſuch ſort, as no man can finde any marke or memorie thereof: (of which opinion there were others alſo, aſcribing to the Floud the cauſe of thoſe high Mountaines, which are found on all the Earth over, with many other ſtrange effects) for mine owne opinion, I thinke neither the one nor the other to be true. For although I cannot deny, but that the face of *Paradiſe* was after the Floud withered, and growne old, in reſpect of the firſt beautie: (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed) yet if there had beene no ſigne of any ſuch place, or if the ſoile and ſeate had not remained, then would not *Moſes*, who wrote of *Paradiſe* about 850. yeares after the Floud, have deſcribed it ſo particularly, and the Prophets long after *Moſes* would not have made ſo often mention thereof. And though the verie Garden it ſelfe were not then to be found, but that the Floud, and other accidents of time made it one common field and paſture with the Land of *Eden*, yet the place is ſtill the ſame, and the Rivers ſtill remaine the ſame Rivers. By two of which (never doubted of) to wit, *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, we are ſure to finde in what longitude *Paradiſe* lay; and learning out one of theſe Rivers, which afterward doth divide it ſelfe into foure branches, wee are ſure that the partition is at the very border of the Garden it ſelfe. For it is written, that out of *Eden* went a River to water the Garden, and from thence it was divided and became into foure heads: Now whether the word in the Latine Tranſlation (*Inde*) *from thence*, be referred to *Eden* it ſelfe, or to *Paradiſe*, yet the diviſion and branching of thoſe rivers muſt be in the North or South ſide of the very Garden (if the rivers run as they doe, North and South) and therfore theſe rivers yet remaining, & *Eden* manifeſtly known, there could be no ſuch defacing by the floud, as is ſuppoſed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that

*Gen.2.10.*

that the place could be ſo altered as future ages knew it not, ſo is there no probability, that either theſe Rivers were turned out of their courſes, or new rivers created by the Floud which were not, or that the Floud (as aforeſaid) by a violent motion, when it began to decreaſe, was the cauſe of high Hils or deep Vallies. For what deſcent of waters could there be in a Sphericall and round body, wherein there is nor high nor low? ſeeing that all violent force of waters is either by the ſtrength of wind, by deſcent from a higher to a lower, or by the ebb or floud of the Sea. But that there was any wind (wherby the Seas are moſt enraged) it appeareth not, rather the contrary is probable: for it is written, *Therefore God* Gen.8.1.
*made a wind to paſſe upon the Earth, and the waters ceaſed.* So as it appeareth not, that, untill the waters ſank, there was any winde at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodneſſe, cauſed the winde to blow, to drye up the abundant ſlime and mud of the Earth, and make the Land more firm, and to cleanſe the Ayre of thick vapours, and unwholſom miſts: and this we know by experience, that all down-right rains doe evermore diſſever the violence of outrageous winds, and beat down, and level the ſwelling and mountainous billow of the Sea: for any ebbs and flouds there could be none, when the waters were equall and of one height over all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughs, Bayes, or Gulfes to receive a Floud, or any deſcent, or violent falling of waters in the round forme of the Earth and Waters, as aforeſaid: and therefore it ſeemeth moſt agreeable to reaſon, that the waters rather ſtood in a quiet calme, than that they moved with any raging or overbearing violence. And for a more direct proofe that the Floud made no ſuch deſtroying alteration, *Joſephus* avoweth that one of thoſe pillars erected by *Seth*, the third from *Adam*, was to be ſeene in his dayes; which pillars were ſet up above 1426. yeares before the Floud, counting *Seth* to be an hundred yeares old at the erection of them; and *Joſeph* himſelfe to have lived ſome fortie or fiftie yeares after Chriſt: of whom although there be no cauſe to beleeve all that he wrote, yet that which he avouched of his owne time, cannot (without great derogation) be called in queſtion. And therefore it may be poſſible, that ſome foundation or ruine thereof might then be ſeene. Now that ſuch pillars were raiſed by *Seth*, all Antiquitie hath avowed. It is alſo written in *Beroſus* (to whom although I give little credit, yet I cannot condemn him in all) that the citie of Enoch, built by *Cain* about the mountaines of *Libanus*, was not defaced by length of time: yea the ruines thereof *Annius* (who commented upon that invented fragment) ſaith, were to be ſeene in his dayes, who lived in the reigne of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* of Caſtile. And if theſe his words be not true, then was he exceeding impudent: for, ſpeaking of this citie of *Enoch*, he concludeth in this ſort: *Cujus maxima & ingentis molis fundamenta viſuntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Civitas Cain, ut noſtri mercatores, & peregrini referunt; The foundation of which huge Maſſe is now to be ſeene, and the place is called by the people of that Region, the Citie of Cain, as both our ſtrangers and merchants report.* It is alſo avowed by *Pomponius Mela* (to whom I give more credit in theſe things) that the city of Joppa was built before the Floud, over which *Cepha* was King: whoſe name, with his brother *Phineus*, together with the grounds and principles of their Religion, was found graven upon certaine altars of ſtone. And it is not impoſſible, that the ruines of this other citie, called Enoch by *Annius*, might be ſeene, though founded in the firſt Age: but it could not be of the firſt citie of the world, built by *Cain*, the place rather than the time denying it.

And to prove directly that the Floud was not the cauſe of mountaines, but that there were mountaines from the creation, it is written, that *the waters of the Floud overflowed by* Gen.4.17.
*fifteene Cubits the higheſt Mountains.* And *Maſius Damaſcenus*, ſpeaking of the Floud, writeth in this maner: *Eſt ſupra Minyadam excelſus mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo confugientes multos ſermo eſt diluvii tempore liberatos. And upon Minyada there is an high Mountaine in Armenia (called Baris) unto which (as it is ſaid) that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they ſaved themſelves thereon.* Now although it is contrarie to Gods Word, that any more were ſaved than eight perſons (which *Maſius* doth not avouch, but by report) yet it is a teſtimonie, that ſuch Mountaines were before the Floud, which were afterwards, and ever ſince, knowne by the ſame names; & on which Mountaines it is generally received that the Arke reſted: but untruely, as I ſhall prove hereafter. And againe it appeareth, that the Mount *Sion* (though by another name) was knowne before the Floud; on which the Thalmudiſts report, that many Giants ſaved themſelves alſo; but, as *Annius* ſaith, without all authoritie, either divine or humane.

Laſtly,

Gen.8.11.

Laſtly, it appeareth that the Floud did not ſo turne upſide downe the face of the Earth, as thereby it was made paſt knowledge, after the waters were decreaſed, by this, that *when* NOAH *ſent out the Dove the ſecond time, ſhe returned with an Olive-leafe in her mouth*, which ſhe had pluckt, and which (untill the Trees were diſcovered) ſhe found not: for otherwiſe ſhe might have found them floting on the water; a manifeſt proofe, that the Trees were not torne up by the rootes, nor ſwam upon the waters, for it is written: *folium Olivæ, raptum* or *decerptum, a leafe pluckt*, (which is) to take from a Tree, or to teare off. By this it is apparent, (there being nothing written to the contrary) that the Floud made no ſuch alteration, as was ſuppoſed, but that the place of Paradiſe might be ſeene to ſucceeding Ages, eſpecially unto *Moſes*, by whom it pleaſed God to teach the truth of the Worlds Creation, and unto the Prophets which ſucceeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this Diſcovery.

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## §. VI.

### *That Paradiſe was not the whole Earth, as ſome have thought: making the Ocean to bee the fountaine of thoſe foure Rivers.*

Gen.1.28.
Acts 17.26.
Gen.2.8.
3.24.

THis conceit of *Aug. Chyſamenſis* being anſwered, who onely giveth *his opinion* for *reaſon*, I will in a few words examine that of the Manichees, of *Noviomagus, Vadianus, Goropius, Becanus*, and all thoſe that underſtood, that by Paradiſe was meant the whole Earth. But in this I ſhall not trouble the Reader with many words, becauſe by thoſe places of Scripture formerly remembred, this Univerſalitie will appeare altogether improper. The places which *Vadianus* alledgeth, *Bring forth fruit and multiply, fill the Earth and ſubdue it, rule over every Creature,&c.* with this of the *Acts, and hath made of one bloud all Mankinde, to dwell on all the face of the Earth*, doe no way prove ſuch a generalitie: for the World was made for man, of which he was Lord and Governour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his uſe. Now although all men were of one and the ſame fountaine of bloud originally; and *Adams* poſteritie inhabited in proceſs of time over all the face of the earth; yet it diſproveth in nothing the particular Garden, aſſigned to *Adam*, to dreſſe and cultive, in which he lived in ſo bleſſed an eſtate before his tranſgreſſion. For if there had beene no other choyce, but that *Adam* had bin left to the Univerſall; *Moſes* would not then have ſaid, *Eaſtward in Eden*, ſeeing the World hath nor Eaſt nor Weſt but reſpectively. And to what end had the Angell of God beene ſet to keepe the Eaſt-ſide, and entrance into Paradiſe after *Adams* expulſion, if the Univerſall had beene Paradiſe? for then muſt *Adam* have been chaſed alſo out of the World. For if all the earth were Paradiſe, that place can receive no better conſtruction than this, That *Adam* was driven out of the World into the World, and out of Paradiſe into Paradiſe, except we ſhould beleeve with *Metrodorus*, that there were infinite Worlds. Which to deny, he thinkes all one, as to affirme, *That in ſo large a field, as the Univerſall, there ſhould grow but one Thiſtle.* NOVIOMAGUS upon *Beda*, ſeemeth to be led by this, that it was impoſſible for thoſe three Rivers, Ganges, Nilus, and Euphrates (which water three portions of the World ſo far diſtant) to riſe out of one Fountaine, except the Ocean bee taken for the Well, and the World for the Garden.

And it is true, that thoſe foure Rivers, being ſo underſtood, there could bee no conjecture more probable; but it ſhall plainly appeare, that Piſon was falſly taken for Ganges, and Gehon falſly for Nilus, although Ganges be a River by Havilah in India, & Nilus run through Ethiopia. The *Seventy* write Chus for Ethiopia, and thereby the errors of the Manichees, and the miſtakings of *Noviomagus, Goropius, & Vadianus*, with others, are made manifeſt. Yet was their conjecture farre more probable, than that of *Ephrem, Cyrillus*, and *Athanaſius*: That Paradiſe was ſeated far beyond the Ocean Sea, and that *Adam* waded through it, and at laſt came toward the Country in which hee was created, and was buried at Mount Calvary in Hieruſalem. And certainely, though all thoſe of the firſt Age were of great ſtature, and ſo continued many yeares after the Floud, yet *Adams* ſhin-bones muſt have contained a thouſand fadome, and much more, if he had foorded the Ocean; but this opinion is ſo ridiculous, as it needes no argument to diſprove it.

§. VII.

## §.VII.

### *Of their opinion which make Paradiſe as high as the Moone: and of others, which make it higher than the middle Region of the Ayre.*

THirdly, whereas *Beda* ſaith, and as the Schoolemen affirme, *Paradiſe* to be a place, altogether removed from the knowledge of men, (*locus à cognitione hominum remotiſſimus*) and *Barcephas* conceived, that *Paradiſe* was farre in the Eaſt, but mounted above the Ocean, and all the Earth, and neere the Orbe of the Moone (which opinion, though the Schoolemen charge *Beda* withall, yet *Pererius* layes it off from *Beda* upon *Strabus*, and his Maſter *Rabanus*:) and whereas *Rupertus*, in his Geographie of *Paradiſe*, doth not much differ from the reſt, but findes it ſeated next or neereſt heaven; It may ſeeme, that all theſe borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*: but neither of them (as I conceive) well underſtood; who (undoubtedly) tooke this place for Heaven it ſelfe, into which the Soules of the bleſſed were carried after death.

True it is, that theſe Philoſophers durſt not for feare of the Areopagites (in this and many other divine apprehenſions) ſet downe what they beleeved in plaine termes, eſpecially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end ſuffered death, for acknowledging one onely powerfull God; and therefore did the Devill himſelfe doe him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wiſeſt man. *Juſtine Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read the Scriptures; and S. *Auguſtine* gave this judgement of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) he might be counted a Chriſtian. And it ſeemeth to mee, that both *Tertullian* and *Euſebius* conceive, that *Socrates*, by that place aforeſaid, meant the celeſtiall *Paradiſe*, and not this of Eden. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightfull and healthfull, upon the top of Mount Atho (called *Acrothonos*) which being above all Clouds of Raine, or other inconvenience, the people (by reaſon of their ſo many yeeres) are called *Macrobici* (that is) *Long-lived*. A further Argument is uſed, for proofe of the height of this place, becauſe therein was *Enoch* preſerved from the violence of the Floud: approved by *Iſidore*, and *Peter Lombard*: in which place alſo *Tertullian* conceived, that the bleſſed Soules were preſerved till the laſt judgement; which *Irenæus* and *Juſtine Martyr* alſo beleeved. But this opinion was of all *Catholique Divines* reproved, and in the *Florentine Councell* damned; of which Saint *Auguſtine* more modeſtly gave this judgement: *Sicut certum eſt*, Enoch *and* Eliam *nunc vivere: ita ubi nunc ſunt: an in Paradiſo an alibi, incertum eſt*; (that is) *As it is certaine that* Enoch *and* Elias *doe now live: ſo where they live, in Paradiſe or elſewhere, it is uncertaine.* But *Barcephas* gives a third cauſe, though of all other the weakeſt. For (ſaith he) it was neceſſary that *Paradiſe* ſhould be ſet at ſuch a diſtance and height, becauſe the foure Rivers (had they not fallen ſo precipitate) could not have had ſufficient force to have thruſt themſelves under the great Ocean, and afterward have forced their paſſage through the earth, and have riſen againe in the farre diſtant Regions of India, Egypt, and Armenia.

Diog.Laert.in Soc.

Juſtin.Mart. adm.ad Gent.
Aug.

Theſe ſtrange fancies and dreames have beene anſwered by divers learned men long ſince, and lately by *Hopkins*, and *Pererius*, writing upon this ſubject; of whoſe arguments I will repeate theſe few: for to uſe long diſcourſe againſt thoſe things, which are both againſt Scripture and Reaſon, might rightly be judged a vanity in the Anſwerer, not much inferior to that of the Inventer.

It is firſt therefore alledged, that ſuch a place cannot be commodious to live in: for being ſet ſo neere the Moone, it had beene too neere the Sunne, and other heavenly bodies. Secondly, becauſe it muſt have beene too joynct a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, becauſe the Ayre in that Region is ſo violently moved, and carried about with ſuch ſwiftneſſe, as nothing in that place can conſiſt or have abiding. Fourthly, becauſe the place betweene the Earth and the Moone (according to *Ptolomie* and *Alfraganus*) is ſeventeene times the *Diameter* of the Earth, which makes in a groſſe account about one hundred and twenty thouſand miles. Hereupon it muſt follow, that *Paradiſe*, being raiſed to this height, muſt have the compaſſe of the whole earth for a *Baſis* and foundation. But had it beene ſo raiſed, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men: ſeeing it would deprive us of the Sunnes light, all the fore-part of the day, being ſeated in the Eaſt, as they ſuppoſe. Now, to fortifie the former opinions, *Toſtatus* addeth this, that thoſe people which dwell neere thoſe fals of waters, are deafe from their infancy, like thoſe which dwell neere the *Catadupa*, or over-fals of Nilus. But Cicero Somn. Scip. this I hold as fained. For I have ſeene in the Indies, far greater water-falls, than thoſe of Nilus, and yet the people dwelling neere them are not deafe at all. *Toſtatus* (the better to ſtrengthen himſelfe) citeth *Baſil* and *Ambroſe* together: to which *Pererius*, *Sed ego hæc apud Baſilium & Ambroſium in eorum ſcriptis, quæ nunc extant, nuſquam me legere memini*; *But I doe not remember* (ſaith he) *that I ever read thoſe things* either *in* BASIL *or* AMBROSE.

But for the bodies of *Enoch* and *Elias*, God hath diſpoſed of them according to his wiſdome. Their taking up might be into the celeſtiall *Paradiſe*, for ought we know. For although fleſh and bloud, ſubject to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdome of heaven, 1.Cor.15.36.51. and the ſeed muſt rot in the ground before it grow, yet we ſhall not all die (ſaith S. *Paul*) *but all ſhall be changed*: which change, in *Enoch* and *Elias*, was eaſie to him that is Almigh- 1.Pet.3.20. tie. But for the reſt, the Scriptures are manifeſt, that by the Floud all periſhed on the earth, ſaving eight perſons; and therefore in the terreſtriall *Paradiſe* they could not be.

For *Toſtatus* his owne opinion, who ſoared not altogether ſo high as the reſt, but beleeved that *Paradiſe* was raiſed above the middle Region of the Aire, and twenty cubits above all Mountaines, that the Floud did not therefore reach it: (which *Scotus* and other latter Schoole-men alſo beleeved; for, ſay they, there were no ſinners in *Paradiſe*, and therefore no cauſe to over-whelme it:) this is alſo contrary to the expreſſe letter of the Scripture, which directly, and without admitting of any diſtinction, teacheth us, that Gen.7.19. *the waters over-flowed all the mountaines under heaven*. And were it otherwiſe, then might we aſwell give credit to *Maſius*, *Damaſcenus*, & the Thalmudiſts, who affirme, that there were of the Giants that ſaved themſelves on the Mountaine Baris, and on Sion. But to helpe this, *Scotus*, being (as the reſt of the Schoolemen are) full of diſtinctions, ſaith; Exod.14.21. That the waters ſtood at *Paradiſe*, as they did in the Red Sea, and at Jordan; and as the Floud was not naturall, ſo was *Paradiſe* ſaved by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifieth this high conceit with this ſuppoſition, That it was not beleeved, that *Paradiſe* was ſo ſeated, as *Beda* and others ſeeme to affirme in words, but by *Hyperbole* and comparatively, for the delicacie and beautie ſo reſembled. But this I dare avow of all thoſe Schoole-men, that though they were exceeding witty, yet they better teach all their Followers to ſhift, than to reſolve by their diſtinctions. Wherefore not to ſtay long in anſwering this opinion of *Toſtatus*, I confeſſe that it is written, that the Mountaines of Olympus, Atho, and Atlas, over-reach and ſurmount all windes and clouds, and that (notwithſtanding) there is found on the heads of the Hils both ſprings and fruits; and the Pagan Prieſts, ſacrificing on theſe mountaine tops, do not find the aſhes (remaining of their ſacrifices) blowne thence, nor thence waſht off by raines, when they returne: yet experience hath reſolved us, that theſe reports are fabulous, and *Pliny* himſelfe (who was not ſparing in the report of wonders) avoweth the contrary. But were it granted, yet the height of theſe Mountaines is farre under the ſuppoſed place of *Paradiſe*; and on theſe ſelfe Hils the ayre is ſo thin (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, whom herein I miſtruſt) that it is not ſufficient to beare up the body of a bird, having therein no feeling of her wings, or any ſenſible reſiſtance of ayre to mount her ſelfe by.

## §. VIII.

### *Of their opinion that ſeate Paradiſe under the Æquinoctiall: and of the pleaſant habitation under thoſe Climats.*

THoſe which come neerer unto Reaſon, finde *Paradiſe* under the *Æquinoctiall line*, as *Tertullian*, *Bonaventure*, and *Durandus*: judging, that thereunder might be found moſt pleaſure, and the greateſt fertility of ſoile: but againſt it *Thomas Aquinas* objecteth the diſtemperate heat, which he ſuppoſeth to be in all places ſo directly under the Sunne; but this is (*non cauſa pro cauſa*,) for although *Paradiſe* could not be under the Line, becauſe Eden is farre from it, in which *Paradiſe* was; and becauſe there is no part of Euphrates, Tigris, or Ganges under it, (Ganges being one of the foure rivers, as they ſuppoſe) yet this conceit of diſtemper, (being but an old opinion) is found to be very untrue, though for the conjecture not to bee condemned, conſidering the age when thoſe Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas it appeared, that every Countrie, as it lay by degrees neerer the Tropick, and ſo toward the *Æquinoctiall*, did ſo much the more exceede in heat; It was therefore a reaſonable conjecture, that thoſe Countries which were ſituated directly under it, were of a diſtemper uninhabitable: but it ſeemeth that *Tertullian* conceived better, and ſo did *Avicenne*, for they both thought them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in thoſe dayes it might be thought a fantaſticall opinion (as all are which goe againſt the vulgar) yet we now find, that if there be any place upon the earth of that nature, beautie, and delight that *Paradiſe* had, the ſame muſt be found within that ſuppoſed uninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and neereſt to the line it ſelfe. For hereof experience hath informed Reaſon, and Time hath made thoſe things apparent, which were hidden and could not by any contemplation be diſcovered. Indeed it hath ſo pleaſed God to provide for all living creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that ſuch inconveniences which we contemplate a farre off, are found by triall and the witneſſe of mens travailes, to be ſo qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vaine, or as a fruitleſſe lump to faſhion out the reſt. For *God himſelfe* (ſaith Isay) *that formed the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vaine, he formed it to be inhabited.* Iſay 45.18. Now we finde that theſe hotteſt Regions of the world, ſeated under the *Æquinoctiall line*, or neere it, are ſo refreſhed with a daily gale of Eaſternely winde (which the *Spaniards* call the *Brize*) that doth evermore blow ſtrongeſt in the heate of the day, as the downe-right beames of the Sunne cannot ſo much maſter it, that there is any inconvenience or diſtemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are ſo cold, freſh, and equall, by reaſon of the entire interpoſition of the earth, as (for thoſe places which my ſelfe have ſeene, neere the Line and under it) I know no other part of the world of better, or equall temper: Onely there are ſome tracts, which by accident of high Mountaines are barr'd from this ayre and freſh wind, and ſome few ſandy parts without trees, which are not therefore ſo well inhabited as the reſt; and ſuch difference of ſoiles we finde alſo in all other parts of the world. But (for the greateſt part) thoſe Regions have ſo many goodly Rivers, Fountaines, and little Brookes, abundance of high Cedars, and other ſtately trees, caſting ſhade, ſo many ſorts of delicate fruits, ever bearing, and at all times beautified with bloſſome and fruit both greene and ripe, as it may of all other parts be beſt compared to the *Paradiſe* of *Eden*: the boughes and branches are never unclothed and left naked, their ſap creepeth not under ground into the root, fearing the injury of the froſt: neither doth *Pomona* at any time deſpiſe her withered Husband *Vertumnus*, in his winter quarters and old age. Therefore are theſe Countries called *Terræ vitioſæ*, *Vicious Countries*: for Nature being liberall to all without labour, neceſſitie impoſing no induſtrie or travell, idleneſſe bringeth forth no other fruits than vaine thoughts, and licentious pleaſures. So that to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and thoſe of his opinion, were not deceived in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who miſliked this opinion, and followed a worſe. And (to ſay the truth) all the Schoolemen were groſſe in this particular.

## §. IX.

### *Of the change of the names of places: and that beſides that Eden in Cœloſyria, there is a Country in Babylon, once of this name, as is proved out of* Esa.37. *and* Ezek.27.

These opinions anſwered, and the region of *Eden* not found in any of thoſe imaginary worlds, nor under *Torrida Zona*; it followeth that now we diſcover and find out the ſeat thereof, for in it was *Paradiſe* by God planted. The difficultie of which ſearch reſteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations have often changed names with their Maſters; ſo are moſt of theſe places, by *Moſes* remembred, forgotten by thoſe names of all Hiſtorian and Geographers, as well ancient as moderne.

Beſides, we find that the *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Perſians* (*Cyrus* onely and a few other excepted) ſought to extinguiſh the *Hebrewes*. The *Grecians* hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the *Romanes* deſpiſed once to remember them in any of their Stories. And as thoſe three Monarchies ſucceeded each other: ſo did they transforme the names of all thoſe principall Places and Cities in the Eaſt: and after them, the *Turke* hath ſought (what he could) to extinguiſh in all things, the ancient memorie of thoſe people, which he hath ſubjected and inthralled.

Now beſides thoſe notable markes, ***Euphrates*** and ***Tigris***, the better to finde the way which leadeth to the Country of ***Eden***, we are to take for guides theſe two conſiderations (to wit) That it lay Eaſtward from ***Canaan*** and ***Judæa***; and that it was of all other the moſt beautifull and fertile. Firſt then in reſpect of ſituation, the next Country to ***Judæa*** Eaſtward was ***Arabia Petræa***; but in this Region was ***Moſes*** himſelfe when he wrote: and the next unto it Eaſtward alſo was ***Arabia*** the ***Deſart***, both which in reſpect of the infertility could not be ***Eden***; neither have any of the ***Arabians*** any ſuch Rivers, as are expreſt to runne out of it: So as it followeth of neceſſitie, that ***Eden*** muſt be Eaſtward, and beyond both ***Arabia Petræa***, and ***Deſerta***. But becauſe ***Eden*** is by ***Moſes*** named by it ſelf, and by the fertility, & the rivers only deſcribed, we muſt ſeeke it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour Nations better deſcribed. In the Prophet ***Iſay*** I find it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent Countries, in theſe words, ſpoken in the perſon of ***Senacherib*** by RABSAKEH: *Iſa.37.v.12.* ***Have the gods of the Nations delivered them, which my Fathers have deſtroyed, as*** GOSAN, ***and*** HARAN, ***&*** RESEPH, ***and the children of*** EDEN, ***which were at Telaſſar?*** and in ***Ezechiel***, where he prophecieth againſt the *Cap.27.verſ.23.* ***Tyrians: They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Aſhur, and Chilmad, were they merchants, &c.***

But to avoid confuſion, we muſt underſtand that there were two ***Edens***, one of which the Prophet ***Amos*** remembreth, where he divideth ***Syria*** into three Provinces, whereof, *Cap.1.verſ.1.* the firſt he maketh ***Syria Damaſcene***, or ***Decapolitan***: the ſecond part is that Valley called ***Avenis***, otherwiſe ***Convallis***, or the tract of ***Chamath***, where ***Aſſyria*** is joyned to ***Arabia*** the ***Deſart***, & where ***Ptolomie*** placeth the City of ***Averia***: & the third is knowne *Strabo.* by the name of ***Domus Edenis***, or ***Cœloſyria***, otherwiſe ***Vallis cava***, or ***the hollow Valley***, becauſe the mountaines of ***Libanus*** and ***Antilibanus***, take all the length of it on both ſides, and border it: for ***Coele*** in ***Greeke*** is ***Cava*** in ***Latine***. But this is not that ***Eden***, which we ſeeke: neither doth this Province lye Eaſt from ***Canaan***, but North, and ſo joyneth unto it, as it could not be unknowne to the ***Hebrewes***. Yet, becauſe there is a little Citie therein called ***Paradiſe***, the ***Jewes*** beleeved this ***Cœloſyria*** to be the ſame which ***Moſes*** deſcribeth. For the ſame cauſe doth ***Hopkins*** in his Treatiſe of ***Paradiſe*** reprehend ***Beroaldus***, in that he confoundeth this ***Eden***, with the other ***Eden*** of ***Paradiſe***, though, to give ***Beroldus*** his right, I conceive that he led the way to ***Hopkins***, and to all other later Writers, ſaving, That he fayled in diſtinguiſhing theſe two Regions, both called ***Eden***: and that he altogether miſ-underſtood two of the foure Rivers (to wit) ***Piſon*** and ***Gehon***, as ſhall appeare hereafter. Now to finde out ***Eden***, which (as ***Moſes*** teacheth us) lay Eaſtward from the Deſarts, where he wrote, after he had paſſed the Red Sea; we muſt conſider where thoſe other Countries are found, which the Prophet ***Iſay*** and ***Ezechiel*** joyneth with it. For (ſaith ESAIAH) ***Goſan, Haran, and Reſeph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telaſſar.*** *Ezech.27.v.23.* Alſo ***Ezechiel*** joyneth ***Haran*** with ***Eden***, who together with thoſe of ***Sheba***, ***Aſhur***, and ***Chilmad***, were the Merchants that traded with the City of ***Tyre***, which was then (ſaith EZECHIEL) ***the Mart of the people for many Iſles***. And it hath ever beene the cuſtome, that the ***Perſians*** conveyed their Merchandiſe to ***Babylon***, and to thoſe Cities upon ***Euphrates***, and ***Tigris***, and from thence tranſported them into ***Syria***, now ***Soria***, and to the Port of the ***Mediterrane*** Sea: as in ancient times to the Citie of ***Tyre***, afterward to ***Tripoly***, and now to ***Aleppo***, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of ***Alexandretta***, in the ***Bay*** of ***Iſsicus***, now ***Lajazzo***. ***Ezechiel*** in the deſcription of the magnificence of ***Tyre***, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the Eaſt, as the only Marttowne of that part of the world, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and alſo what commodities every Countrie yeelded: and having counted the ſeverall People and Countries, he addeth the particular trade, which each of them exerciſed: *Verſ.24.* ***They were thy merchants*** (ſaith the Prophet) ***in all ſorts of things, in rayments of blue ſilke, and of broydered workes, fine linnen, corrall, and pearle***: and afterwards ſpeaking of the Merchants of ***Sheba*** and ***Raamah***, and what kinds they traded, he hath theſe words: ***The merchants of Sheba, & Raamah were thy merchants, they occupied in thy Faires, with the chiefe of all Spices, and with all precious ſtones and gold.*** Now theſe be indeed the riches which ***Perſia*** & ***Arabia Fœlix*** yeeld: and becauſe ***Sheba*** & ***Raamah*** are thoſe parts of ***Arabia***, which border the Sea, called the ***Perſian Gulfe***, therefore did thoſe Nations both vent ſuch Spice, ſweet Gummes, and Pearles, as their owne Countries yeelded:

and (withall) having trade with their Neighbours of India, had from them alſo all ſorts of ſpices, and plenty of gold. The better to convey theſe commodities to that great Mart of Tyre, the Shebans or Arabians entred by the mouth of Tigris, and from the Citie of Terredon (built or enlarged by *Nebuchodonozor*, now called *Balſara*) thence ſent up all theſe rich merchandiſes by boat to Babylon, from whence by the body of Euphrates, as farre as it bended Weſtward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reacheth within three dayes journey of Aleppo, and then over Land they paſt to Tyre, as they did afterward to Tripoly, (formerly Hieropolis) and thence to Alexandretta, as aforeſaid. Now the Merchants of Canneh, which *Ezechiel* joyneth with Eden, inhabited farre up the River, and received this trade from Arabia and India, beſides thoſe proper commodities which themſelves had, and which they received out of Perſia, which bordered them. Saint *Hierome* underſtandeth by Canneh, Seleucia, which is ſeated upon Euphrates, *where it breaketh into foure heads*, and which tooke that name from *Seleucus*, who made thereof a magnificent City. *Hieroſolymitanus* thinkes it to be Cteſiphon: but Cteſiphon is ſeated downe low upon Tigris, and Canneh cannot be on that ſide. I meane on the Eaſt-ſide of Tigris; for then were it out of the Valley of Shinar. *Plinie* placeth the *Schenitæ* upon Euphrates, where the ſame beginneth to be foordable, which is toward the border of Syria, after it leaveth to be the bound of Arabia the Deſart, and where the River of Euphrates reflecteth from the Deſart of Palmirena: for theſe people of Canneh (afterward *Schenitæ*) inhabited both borders of Euphrates, ſtretching themſelves, from their owne Citie of Canneth in Shinar Weſtward along the bankes of Euphrates, as farre as the City of Thapſacus, where *Ptolomy* appointed the Foords of Euphrates: which alſo agreeth with the deſcription of the *Schenitæ* by *Strabo*, whoſe words are theſe: *Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam & Babyloniam euntibus, iter eſt per Schenitas*; *The Merchants which travaile from Syria to Seleucia and Babylon, take their way by the Schenites*. Therefore thoſe which take Canneh for Charran, doe much miſtake it. For Charran, to which *Abraham* came from Ur in Chaldæa (called by God) ſtandeth alſo in Meſopotamia; not upon Euphrates it ſelfe, but upon the River of Chaboras, which falleth into Euphrates: and the Merchants of Charran are diſtinctly named with thoſe of Canneh in *Ezechiel* (as) *They of Haran, & Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Aſhur and Chilmad were thy merchants*. Wherefore Charran, which is ſometime called Charre, and Haran, and Aran, is but the ſame Charran of Meſopotamia; and when it is written Aran, then it is taken for the region of Meſopotamia: or *Aran fluviorum*, the Greeke word (Meſopotamia) importing, a country betweene rivers: for *Meſos* in Greeke, is *Medius* in Latine, and *Potamos, fluvius*; and when it is written Haran or Aran, it is then taken for the City it ſelfe, to which *Abraham* came from Ur (as aforeſaid.) For *Strabo* in the deſcription of Arabia, giveth that tract of land from the borders of Cœloſyria, to the edge of Meſopotamia, to the *Schenitæ*, who alſo inhabited on both ſides of Euphrates, and were in after-ages accounted of theſe Arabians which inhabite Batanea, & the North part of the Deſarts, ſtretching themſelves toward the unhabited ſolitude of Palmirena, which lyeth betweene Syria, and Arabia the Deſart. So as theſe of Canneh lay in the very high-way from Babylon to Tyre, and were neighbours (indifferent) to Charran and to Eden: and therefore they are by the Prophet *Ezechiel* coupled together, *They of Haran, and Canneh, & Eden, &c.* But S. *Hierom* made a good interpretation of Canneh, or Chalne, by Seleucia: for Seleucia was anciently called Chalanne (witneſſe *Appian*,) and ſo *Rabanus Maurus* calleth it in his Commentaries upon *Geneſis*; the name by time and mixture of languages being changed from Chalne or Canneh, to Chalanne: of which name there are two other Cities, ſtanding in Triangle with Seleucia, and almoſt the next unto it, (as) Thelbe-canne, and Mann-canne, the one a little to the Weſt of Seleucia, and the other oppoſite unto it; where theſe rivers of Tigris and Euphrates are ready to joyne. Therefore, which of theſe the ancient Canne was, (being all three within the bound of the valley Shinar) it is uncertaine: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certaine ſeate thereof, that ſo many other cities did retaine a part of the name in ſo many ages after. Neither is it unlikely, that theſe additions of Thelbe and Mann to the word Canne, were but to make difference betweene the Eaſt and the Weſt, or the greater and the leſſe Canne, or betweene Canne the old and the new: which additions to diſtinguiſh cities by, are ordinary in all the Regions of the World.

*Plin.l.6.c.26.*

*Strabo l.16.*

*Gen.11.31.*

Now of the other city joyned with Eden, as Haran or Charran, S. *Hierom* on the

*Jud.1.*

*Iud.1.* *Judges* ſpeaketh thereof in theſe words: *Cumq; reverterentur, pervenerunt ad Charran, quæ eſt in medio itinere contra Ninevem, undecimo die*; *When they returned, they came to Charran (which is the mid-way againſt Nineve) the eleventh day.*

This city is by the Martyr *Stephen* named Charran (ſpeaking to the high Prieſt:) *Yee* *Act.7.2.* *Men, Brethren, and Fathers, hearken: The God of glory appeared to our Father* ABRAHAM, *while he was in Meſopotamia, before he dwelt in Charran.* But the ſeate of this city is not doubted of: for it is not onely remembred in many Scriptures, but, withall, exceeding famous for the death and overthrow of *Craſſus* the Romane, who for his unſatiable greedineſſe was called *Gurges avaritiæ*; *The gulfe of avarice.* Whereof *Lucan*:

*Lucan.l.1.105.* *Aſſyrias Latio maculavit ſanguine Carras.*
With Roman bloud th' Aſſrian Carre he defil'd.

But this city Canne or Chalne is made manifeſt by *Moſes* himſelfe, where it is written *Gen.10.10.* of NIMROD: *And the beginning of his Kingdomes was Babel, and Erech, and Acad, and Chalne, in the land of Sinaar* or *Shinar*: where *Moſes* ſheweth the firſt compoſition of the Babylonian Empire, and what cities and people were ſubject unto *Nimrod*, all which lay in the ſaid Valley of Shinar, or neere it; and this Valley of Shinar is that Tract afterwards called Babylonia and Chaldæa, into which alſo Eden ſtretcheth it ſelfe. *Chaldæa, Babylonia, Sinaar, idem ſunt* (ſaith COMESTOR.) *Three names of one Country*: which Region of Babylonia tooke name of the Tower Babel; and the Tower, of the confuſion of tongues. And that Shinar was Babylonia, it is proved in the eleventh chapter of *Geneſis*, in theſe words: *And as they went from the Eaſt, they found a Plaine in the Land of Shinar,* *Verſ.2.* *and there they abode*: in which Plaine Babylon was built (as aforeſaid.)

Now Shinar being Babylonia, and Canneh, in the firſt beginning of *Nimrods* greatneſſe, and before he had ſubdued any ſtrange, or far-off Nations being one part of his Dominion, and alſo named by *Moſes* to be in Shinar, it proveth that Canneh joyneth to Babylonia; which alſo *Ezechiel* coupleth with Eden, and (further) affirmeth that thoſe of Eden were alſo the Merchants which traded with the Tyrians: & *Eſay* in the threates of *Senacherib* againſt Jeruſalem (with other Nations that *Senacharib* vaunted that his Fathers had deſtroyed) nameth the children of Eden which were at Tel aſſar. But be- *Verſ.7.* fore I conclude where Eden it ſelfe lyeth, it is neceſſary to deſcribe thoſe other Countries, which *Ezechiel* joyneth therewith, in the places before remembred, as, thoſe of Sheba and Raamah. It is written in *Geneſis* the tenth: *Moreover the ſonnes of* HAM *were* CUSH, *&c. And the ſonnes of* CUSH *were* SEBA, *and* HAVILAH, *and* SABTAH, *and* RAAMAH, *&c. And the ſonnes of* RAAMAH *were* SHEBA, *&c.* and anon after; CUSH *begat* NIMROD: ſo as *Sheba* was the grand-child of *Cuſh*, and *Nimrod* the ſonne of *Cuſh*, whoſe elder brother was *Sebah*: though ſome there are that conceive to the contrary, that *Nimrod* was the elder in valour and underſtanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of Shinar, where Babel was built, afterwards Babylonia. His brother *Raamah* or *Regma* tooke that part adjoyning to Shinar, toward the Sea ſide and Perſian gulfe (called afterwards *Raama* and *Sheba*, by the Father and his Sonnes, which poſſeſſed it.) For (ſaith EZECHIEL) *the merchants of Raamah and Sheba were thy merchants, they occupied in thy Faires with the chiefe of all ſpices, and all precious ſtones, and gold.* So as Sheba was that Tract of Country, which parteth *Arabia Deſerta* from *Arabia Fœlix*, and which joyneth to the Sea where Tigris and Euphrates fall out, & *Strabo l.16.* render themſelves to the Ocean. This part, and the confining Country, *Strabo* calleth Catabria, where the beſt Myrrhe and Frankincenſe is gathered; which people have an interchange or trade with Elana, lying on the Eaſt ſide of the Perſian gulfe. By this it appeareth who were the Shebeans, ſpoken of by *Ezechiel*, and ſaid to have beene the Merchants of Tyre, for gold, ſpices, and precious ſtones: of which they had not onely plenty of their owne, but were alſo furniſhed from that part of India (called Elana, according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their Aromatiques, and other proper commodities. For, as *Strabo* reporteth out of ERATOSTHENES: *In Perſicæ oræ initio Inſula eſt, in qua multi & pretioſi uniones gignantur: in aliis vero, clari & perlucidi lapilli.* ERATOSTHENES (ſaith *Strabo*) affirmeth, that in the *beginning of the Perſian gulfe, there is an Iſland, in which there are many precious pearles bred: and in other, very cleare and ſhining ſtones.* Now, the difference betweene *Sheba*, the ſonne of *Raamah*, and *Seba*, the ſonne of *Cuſh*, is in this, That *Seba* is written with the Hebrew (*Samech*;) and *Sheba* with (*Schin*:)

but whatſoever the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthography, their Countries and Habitations are divers. For Sheba is that which bordereth the Perſian Sea, and Saba (whence the Queene of Saba) neighboured the Red Sea; and ſo that place of the 72. *Pſalme*, expounded *Reges Arabum & Sabæ*, hath in the Hebrew this ſenſe: *Reges Shebæ & Sabæ.*

The Shebans, *Ezechiel* nameth together with the Edenites, becauſe they inhabited upon the Out-let of the ſame River, upon which the Edenites were ſeated: and ſo thoſe of Sheba, towards the Sea-coaſt, and upon it, paſt up the Countrey, by Tigris and Euphrates, being joyned in one maine ſtreame, and ſo through the Region of Eden, which Tigris boundeth, thereby the better to convey their merchandiſe toward Tyre. And as the Cities of Charran, and Canneh, border Eden on the Weſt and North-weſt: ſo doth Sheba on the South, and Chilmad on the North-eaſt: Chilmad being a Region of the higher Media, as appeareth in the Chaldæan Paraphraſt; which Countrey by the Geographers is called *Coromitena*, (*L*) placed by exchange for (*R.*) which change the Hebrewes alſo often uſe.

Thus much of thoſe Countries which border Eden, and who altogether traded with the Tyrians: of which, the chiefe were the Edenites, inhabiting Telaſſar: for theſe *Senacherib* vaunted, that his Fathers had deſtroyed; and this place of Telaſſar lay moſt convenient, both to receive the Trade from Sheba & Arabia, and alſo to convey it over into Syria, and to Tyrus. Now to make theſe things the more plaine, we muſt remember, that before the death of *Senacherib*, many parts of the Babylonian Empire fell from his obedience, and after his death theſe Monarchies were utterly diſ-joyned.

For it appeareth both in *Eſay* the 37. and in the ſecond of *Kings*, by the threates of *Rabſache*, the while the Army of Aſſyria lay before Jeruſalem, that the Cities of Goſan, Haran, Reſeph, and the Edenites at Telaſſar, had reſiſted the Aſſyrians, though by them (in a ſort) maſtered and recovered. *Have the gods of the Nations delivered them, whom my Fathers have deſtroyed as Goſan, and Haran, Reſeph, & the children of Eden, which were at Telaſſar?* But it appeared manifeſtly after *Senacheribs* death, that theſe Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others ſubjection: for *Eſar-Haddon* held Aſſyria, and *Merodach Baladan*, Babylonia. And after that the Army of *Senacherib*, commanded by *Rabſache* which lay before Jeruſalem (*Ezechias* then reigning) while *Senacherib* was in Egypt, was by the Angell of God deſtroyed; the King of Babel ſent to *Ezechias*, both to congratulate the recovery of his health, and his victory obtained over the Aſſyrians. After which overthrow, *Senacherib* himſelfe was ſlaine by his owne ſonnes in the Temple of his Idols, *Eſar-Haddon* ſucceeding him in Aſſyria. To the Babylonian Ambaſſadours ſent by *Merodach*, *Ezechias* ſhewed all his treaſures, aſwell proper as conſecrate, which invited the kings of Babylon afterward to undertake their conqueſt and ſubverſion. So as, the ſuſpition of warre encreaſing betweene Babylon and Aſſyria, the Edenites which inhabited the borders of Shinar towards the North, and towards Aſſyria, were imployed to beare off the incurſions of the Aſſyrians; and their Garriſon-place was at Telaſſar: and the very word (*Telaſſar*) ſaith *Junius*, ſignifying as much, as a bulwarke againſt the Aſſyrians. This place *Hieroſolymitanus* takes for Reſem, others for Seleucia: but this Telaſſar is the ſame, which *Am. Marcellinus* in the Hiſtory of *Julian* (whom he followed in the enterprize of Perſia) calleth Thilutha in ſtead of Telaſſar, who deſcribeth the exceeding ſtrength thereof in his 24. Booke: it is ſeated in an Iſland of Euphrates upon a ſteepe and unaſſaultable Rocke, in ſo much as the Emperour *Julian* durſt not attempt it; and therefore it was a convenient place for a Garriſon againſt the Aſſyrians, being alſo a paſſage out of Meſopotamia into Babylonia, and in which the Edenites of the Countrey adjoyning were lodged to defend the ſame. This place *Ptolomy* calleth Teridata, having Reſeph (which he calleth Reſepha) on the left hand; and Canneh, (which he calleth Thelbe-canne) on the right hand; not farre from whence is alſo found the City of Mann-canne upon Tigris; and all theſe ſeated together, as *Eſay* and *Ezechiel* have ſorted them. But the underſtanding of theſe places is the more difficult, becauſe Aſſyria (which the Chaldæans call Atturia) and Meſopotamia, were ſo often confounded: the one taken for the other by interchange of Dominion. *Aſſyria & Meſopotamia in Babyloniæ nomen tranſierunt* (ſaith Niger,) *Aſſyria and Meſopotamia tooke the name of Babylonia.* Laſtly, it appeareth by thoſe adjacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the World Eden is

Eſay 37.v.12.
2 Kings 19,35.
20.12.
Eſay 39.1.
Eſay 37.38.
Eſay 39.2.
Aſiæ Tab. 4.
Coſmog Aſiæ.

ſeated,as,by *Charran* or *Heran* in Meſopotamia: alſo by *Canneh* and *Reſeph*,according to the opinion of *Vatablus*, who in theſe words tranſlateth this place: *Plantaverat autem* JEHOVAH *Deus hortum in Eden, ab Oriente; The Lord God planted a Garden in Eden, Eaſtward*: that is (ſaith he in his Annotations) *Juſſerat naſci arbores in Eden, Regione Orientali, in finibus Arabiæ & Meſopotamiæ; He commanded Trees to grow in Eden, an Eaſterne Region in the borders of Arabia and Meſopotamia.*

## §.X.

### *Of divers other teſtimonies of the Land of Eden; and that this is the Eden of Paradiſe.*

AND for a more particular pointing out of this Eden,it ſeemes by the two Epiſtles of the Neſtorian Chriſtians, that inhabit Meſopotamia; which Epiſtles in the yeare 1552.they ſent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch,& *Andræas Maſius* hath publiſhed them,tranſlated out of Syriac into Latine. By theſe Epiſtles (I ſay) it ſeemes we may have ſome farther light for the proofe of that, which we have ſaid about the Region of Eden in thoſe parts.For in them both there is mention of the Iſland of Eden in the River Tigris, or at leaſt,Tigris in both theſe Epiſtles is called the River of Eden. This Iſland,as *Maſius* in his Preface to theſe Epiſtles ſaith, is commonly called *Gozoria* (as it were, the Iſland, by an eminency.) It hath (ſaith he) ten miles in circuit, and was ſometimes walled round about, which name of the Iſland Eden may (doubtleſſe) remaine to this day; though in the reſt of the Region ſo called, this name be ſwallowed up, with the fame of thoſe flouriſhing Kingdomes of Meſopotamia,Aſſyria,Babylonia,and Chaldæa.This Iſland of Eden hath up the River, and not farre beyond it,the City of Haſan-Cepha,otherwiſe *Fortis Petra*: below it, it hath Moſal or Moſel, from which (as in that which followeth it ſhall appeare out of *Maſius*) it is not above twelve miles diſtant. Neither is it to trouble us, that Moſal or Moſel, by *Marius Niger* is remembred among the Cities higher up Tigris, in theſe words. *Juxta autem Tigrim, Civitates ſunt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, quæ nunc Moſel dicitur; magna ſanè, &c.* (that is) *By Tigris are theſe Cities, Dorbeta neere unto mount Taurus (which is now called Moſel) which is a great one, &c.* This opinion of *Niger*, diſplacing Moſel, and making it to be Dorbeta (I ſay) needs not here to trouble us: ſeeing for this matter, the teſtimony of *Maſius*, informed by the Chriſtians that dwelt there (the Seat of whoſe Patriach it is) ought to be of credit,avowing that this Moſal (or Mozal) is in the Confines of Meſopotamia and Aſſyria,ſeated upon Tigris,and in the neighbour-hood of Nineve; and that it is the famous *Seleucia Parthorum*. The Neſtorian Chriſtians in their former Epiſtle, call it Attur,in theſe words: *Ex omnibus Civitatibus & pagis quæ ſunt circum Civitatem Moſal (hoc eſt) Attur in vicinia Nineves; Of all the Cities and Townes which are about the Citie of Mozal (that is) Attur in the neighour-hood of Nineve.* As alſo *Niger* acknowledgeth Cteſiphon,a City thereabout to be called Aſſur,(which is the ſame as Attur, after the Dialect of thoſe Nations, which change *Sh* into *T*.) Neither is it much that he ſhould miſtake Cteſiphon,(which is not farre off Seleucia) for Seleucia, to be Aſſur. By this then we may come ſomewhat neere the end of our purpoſe.For the Ile of Eden,which lieth in the breſt of Tigris,is but twelve miles from Moſal, & that ancient City, which *Ptolomy* and *Tacitus* call Ninus, and the Scriptures Nineve; *Philoſtratus*,and *Simeon Sethi*, Moſula,and *John Lean*, Moſal, others Moſſe, (though it be not the ſame with Moſal) is ſet but a little higher upon the ſame River of Tigris, neere Moſal: ſo that we are like to finde this Ile of Eden hereabout.For the ſame *Andræas Maſius*, which placeth it above Moſal,makes it to be below Haſan-cepha, which is upon the ſame River of Tigris.

*Ut ſupra.*

The onely difficulty is this, that ſome perhaps may thinke, that the words of the Neſtorians in both their Epiſtles, ſpeake not of any Ile in Tigris, called the Ile of Eden, but of an Ile in Tigris,a River of Eden.But this ſenſe of their words in my opinion ſeemeth the more unprobable. And yet if this were the meaning here, we have a teſtimonie from the Learned of thoſe parts, that not onely Euphrates, but alſo Tigris was a River of Eden,and that the name of Eden in thoſe parts is not yet quite worne out, though the Region hath been ſubject to the ſame change, that all other Kingdomes of the world have beene, and hath by conqueſt and corruption of other Languages, received new and differing names.For the South part of Eden, which ſtretcheth over Euphrates, was after the floud called *Shinar*, and then of the Tower of *Babel, Babylonia*; and the North part of *Eden* is that Tract of *Meſopotamia, Aſſyria*, and *Armenia*, which imbraceth both the bankes of *Tigris* betweene Mount *Taurus*, and *Seleucia*. And of this Region of *Eden* that ancient *Æthicus* maketh mention, (not that latter *Æthicus*, Diſciple of *Gallinicus*, otherwiſe by *Plutarch* and *Athenæus* called *Iſtri*, who lived in Egypt in the Reigne of *Philadelphus*; but another of a farre higher and remote time) the ſame being made Latine out of the Greeke by Saint *Hierome*. And though by corruption of the ancient Copie it be written in *Aethicus, Adonis* for *Edenis*; yet *Adonis* being a River of *Phœnicia*, cannot be underſtood to be the Region named by *Æthicus*. For *Æthicus* makes it a Countrey, and not a River, and joyneth it with *Meſopotamia* and *Æthiopia*, calling the land of *Chus Aethiopia*, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint. And laſtly, the River which watereth the Regions, (ſaith *Aethicus*) falleth into the Gulfe of *Perſia*: which River he called *Armodius*, for *Tigris*; *Tigris* being but a name impoſed for the ſwiftneſſe thereof. And out of *Armenia* both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* have their originall: for out of *Eden* came a River, or Rivers, to water the Garden, both which Rivers (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them traverſe *Meſopotamia*, Regions firſt of all knowne by the name of *Eden* for their beautie and fertilitie. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained alſo ſome part of *Armenia*; and the excellent fertilitie thereof in divers places, is not unworthy the name of *Eden*. For in ſome part thereof (ſaith *Strabo*) the leaves are alway green, & therefore therein a perpetuall Spring. Alſo STEPHANUS *de urbibus*, mentioneth the Citie of *Adana* upon *Euphrates*: and the name of *Eden* was in uſe in *Amos* time, though he ſpeake not of *Eden* in the Eaſt, but of *Eden* in *Cœloſyria*. But to the end I may not burden the Readers patience with too long a Diſcourſe, it may ſuffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (once joyned together; and afterward ſeparate) are two of thoſe foure heads, into which theſe Rivers which are ſaid to water the Garden of *Paradiſe*, were divided: whoſe courſes being knowne, *Eden*, (out of which they are ſaid to come) cannot be unknowne. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath* were *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, it is agreed by all: for the Seventie and all others convert *Perath* by *Euphrates*: *& Hiddekel Tigrim omnes exponunt*: *& all men underſtand Hiddekel by Tigris* (ſaith *Vatablus*.) And becauſe that which I have ſaid of the Ile of *Eden* ſhall not be ſubject to the cenſure of ſelfe-invention, I have heere-under ſet downe the words out of the two generall Epiſtles of the *Neſtorians*, as MASIUS (*ad verbum*) hath converted them into Latine. The occaſion of thoſe Letters and Supplications to the Pope, were, that the *Neſtorian* Chriſtians, which inhabit *Meſopotamia, Aſſyria, Perſia, Babylonia*, and have to this day (at leaſt in Queen *Maries* time they had) fifteene Churches in one Citie called *Seleucia Parthorum*, or *Moſel* upon the River of *Tigris*; having no ſufficient authoritie to chooſe themſelves a Patriarch (which cannot be done without foure or three Metropolitane Biſhops at leaſt) ſent to the Biſhop of *Rome*, in the yeare of Chriſt 1552. (as afore-ſaid) a Petition to obtaine allowance unto ſuch an Election as themſelves had made: having three hundred yeare before that upon the like defect, ſent one *Marius* thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they made knowne to the Biſhop of *Rome* the ſtate of the Chriſtian Church in thoſe parts: for upon the death of their Patriarch (who of a covetous deſire to enrich himſelfe had forborne to inſtitute Metropolitane Biſhops, when the places fell voide) they all aſſembled themſelves together to conſult of the Church-government. And becauſe all the Patriarchs for an hundred yeares had beene of one Houſe and Family to the prejudice of the Church, and that there yet remained one Biſhop of the ſame Stocke and Kindred, who aſpired to the ſame dignitie which his Predeceſſors had held, the reſt of the Profeſſors refuſed to allow him. Upon which occaſion, and for the choice of a Governour more ſufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches aſſembled themſelves. The words of the generall Epiſtle to the Pope are theſe about the middle of the ſaid Epiſtle; *Verum nos non acceptavimus neq; proclamavimus ipſum, ſed ſubitò convenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Civitatibus & Pagis quæ ſunt circum Civitatem Moſel (hoc eſt) Attur, in vicinia Nineves, ex Babylonia, ex Charrâ, ex Arbella, ex Inſula quæ eſt in medio Tigris, fluminis Eden, ex Tauris Perſiæ, ex Niſibi, &c.* which is: *But we did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him: but ſuddenly we aſſembled our ſelves out of all parts of the Eaſt, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about Moſel (or Attur) neighbouring Nineve, & out of Babylon, Carrha, Arbella, and out of the Iland which lyeth in the middle of Tigris*;

*gris, a River of Eden*, or rather, *out of the Ile of Eden, which lyeth in the River Tigris*. And in a ſecond Epiſtle at the ſame time ſent, they uſe theſe words: *Neq; ſuperſunt apud nos Metropolitæ, quorum eſt ordinare Catholicum, ſed ſoli pauci, Epiſcopi, Epiſcopus Arbelæ, Epiſcopus Salmaſti, Epiſcopus Adurbeigan; en è veſtigio convenimus in Inſulam, quæ eſt, intra Tigrim flumen, Eden, fecimuſq; compactum inter nos, &c.* (which is) *Neither are there remaining among us any Metropolitan Biſhops, to whom it belongs to ordaine a Patriarch, but onely a few Biſhops, as the Biſhop of Arbela, the Biſhop of Salmaſtus, and the Biſhop of Adurbeigan: but lo, we aſſembled ſpeedily in the Iland Eden, which is in Tigris, and agreed betweene our ſelves, &c.*

Now this Iland of *Eden Maſius* deſcribeth with other places; which being well conceived, the *Neſtorian* Epiſtles, and the ſtate of the Church may be in thoſe parts (ſaith he) the better underſtood. And after he hath diſtinguiſhed the foure ſorts of Chriſtians in thoſe parts of the World, and in the South part of *Africa*, which hee calleth *Neſtorians, Jacobites, Maronitæ*, and *Cophti*, he goeth on in theſe words: *Mox audita illius morte, concurriſſe aiebant tumultuariò in illam quam modò dixi Tigris Inſulam, quæ duodecim circiter paſſuum millibus ſupra Moſal poſita, decem ferè millia paſſuum ſuo ambitu continet, muris undiq; cincta, & à paucis aliis quàm Chriſtianis hominibus habitata:* which is, *Now hearing of the death of the Patriarch,* (as thoſe that came to *Rome* reported) *they ran tumultuouſly together into that Iland of Tigris* or *Eden before ſpoken of, which Iland is ſituated about twelve miles above Moſal, containing very neere ten miles in compaſſe, and every where invironed with a wall, inhabited by few other men than Chriſtians*. And afterward he maketh a recapitulation of the Chriſtian Churches; among the reſt hee addeth the Ile of *Eden* by the name of *Geſerta, Inſula Tigris: ſive Geſerta.* Furthermore, deſcribing the Citie of *Hoſan-cepha*, or *Fortis Petra*, he placeth it *ſupra prædictam Tigris Inſulam rupi aſperæ impoſitam; Above the aforeſaid Iland of Tigris, being ſeated on a ſteepe Rocke.* Of this Iland of *Geſerta, Andrew Thevet* maketh mention in his tenth Booke of his generall Coſmographie in theſe words: *Geſerta ou Geſire eſt au milieu de la Riviere du Tigre, & penſe que c'eſt une terre des plus fertiles de toute l' Aſie; Geſerta or Geſire is in the middle of Tigris, the Soyle the moſt fertile of all Aſia.*

By this we ſee that the ancient name of *Eden* liveth, and of that *Eden* which lyeth Eaſtward from *Arabia Petræa*, and the Deſart where *Moſes* wrote, and that *Eden* which bordereth *Charran* according to *Ezechiel*, and that *Eden* which is ſeated according to the aſſertion of the ſaid Prophet, & joyned with thoſe Nations of *Reſeph, Canneh*, and *Charran*, and the reſt which traded with the *Tyrians*, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of *Aſſyria* and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Thelaſſar* were garriſoned to reſiſt the *Aſſyrians*, whoſe diſplantation *Senacherib* vaunted of (as above written;) and laſtly, the ſame *Eden*, which embraceth *Tigris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the knowne Rivers of thoſe foure, which are by all men aſcribed to Paradiſe.

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## §.XI.

## *Of the difficultie in the Text, which ſeemeth to make the foure Rivers to riſe from one ſtreame.*

BUt it may be objected, that it is written in the Text, *That a River went out of Eden*, and not Rivers in the plurall; which ſcruple *Matthew Beroaldus* hath thus anſwered in his Chronologie: The Latine Tranſlation, ſaith hee, hath theſe words: *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradiſum, qui inde dividebatur in quatuor capita: Quæ verba melius conſentient cum rei narratione, & ejuſdem explicatione, ſi ita reddantur. Et fluvius erat egrediens ex Edene,* (*hoc eſt*) *fluvii procedebant ex Edene regione ad rigandum pomarium; & inde dividebatur, & erat in quatuor capita:* which is, *A*[illegible] *River went out of the place of pleaſure to water Paradiſe, and thence was divided into foure heads:* Which words (ſaith *Beroaldus*) doe better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus tranſlated: *And a River was going forth of Eden* (*that is*) *Rivers went forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden to water the Orchard; and from thence it was divided, and they became foure heads.* The *Tigurine* differs from the Vulgar or Latine; for it converts it thus: *Et fluvius egrediebatur de deliciis; And a River went out of pleaſure*, in ſtead of *Eden*; and the Latine addeth the word *locus*, or place, *Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis; And a River went out of the place* *of pleaſure* : and ſo the word ( place ) may rightly be referred to Eden, which was ( of all other) a Region moſt delightfull and fertile; and ſo alſo the word (*inde* ) and *thence*, was divided, hath reference to the Countrey of Eden, and not to the Garden it ſelfe.

And for the word (*River* ) for Rivers, it is uſuall among the Hebrewes : for it is written : *Let the Earth bud forth the bud of the Herbe that ſeedeth Seede, the fruitfull Tree, &c.* Gen.1.11. Here the Hebrew uſeth the Singular for the Plurall, *Herbe and Tree, for Herbes and* 3.2. *Trees*; and againe, We eate of the fruit of the Tree, in ſtead of ( Trees : ) And thirdly, *The man and his wife hid themſelves from the preſence of God*; *In medio ligni Paradiſi*; 8. *In the middle of the tree of the Garden*, for (*Trees.* ) And of this opinion is *David Kimchi*, and *Vatablus*, who upon this place of *Geneſis* ſay, that the Hebrewes doe often put the Singular for the Plurall, as *illud*, for *unumquodq; illorum*, and he giveth an inſtance in this queſtion it ſelfe, as, *A River* ( for *Rivers* ) *went out of Eden.*

And this anſwer out of divers of the Learned, may, not without good reaſon, bee given to the objection, That *Moſes* ſpeaketh but of one River, from which the heads ſhould divide themſelves. Howbeit I deny not, but with as good ( and perhaps better) reaſon, we may expound the foure heads, to be foure notable paſſages into famous Countries. And ſo we may take the word ( River ) Verſe the tenth for one River, ( to wit) Euphrates, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this River, (after he is paſt the place, where we ſuppoſe Paradiſe to have beene, ) divides it ſelfe, and ere long yeeldeth foure notable paſſages into ſeverall Countries, though not all the way downe ſtreame, (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the River downward, there is conveiance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countries (to wit, to Aſſyria ) were up Tigris.

To this end the Text ſpeaking of Hiddekel, as it riſeth from the River of Eden, doth not ſay it compaſſeth or waſheth the whole Region of Aſſyria, ( as it had uſed this phraſe of Piſon and Gehon) but that it runneth toward Aſſyria. The firſt branch Piſon, is Nahar-malcha, ( by interpretation) *Baſilius*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into Tigris under Apamia; whence ariſeth the name of *Paſi-tigris*, ( as it were) *Piſo-tigris.* This leadeth to the Land of *Havila* or *Suſiana.* The ſecond branch *Gehon*, is that which in Hiſtorians is *Nabarſares* or *Narragas*; for *Nahar-ragas* : both which names ſignifie *flumen derivatum* (a River derived, ) alſo *Acracanus, quaſi Ranoſus*, by reaſon of the froggie Fennes which it maketh : this Gehon leadeth to the firſt ſeate of Chus, about the borders of Chaldæa and Arabia, and it is loſt at length in the Lakes of Chaldæa. The third branch Hiddekel, may be expounded the upper ſtreame of Piſon, or Baſilius which runneth into Hiddekel, properly ſo called ( that is, into Tigris ) above Seleucia, where it ſheweth a paſſage up Tigris into Aſſyria : where, becauſe at length it is called Hiddekel or Tigris, having before no knowne proper name, the Text in this place calleth it Hiddekel from the beginning. The fourth Perath, or Euphrates, ſo called *per excellentiam*, being the body of the River Euphrates, which runneth through Babylon & Otris. But, be it a River or Rivers, that come out of Eden, ſeeing that Tigris and Euphrates are noted in the Text, there can be no doubt, but that Paradiſe was not farre from theſe Rivers : for that Perath in *Moſes* is Euphrates, there can be no queſtion; and (indeede) as plaine it is that Hiddekel is Tigris. For Hiddekel goeth (ſaith *Moſes* ) Eaſtward towards Aſſur, as we find, that Tigris is the River of *Aſſyria propriè dicta*, whoſe chiefe City was Nineve, as in *Geneſis* the tenth it is written : That out of that Land (to wit ) Babylonia, *Nimrod* went into Aſſur, and builded Nineve, which was the chiefe City of Aſſyria.

And as for the kind of ſpeech here uſed in the Text, ſpeaking of foure heads; though the heads of Rivers be (properly ) their Fountaines, yet here are they to be underſtood, to be ſpoken of the beginning of their diviſion from the firſt ſtreame. *Caput aquæ* (ſaith ULPIANUS) *illud eſt, unde aqua noſcitur; ſi ex fonte naſcatur, fons; ſi ex flumine, vel ex lacu, prima initia, &c. If the beginning of the water be out of a Fountaine, then is the Fountaine taken for the head : if out of a Lake, then the Lake*; and if from a maine River any branch be ſeparate and divided, then where that branch doth firſt bound it ſelfe with new bankes, there is that part of the River, where the branch forſaketh the maine ſtreame, called the head of the River.

§.XII.

## §. XII.

### *Of the ſtrange fertilitie and happineſſe of the Babylonian Soile, as it is certaine that Eden was ſuch.*

IT may alſo be demanded, whether this Region of Eden, by us deſcribed, be of ſuch fertilitie and beautie, as Eden the ſeate of Paradiſe was: which, if it be denied, then muſt we alſo conſider, that there was no part of the Earth, that retained that fertilitie and pleaſure, that it had before the curſe: neither can we aſcribe the ſame fruitfulneſſe to any part of the Earth, nor the ſame vertue to any plant thereon growing, that they had before the floud; and therefore this Region of Eden may be now no ſuch flouriſhing Countrey, as it was when it was firſt created in his perfection. Yet this I finde written of it: Firſt, in *Herodotus*, who was an eye-witneſſe, and ſpeaketh of the very place it ſelfe; for the Ile of Eden is but twelve miles or thereabout from Nineve, and ſo from Moſal. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tigrim, alterum flumen, juxta quod Urbs Ninus ſita erat. Hæc regio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima eſt, &c. Where Euphrates runneth out into Tigris, not farre from the place where Ninus is ſeated. This Region of all that we have ſeene, is moſt excellent:* and he addeth afterward; *Cereris autem fructu procreando adeo ferax eſt, ut nunquam non ferè ducenta reddat, &c.* (that is) *It is ſo fruitfull in bringing forth Corne, that it yeeleth two hundred fold: The leaves of Wheate and Barley being almoſt foure fingers broad. As for the height of Millet and Seſame, they are even in length like unto Trees; which although I know to be true, yet I forbeare to ſpeake hereof, well knowing, that thoſe things which are reported of this fruitfulneſſe, will ſeeme very incredible to thoſe, which never were in the Country of Babylon. They have commonly in all the Country Palme Trees growing of their owne accord, the moſt of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both Meates, and Wine, and Honey, ordering them as the Figge Trees.* Thus farre *Herodotus*.

Herod. Clia. li. 1.

To this Palme-tree, ſo much admired in the Eaſt India, *Strabo* and *Niger* adde a fourth excellency, which is, that *it yeeldeth bread; Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt; Of which theſe people make Bread, Wine, Honey, and Vineger.* But *Antonius* the Eremite findeth a fift commodity, not inferior to any of thoſe foure, which is, that from this ſelfe-ſame Tree there is drawne a kinde of fine Flaxe, of which people make their garments, and with which in Eaſt India they prepare the cordage for their ſhips. And that this is true, *Athanaſius* in the life of *Antonius* the Eremite, confeſſeth, ſaying: *That he received a Garment made thereof from the Eremite himſelfe, which he brought with him out of this Region.* So therefore thoſe Trees, which the Eaſt Indies ſo highly eſteeme and ſo much admire (as indeed the Earth yeeldeth no Plant comparable to this) thoſe Trees (I ſay) are in this upper Babylon, or Region of Eden, as common as any Trees of the Field. *Sunt etiam* (ſaith STRABO) *paſſim per omnem Regionem Palmæ ſua ſponte naſcentes; There are of Palmes over all the whole Region, growing of their owne accord.* Of this place *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report: *Euntibus à parte læva Arabiæ (odorum fertilitate nobilis) regio campeſtris intereſt inter Tigrim & Euphratem, jacens tam ubere & pingui ſolo, ut à paſtu repelli pecora dicantur, ne ſatietas perimat;* (that is) *As you travaile on the left hand of Arabia (famous for plentie of ſweete Odours) there lyeth a Champaine Countrey placed betweene Tigris and Euphrates, and ſo fruitfull and fat a ſoile, that they are ſaid to drive their Cattell from paſture, leſt they ſhould periſh by ſatiety. Bis in anno ſegetes Babylonii ſecant; The Babylonians cut their Corne twice a yeare* (ſaith *Niger*.) And as Countries generally are more fruitfull to the Southward, than in the Northerne parts: ſo we may judge the excellency of this by that report which *Strabo* maketh of the South parts of America, which is the North border of Eden, or a part thereof. His words be theſe in the Latine: *Tota enim hæc regio frugibus & arboribus abundat manſuetis, itemq; ſemper virentibus; This Region aboundeth with pleaſant fruits, & Trees alwayes greene:* which witneſſeth a perpetuall Spring, not found elſewhere but in the Indies onely, by reaſon of the Sunnes neighbourhood, the life and ſtirrer up of Nature in a perpetuall activity. In briefe, ſo great is the fertility of the ground, that the people are conſtrained twice to mow downe their Corne fields, and a third time to eate them up with Sheepe: which husbandry the Spaniards wanting in the Valley of Mexico, for the firſt forty yeares, could not make our kind of Wheate beare ſeed, but it grew up as high as the Trees, and was fruitleſſe. Beſides, thoſe fields are altogether without weedes (ſaith *Pliny*) who addeth this ſingularitie to that ſoyle, That the ſecond yeare the very ſtubble (or rather falling downe of the ſeedes againe) yeeldeth them a harveſt of corne without any further labour: his words are theſe, *Ubertatis tantæ ſunt, ut ſequenti anno ſponte reſtibilis fiat ſeges.* Plin.Nat.hiſt. l.18.c.17.

### §. XIII.

### *Of the River Piſon, and the land of Havilah.*

AFter the diſcoverie of Eden, and the teſtimonies of the fertilitie thereof, it reſteth to prove that *Piſon* and *Gehon* are branches of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*: For, that the knowledge and certaintie of theſe two Rivers ſhould trouble ſo many wiſe men, it is ſtrange to me, ſeeing neceſſitie it ſelfe (*Tigris* and *Euphrates* being knowne) findeth them out: for *Euphrates*, or *Tigris*, or both, be that River or Rivers of Eden, which water Paradiſe; which river or rivers *Moſes* witneſſeth afterward divided into foure heads, whereof the one is called *Piſon*, the other *Gehon* &c. Could there be a ſtranger fancie in the world, than when we find both theſe (namely) Tigris and Euphrates in Aſſyria and Meſopotamia, to ſeeke the other two in India and Egypt, making the one Ganges, and the other Nilus? Two rivers as farre diſtant as any of fame knowne or diſcovered in the world: the Scriptures making it ſo plain, that theſe Rivers were divided into foure branches, and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reaſon, and Experience bearing witneſſe. There is no errour, which hath not ſome ſlipperie and bad foundation, or ſome appearance of probabilitie, reſembling truth, which when men (who ſtudie to be ſingular) finde out, (ſtraining reaſon according to their fancies) they then publiſh to the world matter of contention and jangling; not doubting but in the variable deformitie of mens minds, to find ſome partakers or ſectators, the better by their helpe to nurſe and cheriſh ſuch weake babes, as their owne inventions have begotten.

But this miſtaking (and firſt for the River of *Piſon*) ſeemeth to have growne out of the not-diſtinguiſhing of that Region in India, called Havilah, from Havilah which adjoyneth to Babylonia, afterward known by the name of Suſiana. For Havilah upon Tigris tooke name from *Havilah* the ſonne of *Cuſh*; and Havilah in India, from *Havilah* the ſonne of *Joctan*; the one remembred by *Moſes* in the deſcription of Paridiſe, the other Gen.10.7. where *Moſes* ſetteth downe the generations of *Noah*, and his ſonnes after the Floud. For the ſonnes of *Cuſh* were *Seba, Havilah, Sabtah*, and *Raamah*; and the ſonnes of *Joctan* were *Ophir*, and *Havilah* &c. of which latter (to wit) of *Ophir* and *Havilah* the ſonnes of *Joctan*, that Iland of Ophir, (whence *Salomon* had gold) and Havilah adjoyning, had 10.29. their names. Now becauſe *Ganges* is a great and a famous river of the Eaſt India, and Havilah a Country of the ſame, and is ſituated upon *Ganges*, hence it came that *Ganges* was taken for *Piſon*, which river is ſaid by *Moſes* to water the land of Havilah. Or per- 2.11. haps it was ſuppoſed that thoſe foure rivers named by *Moſes*, muſt of neceſſitie be foure of the greateſt in the world; whence (ſuppoſing that *Ganges* was the next great and famous river after Tigris and Euphrates) they choſe out this River to make one of the foure. And yet certainly there is another River, whom in theſe reſpects they ſhould rather have choſen than *Ganges*: for the River *Indus* on this ſide India, for beauty, for neereneſſe, and for ability, giveth no way place to *Ganges*, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reaſonable man conceive, that *Ganges* can be one of the foure heads, ſeeing *Indus* commeth betweene it and *Tigris*? and betweene *Tigris* and *Indus* is all that large Empire of *Perſia*, conſiſting of many Kingdomes. And againe, farther towards the Eaſt, and beyond *Indus*, are all thoſe ample Dominions of *India intra Gangem*, which lie betweene thoſe two proud Rivers of *Indus* and *Ganges*, now called the Kingdome of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* be not accounted for any of the foure, becauſe it is removed from *Tigris* by all the breadth of *Perſia*, then how much leſſe *Ganges*, which falleth into the Ocean, little leſſe than fortie degrees to the Eaſtward of *Indus*? Surely, whoſoever readeth the Storie of *Alexander*, ſhall finde, that there is no River in *Aſia*, that can exceede *Indus*. For *Hydaſpis* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great *Gallies* tranſported himſelfe, and the greateſt part of his armie, and in ſayling downe that branch of *Indus*, found it ſo large and deepe, and by reaſon thereof ſo great a billow, as it endangered his whole Fleet, which was ready to be ſwallowed up therein: *Hydaſpis* (as aforeſaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as great as it, having beſides this, the Rivers of *Coas*, of *Suaſtus*, *Aceſines*, *Adris* (otherwiſe) *Hirotis*, *Hiſpalis*, and *Zaradus*, all which make but one *Indus*, and by it are ſwallowed up with all their Children and companious, which being all incorporated and made one ſtreame, it croſſeth athwart *Aſia*, and then at *Cambaia* viſiteth the Ocean Sea.

Gen.2 15. But becauſe *Piſon*, which compaſſeth *Havilah*, as alſo *Gehon*, which watereth *Cuſh*, muſt ſome-where be joyned with the reſt in one body, or at leaſt be found to proceede out of the ſame Country of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads doe proceede; out of doubt they cannot eyther the one or the other, be *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: for *Nilus* riſeth in the uttermoſt of the South, and runneth Northward into the *Mediterran* Sea; and the River *Ganges* riſeth out of the Mountaine *Imaus*, or (as others will have it) *Caucaſus*, which divides the Northren *Scythia* from *India*, & runneth from North to South into the *Indian Ocean*. And as for *Perath* and *Hiddekel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, neere *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the other is not farre off in the ſame *Armenia*, by the *Gorgiaan* Mountaines; ſo as *Ganges*, who onely travaileth in her owne *India*, and *Nilus* through *Æthiopia* and *Egypt*, never ſaw the land of *Eden*, or joyned themſelves in one channell, either with themſelves, or with either of the other; and therefore could not at any time from thence be ſeparated, or divided into foure heads or branches, according to *Moſes*.

Gen.2.v.12. Therefore the River *Piſon*, which enricheth *Havilah*, is the ſame which by joyning it ſelfe with *Tigris*, was therefore called *Piſi-tigris*, or *Piſo-tigris*, of *Piſon* and *Tigris*, which River watereth that *Havilah*, which *Havilah* the ſonne of *Cuſh* gave name unto, and not *Havilah* of *India*, ſo called of *Havilah* the Sonne of *Joctan*, who inhabited with his brother *Ophir* in the Eaſt. And this *Havilah* of the *Cuſhites* had alſo Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx ſtone. This Bdellium is a Tree of the bigneſſe of an Olive, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yeeldeth a certaine Gum ſweet to ſmell to, but bitter in taſte, called alſo Bdellium. The Hebrewes take the Load-ſtone for Bdellium. *Beroaldus* affirmeth, that *Bdela* in Hebrew ſignifieth Pearle: ſo doth *Eugubinus*; and *Hierome* calls it *Oleaſter*: be it what it will, a tree bearing Gum or Pearle: *Havilah* or *Suſiana* hath plenty of both. Now this Countrie of *Suſiana* or *Havilah* ſtretcheth it ſelfe towards the North as far as the Altars of *Hercules*, and from thence imbraceth all the Tract of Land Southward, as farre as the *Perſian Gulfe*, on the Eaſt ſide thereof: from which Eaſt ſide had the *Shebans* (which traded with the City of *Tyre* according to *Ezekiel*) their great plenty of gold; which *Strabo* alſo witneſſeth, as was ſhewed before.

Steuch. Hopk.de.Par. The Greekes had a conceit, that *Piſon* was *Danubius*: the *Rabbins* take it for *Nilus*. *Aben-Ezra* (ſaith *Hopkins*) out of *Rabbi Saadia*, tranſlateth *Piſon* into *Nilus*: But *Nilus* findeth the ſame impoſſibility that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the Sea of *Helleſpont* and all *Aſia* the leſſe betweene it and *Tigris*. Now *Piſon*, which runneth through *Havilah* or *Suſiana*, doth to this day retaine ſome ſigne of this name; for where it and *Tigris* embraceth each other under the Citie of *Apamia*, there doe they agree of a joynt and compounded name, and are called *Piſo-tigris*. And it is ſtrange unto me, that from ſo great antiquitie there ſhould be found remaining any reſembling ſound of the firſt name: for Babylon it ſelfe, which dwelleth ſo neere theſe Rivers, is by ſome writers Poſt.Coſmog. Thevet.Coſmog. knowne by the name of *Bandas*, as, by *Poſtellus*: by *Caſtaldus*, of *Balduch*: by *Barius*, of *Bagdad*; and of *Boughedor*, by *Andrew Thevet*; and yet all thoſe that have lately ſeene Aſiæ tab.4. it, call it *Bagdet*. To this River of *Piſon*, *Ptolomie* indeede with many others give the name of *Baſilius* or *Regius*, and *Gehon* they terme *Mahar-ſares*, and *Marſias*, and *Baarſares*. Plin.lib.5.c.24. So is *Euphrates*, neere the Spring and Fountaine, by *Strabo* and *Plinie* called *Pixirates*: by *Junius*, *Puckperah*, out of the Hebrew (that is) The profuſion, or comming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh through, the Mountaine *Taurus*, it takes the name of *Omyra*. *Plutarch* calls it *Medus* and *Zaranda*: the Hebrewes *Parath*, (ſaith *Ar. Montanus*:) *Pagninus*, *Perath*: *Joſephus*, *Phorah*; *Euſebius*, *Zozimus*: *Ammianus*, *Chalymicus*: *Giſtilanus*, and *Colinutius* terme it, *Cobar*: which *Ezechiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Aſſyrians* know it by the name of *Armalchar*, or *Nahor Malcha*: but now commonly it is called *Frat*.

The ſame confuſion of names hath *Tigris*, as *Diglito*, and *Diglath*, *Seilax*, and *Sollax*: of the Hebrewes it was called *Hiddekel*: now of the inhabitants *Tegil*.

But *Mercer* upon *Geneſis* conceiveth rightly of theſe Rivers: for *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (ſaith he) ſtreame into foure branches; two of which keepe their ancient names, and the other two are called Piſon and Gehon. The reaſon, why theſe two rivers joyned in one (below Apamia) loſe their names, and are called *Piſi-tigris*, and the memorie of Euphrates extinguiſhed, is, becauſe the beſt part of Euphrates running through the channell of Gehon, ſinketh into the Lakes of Chaldæa not farre from Ur, the Citie of *Abraham*; and fall not intirely into the Perſian Sea, as Tigris, accompanied with Piſon, doth.

This errour that Piſon was Ganges, was firſt broched by *Joſephus*, (whoſe fields, though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weedes) and other men (who take his authoritie to be ſufficient in matter of deſcription, whereupon depended no other important conſequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For *Epiphanius*, *Auguſtine*, and *Hierome*, take this for currant; whereof it followed, that as Piſon was tranſported into the Eaſt India, to find out Havilah: ſo was Gehon drawne into Africa, to compaſſe Æthiopia. But if Havilah, whereof *Moſes* ſpeaketh in the deſcription of Paradiſe, be found to be a Region, adjoyning to Babylon on the one ſide; and Cuſh (which is falſly interpreted Æthiopia) faſtened to it on the other ſide, we ſhall not need then to worke wonders (that is) to impoſe upon men the tranſportation of rivers, from one end of the world to the other, which (among other uſes) were made to tranſport men. Now it was in the Valley of Shinar, where *Cuſh* the ſonne of *Ham* firſt ſate downe with his ſonnes *Shebah*, *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Nimrod*, *&c.* and of *Havilah*, the ſonne of *Cuſh*, did that Region take name, which Piſon compaſſeth; and the land (called Cuſh) which Gehon watereth, tooke name of *Cuſh* himſelfe. For as the ſonnes of *Joctan*, *Ophir* and *Havilah*, ſeated themſelves as neere together as they could in India, ſo did the ſons of *Cuſh* in Shinar, or Babylonia, where *Nimrod* built Babel: for *Havilah* or *Chavilah* was firſt *Chuſea* of *Cuſh*; then *Chuſa*, *Suſa*, and *Suſiana*.

From this Havilah unto the Deſarts of Sur, did the Iſraelites and Amalekites poſſeſſe all the interjacent Countries: for *Saul* ſmote the Amalekites from Havilah to Sur: 1 Sam.15.7. which Sur, the Chaldæan Paraphraſt converteth Hagra, and Hagra bordereth the red Sea. But this was not meant from Sur upon the Red Sea, to Havilah in the Eaſt India; for *Saul* was no ſuch travailer or Conquerour, and therefore Havilah muſt be found neerer home, where the ſonnes of *Iſmael* inhabited, and which countrie *Saul* waſted: for *Amalec* and the Amalekites poſſeſt that necke of Countrie, betweene the Perſian Sea, and the Red Sea; Havilah being the extreme of the one towards the Eaſt, and Sur of the other, towards Egypt and the Weſt, leaving that great body of *Arabia fœlix* towards the South, and they ſpread themſelves with the Midianites and Edumæans, from the Eaſt part, or backeſide of the Holie Land, to the bankes of Euphrates, compriſing the beſt part of *Arabia Petræa* and *Deſerta*.

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### §. XIIII.

### *Of the River Gehon and the Land of Cuſh, and of the ill tranſlating of Æthiopia for Cuſh*, 2 CHRON.21.16.

NOw, as Havilah in the Eaſt India drew Piſon ſo farre out of his way thither, ſo I ſay did Cuſh (being by the Seventie tranſlated Æthiopia) force Gehon into Africa. For Cuſh being taken for Æthiopia by the Greekes, whom the Latines followed, Gehon conſequently was eſteemed for Nilus. But Æthiopians are, as much as *blacke or burnt faces*, whoſe proper Countrie called Thebaides, lyeth to the Southward See more of this point, c.7.§.16. of all Egypt. And although there be many other Regions of Æthiopians, and farre South in Africa, yet thoſe of Thebaides are thoſe ſo often remembred in the Egyptian ſtories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of Egypt: all which Æthiopians are very neere, or elſe directly under the Equinoctiall line, which is very far from that land inhabited by the Chuſites; who are neither black of colour, nor in any ſort neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this tranſlation of the Septuagint, *Pererius* doth qualifie in this manner: There are (ſaith he) two Æthiopia's, the Eaſt, and the Weſt: and this diviſion he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *Homer*. Now becauſe there is no colour to make Chus Æthiopia in Africa, *Pererius* will make Chuſh and the land of the Chuſites (which is *Arabia Petræa*, and a part of Arabia the Happy, with the Region of Madian) to be the Eaſt Æthiopia.

Now if it be granted, that Chuſh and the land of the Chuſites be that tract from Sur to Havilah, according to the Scriptures: *Habitavit* ISMAEL *ab Havilah uſq; Sur, quæ reſpicit* Gen.25.18.

*Ægyptum introeuntibus Aſſyrios*; *Iſmael dwelt from* Havilah *unto* Sur, *that is, towards Egypt, as thou goeſt toward* Aſſyria. The ſame ſufficeth to prove that Gehon cannot be Nilus, but a River which watereth Cuſh, and not Æthiopia. But this Verſ.16. place of Scripture, *Habitavit Iſmael, &c.* hath this ſenſe: *Iſmael* dwelt from Havilah, which is the way of Aſſyria, or the Countrey bordering Aſſyria; and Sur, which lyeth toward Egypt, which is as much to ſay, as, The iſſues of *Iſmael* (whereof there were twelve Princes) whom God had promiſed to make a great people, inhabited all thoſe Regions betweene the border of Egypt and Aſſyria. And that they were (according to the Word of God) ſo increaſed and multiplyed, it well appeared, 2 Chron.14.9. when *Zearah* the Chuſite, which others call *Tharantha*, brought an Armie of ten hundred thouſand againſt *Aſa* King of Juda. Which Armie came not out of Æthiopia beyond Egypt; for that had bin a ſtrange progreſſe for ſuch a multitude, as ten hundred thouſand, having ſo mightie a King as the King of Egypt, betweene Palæſtina and Æthiopia. But theſe were the Chuſites, Amalekites, Madianites, Iſmaelites, and Arabians. For it is written, that after *Aſa* (ſtrengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Armie, he in following his victory tooke ſome of the Cities of King *Zearah* round about, as Gerar. Now that Gerar is a Citie of the Æthiopians, it cannot be ſuſpected: for theſe be the wordes of the Scripture diſproving it: Gen.10.v.11. *And* ABRAHAM *departed thence toward the South Countrey, and dwelt betweene* Cadeſh *and* Exod.17.8. Sur, *and ſojourned in* Gerar: Now Sur is that part, upon which *Moſes* and the Iſraelites Gen.26.1. firſt ſet their feete after they paſſed the Red Sea, where the Amalekites in *Rephidim* ſet 10.19. on them, ſuppoſing that they had beene wearie, and unable to reſiſt. Againe, in the ſtory of *Iſaac* it is written: *Wherefore* ISAAC *went to* ABIMELECH, *and the* Philiſtims *unto* Gerar: and I am ſure *Abimelech* and the Philiſtims were no Æthiopians. And laſtly, *Moſes* himſelfe, where he deſcribeth the bounds of Canaan, hath theſe words: *Then the border of the* Canaanites *was from* Sydon, *as thou commeſt to* Gerar: for Sydon was the frontier of Canaan towards the North, and Gerar by Gazah towards the South. But indeed, howſoever *Pererius* doth with an honeſt excuſe ſalve his tranſlation of Chus for Æthiopia, yet it appeareth plainely, that the Septuagint and *Joſephus* did altogether miſunderſtand this place. And firſt, for *Homers* Eaſt and Weſt Æthiopia, they are both found elſewhere: For *Plinie* in his fift Eooke and eight Chapter, citeth *Homer* for an Authour of theſe two Æthiopia's. But the Eaſt Æthiopia is that which compaſſeth Nilus to the South of Egypt, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the Abyſſines, under *Preſter John*; And the Weſt Æthiopia is that, which joyneth it ſelfe with the River Niger, which we call Senega & Gam- Plin.l.5.c.8. bra: for thereabout are theſe Æthiopians called Perorſi, Daratites, with divers other names, which *Plinie* numbreth. But all theſe are in Affrica, and beyond the Deſarts thereof, ſaith *Plinie* out of *Homer*, *Agrippa*, and *Juba*; which Regions indeede (I meane that of Niger, and that of *Preſter John*; and the Troglodytes) lye due Eaſt and Weſt. But as for Cuſh and the Region of the Iſmaelites, &c. they are extended directly North from that Æthiopia, which is beyond Egypt. Now, that *Joſephus* was exceeding groſſe herein, it appeareth by that fiction, which he hath of *Moſes* when he ſerved *Pharao*, in the warres againſt the Æthiopians: for in that (to make Chus, Æthiopia) he tranſporteth Madian by miracle over the Red Sea, and beyond all Egypt, and ſetteth it in Æthiopia, as ſhall be ſhewed more at large in the Chapter of the Worlds Plantation. Againe, that Gehon was improperly tranſlated Nilus, *Pererius* confeſſeth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the Greeke Copie, than otherwiſe. And whereas the Septuagint have converted this place of the Prophet *Hieremie*; *And* C.2.v.18. *what haſt thou now to doe in the way of Egypt, to drinke the water of* Nilus? *Quid tibi vis in via Egypti, ut bibas aquam Gehon?* to this ſaith *Pererius*, *profecto Hebraice ibi non eſt vox Gehon, ſed Sichor, quæ ſignificat nigrum & turbidum*; *Truely* (ſaith *Pererius*) *the word* Gehon *in this place, is not found in the Hebrew, but* Sichor, *which ſignifieth blacke and troubled water.*

Ex.2.21.&3.1. Furthermore, this is a manifeſt and unanſwerable argument, that Chus was ill taken Num.12.1. for Æthiopia. *Moſes* married the daughter of *Jethro*, Prince and Prieſt of Madian, whom both the Greeke and Latine call a Madianite, and not *Æthiopiſſam*, as (with *Joſephus*) the Geneva converts it, though it helpe it a litle with a marginall note. Now it is without diſpute, that *Zipporah* was of the Country of Madian, which is that part of

*Arabia Petræa*, bordering the Red Sea; for it is written in the ſecond of *Exodus*, that
MOSES *fled from* PHARAO *into the Land of Madian, and ſat downe by a Well, &c.* and Verſ.15.
againe in the third of *Exodus*; *When* MOSES *kept the ſheepe of* JETHRO *his father in law,* Verſ.1.
*Prieſt of* Madian, *&c.* Indeede, theſe foure nations are every where mixt in the Scriptures,
becauſe they dwell confuſedly together (to wit) the Madianites, the Iſmaelites, the
Amalekites and the Chuſites, which were all in one generall word, Arabians, and in the
Scriptures ſometimes called by one of theſe names, and ſometimes by another; as in
*Gen.37.v.25.27.&* 28. that *Joſeph* was ſold to the Iſmaelites; and in the ſame Chapter
*v.36.* it is written, that the Madianites ſold *Joſeph* to *Potiphar*, *Pharao's* Steward. The
Genevians, in a marginall note (to avoid this confounding of the Nations) ſay, that *Moſes*
wrote according to their opinion, who tooke the Madianites and Iſmaelites to be all
one. But *Moſes* wrote not after any mans opinion; he wrote the truth, and theſe were all
Arabians: & ſo in this very place it appeareth by their merchandiſe, which they brought
with them, when they bought *Joſeph*: for their Camels were loden with Spicery, and Gen.37.25.
Balme, and Myrrhe, which are the trades of *Arabia fœlix*: from whence chiefly, and
from the Eaſt India, all the World is ſerved with Myrrhe and Frankincenſe; and their
ſpices they received from the Eaſt ſide of the Arabian Gulfe, as aforeſaid. And in the 39.
Chap. it is ſaid: That *Potiphar* bought *Joſeph* of the Iſmaelites; which the Chaldæan
*Paraphraſt* in the ſame place calleth Arabians. Now, to make this the more mainfeſt, it is Verſ.1.
written in the ſixt of *Judges*, That when Iſrael had ſowne, then came up the Madianites,
and the Amalekites, and they of the Eaſt, and came upon them: they of the Eaſt, were Verſ.3.
Arabians of the Deſart; ſo as where before in the buying of *Joſeph*, the Madianites and
the Iſmaelites were confuſed, here the Madianites and Amalekites are made one nation.
For in the proſecution of the Story of *Gedeon*, the Madianites onely are named, as comprehending Cap.7.
both Nations; and in the eight Chapter, *v.24.* theſe Nations are all called
Iſmaelites, and neither Madianites nor Amalekites. As when *Gedeon* deſired, that every
man would give him the golden eare-rings, which they had taken after the victory againſt
*Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, Kings of Arabia, amounting to 1700. ſhekles of gold,
it is written: *For they had golden eare-rings, becauſe they were* Iſmaelites. And theſe Iſma- C.8.v.24.
elites were a great and valiant Nation, and ever in action of warre. *Manus ejus contra* Gen.16.12.
*omnes, & manus omnium contra eum*; *His hand* (ſaith God of ISMAEL) *ſhall be againſt all
men, and every mans hand againſt him.* Of theſe Iſmaelites come the *Mahometan Arabians*,
though ſome Writers thinke *Mahomet* to be of the *Schenitæ*. And theſe Iſmaelites,
which inhabite chiefly in Cedar, and the Deſarts of Sur and Pharan (ſaith *Joſephus*) uſe
poyſon upon their Arrowes, as the Indians doe. Towards the South-eaſt are the Madianites,
and Chuſites: and beyond them, towards the Deſarts of Arabia, the Amalekites;
and all are one Nation, and all Arabians.

Laſtly, the ill tranſlation of Æthiopia for Chus, is among other places, made moſt apparent,
in the ſecond of *Chronicles*, in theſe words: *So the Lord ſtirred up againſt* JEHORAM 2 Chro.21.16.
*the ſpirit of the* Philiſtines, *and the* Arabians, *which confine the* Æthiopians; ſo *Hierom*
reades it: the Geneva tranſlation hath it, *which were beſides the* Æthiopians. Now how
farre it is off betweene the Philiſtines and the Negro's or the Æthiopians, every man
that looketh in a Map may judge. For the Philiſtines and Arabians doe mixe and joyne
with the Land of the Chuſites, and are diſtant from Æthiopia about two and thirtie, or
three and thirtie degrees, and therefore not their next neighbours, but all Egypt, and the
Deſart of Sur and Pharan, are betweene them. So as this place of the ſecond of *Chronicles*,
ſhould have beene tranſlated in theſe words: *So the Lord ſtirred up againſt Jehoram,
the ſpirits of the* Philiſtins, *and the* Arabians, *which confine and border upon the* Chuſites,
who indeed are their next neighbours.* *Nulla ſupereſt dubitatio quin Æthiopia in Sacris* *Steuch.Eugub.in Gen.c.2.
*literis ſit Arabiæ propinqua*; *There remaineth no doubt* (ſaith *Steuchius*) *but* Æthiopia *in
the Scriptures, is taken for that Countrey, which joyneth to* Arabia.

Now, may we thinke, is it probable, or poſſible, that *Moſes* could be ignorant of *Nilus*?
No, he knew it, no living man ſo well, and therefore would never have named Gehon,
for Nilus, or Nilus, for Gehon. Surely, if *Moſes* had meant Nilus, when hee named
Gehon, he would have called the River (into which he was caſt upon Reeds, and preſerved
by God, working compaſſion in the Daughter of *Pharao*) a River of Egypt, wherein Exod.2.
he was borne and bred, and wrought ſo many miracles. Beſides, the River of Nilus is often
named in the Scriptures, but never by the name of Gehon. And if *Moſes* had told the

Plin.l.5.c.1.
C.23.v.3.
C.2.v.18.

Iſraelites, that Nilus had beene a River of Paradiſe, they might juſtly have thought, that he had derided them: for they had lived there all dayes of their lives, and found no ſuch Paradiſe at all, nor any memory, or ſpeech thereof; except we ſhall beleeve the Paradiſe of Heſperides, where (ſaith *Plinie*) there was nothing found in his time, but wilde Olives in ſtead of golden Apples. But Nilus is twice called Sichor, once in *Iſay*, and once in the Prophet *Jeremie*; aad yet in thoſe places it is not ſaid to be a River of Æthiopia, but of Egypt. For in a word, the Iſraelites had never any communion or affaires with the Æthiopians, nor any intelligence, or trade, beyond Egypt, to the South; but the Enemies which they had on the South, and Eaſt parts, were theſe Nations of the Chuſites, Philiſtines, Iſmaelits, Amalekites and Madianites: who being often governed by many little Kings, or *Reguli*, were diſtinguiſhed in names, according to the Fathers or heads of thoſe Nations; but in one generall name were all *Arabians*. On the North ſide of Canaan, they were afflicted with the Cœloſyrians, with the Magogians, Tubalines, and others their adherents, and thirdly within themſelves, the Nations, which remained of the ancient Canaanites, held the ſtrongeſt Cities upon the Sea-coaſt (as Tyre, Sidon, Acon, Gaza, and many others: yea, Jeruſalem it ſelfe was with-held from Iſrael (from the dayes of *Moſes*, even unto the time of *David*) by the Jebuſites.

That which now remaineth of moſt difficultie, is, that it doth not appeare, that any part of Gehon watereth that part of Arabia the ſtony, which the Chuſites inhabited in the times of the Kings of Iſraell: and in this *Deſart* it was that *Matt. Beroaldus* loſt himſelfe in ſeeking out Paradiſe: for he was driven (to my underſtanding) to create two Rivers, and call them Gehon, and Piſon; to the end that the one might water Chus, and the other Havilah; for I find none ſuch *in rerum natura*, as he hath deſcribed: by which Rivers he alſo includeth within Paradiſe, even Arabia the Deſart.

Herod.l.1.& 4.

And as he well proved that Piſon was not Ganges, nor Gehon, Nilus; ſo where to find them elſe-where it ſeemeth he knew not. Certainely this River of Gehon, which he maketh to fall into the Mediterran at Gaza, and whoſe Springs he findeth farre Eaſt in Arabia, is but imaginary: for the Current by Gaza is but a ſmall ſtreame, riſing betweene it and the Red Sea, whoſe head from Gaza it ſelfe is little more than twentie Engliſh miles, as ſhall appeare hereafter. But queſtionleſſe, hence it comes that many were miſtaken. They all conſidered of the habitations of the Chuſites, as they were planted when the ſtate of Iſrael ſtood, and when it flouriſhed, being then their neere Neighbours, and never looked backe to the firſt ſeates and plantation of *Chus*. For after the Floud, *Chus* and his Children never reſted, till they found the Valley of Shinar, in which, and neere which himſelfe, with his ſonnes, firſt inhabited. *Havilah* tooke the River-ſide of Tigris chiefly on the Eaſt, which after his owne name he called *Havilah*, (now *Suſiana*:) *Raamah*, and *Sheba* farther downe the River, in the entrance of Arabia fœlix. NIMROD ſeated himſelfe in the beſt of the Valley, where he built Babel, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of Babylonia. *Chus* himſelfe and his brother *Mizraim* firſt kept upon *Gehon*, which falleth into the Lakes of Chaldæa, and in proceſſe of time, and as their people increaſed, they drew themſelves more Weſterly towards the Red or Arabian Sea: from whence *Mizraim* paſt over into Egypt, in which Tract the *Chuſites* remained for many yeeres after. Now becauſe there could be no ſuch River found in Arabia the ſtonie, which they might entitle *Gehon*, they tranſlated *Chus*, *Æthiopia*; and *Gehon*, *Nilus*. And if we doe examine this miſtaking by example, we ſhall the better perceive it as it was. For let us ſuppoſe, that *Brute*, or whoſoever elſe that firſt peopled this Iland, had arrived upon the River of Thames, and called the Iland after his name *Britannia*, it might be ſaid that Thames or Tems was a River that watered *Britannia*: and when afterwards in proceſſe of time, the ſame *Brute* had alſo diſcovered and conquered Scotland which he alſo intituled by the ſame name of *Brtiannia*, after ages might conclude that Scotland was no part thereof, becauſe the River of Tems is not found therein. Or let us ſuppoſe that *Europa*, the Daughter of the King of *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, gave the name to Europe, according to *Herodotus*, and that the firſt diſcoverers thereof arrived in the mouth of the River in Thrace, which then watered as much of Europe, as he firſt diſcovered, ſhall we in like ſort reſolve that France, Spaine, and Italie, &c. are no parts of Europe, becauſe that River is not found in them, or any of them: in like manner was it ſaid by *Moſes* in his deſcription of *Gehon*, that it watered the whole Land of *Chus*; but not the whole Land which the *Chuſites* ſhould or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabit, ſeeing in after-ages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) have beene Maſters in time, (as the Saracens, which came of them, were) of a great part of the world. For, though the Babylonian Empire, which tooke beginning in *Nimrod* the ſonne of *Chus*, conſiſted at the firſt but of foure Cities, (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Acad*, and *Chalne*; yet we find, that his Succeſſours within a few yeares after, commanded all the whole World in effect: and the fame of Babel conſumed the memorie of Chuſea. For of this *Tower of Confuſion* did all that Land take the name of Babylonia: and the greatneſſe of that Empire, founded by *Nimrod* a yonger ſonne, obſcured the name and nation of his father *Cuſh* in thoſe parts untill they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the Babylonian Empire, where the Chuſites retained their names, which alſo they faſtned to the Soile and Territorie by themſelves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not thinke, that *Chus* or any of his, could in haſte creepe through thoſe deſart Regions, which the length of 130. yeares after the Floud had (as it were) fortified with Thickets, and permitted every Buſh and Bryar, Reede and Tree to joyne themſelves (as it were) into one maine body and Forreſt. For if we looke with judgement and reaſon into the Worlds plantation, we ſhall finde, that every Family ſeated themſelves as neare together as poſſible they could; and though neceſſitie enforced them, after they grew full of people, to ſpread themſelves, and creepe out of Shinar or Babylonia, yet did they it with this advice, as that they might at all times reſort and ſuccour one another by River, the fields being then (without all doubt) impaſſable. So *Nimrod*, who out of wit and ſtrength uſurped dominion over the reſt, ſate downe in the very confluence of all thoſe Rivers, which watered Paradiſe: for thither it was to which the greateſt troupes of *Noahs* children repayred; and from the ſame place whence Mankind had his beginning, from thence had they againe their increaſe. The firſt Father of Men *Adam*, had therein his former habitation. The ſecond Father of Mankind *Noah*, began from thence his diſperſion.

Now as *Nimrod* the youngeſt, yet ſtrongeſt, made his choice of Babel (as aforeſaid) which both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* cleanſed and enriched; ſo did *Havilah* place himſelfe upon *Piſo-Tigris*: *Raamah* and his ſonne *Sheba* farther downe upon the ſame River, on the Sea-coaſt of Arabia: *Chus* himſelfe upon *Gehon*, the faireſt branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to ſpread themſelves farther off, yet they alwayes faſtened themſelves to the Rivers ſides: for *Ninive*, *Charran*, *Reſeph*, *Canneh*, *Ur* in *Chaldæa*, and the other firſt-peopled Cities, were all founded upon theſe navigable Rivers, or their branches, by which the one might give ſuccour and aſſiſtance to the other, as is already often remembred.

## §.XV.

### *A concluſion by way of repetition of ſomething ſpoken of before.*

But now to conclude this diſpute, it appeareth to me by the teſtimonies of the Scriptures, that Paradiſe was a place created by God, and a part of this our Earth and habitable World, ſeated in the lower part of the Region of Eden, afterward called *Aram fluviorum*, or *Meſopotamia*, which taketh into it alſo a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this Region ſtanding in the moſt excellent temper of all other, (to wit) 35. degrees from the *Æquinoctiall*, and 55. from the North-pole: in which climate the moſt excellent Wines, Fruits, Oyle, Graine of all ſorts, are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proveth the excellency of this ſaid ſoile and temper, than the abundant growing of the Palme-trees, without the care and labour of man. For wherein ſoever the Earth, Nature, and the Sunne can moſt vaunt, that they have excelled, yet ſhall this Plant be the greateſt wonder of all their workes: this Tree alone giveth unto man whatſoever his life beggeth at Natures hand. And though it may be ſaid, that theſe Trees are found both in the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*, which Countries are alſo bleſſed with a perpetuall Spring and Summer, yet, lay downe by thoſe pleaſures and benefits the fearefull and dangerous Thunders and Lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous diſeaſes, the multitude of venimous Beaſts and Wormes, with other inconveniences; and then there will be found no compariſon betweene one and the other.

What other excellencies this Garden of Paradiſe had, before God (for mans ingratitude and crueltie) curſed the Earth, we cannot judge; but I may ſafely thinke, that by how much *Adam* exceeded all living men in perfection, by being the immediate workemanſhip of God, by ſo much did that choſen and particular Garden exceede all parts of the Univerſall World, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow the Trees of Life, of Knowldge; Plants onely proper, and becomming the Paradiſe, and Garden of ſo great a Lord.

The ſumme of all this is; That whereas the eyes of men in this Scripture have beene dimme-ſighted (ſome of them finding Paradiſe beyond our knowne World: ſome, above the middle Region of the Ayre: ſome, elevated neere the Moone: others, as farre South as the Line, or as farre North as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the reader will be ſufficiently ſatisfied, that theſe were but like Caſtles in the Aire, and in mens fancies, vainely imagined. For it was Eaſtward in Eden (ſaith *Moſes*) Eaſtward, in reſpect of Judæa, that God planted this Garden; which Eden we find in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in ſome part) remaineth to this day. A River went out of Eden to water this Garden, and from thence divided it ſelfe into foure branches; and we find that both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* ſwimming through Eden, doe joyne in one, and afterward taking wayes apart, doe water *Chus* and *Havilah*, according to *Moſes*, the true ſeats of *Chus* and his Sonnes then being in the Valley of Shinar, in which *Nimrod* built Babel. That *Piſon* was *Ganges*, the Scripture, Reaſon, and experience teach the contrary: for that which was never joyned, cannot be divided; *Ganges*, which inhabiteth India, cannot be a branch of the Rivers of Eden; That *Gehon* was *Nilus*, the ſame diſtance maketh the ſame impoſſibilitie; and this river is a greater ſtranger to *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, than *Ganges* is: for although there are betweene *Tigris* and *Ganges* above foure thouſand miles, yet they both riſe in the ſame quarter of the World; but *Nilus* is begotten in the Mountaines of the Moone, almoſt as farre off as the *Cape of good hope*, and falleth into the Mediterran Sea: and *Euphrates* diſtilleth out of the Mountaines of Armenia, and falleth into the *Gulfe* of *Perſia*: the one riſeth in the South, and travaileth North: the other riſeth in the North, and runneth South, threeſcore and three degrees the one from the other. In this leafe following, I have added a *Chorographicall* deſcription of this terreſtriall Paradiſe, that the Reader may thereby the better conceive the preceding Diſcourſe; and this is the reward I looke for, that my labour may but receive an allowance ſuſpended, untill ſuch time as this deſcription of mine be reproved by a better.

# CHAP. IIII.

## *Of the two chiefe Trees in the Garden of Paradiſe.*

### §. I.

### *That the tree of Life was a materiall tree: and in what ſenſe it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden fruit, is made ſubject to death.*

FOr eating the forbidden fruit of the tree of Knowledge was *Adam* driven out of Paradiſe, *in exilium vitæ temporalis, into the baniſhment of temporall life*, ſaith *Beda*. That theſe Trees of Life and Knowledge were materiall Trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Goſpell) it is not doubted by the moſt religious and learned Writers: although the wits of men, which are ſo volatile, as nothing can fixe them, and ſo ſlipperie, as nothing can faſten them, have in this alſo delivered to the World, an imaginarie doctrine.

The Tree of Life (ſay the *Hebrewes*) hath a plurall conſtruction, and is to be underſtood, *Lignum vitarum, The Tree of lives*, becauſe the fruit thereof had a propertie, to preſerve both the growing, ſenſitive, & rationall life of man; and not only (but for *Adams* tranſgreſſion) had prolonged his owne dayes, but alſo given a durefull continuance to all poſteritie; and that, ſo long, as a body compounded of Elements could laſt. Bart.ſept.2.l.1. 174.

And although it is hard to thinke, that fleſh and bloud could be immortall, but that it muſt once periſh and rot, by the unchanged Law of God impoſed on his creatures,

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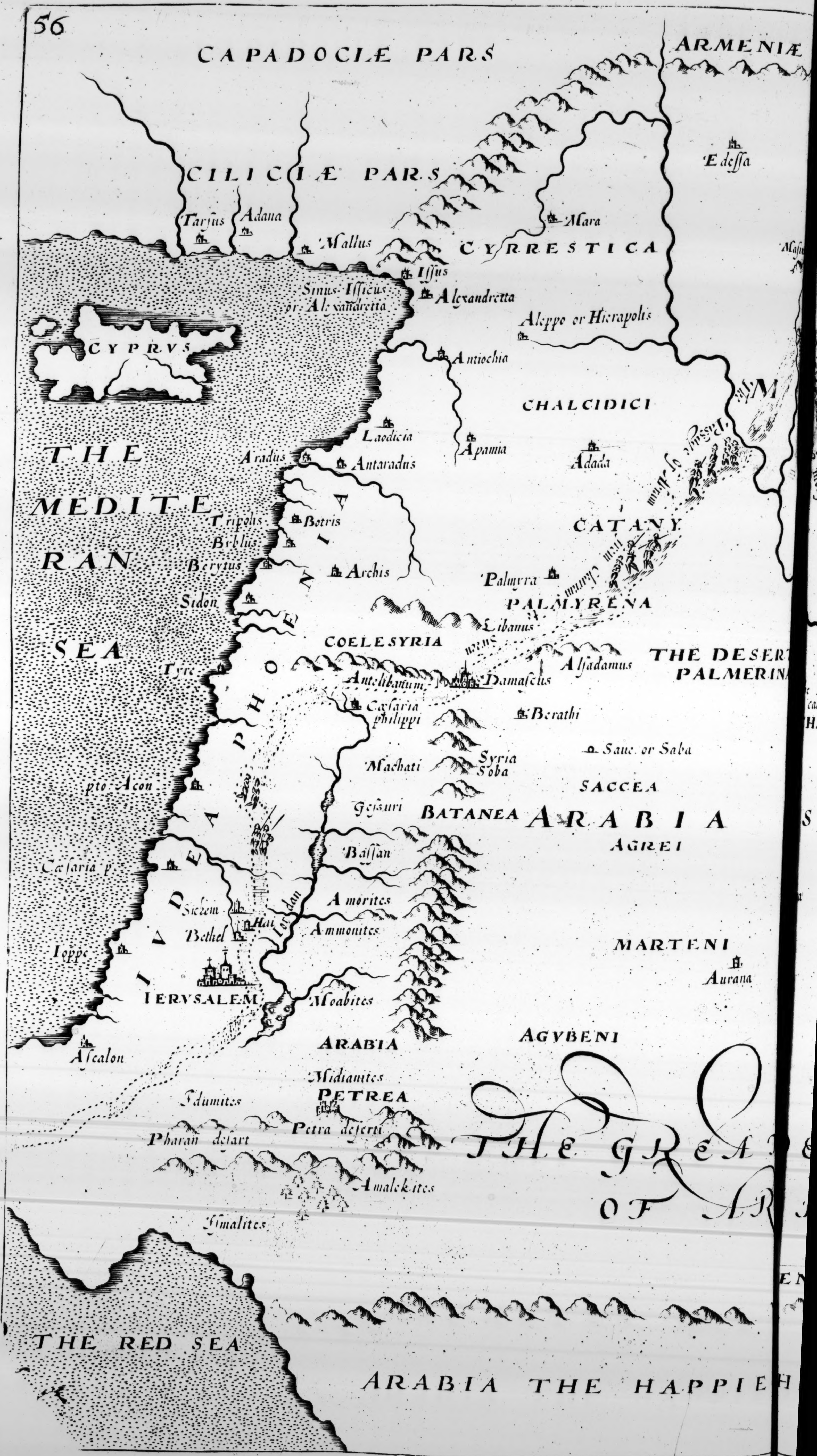
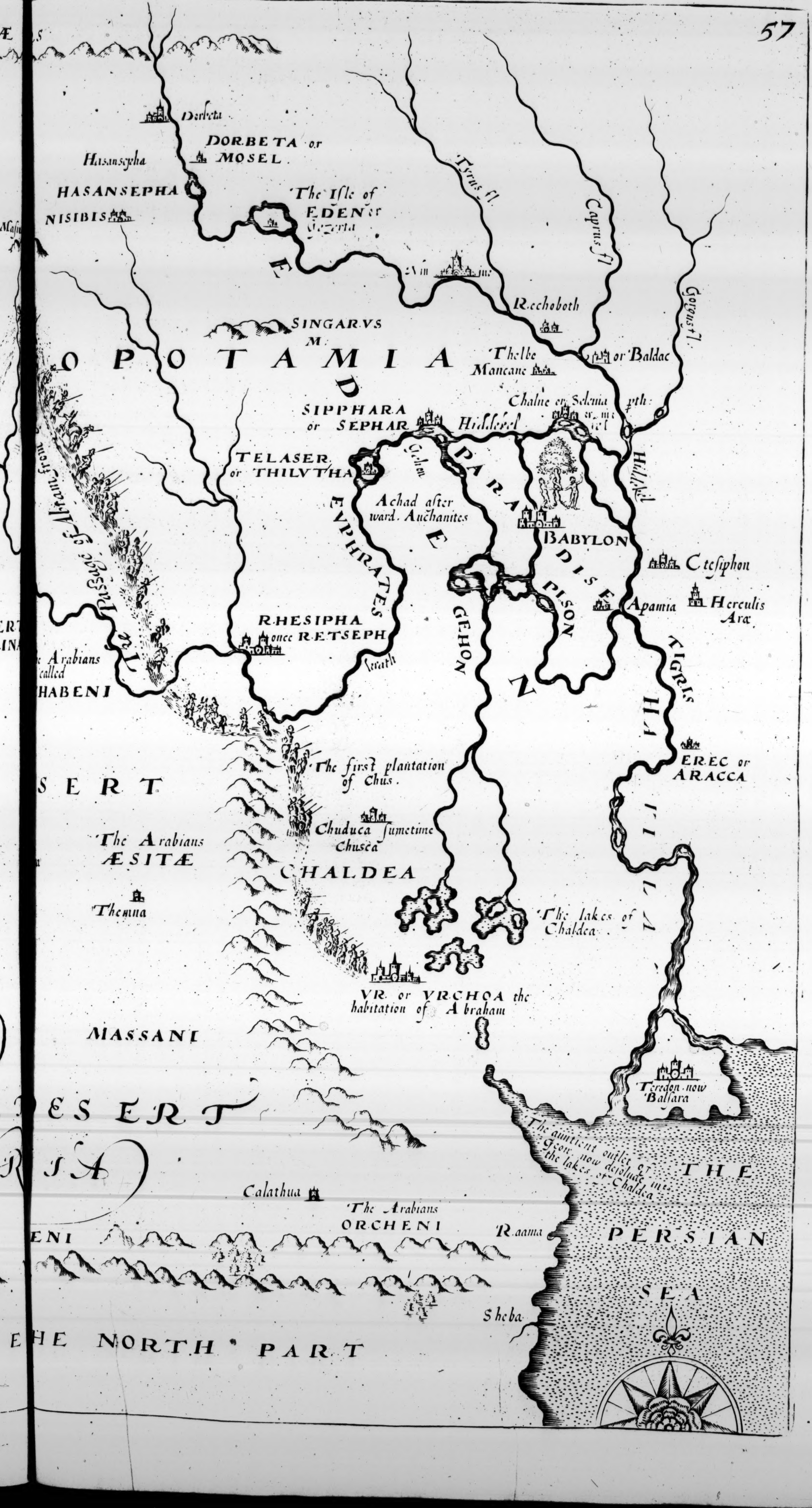

CAPADOCIÆ PARS
ARMENIÆ
CILICIÆ PARS
Tarſus
Adana
Mallus
Edeſſa
Mara
CYRRESTICA
Iſſus
Sinus Iſſicus or Alexandretta
Alexandretta
Aleppo or Hierapolis
CYPRUS
Antiochia
CHALCIDICI
Laodicia
Apamia
Adada
THE MEDITERRAN SEA
Aradus
Antaradus
Tripolis
Botris
Biblus
Berytus
Archis
Sidon
PHOENIA
CATANY
Paſſage of Abram from Charran
Palmyra
PALMYRENA
Libanus
COELESYRIA
Tyre
Alſadamus
THE DESERT PALMERIN
Antelibanum
Damaſcus
Cæſaria philippi
Berathi
Sauc or Saba
Machati
Syria Soba
SACCEA
pto Acon
Geſsuri
BATANEA
ARABIA
AGREI
Baſſan
Cæſaria p
Sicſem
Hai
Iordan
Amorites
Bethel
Ammonites
IVDEA
MARTENI
Ioppe
Aurana
IERVSALEM
Moabites
ARABIA
AGUBENI
Aſcalon
Midianites
PETREA
Idumites
Petra deſerti
Pharan deſart
THE GREA
OF AR
Amalekites
Iſmalites
THE RED SEA
ARABIA THE HAPPIE


Æ
S
Dorbeta
DORBETA or MOSEL
Haſanſepha
HASANSEPHA
NISIBIS
Maſi
The Iſle of EDEN or Gezerta
Tyrus fl
Caprus fl
Gorgus fl
Nin ive
Rechoboth
E
SINGARVS M.
OPOTAMIA
Thelbe Mancane
or Baldac
D
Chalne or Seleucia
SIPPHARA or SEPHAR
Hiddekel
PARA
TELASER or THILVTHA
Gehon
Achad after ward. Auchanites
BABYLON
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Apamia
Herculis Aræ
PISON
EVPHRATES
GEHON
RHESIPHA once RETSEPH
Serath
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TIGRIS
HA
ERT
INA
Arabians called
HABENI
The Paſsage of Abram from
SERT
The firſt plantation of Chus.
EREC or ARACCA
Chuduca ſumetime Chusea
The Arabians ÆSITÆ
CHALDEA
Themna
The lakes of Chaldea
VR or VRCHOA the habitation of Abraham
MASSANI
Teredon now Balſara
ESERT
RIA
The auntient outlet of Geon now desolate in the lakes of Chaldea
THE
PERSIAN
SEA
Calathua
The Arabians ORCHENI
Raama
ENI
Sheba
EHE NORTH PART

Man (notwithſtanding) ſhould have enjoyed thereby a long, healthfull, and ungreived life: after which (according to the opinion of moſt Divines) he ſhould have bin tranſlated, as *Enoch* was. And as before the Floud, the dayes of men had the long meaſure of eight hundred or nine hundred yeares; and ſoone after the floud, of two hundred yeares and upwards, euen to five hundred: ſo if *Adam* had not diſobeyed Gods firſt and eaſie Commandement, the lives of men on Earth might have continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longeſt times of the firſt age, as many learned men have conceived. *Chryſoſtome, Rupertus, Toſtatus*, and others were of beleefe, that (but for *Adams* fall and tranſgreſſion) *Adam* and his Poſteritie had beene immortall. But ſuch is the infinite Wiſedome of God, as he foreſaw that the earth could not have contained Mankind; or elſe, that millions of ſoules muſt have bin ungenerated, and have had no being, if the firſt number, wherewith the Earth was repleniſhed, had abode thereon for ever: and therefore that of *Chryſoſtome* muſt be underſtood of immortalitie of bodies, which ſhould have bin tranſlated and glorified.

But of what kind or *Species* this Tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in which reſpect many have conceived, that the ſame was not materiall, but a meere *Allegorie*, taking their ſtrength out of *Salomon*, where Wiſedome is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where alſo *Chriſt* is called the Tree of Life; and out of the *Apocalypſis, I will give to him that overcommeth, to eate of the Tree of Life which* Apocal.2.7. *is in the Paradiſe of God.* But to this place Saint *Auguſtines* anſwer may ſuffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a terreſtriall Paradiſe, ſo there was a celeſtiall. For although *Agar* and *Sara* were Figures of the *Old*, and *New Teſtament*, yet to thinke that they were not Women, and the Maide and Wife of *Abraham*, were meere fooliſhneſſe. And ſo in this place the ſenſe of the Scripture is manifeſt. *For God brought out of the earth every Tree faire to the ſight, and ſweete to taſte; the Tree alſo of Life in the midſt of the Garden:* which ſheweth, that among the trees, which the Earth by Gods commandement produced, the rree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was alſo to be eaten. The report of this Tree was alſo brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigeſted matter or *Chaos, Heſiodus, Homer, Ovid*, and others, ſteale the invention of the created World; ſo from the Garden of Paradiſe they tooke the Plat-forme of the Orchard of *Alcinous*, and another of the *Heſperides*: and from the Tree of *Life*, their *Nectar* and *Ambroſia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, ſignifieth *making young*, and *Ambroſia, immortalitie*; and therefore ſaid to be the meate and drinke of the gods.

## §. II.

### *Of* BECANUS *his opinion, that the Tree of knowledge was* Ficus Indica.

NOw for the Tree of Knowledge of good and evill, ſome men have preſumed farther, eſpecially *Goropius Becanus*, who giveth himſelfe the honour to have found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could ever gheſſe at, whereat *Goropius* much marvaileth. But as he had an inventive braine, ſo there never lived any man, that beleeved better thereof, and of himſelfe. Surely, howſoever his opinion may be valued, yet he uſurpeth the praiſe due to others, at leaſt if the invention be at that price at which he ſetteth it. For *Moſes Bar-Cephas* faſtened on this conjecture above ſixe hundred yeeres before *Becanus* was borne: and *Bar-Cephas* himſelfe referreth the invention to an antiquitie more remote, citing for his Author *Philoxenus Maburgenſis*, and others, whoſe very words *Goropius* uſeth, both concerning the Tree, and the reaſons wherewith he would induce other men to that beliefe. For *Moſes Bar-Cephas* in this Treatiſe of Paradiſe (the firſt Part and *fol.* 48.) ſaith, That the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*, *The Indian Fig-Tree*; of which the greateſt plentie (ſaith *Becanus*) are found upon the bankes of Aceſines, one of the Rivers which falleth into Indus, where *Alexander* built his Fleete of Gallies, in or neere the Kingdome of Porus.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bigneſſe of a great Peaze, or (as *Plinie* reporteth) ſome- Plin.l.12.c.5.
what bigger; and that it is a tree, *ſe ſemper ſerens*; *alwaies planting it ſelfe*; that it ſpreadeth it ſelfe ſo farre abroade, as that a troope of horſemen may hide themſelves under it.
*Strabo* ſaith, that it hath branches bending downewards, and leaves no leſſe than a ſhield. Lib.1.Cap.2.

*Ariſtobulus* affirmeth, that fiftie Horſemen may ſhadow themſelves under one of theſe Trees. *Oneſicritus* rayſeth this number to foure hundred. This tree (ſaith *Theophraſtus*) exceeded all other in bigneſſe, which alſo *Plinie* & *Oneſicritus* confirme: to the trunke of which, theſe Authors give ſuch a magnitude, as I ſhame to repeate. But it may be, they all ſpeake by an ill-underſtood report. For this Indian Fig-tree is not ſo rare a plant, as *Becanus* conceiveth, who becauſe he found it no where elſe, would needes draw the Garden of Paradiſe to the Tree, and ſet it by the river Aceſines. But many parts of the world have them, and I my ſelfe have ſeene twentie thouſand of them in one Valley, not farre from Paria in America. They grow in moiſt grounds, and in this manner: After they are firſt ſhot up ſome twentie or thirtie foot in length (ſome more, ſome leſſe, according to the ſoile) they ſpread a very large top, having no bough nor twigge in the trunke or ſtemme: for from the utmoſt end of the head branches there iſſueth out a gummy juyce, which hangeth downeward like a cord or ſinew, and within a few moneths reacheth the ground; which it no ſooner toucheth but it taketh roote, and then being filled both from the top boughes, and from his owne proper roote, this cord maketh it ſelfe a Tree exceeding haſtily. From the utmoſt boughes of theſe young Trees there fall againe the like cords, which in one yeare and leſſe (in that World of a perpetuall Spring) become alſo trees of the bigneſſe of the neather part of a Lance, and as ſtraight as art or nature can make any thing, caſting ſuch a ſhade, and making ſuch a kind of Grove, as no other Tree in the world can doe. Now, one of theſe Trees conſidered with all his young ones, may (indeed) ſhrowd foure hundred or foure thouſand Horſemen, if they pleaſe; for they cover whole Vallies of ground where theſe Trees grow neare the Sea-banke, as they doe by thouſands in the inner parts of Trinidado. The cordes which fall downe over the bankes into the Sea, ſhooting alway downeward to finde roote under water, are in thoſe Seas of the Indies, where Oyſters breede, intangled in their beds, ſo as by pulling up one of theſe cordes out of the Sea, I have ſeene five hundred Oyſters hanging in a heape thereon; whereof the report came, that Oyſters grew on Trees in India. But that they beare any ſuch huge leaves, or any ſuch delicate fruit, I could never finde, and yet I have travailed a dozen miles together under them: but to returne to *Goropius Becanus*. This Tree (ſaith he) was good for meate and pleaſing to the ſight, as the Tree of knowledge of good and evill is deſcribed to be.

Secondly, this Tree having ſo huge a trunke (as the former Authors report, and *Becanus* beleeveth) it was in this Tree that *Adam* and *Eve* hid themſelves from the preſence of God; for no other tree (ſaith he) could containe them. But firſt it is certaine, that this Tree hath no extraordinarie magnitude, as touching the trunke or ſtemme, for among ten thouſand of them it is hard to finde any one bigger than the reſt, and theſe are all but of a meane ſize. Secondly, the words of *Moſes* tranſlated, *in medio ligni*, are by all the Interpreters underſtood in the plurall number (that is) *in the middeſt of the Trees*. But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moſes Bar-Cephas*, word for word) is, That when *Adam* and *Eve* found themſelves naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaves; which proveth (indeed) that either the tree it ſelfe was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew neare it: becauſe *Adam* being poſſeſt with ſhame, did not run up & downe the Garden to ſeeke out leaves to cover him, but found them in the place it ſelfe; and theſe leaves of all other were moſt commodious by reaſon of their largeneſſe; which *Plinie* avoweth in theſe words; *Latitudo foliorum peltæ effigiem Amazoniæ habet*; *The breadth of the leaves hath the ſhape of Amazonian ſhield:* which alſo *Theophraſt* confirmeth; the forme of which Targets *Virgil* toucheth:

Gen.3.7.

Plin.l.12.c.5.

Virg.Aen.l.1. 494.

*Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis*
PENTHESILAEA *furens.*
The *Amazons* with Creſcent-formed ſhield
PENTHESILAEA leades into the field.

Here *Becanus* deſireth to be beleeved, or rather threatneth us all that reade him, to give credit to this his borrowed diſcoverie, uſing this confident (or rather cholericke) ſpeech: *Quis erit tam impudenter obſtinatus, ſi hæc à nobis de ficu hac ex antiquis ſcriptoribus cum* MOISIS *narratione comparet, ut audeat dicere aliam arborem inveniri poſſe, quæ cum illa magis quadret? Who will be ſo impudently obſtinate, if he compare theſe things which* *we have reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers delivered, with the narration of* MOSES, *as to dare to avow, that any other Tree can be found, which doth more properly anſwer, or agree therewith?* But for my ſelfe, becauſe I neither find this Tree, ſorting in body, in largeneſſe of leaves, nor in fruit to this report, I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo*: That the Earth never brought forth any of theſe trees neither before nor after; but I leave every man to his owne beliefe, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kinde: onely thereby, and by the eaſie Commandement by God given to *Adam*, to forbeare to feede thereon, it pleaſed God to make triall of his obedience: *Prohibita, non propter aliud, quàm ad commendandum puræ ac ſimplicis Obedientiæ bonum; Being forbidden, not for any other reſpect, than thereby to commend the goodneſſe of pure and ſimple Obedience.*

August. de Civit. Dei. l.13. c.20.

## §. III.

### Of BECANUS his not unwitty allegorizing of the ſtory of his Ficus Indica.

BUt in this I muſt doe *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his ſuppoſition of the Tree it ſelfe to be true. The effects whereof, becauſe his diſcourſes are exceeding ample, I have gathered in theſe few words. As this Tree (ſaith he) ſo did Man grow ſtraight and upright towards God, untill ſuch time as he had tranſgreſſed and broken the Commandement of his Creator; and then like unto the boughes of this tree, he began to bend downeward, and ſtooped toward the earth, which all the reſt of *Adams* poſteritie after him have done, rooting themſelves therein, and faſtning themſelves to this corrupt world. The exceeding umbragiouſneſſe of this tree, he compareth to the darke and ſhadowed life of man, through which the Sunne of juſtice being not able to pierce, wee have all remained in the ſhadow of death, till it pleaſed *Chriſt* to climbe the tree of the Croſſe for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruite which it beareth, and which is hard to find among ſo many large leaves, may be compared (ſaith he) to the little vertue, and unperceived knowledge among ſo large vanities, which obſcure and ſhadow it over. And as this fruit is exceeding ſweet, and delicate to the taſte and palate: ſo are the delights and pleaſures of the world moſt pleaſing, while they dure. But as all thoſe things which are moſt mellifluous, are ſooneſt changed into choler and bitterneſſe: ſo are our vanities and pleaſures converted into the bittereſt ſorrowes and repentances. That the leaves are ſo exceeding large, the fruit (for ſuch leaves) exceeding little, in this, by compariſon we behold (ſaith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their ſollicitude, their outward ſhewes, and publike oſtentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we ſeeke for the fruit, which ought to be their vertuous and pious actions, we find it of the bigneſſe of the ſmalleſt peaze; glorie, to all the world apparent; goodneſſe, to all the world inviſible. And furthermore, as the leaves, body and boughes of this Tree, by ſo much exceede all other Plants, as the greateſt men of power and worldly abilitie ſurpaſſe the meaneſt: ſo is the little fruit of ſuch men, and ſuch trees, rather fitting and becomming the unworthieſt Shrub, and humbleſt Bryar, or the pooreſt and baſeſt Man, than ſuch a flouriſhing ſtatelineſſe, and magnitude. Laſtly, whereas *Adam*, after he had diſobeyed God, and beheld his owne nakedneſſe and ſhame, ſought for leaves to cover himſelfe withall: this may ſerve to put us in minde of his and our ſinnes, as often as we put on our garments, to cover and adorne our rotten and mortall bodies: to pamper and maintaine which, we uſe ſo many uncharitable and cruell practices in this world.

## §. IIII.

### Of the name of the tree of Knowledge of good and evill: with ſome other notes touching the ſtorie of ADAMS ſinne.

NOw, as touching the ſenſe of this tree of Knowledge of good and evill, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the propertie of the Tree it ſelfe, *Moſes Bar-Cephas* an ancient *Syrian* Doctor (tranſlated by *Maſius*) giveth this judgement: That the fruit of this Tree had no ſuch vertue or qualitie, as that by the taſting thereof, there was any ſuch knowledge created in ***Adam***, as if he had beene ignorant before; but as ***Junius*** alſo noteth: ***Arbor ſcientiæ boni & mali (id eſt) experientiæ boni & mali ab eventu***; ***The Tree of knowledge of good and evill (that is) the experience of good and evill by the event.*** For thus much we may conceive, that ***Adam*** being made (according to the Hebrew phraſe) by the workmanſhip of Gods owne hand, in greater perfection than ever any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created Plant, out of whoſe ſeed, all men living, have growne up; and having received immortalitie from the breath or ſpirit of God; he could not (for theſe reſpects) be ignorant, that the diſobeying of Gods commandement was the fearefulleſt evill, and the obſervation of his precepts the happieſt good. But as men in perfect health do (notwithſtanding) conceive, that ſickneſſe is grievous, and yet in no ſuch degree of torment, as by the ſuffering & experience in themſelves they afterwards witneſſe: ſo was it with ***Adam***, who could not be ignorant of the puniſhments, due to neglect and diſobedience; and yet felt by the proofe thereof in himſelfe, another terror than he had fore-thought, or could imagine. For looking into the glaſſe of his owne guiltie ſoule, he beheld therin the horror of Gods judgements, ſo as he then knew, he feelingly knew, and had triall of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchaſed evill, which could not be expreſt. He then ſaw himſelfe naked both in body and mind; that is, deprived of Gods grace and former felicitie: and therefore was this tree called the tree of Knowledge, and not becauſe the fruit thereof had any ſuch operation, by any ſelfe qualitie or effect: for the ſame phraſe is uſed in many places of the Scriptures, and names are given to Signes and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In ſuch ſort, as this tree was called the tree of Knowledge, becauſe of the event, as is aforeſaid: ſo was the *Num.20.13.* Well of contention therefore called ***Eſek***, and the Well of hatred ***Sitnath***, becauſe the *Gen.26.20.21.* Heardſmen of ***Iſaac*** and ***Gerar*** contended for them: and the heape of Stones called the *Cap.31.48.* ***heape of witneſſe***, betweene ***Jacob*** and ***Laban***; not that the ſtones bare witneſſe, but for a *Cap.28.19.* memorie of the covenant. So ***Jacob*** called the houſe of God ***Bethel***; and ***Hagar***, the *Cap.16.14.* Well in the Deſart, ***Viventis, & videntis.***

But ***Adam*** being both betrayed and maſtered by his affections, ambitious of a farther knowledge than he had perceived in himſelfe, and looking but ſlightly (as all his iſſues doe) into the miſeries and ſorrowes incident, and greatly affecting the ſuppoſed glory which he might obtaine by taſting the fruit forbidden, he was tranſported and blowne forward, by the gentle winde of pleaſing perſwaſions, unawares; his progeſſion being ſtrengthened by the ſubtile arguments of Sathan, who laboured to poiſon mankind in the very root, which he moiſtned with the liquor of the ſame ambition, by which himſelfe periſhed for ever.

*Bart.ſem.2.l.2.* But what meanes did the Divell find out, or what inſtruments did his owne ſubtilty preſent him, as fitteſt and apteſt to worke this miſchiefe by? even the unquiet vanity of the woman; ſo as by ***Adams*** harkning to the voyce of his wife, contrarie to the expreſſe commandement of the living God, Mankind by that her incantation became the ſubject of labour, ſorrow, and death: the woman being given to man for a comforter and companion, but not for a counſellor. ***But becauſe thou haſt obeyed the voyce of thy wife &c.*** *Gen.3.17.* (ſaid God himſelfe) ***Curſed is the earth for thy ſake, in ſorrow ſhalt thou eate of it all thy life.*** It is alſo to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted, even by the moſt ugly and unworthy of all beaſts, into whom the Divell entred and perſwaded.

Secondly, what was the motive of her diſobedience? even a deſire to know what was moſt unfitting her knowledge; an affection which hath ever ſince remained in all the poſteritie of her ſexe. Thirdly, what was it that moved the man to yeeld to her perſwaſions? even the ſame cauſe which hath moved all men ſince to the like conſent; namely, an unwillingneſſe to grieve her and make her ſad, leſt ſhe ſhould pine and be overcome with ſorrow. But if ***Adam*** in the ſtate of perfection, and ***Salomon*** the ſonne of ***David***, Gods choſen ſervant, and himſelfe a man endued with the greateſt wiſedome, did both of them diſobey their Creator, by the perſwaſion and for the love they bare to a woman, it is not ſo wonderfull as lamentable, that other men in ſucceeding ages have beene allured to ſo many inconvenient and wicked practices, by the perſwaſions of their wives, or other beloved darlings, who cover over and ſhadow many malicious purpoſes with a counterfeit paſſion of diſſimulate ſorrow and unquietneſſe.

# Chap. V.

## *Of divers memorable things betweene the fall of* Adam, *and the Floud of* Noah.

### §. I.

### *Of the cauſe and the revenge of* Cains *ſinne: and of his going out from God.*

THe ſame Pride and Ambition which began in Angels, and afterward poſſeſt *Adam*, *Cain* alſo inherited: for *Cain* (envious of the acceptation of his Brothers Prayer and Sacrifice) ſlew him, making himſelfe the firſt Man-ſlayer, and his Brother the firſt Martyr: the revenge of which unnaturall Murther, although it pleaſed God to mitigate, when *Cain* cryed out that his puniſhment was greater than he could beare. For the ſame offence chiefely (wherwith the Sonnes of *Adam*, as it were, urged and provoked God) hee deſtroyed all Mankinde, but *Noah* and his Family: for it is written, *The Earth alſo was corrupt before God:* of which in the ſame place *Moſes* giveth a reaſon; for ſaith he, *The Earth was filled with cruelty:* and anon after, God himſelfe made the cauſe knowne unto *Noah*, ſaying; *An end of all fleſh is come before me, for the Earth is filled with cruelty through them, and behold, I will deſtroy them with the Earth*, or *from the Earth*. Neither was this cruelty meant to have beene in taking away the lives of men onely, but in all ſorts of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion. After this Murther of Abel, Cain *went out from the preſence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of Nod, towards the Eaſt-ſide of Eden:* in which words, The going out of *Cain* from the preſence of the Lord, is not to be underſtood after the literall ſenſe, God being wholly in all parts of the World: *Totus in cœlo eſt, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, ſed utrumq; ſimul; God* (ſaith S. Augustine) *is wholly in Heaven, and wholly in Earth, not by enterchanged times, but all at once*; And that this is true, *David* witneſſeth: *If I be in Heaven* (ſaith David) *thou art there; in Hell, thou art there alſo.* But what is meant thereby? *Exiit à facie Dei* (ſaith Chryſoſtome) Cain *went out from the preſence of the Lord* (that is) *he was left of God, diſfavoured and bereaved of his protection.*

*Gen.6.v.11.13.*

*Gen.4.16.*

*Aug. de Civit. Dei.l.12.c.19.*

*Pſal.139.81.*

*Chryſoſt. in Gen. Hom.2.*

### §. II.

### *Of* Cains *dwelling in the Land of Nod: and of his City Enoch.*

THis word Nod or Naid, S. *Hierome* and many others underſtand to ſignifie wandring or uncertaine habitation: vexation or agitation, ſaith *Junius*; but the Seventy convert it otherwiſe, and take Nod for the proper name of a Countrey, and ſo doth *Joſephus*. But it ſeemeth to me, that *Cain* was rather a Vagabond or Wanderer in his cogitations, than any thing elſe, and that his thoughts and conſcience had no quiet or reſt, in regard of the Murther committed, juſtly fearing (by his owne words) the like violence: *And whoſoever findeth me* (ſaith Cain) *ſhall ſlay me.* Now that Nod or Naid was a Region wherein *Cain* inhabited, appeareth by the word (*dwelt*) for dwelling ſignifieth an abiding: and we call thoſe people Wanderers and Vagabonds that have no dwelling place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifeſt, *Moſes* teacheth in what part of the Earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the Eaſt-ſide of Eden. Secondly, it is ſaid by *Moſes*, that after *Cain* departed from the preſence or favour of God, he built a City, and called it by the name of his firſt-borne, *Enoch*; which ſheweth that he feared to wander, and rather ſought to fortifie himſelfe againſt revenge. *Cyrillus* ſaith, that *Cain* and *Abel* were figures of Chriſt, and of the Jewes; and that as *Cain* after that he had ſlaine *Abel* unjuſtly, had thence-forth no certaine abiding in the World: ſo the Jewes after they had crucified the Sonne of God, became Runnagates: and it is true, that the Jewes had never ſince any certaine Eſtate, Common-weale, or Prince of their owne upon the Earth. Now this Land of Nod, *Junius* taketh to be in *Arabia Deſerta*, a Region of Nomades; but Arabia the Deſart is not Eaſtward, or on the Eaſt part of Eden, neither are theſe Nomades any particular People or Nation. For all theſe, in what part of the World ſoever, which in old time lived by Paſtorage, and fed (as

*Hier. rad. Heb.*

*Joſeph.l.1.c.3.*

*Gen.4.14.*

*Gen.4.16.*

*17.*

we call it in Ireland) upon white meate, without tilling of the ground, are called by the Greekes **Nomades**, and by the Latines *Paſtores vagi*; as the Northren Tartarians, the Getulians, and Numidians in Africa, the ancient Brittans, and the Northren Iriſh: yea, ſuch were the Inhabitants of Italy it ſelfe, till ſuch time as *Italus* (who gave them that name) taught them the Husbandry of tillage, uſed at this day. But the Region Eaſtward from Eden is that part of Aſſyria, called by *Ptolomy* Calena, which alſo might be derived of Carena, the country of *Cain*. And that *Cain* inhabited in thoſe parts, it may be gathered by the firſt poſſeſſion of his Father *Adam*; for thus it is written, *Geneſ.3.* *Therefore the Lord God ſent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the Earth whence he was taken*: and in the Verſe following: *Thus he caſt out man, &c. and at the Eaſt ſide of the Garden of Eden he ſet the Cherubins*: which ſheweth that the entry into Paradiſe was from the Eaſt, by which entrance *Adam* was caſt out, and therefore inhabiting on that ſide of Paradiſe which was Eaſtward, according to the Text. *Cain* alſo in the ſame Region ſought his dwelling place. Now, if the word *Nod* or *Naid* doe ſignifie *profugus*, that is, a fugitive, we can give no longer time to this uncertaine habitation of *Cain*, than till he built the City of Enoch, the firſt of the World, which he incloſed, either for his own defence, or (as *Joſephus* writeth) to oppreſſe others thereby. So as for mine own opinion, I am reſolved with the *Septuagint*, that Nod was the proper name of a Region; and for the word (Vagabond) which *Cain* uſeth of himſelfe, it ſeemeth by the percloſe of the ſame Verſe, that (Vagabond) is therin underſtood for ſuch an one as travelleth in fear of revengement: *for whoſoever findeth me* (ſaith CAIN) *ſhall ſlay me*; or elſe (Vagabond) is taken for a man without protection, and caſt out from the favour of God.

Verſe 23.

24.

And becauſe theſe Henochians, ſo called of the City of Henoch, were the firſt ſocietie & civill aſſembly of all other, it is likely that the fame of theſe people (either for cruelty, ſtrength, or other actions) lived in the memory of *Noah* and his Sonnes: ſo that after the Floud (as there were of all ſorts of natures, ſome vertuouſly, ſome impiouſly diſpoſed, and every active mind ſetting before it whom to follow or imitate) thoſe people, which delighted in cruelty and oppreſſion, tooke on them their names whoſe natures they moſt liked and allowed; of whom theſe Henochians were not the leaſt. Perchance the place it ſelfe where Henoch ſtood before the Floud, and whereof the Monuments might remain (as the Pillars or the foundation of Joppe did) gave occaſion to the Planters of that place to call themſelves by the ſame name: for of thoſe Henochians there were many Nations in the borders of Pontus, & Colchis in Iberia, Segdiana, & Bactria; of the ſame name many Mountaines, as thoſe which are otherwiſe called Coraxici. And ſeeing that it is hard to finde out the truth of theſe things, which the moſt aged Time hath covered over or defaced, we may (according to the counſel of *Plato*) exceedingly rejoyce, and therewith ſatisfie our ſelves, if of ſo great annd almoſt worn-out Antiquity, if of the eldeſt peoples names & nations, there remain any print or foot-ſteps to Poſterity.

*Quotidie aliquid in hoc magno orbe mutatur, nova urbium fundamenta jaciuntur, nova Gentium nomina (extinctis nominibus prioribus) oriuntur. Seneca ad Albinum.*

In* *Pliny*, *P. Mela*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, *Stephanus*, wee finde thoſe *Henochei* deſcribed, though diverſly written; as in *Pliny*, ſometimes *Heniochi*, in *Mela Eniochi*, in *Flaccus Heniochi*, in *Lucan Enochii*, all which inhabit upon the Sea Euxinus, but yet none of theſe are on the Eaſt-ſide of Eden, or (according to *Moſes* words) Eaſtward from Eden. For *Moſes* in all places where he deſcribeth any Region, was ſo exceeding preciſe, as ſometime he uſeth the word Eaſt or South without borrowing or addition, at other times with a borrowing, as Eaſtward or Southward, or towards the Eaſt or South. In the place of *Geneſis* the eleventh, hee writeth the word (Eaſt) ſimply and directly. *And as they went from the Eaſt, they found a Plaine in the Land of Shinar*; but in this of *Cain* he addeth the word (towards) as, *in the Land of Nod towards the Eaſt ſide of Eden*; which may bee taken, as inclining ſome one point or two either to the North or to the South of the Eaſt.

* *Plin.l.6.c.9. 11.& 16. Mel.l.1.c.8. Strabo lib.11. Val.Flacc.l.6. Lucan.l.3.v.37. V.2.*

But as we may conjecture that theſe Nations tooke name of Henoch the City of *Cain*, or of the Region wherein it ſtood, when the ſame was repeopled after the Floud: ſo it is probable that theſe *Henochii* of Colchis, & other parts adjoyning, were not the firſt of that name, after the Sons of *Noah* began to fill the World againe: becauſe, had this Henoch the City of *Cain* ſtood in any of theſe parts, it had then bin ſeated North, & not Eaſt or Eaſtward from Eden. But as *Pliny* findeth their habitation towards Pontus, ſo afterwards he goeth on Eaſtward, till he track them or trace them out to their original. For he calleth theſe of Colchis, (now Mengrelia) *Sanni Heniochi*; *Ptolomy*, *Zani*; beyond which

*Plin.l.6.c.4.5. Ptol.tab.Aſiæ.3.*

an hundred and fifty mile Eaſtward he findeth another Nation of them about Iberia and Albania; and beyond theſe he againe diſcovereth a third Nation, from whence all the reſt tooke beginning, which inhabited on the Weſt ſide of the Mountains of Paro-paniſus; betweene them and the great River of Oxus, which bordereth Bactria on the North ſide; and theſe Henochii are due Eaſt from the Region of Eden, and Eaſtward from the very Garden it ſelfe.

And although we cannot be aſſured that theſe Henochii tooke name from the memory of the City of Enoch directly; yet becauſe they inhabited due Eaſt from Paradiſe, and afterwards ſpred themſelves Weſtward (as all *Noahs* Sons did that came into Shinar) the conjecture is farre more probable, than that of *Annius* the Frier, who ſets Henoch in Phœnicia, quite contrary to *Moſes* word: Phœnicia from all parts of Eden being directly Weſt.

And beſides theſe ſeverall Nations of the Henochii, *Stephanus* findeth a Region called Henochia, and the ſame alſo in the Eaſt, with divers Mountains about Bactria and Sogdiana, of the ſame name. Only the Grecians (according to their fabulous inventions of all things elſe) out of the word (*Heniochi*) which ſignifieth Carts or Coach-men, make theſe Nations to have ſprung from the Waggoners of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* (to wit) *Amphites* and *Telchius*, who attended them in the enterpriſe of *Jaſon* into Colchis. And though I doe not deny, but that *Jaſon* with other Greekes ranged the Coaſts of Aſia the leſſe in an open Boat or kind of ſmall Galley, *of whom I ſhall ſpeake in his owne time: yet no man doubteth but that the Tale of the Golden Fleece was for the moſt part Poeticall; and withall that in ſuch an open Boat, which could hardly carry their owne Rowers, being 54. there was no place, and leſſe uſe of Coach-horſes or Waggoners.

*Steph.de Vrb.*

*Nat.Comes* calleth them *Rhecas.*

*Nat.Com.l.8.c.9.*

*Strab.l.*11.

*In the ſecond Booke of this firſt Part, Cap. 13.§.5.

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## §. III.

### *Of* Moses *his omitting ſundry things concerning* Cains *Generation.*

But of the remembrance and teſtimonies of the name of the City of Henoch in prophane Story, thus much may ſuffice: Now it followeth to anſwer ſome few Objections againſt certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of *Geneſis*: againſt which for the firſt it is demanded, how it was poſſible for *Cain* (having no other aſſiſtance than his Sonne *Henoch*) to performe ſuch a Worke as the building of a City, ſeeing there is thereto required ſo many hands, and ſo great a maſſe of all ſorts of Materials? To which it is anſwered, that we are firſt to conſider, That of *Cain* (becauſe he was the Parent of an impious Race) *Moſes* uſeth no ample declaration; and ſo it beſt agreeth with his divine Reaſon, ſeeing that he containeth the whole Story of the firſt Race, which waſted by the leaſt account, 1656. yeares, in five ſhort Chapters. Yet thus much may every man borrow of his owne weakeſt reaſon, That ſeeing it pleaſed God to beſtow on the firſt generations of mens lives ſo long a meaſure, as 800. and 900. yeares, that in ſuch a ſpace *Cain* had not want of leiſure and means to build many ſuch Cities as Henoch, be the capacity anſwering to what other of the World ſoever: for in what Age of *Cains* life he built it, the Scriptures are ſilent: as of whoſe times, and the times of his Iſſues *Moſes* had the leaſt care. And, as it was ſaid of *Cain*, that he built a City: ſo it was ſaid of *Noah*, that his three Sons peopled all the World, but in both, the proceſſe of time required to be underſtood: which advice ſeeing *Moſes* uſeth where the ſpace leſſe requireth it, as knowing that he writ the Scriptures to reaſonable men, we may eaſily underſtand, that ſuch was his meaning alſo in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference betweene the Birth of *Abel*, and Oblation of *Cain*, he ſpake it in this ſort, *Fuit autem poſt dies multos* or *à fine dierum* (that is) in proceſſe of time, *it came to paſſe that* Cain *brought an Oblation*. And therefore it is in like ſort to be underſtood of *Cain*, that many yeares fore-gone, and when his people were increaſed, he built the City of Enoch or Henoch.

*2 Kin.16.*

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that he built Enoch, ſo of *Solomon*, that hee built the Temple of Jeruſalem; yet it is well knowne of *Solomon*, that he employed in that Worke, 150000. Labourers: for this phraſe or ſpeech is common with our ſelves to ſay, The King invaded, when he cauſed an invaſion to be made: & he built, when he commanded ſuch a building. And therefore ſeeing we find that *Moſes* had no regard to the ages, to the birth, or to the death of any of *Cains* Iſſues, it is not to be marvelled at, why he alſo paſſeth over in a word the building of Enoch, without addition of any circumſtance: for of *Cain*, *Moſes* writeth in this manner: Gen.4.17. CAIN *alſo knew his Wife, who conceived and bare* HENOCH, *and he built a Citie, and called the name of the Citie after the name of his ſonne* HENOCH. 18. *And to* HENOCH *was borne* IRAD, *and* IRAD *begat* MEHUJAEL, *and* MEHUJAEL *begat* METHUSAEL, *and* METHUSAEL LAMECH.

C.5.v.5. Now of *Seth*, *Moſes* writeth farre otherwiſe, and in this manner. *And* SETH *lived an hundred and five yeares, and begat* ENOCH, *and* SETH *lived after he begat* ENOCH 807. *yeare, and begat Sonnes and Daughters: ſo as all the dayes of* SETH *were* 912. *yeares, and he dyed*: as for the yeares & times of the wicked, they were not numbred *in libro viventium*, ſaith *Cyril*. But in *Seth* was the Church of God eſtabliſhed, from whom Chriſt deſcended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and worke *Moſes* walked in, and finiſhed it with care, paſſing over the Reprobate Generation (as aforeſaid.) Of the Line of *Adam by Cain*, *Moſes* remembreth but eight Generations, reckoning *Adam* for one; and of the Line of *Adam* by *Seth* ten, counting *Adam* alſo therein, as followeth:

### I. ADAM.

2 *Cain.*
3 *Henoch:*
4 *Irad.*
5 *Mehujael.*
6 *Methuſael.*
7 *Lamech*, who by *Ada had*
8 *Jubal* & *Tubal*, & by *Silla*, *Tubalcain*, and *Noëma.*

2 *Seth.*
3 *Enoſh.*
4 *Cainan.*
5 *Mahaleel.*
6 *Jared.*
7 *Henoch:*
8 *Methuſalem.*
9 *Lamech*, and
10 *Noah.*

Theſe be the Generations of *Adam* by *Cain*, which the Scriptures mention: but *Joſephus* giveth unto *Lamech* threeſcore and ſeventeene Sonnes and Daughters, by his two Wives *Ada* and *Silla*: and to theſe three ſonnes of *Lamech*, *Moſes* aſcribeth the Invention of Paſtorage, of Muſique, and the working in Metall; for it ſeemeth that *Jubal* firſt gathered together, and made familiar thoſe beaſts which formerly were untamed, and brought them into Heards and Droves: Gen.4.20,21,22. *Tubal* invented Muſicke, and *Tubalcain* the working in Braſſe and Iron: the one being addicted to Husbandry, the other was Mechanicall, the third given to Idleneſs and Pleaſure. In whom began theſe three meaner degrees of Shepheards, Handy-crafts-men, and Muſicians. And in the Iſſues of *Seth* began the Services of God, Divinity, Prophecy, and Aſtronomy: the Children of the one beheld the Heavens, the other the Earth.

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## §. IV.

### *Of the diverſities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their Children.*

A Second ſcruple hath beene made, How it came to paſſe that the Patriarchs begat their Children at ſo divers Ages, as *Cainan* or *Cenan* at ſeventy yeares, *Mahaleel* and *Enoch* at threeſcore and five yeares, whereas *Jared* begat not any of his untill he was 162. yeares old: *Methuſalem* begat at 187. *Lamech* at 182. and *Noah* at 500. yeares. Now this difference hath bin the more enforced, becauſe it cannot be conjectured, that either *Jared*, *Methuſalem* or *Lamech* abſtained from Marriage out of the religion of Abſtinence, ſeeing that *Enoch*, who was tranſlated by God for his ſingular Sanctities, begat children before he was threeſcore and ten yeares old.

The apparent difference hereof ariſeth in this, that *Moſes* did not number the Generations before the Floud preciſely, according to the firſt begotten and eldeſt ſonnes of the Patriarchs, but he drew downe the Line of *Noah* from *Seth*, and afterward from *Noah* to *Abraham*, by their true Anceſtors, were they elder or younger, as he found them: for it is likely that *Henoch* was not the eldeſt of *Jared*, nor *Lamech* the firſt-borne of *Mathuſalem*, nor *Noah* of *Lamech*; neither is there any thing knowne to the contrary, but that *Noah* might have had many Sonnes before *Shem*, *Ham*, aud *Japhet*, though theſe three were only named, and ſurviving, & which by God were reſerved to be the Fathers of Mankind after the Floud; and therefore when we finde *Mahaleel* to be begotten by *Kenan* at threeſcore and ten yeares, who was the firſt Sonne of *Kenan*, and then reckon that *Methuſalem* begat *Lamech* in the 187. year of his life, the difference ſeemeth ſtrange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldeſt. But *Moſes* rejecteth all the other ſonnes of *Methuſalem* but *Lamech* only, becauſe he was the Father of *Noah* as aforeſaid. Of this

Saint *Auguſtine* hath ſomewhat elſe in his twentieth, and one and twentieth Chapters, *De Civitate Dei.*

But as *Moſes* counted the Generations of the firſt Age, and ſo to *Abraham*, and the children of the promiſe after him; ſo doth Saint *Matthew* recite the Geneology of Chriſt, not by the eldeſt ſonnes, but from thoſe whom God had choſen and bleſſed, without reſpect of the firſt-borne, who have hereby the prerogative in Eſtates, worldly and tranſitory only; and therefore the Evangeliſt nameth *Iſaac*, and not *Iſmael*, though *Iſmael* were firſt in time: ſo doth he take *Jacob* the younger, and not Eſau the elder; neither is Chriſt derived from any of the three eldeſt Patriarchs, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, or *Levi*, but from *Juda* a fourth Brother, and ſo from *David* a younger ſonne of *Jeſſai*; and laſtly, we find, that the kingdome it ſelfe of Juda was not given to the Heir in Nature, but to the Heire of Grace, namely *Salomon*.

*Mat.1.2.*

*1 Kings 2.*

## §. V.

### *Of the long lives of the Patriarchs, and ſome of late memory.*

THe third Objection is, that the great difference of yeares betweene thoſe of the firſt Age, whereof ſome of them had well neere ſeene a thouſand yeares, makes it diſputable, whether the account of times were of the ſame meaſure as in after-Ages, ſeeing, that ſoone after the Floud, men lived not a third part of that time, and in ſucceeding Ages and to this day, not the tenth.

They that have hereon reſolved that thoſe yeares were but Lunary years, (to wit) of a Moneth or thereabouts, or Egyptian yeares, are eaſily confuted. For whereas *Seth* begat *Enoſh* in the yeare of his life an hundred and five; if thoſe years be taken but for Moneths, then had *Seth* lived but eight yeares, and one Moneth when he begat *Enoſh*: and if the time of *Enoſh* have the ſame allowance, when he begat *Kenan*, then could *Enoſh* at that time have beene but ſix yeares and forty eight weeks old; and ſo it may be gathered of the reſt, excepting only *Adam*, who was created perfect in his kind, as were the Trees in their kinde, bearing fruit and ſeed. But this were too ridiculous to imagine. For to give an ability of Generation at ſixe, ſeven or eight years, agreeth with the ſhort lives of the Pigmies, and not with the conſtitutions of our firſt Fathers, who being deſcended from *Adam*, the workmanſhip of Gods hands, and begotten and borne in the ſtrong youth of the World, and length of dayes and ability of body agreeable. Againe, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunary yeares, then there would follow this extremity, that thoſe which lived longeſt, and upwards of nine hundred yeares, had by that account but the time of foureſcore and ten and odd yeares, which were not only leſſe by farre than the Patriarchs lived after the Floud, but ſhort of many mens lives in this decrepit Age of the World, wherein many exceed foureſcore, and ſome a hundred yeares. Further (if need be) to diſprove this reckoning, whereas it is written, *Gen.*25. That *Abraham* dyed in a good Age, an old man, and of great yeares: all which (if the former account were of Lunary yeares) makes but ſeventeene and an halfe of our yeares.

*Sol.Pol.hiſt.c.3.*
*Macrob.Satur.lib.1.cap.8.*
*Plin.l.7.c.48.*

And if wee ſeeke for a cauſe of this long life in Nature, then is it reaſonable, that the firſt man, created in higheſt perfection, ſhould alſo beget children of equall ſtrength or little differing: for of the firſt and pureſt ſeed there muſt of neceſſity ſpring up the faireſt and fruitfulleſt plants. Secondly, the Earth it ſelf was then much leſſe corrupt, which yeelded her increaſe, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any ſuch mixture of harmefull quality, as ſince that time the Curſe of God, for the cruelty of mans heart, brought on it and Mankinde: Neither had the Waters of the Floud infuſed ſuch an impurity, as thereby the naturall and powerfull operation of all Plants, Herbes, and Fruits upon the Earth received a qualification and harmefull change. And as all things under the Sunne have one time of ſtrength, and another of weakeneſſe, a youth and beautie, and then age and deformity: ſo time it ſelfe (under the deathfull ſhade of whoſe wings all things decay and wither) hath waſted and worne out that lively vertue of Nature in Man, and Beaſts, and Plants; yea, the Heavens themſelves, being of a moſt pure and clenſed matter, ſhall waxe old as a garment; and then much more the power generative in inferiour Creatures, who by the ordinance of God receive operative Vertue from the ſuperiour.

*Pſal.102.v.26.*

But beſides the old age of the World, how farre doth our education and ſimplicity of living differ from that old time: the tender bringing up of Children, firſt fed and nouriſhed with the Milke of a ſtrange Dugge; an unnaturall curioſity having taught all Women (but the Beggar) to finde out Nurſes, which neceſſity only ought to commend unto them: The haſty Marriages in tender yeares, wherein, Nature being but yet green and growing, we rent from her and replant her branches, while her ſelfe hath not yet any root ſufficient to maintaine her owne top; and ſuch halfe-ripe ſeedes (for the moſt part) in their growing up wither in the bud, and waxe old even in their Infancy. But above all things the exceeding luxuriousneſſe of this gluttonous Age, wherein we preſſe Nature with over-weighty burdens, and finding her ſtrength defective, we take the worke out of her hands, and commit it to the artificiall helpe of ſtrong Waters, hot Spices, and provoking Sawces; of which *Lucan* hath theſe elegant Verſes:

Pharſal.4.

*——O prodiga rerum*
*Luxuries nunquam parvo contenta paratu:*
*Et quæſitorum terra pelagoq; ciborum*
*Ambitioſa fames, & lautæ gloria menſæ,*
*Diſcite quàm parvo liceat producere vitam:*
*Et quantum Natura petat.*
*Non auro myrrhâq; bibunt: ſed gurgite puro*
*Vita redit: ſatis eſt populis fluviuſq; Cereſq;.*

O waſtfull Riot never well content
With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious
Of Cates by Land and Sea far fetcht and ſent:
Vaine glory of a Table ſumptuous,
Learne with how little life may be preſerved.
In Gold and Myrrhe they need not to carouſe,
But with the Brooke the peoples thirſt is ſerved:
Who fed with Bread and Water are not ſterved.

Pier.Hierog.l.2.

The Egyptians affirme, that the longeſt time of mans life is a hundred yeares, becauſe the heart in a perfect body waxeth and groweth to ſtrength fifty yeares, and afterwards by the ſame degree decayeth and withereth. *Epigenes* findeth in his Philoſophy, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty yeares, and *Beroſus* to a hundred and ſeventeene yeares. Theſe opinions *Pliny* repeateth and reproveth, producing many examples to the contrary. In the laſt taxation, number and review of the eighth region of Italy, there were found in the Roll (ſaith *Pliny*) foure and fifty perſons of an hundred yeares of age: ſeven and fifty of an hundred and ten: two, of an hundred and five and twenty: foure, of an hundred and thirty: as many that were an hundred & five & thirty, or a hundred and ſeven and thirty yeares old: & laſt of all, three men of an hundred and forty: and this ſearch was made in the times of *Veſpaſian* the Father and the Son.

Plin.l.7.c.29.

The ſimple dyet and temperate life of the Eſſæans gave them long account of many years: ſo did it to the Secretaries of Egyptian Ceremonies, to the Perſians Magicians & Indian Brachmans. The Greeks affirme out of *Homer*, that *Neſtor* lived three Ages, & *Tireſias* ſix, *Sybilla* three hundred years, *Endymion* of the leſſe Aſia, little leſs: Alſo *Maſaniſſa* of Numidia lived very long, & *Dando* of Illyria. Among the kings of Arcadia many lived three hundred yeares (ſaith *Ephorus*.) *Hellanicus* affirmeth of the Epeians, that ſome of them live full two hundred yeare; and ſo doth *Diodorus Siculus* of the Egyptians: & that theſe reports are not fabulous, *Joſephus* bringeth many witneſſes with himſelfe; as *Marethon*, *Beroſus*, *Mochus*, *Eſtius*, *Hieronymus*, *Ægyptius*, *Hecatæus*, *Ephorus*, and others. And *Anthony Fume*, an Hiſtorian of good reputation reporteth, that in the yeare 1570. there was an Indian preſented to *Solyman*, Generall of the Turkes Army, who had out-lived three hundred years. I my ſelf knew the old Counteſs of Deſmond of Inchiquin in Munſter, who lived in the yeare 1589. & many yeares ſince, who was marryed in *Edward* the Fourths time, and held her Joynture from all the Earles of Deſmond ſince then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Munſter can witneſſe: *Strozzius Cicogna*, out of *Torquemada Maffæus*, and the like Authors, telleth of ſome that have not onely far exceeded the terme preſcribed by *Epigenes*; but been repaired from the withered eſtate of decrepit Age to freſh Youth. But for length of life, if we note but the difference betweene the ability of men in thoſe dayes wherein *Galen* the Phyſician lived, it may eaſily prove unto us what Reeds we are in reſpect of thoſe Cedars of the firſt Age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let bloud ſix pound weight, whereas we (for the moſt part) ſtop at ſix ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Conſtellations) which are the naturall cauſes of a long and healthfull life; (to wit) ſtrong Parents, a pure and

Joſ.ant.l.13.c.8.
Plin.l.7.c.48.

and thin Ayre, and temperate uſe of dyet, pleaſure, and reſt: for thoſe which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring ſtone, cannot ſtand long upright; on Ayre we feed alwayes and in every inſtant, and on meates but at times: and yet the heavie load of abundance, wherewith we oppreſſe and overcharge Nature, maketh her to ſink unawares in the mid-way; and therefore with a good conſtitution, a pure Ayre, and a temperate uſe of thoſe things which nature wanteth, are the onely friends and companions of a long life.

## §. VI.

### *Of the Patriarchs delivering their knowledge by Tradition: and that* ENOCH *writ before the Floud.*

A Fourth ſcruple hath been made, How the certaine knowledge of the Creation came to *Moſes*, ſeeing there was no Story thereof written; and if any ſuch had beene, yet it is conceived, that all memory of Antiquity periſhed in the Univerſall Floud.

But if we conſider the curioſity and policy of elder ages, we ſhall find, that knowledge was the greateſt treaſure that men ſought for, and which they alſo covered and hid from the vulgar ſort, as Jewels of ineſtimable price, fearing the irreverent conſtruction of the ignorant and irreligious: ſo as whatſoever was attained unto concerning God, and his working in nature, the ſame was not left to publike diſpute, but delivered over by heart and tradition from wiſe men to a poſterity equally zealous; *Ex animo in animum ſine literis medio intercedente verbo: From minde to minde without Letters, by way of Tradition or word of mouth.* And it was thought by *Eſdras, Origen,* and *Hilarius,* (as *Mirandula* conceiveth) that *Moſes* did not onely upon the Mount receive the Law from God, but withall, *ſecretiorem & veram legis enarrationem: a more ſecret and true explanation of the Law*; which (ſaith he, out of the ſame Authors,) he delivered by mouth to *Joſuah*, and *Joſuah* to the Elders: For to teach theſe myſteries, which he called *ſecretiora*, to the rude multitude, were no other *quàm dare ſanctum canibus, & inter porcos ſpargere Margaritas; than to give holy things to Dogges, and to caſt Pearles before Swine.* In ſucceeding times this underſtanding and wiſedome began to be written in Ciphers, and Characters, and Letters bearing the forme of beaſts, birds, and other creatures; and to be taught onely to ſuch as ſerved in their Temples, and to their Kings and Prieſts. Of the firſt the *Cabala* of the Jewes was an imitation: the invention of the other is aſcribed to *Zoroaſter, Mercurius, Cadmus,* and others; but falſely.

*Dion.Areop.*

*Fol.18.*

This *Cabala* importeth a Law, received by tradition and unwritten. *Cabala* in Hebrew is *receptio* in Latine, and a *receiving* in Engliſh. And this cuſtome was alſo held by the Druids and Bards of our ancient Brittans, and of later times by the Iriſh Chroniclers called Rimers. If then ſuch as would ſeem wiſeſt in the uſe of reaſon, will not acknowledge, that the ſtory of the Creation, or beginning of all things, was written by inſpiration, the holy Ghoſt guiding the hand of *Moſes*; yet it is manifeſt, that the knowledge thereof might by tradition (then uſed) be delivered unto him by a more certaine preſumption, than any or all the teſtimonies which prophane antiquity had preſerved and left to their ſucceſſors: which their wiſe men (as they terme them) did lay up and defend from the injury of the time and other hazzards. For, leaving to remember that *Adam* inſtructed *Seth*, and *Seth* his children and ſucceſſors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifeſt, that *Methuſalem* lived together with *Adam* himſelfe two hundred forty and three yeares, and *Noah* with *Methuſalem* no leſſe than five hundred yeares: and before *Noah* died, *Abraham* was fifty and eight yeares old: from whence this knowledge by an eaſie and ordinary way might come to Iſrael, and ſo to *Moſes*.

*Cabala eſt ſcientia Theologiæ non revelata, P.M.82. Miran.110.fol.*

But beſides this tradition, it is queſtionleſſe, that the uſe of letters was found out in the very infancy of the world, proved by thoſe prophecies written on pillars of ſtone and bricke by *Enoch*: of which *Joſephus* affirmeth, that one of them remained even in his time (meaning belike ſome ruine or foundation thereof) which pillars by others are aſcribed to *Seth*. But of theſe prophecies of *Enoch*, Saint *Jude* teſtifieth; and ſome part of his Bookes (which contained the courſe of the Starres, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia fœlix*, in the Dominion of the Queene of Saba (ſaith *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth, that he had ſeene and read ſome whole Pages. It is not therefore ſtrange, that *Moſes* came to the knowledge of the Creation, and ſtory

*Joſ.l.1.*

*Jud.Ep.v.14.*

*Origen.Homil.1.in Num.*

of the firſt Age, ſeeing he might receive it both by tradition and letters, had not the ſpirit of God inſtructed and inſpired him as it did: which alſo his many and ſtrange miracles (performed before he wrote the Scriptures) make more manifeſt.

*Origen.Hol.28. in Num.& comment in Evang. Johan.*

*Gelaſ.diſt.15.*

Now for the Bookes of ***Enoch***, howſoever ſome men make mention of them, ſure I am that ***Tertullian***, ***Origen***, ***Auguſtine***, ***Beda***, ***Procopius***, ***Gazeus***, (with others) cite them in their writings: although ***Medina***, for an argument to prove them unwritten traditions, alledgeth that Pope ***Gelaſius*** among other the Apochryphall Scriptures (which he rejecteth) named not theſe of ***Enoch***; but that whatſoever was remembred out of them, the ſame was delivered by Tradition from the Jewes. But I rather think with ***Pererius***, that ſuch a Book there was, & that the ſame was corrupted after the death of the Apoſtles, and many things added thereunto by Heretikes, who took occaſion upon the antiquity therof, and out of that place of ***Michael*** contending with the Devill about the body of ***Moſes***, to frame and add thereunto many inventions of their owne. One of the greateſt arguments againſt theſe Bookes, is, that neither ***Philo*** nor ***Joſephus*** (the moſt diligent ſearchers of Antiquity) make mention thereof. But againſt it I will ſet this opinion of Saint ***Auguſtine***, ***Scripſiſſe quidem nonnulla divina*** Enoch, ***illum ſeptimum ab*** Adam, ***negare non poſſumus: That*** Enoch ***the ſeventh from*** Adam, ***did write divers divine things, we cannot deny.*** Now his writings which came afterwards to light, were ſuſpected becauſe of the antiquity, and of fables of Giants, ſuppoſed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by ſo much the more, becauſe no ſuch Book was found amongſt thoſe Canonicall Scriptures, kept by the diligence of the Hebrew Prieſts in ***Armario Judaico*** (ſaith ***Tertullian***) who yet affirmeth that this Book might be preſerved by ***Noah***. Surely, that ***Enoch*** wrote the prophecies remembred by ***Jude***, no man can deny; how they were delivered to poſterity, I know not; whether by the Jewes ***Cabala***, or by what other means, the ſame is but mans conjecture. And (certainely) by the knowledge aſcribed to ***Noah*** of the motions of the Heavens, and of the natures and conjunctions of the Starres; and afterwards to ſome of his ſonnes, to ***Zoroaſter***, and then to ***Abraham***, it is very probable that ***Noah*** had ſeene and might preſerve this Book. For it is not likely, that ſo exquiſite knowledge therin (as theſe men had) was ſuddenly invented and found out, but left by ***Seth*** to ***Enoch***, and by ***Enoch*** to ***Noah***, as hath beene ſaid before. And therefore if letters and arts were knowne from the time of ***Seth*** to ***Enoch***, and that ***Noah*** lived with ***Methuſalem***, who lived with ***Adam***, and ***Abraham*** lived with ***Noah***, it is not ſtrange (I ſay) to conceive how ***Moſes*** came to the knowledge of the firſt Age, be it by letters, or by ***Cabala*** and tradition, had the undoubted word of God need of any other proofe than ſelfe-authority.

*Tert.de habit. mulierum.*

*Heb.11.15.*

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## §. VII.

### *Of the men of renown before the Floud.*

NOw let us conſider the relation of ***Moſes***, who nameth ſeven deſcents of ***Cains*** children: and of ***Adam*** by ***Seth*** ten; ***Seth*** being given by God in ſtead of ***Abel***: and of ***Seth*** was ***Enoſh*** begotten, in whoſe time men began to profeſſe Religion, and to offer ſacrifice in publique. For although ***Adam*** inſtructed his children in the knowledge of God their Creator, as appeared by the ſacrifice offered by ***Cain*** and ***Abel***; yet it ſeemeth that after the birth of ***Enoſh***, men began publiquely to call on the name of the Lord, that is, they ſerved and prayſed God by Communion and in publique manner, or calling upon the name of the Lord; and thereby were the ſonnes of God or the godly diſtinguiſhed from the wicked. From the birth of ***Enoſh*** the ſonne of ***Seth***, to the time of ***Henoch*** the ſonne of ***Jared***, there is nothing remembred by ***Moſes***, but their owne births, the birthes of their ſonnes, the length of their lives, and deaths. But of ***Henoch*** it is written. ***That he walked with God, and he was no more ſeene:*** for God tooke him away. By that, ***that hee walked with God***, was meant, that he was a juſt and upright man, and that he feared, loved, and obeyed God. For the ſame phraſe ***Moſes*** uſeth of ***Noah***; Noah ***was a juſt and upright man in his time, and*** Noah ***walked with God.*** The Seventy convert it, Enoch ***placuit Deo***; Enoch ***pleaſed God.*** And although ***Aben-Ezra*** and others underſtand this place, ***(tulit eum Deus) ſcilicet, mortuus eſt***; ***God tooke him away, (that is) hee dyed***, which (indeede) agreeth both with the phraſe of the Scripture, and with our manner of ſpeech to this day, to ſay, God tooke him away, when he dyed; yet the difference which ***Moſes*** maketh betweene the piety of ***Henoch***, and the reſt of the Pa-

*Gen.5.24.*

*6.9.*

triarchs, and by omitting the word (death) which he uſeth to all elſe, makes it manifeſt, that *Henoch* was not diſſolved as the reſt. For to all the reſt of the Patriarchs, *Moſes* uſeth theſe words, *And he dyed*; but of *Henoch* he ſpake otherwiſe, ſaying onely, *He was miſsing*, or *he was not ſeene. Et non inveniebatur* (ſaith the Apoſtle to the Hebrewes) *quia Deus eum tranſtulit*; *And he was not found, for the Lord tooke him away*. In the ſame place it is expreſly added, *that he ſaw not death*.

But whether this taking away of *Henoch* were not with the ſame kinde of changing, which S. *Paul* promiſeth, when he ſaith, that *when the end ſhall come, wee ſhall not all dye, but all ſhall be changed*, I leave it to the learned Divines. 1 Cor.15.51.

After *Henoch*, *Moſes* paſſeth over to *Methuſalem* and *Lamech*, remembring (as of the reſt) the times of their birth and death: ſaving that *Lamech* propheſied of his ſonne *Noah*, ſaying, *This ſame ſhall comfort us concerning our worke, and ſorrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath curſed*. Of *Noah*, *Moſes* writeth more amply than of any of the reſt of *Adams* children by *Seth*, being the laſt of the ten generations of the firſt Age, whom God (with his Family) preſerved, becauſe he was an upright man in his time, and feared God. Gen.5.29. Gen.6.9.

But of the warre, peace, governement, and policy of thoſe ſtrong and mighty men, ſo able both in body and wit, there is no memory remaining: whoſe ſtories if they had bin preſerved, and what elſe was then performed in that newneſſe of the World, there could nothing of more delight have been left to poſterity. For the exceeding long lives of men (who to their ſtrength of body and naturall wits, had the experience added of 800. and 900. yeares) how much of neceſſity muſt the ſame adde of wiſedome and undertakings? Likely it is, that their workes excelled all whatſoever can be told of after-times, eſpecially in reſpect of this old age of the World, when we no ſooner begin to know, but we begin to die; according to HIPPOCRATES: *Vita brevis, ars longa, tempus preceps*; (which is) *Life is ſhort, art is long, and time is headlong*. And that thoſe people of the firſt age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of theſe words of MOSES; *Theſe were mighty men, which in old time were men of renowne*. But theſe men of renowne (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for ſtrength of body, and cruelty of mind) truſted ſo much to their owne abilities, as they forgat altogether the piety of *Seth*, and the waies wherein *Henoch* walked: *for all the imaginations of their hearts were evil, only evill, and continually evill.* And this wickedneſſe was not only found in the iſſues of *Cain*, but it was then univerſall, when the children and ſons of God (or of the godly) were corrupted & miſ-led by their idolatrous wives, the daughters of *Cain*, or of thoſe other men, loving themſelves and the world only. Aphor.1. Gen.6.4. Verſe 5.

That theſe *ſonnes of God* were Angels, which being taken with the beauty of women, accompanied them and begat Giants, ſome of the Fathers ſuppoſed; namely, *Lactantius*, and *Euſebius*, miſ-led by *Joſephus*: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this miſtaking many Writers have taken great advantage, and have troubled themſelves with large anſwers, and very needleſſe: the queſtion being uncapable of diſpute, eſpecially ſince S. *Chryſoſtome* and S. *Auguſtine* have anſwered it largely long agoe. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth every where appeare in the Scripture; and on the contrary, to thinke that Angels, who (as Chriſt witneſſeth) behold the face of God; (that is) alwaies attend his commandements, ſhould after a ſeparation from the reſt which fell with *Lucifer*, forſake the glorious preſence of their Creatour, and become *Incubi*, or *Succubi*, contrary both to Nature and Grace, were more than madneſſe to imagine. Gen.6.v.4.

## §. VIII.

### *That the Giants by* MOSES *ſo called, were indeede men of huge bodies: as alſo divers in later times.*

OF theſe Giants which *Moſes* calleth mighty men, *Goropius Becanus* an *Antuerpian* (who thought his owne wit more Giganticall than the bodies of *Nimrod* or *Hercules*) hath written a large diſcourſe, intituled *Gigantomachia*, and ſtrayned his braines to prove, that there were never any ſuch men: his reaſons (whoſoever deſires to loſe time) he may finde them in the Treatiſes before named. It is true that *Cyrillus* reproves the Grecian Poets for their monſtrous fictions: who affirme ſhameleſly, That the Giants have in elder times not onely caſt up Mountaines upon Mountaines, but removed Ilands out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that invention of caſting up Hils, and making warre with the gods, no doubt but that the ſame was borrowed out of the ſtory of *Nimrod*, as before remembred; and even out of this Scripture: That the Sons of God ſaw the Daughters of Men, of whom the firſt Giants were begotten, was that conceit taken of *Orpheus* and *Heſiodus*. That Giants were the ſons of the Heaven and the Earth; meaning by the Heavens the ſonnes of God, and by the Earth the daughters of Men: which verſes of *Orpheus* are by *John Caſſam* (who hath written a witty diſcourſe of this ſubject) thus changed into Latine:

*Nomine cœleſtes illos dixere Gigantes,*
*Orti quòd terrâ fuerint & ſanguine cœli.*

From the Earth, and from thy bloud, O heaven, they came,
Whom thereupon the gods did Giants name.

But what will not Opiniators and ſelfe-beleeving men diſpute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceive that there were in the firſt Age ſuch kind of men; and of which there have beene in all times ſince; ſeeing the Scriptures avow the one manifeſtly, and common experience the other?

And for that ſuperlative ſtrayning of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was given to Oppreſſors and Tyrants, and not to ſtrength of body and eminent ſtature: ſuch men might with better reaſon call them Oppreſſors, becauſe they were Giants; and therefore had ability to oppreſſe, than ſay, That they were called Giants only, becauſe Oppreſſors. For firſt, *Moſes* himſelfe calleth them mighty men; which ſheweth a ſtrength ſurpaſſing others: and afterwards men of renowne, (that is) of great undertaking and adventerous action. And if the ſame ſtature of body, and ability had not beene found among divers Nations after the generall floud, then might this place of *Moſes* have more willingly hearkened to a diſpute, and yeelded to interpretation.

But beſides all theſe famous Giants found in prophane Hiſtories (which I wil reſerve to accompany the Giants of Albion, in the ſtory of Britanie) the Scriptures doe cleerly and without all allegoricall conſtruction avow, That, beſides *Nimrod*, there were found Gen.14.5. of theſe Giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moſes*, of *Joſuah*, and of *David*; namely, the Num.15.34. Rephaims in Aſteroth; the Zuzæi or Zanzummims in Ham, and the Emims which dwelt anciently in the Land of Moab: whom *Moſes* (for ſtature) compareth with the Deut.2.v.21.20. Anakims which dwelt in Hebron; for they alſo were taken for giants as the Anakims. Like- Verſe 21. wiſe where *Moſes* ſpeaketh of the Land of *Ammon* he uſeth theſe words: *That alſo was taken for a land of Giants, for Giants dwelt therein afore-times:&, whom the Ammonites call Zanzummims: a people that was great, and many, and tall as the Anakims.* And theſe Giants called Rephaims in Aſteroth and Karnaim, and the Zuzæi or Zanzummims, *Chedorlaomer* Amos 1. king of Elam overthrew, aſſiſted by other kings his aſſociates. Alſo the Prophet *Amos* found among the Ammonies men of giant-like ſtature, whom he compareth to the Ce- Bar.3.v.26. dar, and whoſe ſtrength to the Okes: and the Prophet BARUCH, *Theſe were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of ſo great ſtature and ſo expert in warre.* Particularly it Deut.3.v.11. is written of *Og*, king of Baſan, that his bed of yron was nine cubits long, and foure cubits broad: for only *Og* king of Baſan remained of the remnant of the Giants, who commanded the Kingdome of Baſan, foure hundred yeares after the Expedition of *Chedorlaomer*. Moreover, thoſe Diſcoverers and Searchers of the Land of Promiſe (ſent by *Moſes* from Cadesbarne in Paran) made report at their returne of the great ſtature of thoſe Num.13.v.34. people in generall, and eſpecially of the ſonnes of *Anak*, in theſe words: *All the people which we ſaw in it are men of great ſtature: for there we ſaw Giants, the ſons of* ANAK, *which come of the Giants, ſo that we ſeemed in our ſights like Graſſe-hoppers, and ſo we were in their ſight*, (that is) the Searchers found in their owne judgements a marvellous difference betweene the Anakims and themſelves: inſomuch that the Iſraelites were ſo ſtricken with feare, as they rather ſought and deſired to return againe into Egypt, and were more wil- Cap.14.4. ling to endure their former ſlavery, than to fall by the ſtrokes of thoſe fearefull Nations. 1 Sam.17.4. Furthermore, the Scriptures, put us out of doubt, that *Goliah* the Philiſtine of *Gath*, was a Giant of ſixe cubits and a ſpan long: the Armour which he wore weighed five thouſand ſhekles of braſſe: the ſhaft of his ſpeare was like a Weavers beame, and his ſpeare-head 2 Sam.21.v.19. weighed ſix hundred ſhekles of yron. Alſo in *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliah* of another *Goliah*, ſurnamed *Getheus*, becauſe he was of *Gath*: and of three other Giants; of which the firſt was ſlain by *Jonathan*, *Davids* Nephew, who had twelve fingers, and as many toes: a man of great ſtature, and his fingers were by ſixes, even foure & twenty.

1 Chron. 20.7.

Alſo that *Sampſon* was of ſurpaſſing ſtrength, no man doubteth, who tore a Lion as it had been a Kid, and after ſlue thirty of the Philiſtines, and ( after that ) a thouſand more of them with a Jaw-bone of an Aſſe: And laſtly, he tooke the gates of Azzah, and the two Poſts, and lifted them away with the barres, and put them upon his ſhoulders, and carried them to the top of the Mountaine before Ebron. If then it be approved by every judgement, that both Nature and the Heavens waxe old, and that the great age of Time hath (with it ſelfe) infeebled and almoſt worne out the vertue of all things, then, I ſay, That as in all other kindes the Earth ( before that Sinne had increaſed the curſe and corruption) brought forth her young ones more ſtrong and beautifull, than it did in after-ages: ſo alſo thoſe Giants, thoſe mighty men, and men of renowne, as far exceeded the proportion, nature, and ſtrength of thoſe Giants, remembred by *Moſes* of his own time, and after him their ſucceſſours, as the ordinary proportion of all men in generall, ſoone after the floud and in times farre off, exceeded the bulkes and bodies of men which are now borne in the withered quarter and Winter of the World. If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth age, much more in the firſt flouriſhing youth and newneſſe of the world.

Jud. 14.6.
14.19.
16.3.

But the wickedneſſe (eſpecially in cruelty and oppreſſion ) of theſe men was ſuch, as God therfore by the floud gave end to all fleſh, but to the juſt *Noah* and his Family. ***And God repented him that he had made man:*** which S. *Auguſtine* thus expoundeth; ***Neq; enim ſicut hominem, ita Deum facti ſui pœnitet, cujus eſt de omnibus omnino rebus tam fixa ſententia, quam certa præſcientia. Sed ſi non utatur Scriptura talibus verbis, non ſe quodammodo familiarius inſinuabit omni generi hominum, quibus vult eſſe conſultum: ut et perterreat ſuperbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat quærentes, & alat intelligentes***; ***God*** (ſaith he) ***doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done (as men uſe to doe): but if the Scripture did not uſe thoſe words or the like, it ſhould not ( in a ſort ) inſinuate it ſelfe familiarly to all ſorts of men, for whom it would provide: that it might terrifie the proud, ſtirre up the negligent, exerciſe the ſearchers of the truth, and nouriſh thoſe that underſtand.***

Gen. 6.6.
De Civit. Dei. l. 15. c. 25.

# Chap. VI.

## *Of idolatrous corruptions, quickly riſing, and hardly at length vaniſhing in the world: and of the Reliques of Truth touching theſe ancient times, obſcurely appearing in Fables and old Legends.*

### §. I.

### *That in old corruptions we may finde ſome ſignes of more ancient truth.*

HEre before wee proceede any further, the occaſion offereth it ſelfe for us to conſider how the Greekes and other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inventions, and by breaking into parts the Story of the Creation, and by delivering it over in a myſticall ſenſe, wrapping it up mixed with other their owne trumpery, have ſought to obſcure the truth thereof; and have hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receive thoſe inter-mixt diſcourſes of God and Nature, for the inventions of Poets and Philoſophers, and not as any thing borrowed or ſtolne out of the Bookes or God. But as a skilfull and learned Chymiſt can aſwell by ſeparation of viſible elements draw helpefull medicines out of poyſon, as poyſon out of the moſt healthfull hearbs & plants ( all things having in themſelves both life and death ): ſo, contrary to the purpoſes and hopes of the Heathen, may thoſe which ſeeke after God and Truth, find out every-where, and in all the ancient Poets and Philoſophers, the Story of the firſt Age, with all the works and marvels thereof, amply and lively expreſt.

## §. II.

### *That the corruptions themſelves were very ancient: as in the Family of* NOAH, *and in the old Egyptians.*

BUt this defection and falling away from God, which was firſt found in Angels, and afterwards in Men (the one having erred but once, the other ever) as concerning Mankinde it tooke ſuch effect, that thereby (the liberall grace of God being with-drawne) all the poſterity of our firſt Parents were afterwards borne and bred in a world, ſuffering a perpetuall Eclipſe of ſpirituall light. Hence it was that it produced plants of ſuch imperfection and harmefull quality, as the waters of the generall floud could not ſo waſh out or depure, but that the ſame defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of mankinde. Yea, even among the few ſonnes of *Noah*, there were found ſtrong effects of the former poyſon. For as the children of *Sem* did inherite the vertues of *Seth*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*; ſo the ſonnes of *Cham* did poſſeſſe the vices of the ſonnes of *Cain*, and of thoſe wicked Gyants of the firſt Age. Whence the Chaldæans began ſoone after the Floud to aſcribe divine power and honour to the Creature, which was onely due to the Creatour. Firſt, they worſhipped the Sunne, and then the Fire. So the Egyptians and Phœnicians did not onely learne to leave the true God, but created twelve ſeverall gods, and divine powers, whom they worſhipped, and unto whom they built Altars and Temples. For *Herodotus* ſaith, *Duodecim Deorum nomina primos Ægyptios in uſu habuiſſe, atque Græcos ab illis cepiſſe mutuatos, eoſq; prius Aras, & Imagines, & Templa Diis ſibi erexiſſe; The Egyptians* (ſaith he) *firſt deviſed the names of the twelve gods, which the Greekes received from them, who firſt erected unto themſelves Altars, Images, and Temples for the gods.*

*Herod. in Euterpe.*

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## §. III

### *That in proceſſe of time theſe leſſer errours drew on greater: as appeareth in the groſſe Superſtitions of the Egyptians.*

BUt as men once fallen away from undoubted truth, doe then after wander for evermore in vices unknowne, and daily travaile towards their eternall perdition: ſo did theſe groſſe and blinde Idolaters every Age after other deſcend lower and lower, and ſhrinke and ſlide downwards from the knowledge of one true and very God; and did not thereby erre in worſhipping mortall men onely, but they gave divine reverence, and had the ſame reſpect to Beaſts, Birds, Fiſhes, Fowles, Windes, Earth, Water, Ayre, Fire, to the Morning, to the Evening, to Plants, Trees, and Rootes, to Paſſions and Affections of the Minde, to Paleneſſe, Sickneſſe, Sorrowes, yea to the moſt unworthy and baſeſt of all theſe. Which barbarous blaſphemy, *Rhodius Anaxandrides* derideth in this manner:

*Nat. Com. l. 1. cap. 7.*

*Bovem colis, ego Deis macto bovem.*
*Tu maximum Anguillam Deum putas: ego*
*Obſoniorum credidi ſuaviſſimum.*
*Carnes ſuillas tu caves, at gaudeo*
*His maximè: canem colis, quem verbero*
*Edentem ubi deprehendo fortè obſonium.*

I ſacrifice to God the Beefe, which you adore.
I broyle th' *Egyptian* Eeles, which you (as god) implore:
You feare to eate the fleſh of Swine, I finde it ſweet.
You worſhip Dogges; to beate them I thinke meet,
When they my ſtore devoure.

**And in this manner JUVENAL.**

*Porrum aut cæpe nefas violare aut frangere morſu:*
*O ſanctas gentes, quibus hæc naſcuntur in hortis*
*Numina!*

The *Egyptians* thinke it ſinne to root up, or to bite
Their Leekes or Onyons, which they ſerve with holy rite:
O happy Nations, which of their owne ſowing
Have ſtore of gods in every Garden growing!

§. IIII.

## §. IV.

### *That from the relickes of ancient Records among the Egyptians and others, the firſt Idols and Fables were invented: and the firſt* Jupiter *was* Cain, Vulcan, Tubalcain, *&c.*

BUt in ſo great a confuſion of vanities, where among the Heathens themſelves there is no agreement or certainty, it were hard to finde out from what example the beginnings of theſe inventions were borrowed, or after what ancient patterne they erected their building, were it not certaine that the Egyptians had knowledge of the firſt Age, and of whatſoever was done therein, partly from ſome inſcriptions upon ſtone or metall remaining after the Floud; and partly from *Mizraim* the ſon of *Cham*, who had learnt the ſame of *Cham*, and *Cham* of his father *Noah*: for all that the Egyptians write of their ancient Kings, and date of times, cannot be fained. And though other Nations after them had by imitation their *Jupiters* alſo, their *Saturnes*, *Vulcans* and *Mercuries*, with the reſt, which S. *Auguſtine* out of *Varro*; *Euſebius* out of many prophane hiſtories; *Cicero*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arnobius*, and many more have obſerved, to wit, the *Phœnicians*, *Phrygians*, *Cretians*, *Greeks*, and other Nations; yet was *Cain* the ſonne of *Adam* (as ſome very learned men conceive) called and reputed for the firſt and ancient *Jupiter*; and *Adam* for the firſt *Saturne*: for *Jupiter* was ſaid to have invented the founding of Cities; and the firſt Citie of the World was built by *Cain*, which he called *Enoch*, of whom were the *Henochii* before remembred. And ſo much may be gathered out of *Plato* in *Protagoras*, which alſo *Higinus* in his 275. Chapter confirmeth. For beſides that many Cities were founded by divers men; *Tamen primam latiſsimam à primo & antiquiſsimo* Jove *ædificatam*: *yet the firſt and largeſt was built by the firſt and moſt ancient* Jupiter, ſeated in the Eaſt parts, or in India, according to that of Moſes: *And* Cain *dwelt towards the Eaſt ſide of* Eden, *&c.* where alſo the *Henochii* were found after the Floud. And therefore was *Jupiter* by the Athenians called *Polieus*, a Founder of Cities, and *Herceios*, an incloſer or ſtrengthener of Cities (ſay *Phornutus* and *Pauſanias*); and that to *Jupiter Herceios* there were in very many places Altars and Temples erected. And that there were Cities built before the Floud, *Plato* alſo witneſſeth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that ſoone after mankinde began to increaſe, they built many Cities; which, as his meaning, he delivereth in plaine termes, in his third Booke of Lawes: for he ſaith, that Cities were built an exceeding ſpace of time before the deſtruction by the great Floud.

*Aug.l.19.c.22. De civit. Dei.*
*Euſeb.l.1.Præp. Evang.c.7.& l.2.c.23.*
*Cic.l.2.de nat. Deorum.*
*Arnob.4.contra Gent.*
Gen.4.16.
*Phorn.l.de natura Deorum.*
*Pauſan.l.4.5.& 10. in Protago.*

This firſt *Jupiter* of the Ethnickes was then the ſame *Cain*, the ſonne of *Adam*, who marrying his owne Siſter (as alſo *Jupiter* is ſaid to have done) inhabited the Eaſt, where *Stephanus de Urbibus* placeth the Citie *Henochia*. And beſides this Citie of *Henoch*, *Philo Judæus* conceiveth that *Cain* built ſixe others, as, *Maich*, *Jared*, *Tehe*, *Jeſca*, *Selet*, and *Gebat*: but where *Philo* had this, I know not. Now as *Cain* was the firſt *Jupiter*, and from whom alſo the Ethnicks had the invention of Sacrifice: ſo were *Jubal*, *Tubal*, and *Tubal-Cain* (inventors of paſtorage, Smiths-craft, and Muſicke) the ſame which were called by the ancient prophane writers, *Mercurius*, *Vulcan*, and *Apollo*; and as there is a likelihood of name between *Tubalcain* and *Vulcan*: ſo doth *Auguſtine* expound the name of *Noēma* or *Naamath*, the ſiſter of *Tubalcain*, to ſignifie *Venuſta* or beautifull, *Voluptas* or pleaſure; as the wife of *Vulcan* is ſaid to bee *Venus*, the Lady of pleaſure and beauty. And as *Adam* was the ancient and firſt *Saturne*, *Cain* the eldeſt *Jupiter*, *Eva*, *Rhea*, and *Nomea* or *Naamath* the firſt *Venus*: ſo did the Fable of the dividing of the World betweene the three Brethren the Sonnes of *Saturne*, ariſe from the true Story of the dividing of the Earth betweene the three Brethren the Sonnes of *Noah*: ſo alſo was the Fiction of thoſe Golden Apples kept by a Dragon, taken from the Serpent which tempted *Evah*: ſo was *Paradiſe* it ſelfe tranſported out of Aſia into Africa, and made the Garden of the Heſperides: the prophecies, that *Chriſt* ſhould break the Serpents head, and conquer the power of Hell, occaſioned the fables of *Hercules* killing the Serpent of *Heſperides*, and deſcending into Hell, and captivating *Cerberus*: ſo out of the taking up of *Henoch* by God, was borrowed the converſion of their *Heroës* (the inventors of Religion, and ſuch Arts as the life of man had profit by) into Stars and Heavenly Signes, and (withall) that leaving of the World, and aſcenſion of *Aſtræa*: of which *Ovid*:

Gen.4.20.21.22.
*Lact.l.4.c.27.*
*Ovid. Met.l.1.*

*Ultima cœleſtum terras Aſtræa reliquit.*
Aſtræa laſt of heavenly Wights the Earth did leave.

*Nat.com l.2.c.2.*

*Gen.7.*

*Gen.5.22.24.*

For although thereby the *Ethnickes* would underſtand Juſtice it ſelfe to have fayled, as it is a vertue abſtract, and may bee conſidered without a perſon, yet as it is uſuall among the antient Poets to deſcribe Vertues and Vices by the perſons of men and women, as Deſire by *Cupid*, Valour by *Mars*, Beauty or Luſt by *Venus*; ſo doe they alſo the perſons of Men by like Vertues and Vices: and therefore by Juſtice and *Aſtræa*, *Enoch*; the juſtice and piety of *Enoch* being in the ſame manner expreſt, as that of *Noah* was by *Moſes*: for *Noah* was ſaid to bee a juſt man; *And* Noah *walked with God*. And of *Enoch* it is written, *That hee walked with God, and he was no more ſeene: for God tooke him away.*

*L. de civit. Dei.*

From this ſtory alſo of the firſt Age, and from that part where *Moſes* remembreth the Giants begotten by the ſonnes of good men upon the daughters of the wicked (whom *Moſes* calleth mighty men, and men of renowne) did they ſteale thoſe wondrous great acts of their antient Kings, and powerfull Giants; and againe their warre undertaken againſt the gods, from the building of the Tower of *Babel* by the Giant *Nimrod*, as Saint *Auguſtine* termeth him. Which warre of their Giants, *Cornelius Severus* thus deſcribeth.

*Tentavere (nefas) olim detrudere mundo*
*Sydera, captiviq;* Jovis *transferre Gigantes*
*Imperium, & victo leges imponere cœlo.*

The Giants did advance their wicked hand
Againſt the Starres, to thruſt them headlong downe;
And robbing *Jove* of his Imperiall Crowne,
On conquer'd Heavens to lay their proud command.

Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* purpoſed to raiſe the building of *Babel* to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deepe, nor by any conjunction of the ſtarres, ſhould bury them under the moiſture of a ſecond floud, but that by this building (if they had beene herein victorious) they would have given the Law to Heaven it ſelfe. Alſo the making of leagues, peace and covenants among Heathen Nations and Kings, confirmed by ſacrifice, whereof *Virgil* both in the eighth and twelfth of his *Aeneides* hath a touch, was (as it ſeemeth) borrowed from *Moſes*, *Exod.* 24. who when he read the Booke of the Covenant, ſprinkled the people with blood.

*Joſeph.l.1.contra Appian.*

*Plut.in Iſide.*

*Strab.l.17.*

Wee finde alſo many remembrances of *Seth*, the paternall Anceſtor of *Henoch* and *Noah*: for *Amenophis*, the ſame King of *Egypt* which raigned at ſuch time as *Moſes* carried thence the children of *Iſrael* (as of late ſome learned men, miſtaking his time, ſuppoſed) called his ſonne and ſucceſſour *Setho*, of *Seth*: and of the ſame *Seth* (as many men of good judgement have granted) were the Princes of *Thrace*, called *Seuthes*, whereof there were many very famous. But herein was the memory of *Seth* moſt manifeſtly preſerved, that the *Egyptians* worſhipped *Seth*, as their moſt antient parent, and of the firſt tradition: in honour of whom they called a principall Province *Setheitica*. We alſo find in *Bithynia* the City of *Sethia*, and others of the ſame name elſewhere. And ſure, from the *Egyptians* did the *Græcians* borrow this kind of Theologie, though they ſcorned to acknowledge any antiquity preceding their owne: and that they might not ſeeme to learne elſewhere, they gave the ſame names to their owne Idols, which the *Egyptians* did to theirs.

## §. V.

### *Of the three chiefeſt* Jupiters, *and the ſtrange ſtory of the third.*

But of all thoſe armies of *Jupiters* remembred by the Antients, *Cicero* maketh but three, becauſe thoſe were of moſt fame: which other Writers have alſo done, who ſought out, and laboured in their originalls.

The firſt was *Jupiter*, the ſonne of *Aether* and *Dies*, ſo called becauſe the one had reference to his celeſtiall conditions (for *æther* is as much as ſhining or pure fire): the other diſcovered his naturall vertues, which dayes and times make more perfect, and are the witneſſes of mens actions.

The ſecond was ſaid to be the ſonne of *Cælum* or Heaven, for the ſame former reſpect; and this *Jupiter* was an *Arcadian*, and King of *Athens*.

The third, of whom all the Græcian fables were deviſed, was of *Crete* (now *Candie*) the ſonne of *Saturne* and *Ops*. The name derived from the Latine is taken of *Juvans Pater*, from the Greeke word *Zeus*, it ſignifyeth life, but ſomewhat ſtrained. *Boccas* in his Genealogie of the gods, conceiveth, that his name was borrowed from *Jupiter* the Planet; but whether that ſtarre had ſuch a name, before the ſame was given to men, I know not. *Jupiter* is hot and moiſt, temperate, modeſt, honeſt, adventurous, liberall, mercifull, loving, and faithfull (that is) giving theſe inclinations. And therefore thoſe ancient Kings beautifyed with theſe conditions, might be called thereafter *Jupiter*: but howſoever they were, or were not with thoſe vertues enriched, yet by imitation, all Kings in the eldeſt times aſſumed thoſe Titles and Sir-names: great Princes affecting as high Titles of honour and reputation in the world, (howſoever deſerved) as the worthyeſt, that ever were, acquired by their well deſervings. *Joves omnes Reges vocârunt antiqui, The Ancients called all Kings Jupiters*, as *Tzetzes* in his *varia hiſtoria* confirmeth; *Reges olim* Joves *vocârunt omnes*; *In old times all Nations called their Kings Jupiters*. But where this laſt and moſt remembred *Jupiter* was borne, it is uncertaine. Some there are that make him of *Crete*: others that he was but ſent thither by his mother *Ops* or *Opis*, to bee foſtered and hidden from the fury of *Titan* his Uncle: becauſe it was conditioned betweene *Saturne* and *Titan*, that *Saturne* being a younger brother, and reigning (for his owne life) by *Titans* permiſſion, hee ſhould put to death all his male children, leſt the Titans might bee interrupted by any of them in their ſucceſſion; which agreement, becauſe *Saturne* performed in his firſt borne, it is fayned that *Saturne* devoured his owne children. Hereof *Lycophron*, thus turned into Latine:

*Nat.com.l.1.c.7.*

| | |
|---|---|
| *Haud ſit pinguior,* | *Saturne* to be the fatter is not knowne, |
| *Crudis ſepulchrum quòd ſit ipſe filiis.* | By being the grave and buriall of his owne. |

This compoſition betweene *Titan* and *Saturne*, *Sybilla* alſo witneſſeth in theſe words;

*Conceptis verbis*; Titan *jurare coëgit*
Saturnum, *de ſe natum ne nutriat ullum,*
*Quo poſſint regnare ſenis poſt fata Nepotes.*

Things thus agreed; *Titan* made *Saturne* ſweare
No ſonne to nouriſh, which by raigning might
Uſurpe the right of *Titans* lawfull heire.

But *Opis* the mother of *Jupiter*, being delivered at once both of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, conveyed *Jupiter* (firſt called *Lyſanias*) into *Crete*, as ſhee did afterwards his two brothers, *Neptune* and *Pluto*: where he was brought up in Gnoſſus, the chiefe Citie of that Iland, by *Creſta* the King, or by the Curetes, a people and nation thereof.

*Euſeb.in Temp.*

Others challenge him to bee of Thebes and a Thebane: others call him an Arcadian: others make him of Meſſena. The like contention is found among the Greekes touching his education and firſt foſtering. Some affirme that hee was fed by Honi-bees: in recompence whereof hee changed their blacke coats and ſkinnes into yellow; a reward well fitting ſuch a god: others, that he was nouriſhed by Beares: others, by Goats: and of all theſe the idle Greekes have many pretty tales. But in the end when *Titan* had knowledge that *Saturne* had broken his faith, hee ſet on him, and tooke him and his wife priſoners, whom *Jupiter* againe reſcued and delivered.

But laſtly, the father and the ſonne equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Saturne* being the leſſe powerfull, fled into Italy, and left his Kingdomes in Greece to his ſonne. And although this Prince at the firſt purchaſed great honour, and for his many vertues, the name of *Jupiter* was given him: yet after hee was once ſetled and became potent, hee gave himſelfe over wholly to palliardize and adultery, without all reſpect of Honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by ſuch as doe aſcribe the actions of many to one *Jupiter*, that not therewith ſatisfied, hee was afterwards knowne to offend in the ſinne of Sodome with *Ganimedes* and others: and did not onely begin with inceſt, marrying his owne ſiſter *Juno*, but he raviſhed, betrayed, ſtole away, and tooke by ſtrong hand all the beautifull women borne in his time, within the limits of his owne Kingdomes, or bordering them. Among whom theſe hereafter written were of greateſt fame; *Niobe*, *Laodemia*, and *Alcmena*, the wife of *Amphitrion*, by whom hee had *Pelaſgus*, *Sarpedon*, *Argus*, and *Hercules*: by *Taygete* he had *Taygetus*, of whom the Mountaine Taygetus tooke name, with another ſonne called *Saon*, of whom *Savona*:

by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus*: by *Læda*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, *Hellen* and *Clytemneſtra*: by *Danae*, *Perſeus*; by *Jordana*, *Deucalion*; by *Charme* (the daughter of *Eubulus*) *Britomartis*: by *Protogenia*, he had *Athlius* the father of *Endymion*: and by *Iō* (the daughter of *Inachus*) *Epaphus*, the founder of *Memphis* in *Egypt*: which *Epaphus* married *Libya*, of whom that Countrey tooke name, for ſo the Greeks afterward called *Africa*. He raviſhed *Aegina* the daughter of *Aeſopus*, and carried her into the Iland *Oenopia* or *Oenotria*, afterward called *Aegina*, on whom hee begate *Aeacus*: by *Torrhebia* hee had *Archeſilaus* and *Carbius*: by *Ora*, *Colaxes*: hee had alſo *Dardanus* by *Electra*, who built *Dardanium*, afterward *Ilium* or *Troy*. Hee begate the brothers *Talici*, on *Thalia*, and on *Garamantis*, *Hiarbas*. He had beſides theſe (if they belye not their chiefe god) *Phileus* and *Pilumnus*, inventers of the Bakers craft; and I know not how many more; but I know well that hee could not be father to all theſe, who were borne in ages ſo farre differing. And of theſe his ſeverall raviſhments, betrayings, ſtealing away of mens wives, daughters, and ſons, buying of virgins, and the like, came in all thoſe ancient fables of his tranſformations into ſhowers of gold, eagles, bulls, birds, and beaſts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of Grecian forgeries. And yet did not the *Greekes* and *Romanes* feare to entitle this monſter, *Optimus Maximus*, though *Cicero* in his ſecond Booke, *de natura Deorum*, affirme, that hee deſerved nothing leſſe; and in his Oration, *pro domo ſua*, reprocheth *Clodius* for his inceſt, by the name of *Jupiter*. His buriall was in *Crete* (ſaith *Lucian*.) *Cretenſes non ſolùm natum apud ſe, & ſepultum Jovem teſtantur, ſed etiam ſepulchrum ejus oſtendunt; The Cretians or Candians doe not onely avow that Jupiter was borne and buried among them, but they ſhew his grave and ſepulchre*: which *Epiphanius* alſo confirmeth; for in his time there remained the monuments of his tombe in the Mountaine *Jaſius*. This *Callimachus* in his hymnes alſo witneſſeth, but, as offended thereat, ſaith thus:

*Luc.in Sacrif.*

The *Cretians* ever lyars were, they care not what they ſay:
For they a tombe have built for thee, O King, that liv'ſt alway.

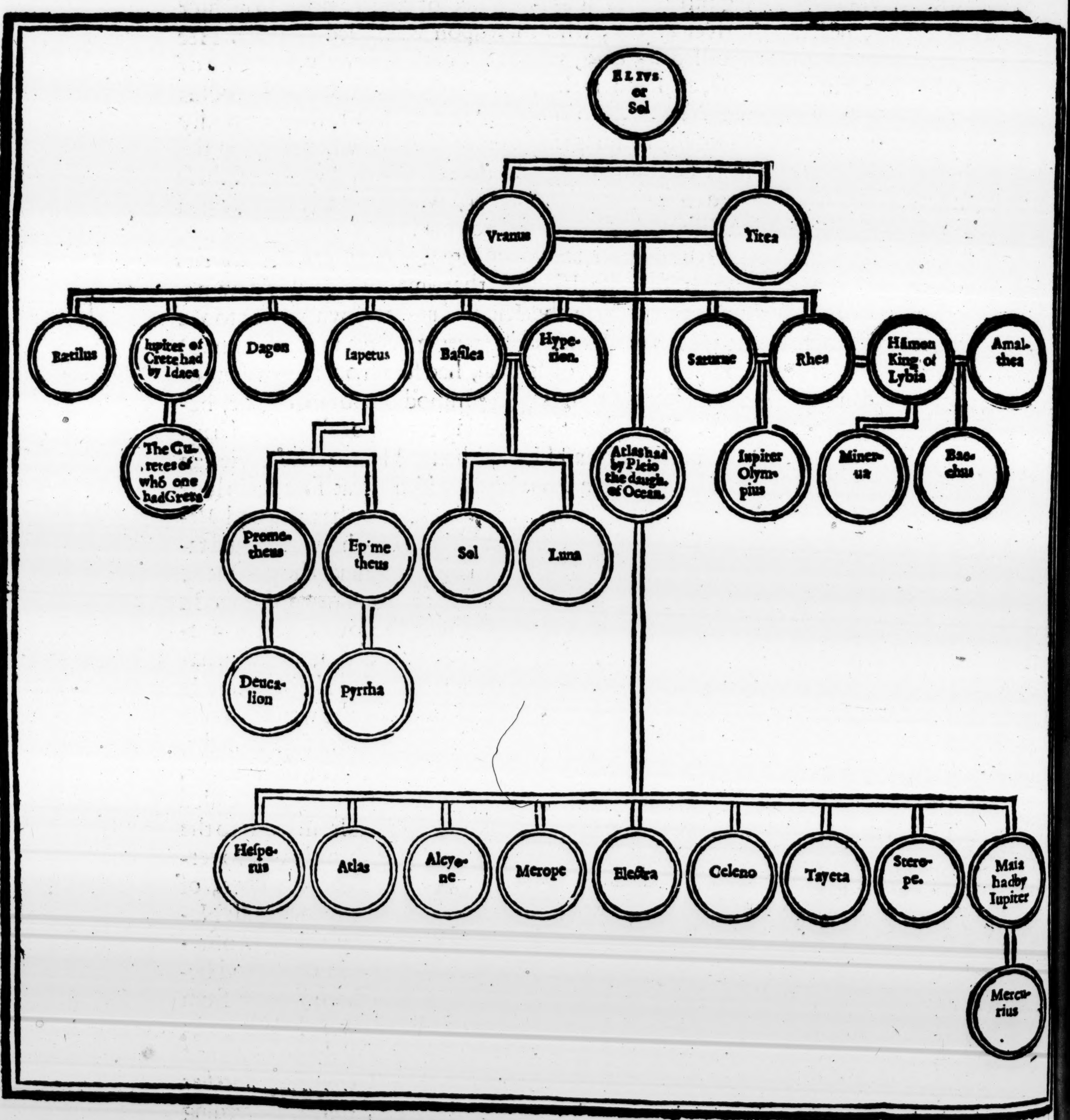
*Diod.l.2.c.5.*

*Diodorus Siculus* tells by way of report from the *Libyan* fables, confirmed (as hee ſaith) by ſome *Greeke* Writers, that the originall of theſe gods was from the Weſterne parts of *Africa*. For there among the *Atlantidæ* reigned one *Uranus* (which ſignifieth Heaven) called ſo for his great skill in *Aſtrologie*; and for his knowledge, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a god after his death. He had by many wives 45. ſons; but by his principall wife *Titea*, hee had ſeventeene ſonnes and two daughters, all which were called after their mothers name, the *Titanes*. Of *Titea*, likewiſe it is ſaid, that ſhe for her goodneſſe was canonized as a goddeſſe, being dead, and called the Earth, as her husband was ſtiled Heaven. But of all the children of *Titea*, her daughter *Baſilea* (which name ſounding as Queene in *Engliſh*, ſhee is by the Latine tranſlator of *Diodorus* called *Regina*) excelling the reſt as farre in vertue as in yeeres, was by generall conſent of her brethren, and of the people, appointed to rule as Queene after her fathers death, being as yet a Virgin. Shee tooke to husband her brother *Hyperion*, to whom ſhe bare a ſonne and a daughter, called *Sunne* and *Moone*. The beauty and towardlineſſe of theſe children moved her brethren to envie, and bred in them a feare of being excluded from the ſucceſſion: wherefore they tooke the boy and drowned him in the River *Eridanus*, now called *Poe*. The loſſe of this childe cauſed his ſiſter to breake her owne necke; and the loſſe of both her children made the mother to play many madde pranckes, dancing with Cymbals, after a wilde faſhion, in ſight of all the people, before whom ſhee is ſaid to have vaniſhed away. Ere ſhee died, her ſonne (as the fable hath it) ſignified unto her in a dreame, that hee and his ſiſter, by the providence of God, ſhould become immortall, that alſo the *Sunne* and *Moone* ſhould bee called by their names, and that their death ſhould bee revenged upon the Murderers. According to which it is ſaid, that the people did ſo call thoſe two Planets, and withall held her ſelfe as a goddeſſe, and termed her the great Mother, which name they had formerly given to her, for her motherly care in cheriſhing her brethren whileſt they were young. *Hyperion* and his race being extinguiſhed, the other ſonnes of *Uranus* divided the Kingdome. Of theſe *Atlas* and *Saturne* were chiefe. *Atlas* reigned over the countries lying about the Mountaines, which afterward bare his name; a juſt and wiſe Prince, deepely skillfull in *Aſtrologie*, and for invention of the *Spheare*, ſaid to have ſupported Heaven.

Hee had many ſonnes; but the principall of them called *Heſperus*, being of his Fathers qualities and ſtudies, was ſaid to have beene carried away by the winde, from the top of an high Hill in the middeſt of his contemplations; and his name in honour of him, impoſed by the people upon the morning Starre. The ſeven Daughters of *Atlas* were alſo ſaid to have beene excellent Ladies, who accompanying ſuch as came to bee Deified, or regiſtred among the Worthies, brought forth children, anſwerable in qualitie to thoſe that begate them. Of theſe it is held, that the ſeven Starres called *Pleiades* tooke name. *Saturne*, the brother of *Atlas*, reigned in *Sicilia*, part of Africke, and Italy. *Jupiter*, another of the Sonnes of *Uranus*, reigned in *Crete*; who had ten ſonnes, which hee called *Curetes*; hee called that *Iland* after his wives name, *Idea*; in which Iſle hee dyed, and was buried. But this *Jupiter* muſt not have beene that great one, but Uncle to the great *Jupiter*, if theſe fables of the *Libyans* were true. *Saturne* (as theſe *Libyans* tell the tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortifyed ſtrong places, the better to keepe his people in ſubjection. His ſiſter *Rhea* was married to *Hammon*, who reigned in ſome part of Africke. *Hammon* loving others as well as his Wife, or better, got a Daughter called *Minerva*, neare to the river *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonia*. Hee alſo begate on *Amalthea* a ſonne called *Bacchus*, whom hee cauſed ſecretly, for feare of his life, to bee brought up at *Nyſa*, an Iland in the river *Triton*, under the tuition of his Daughter *Minerva* and certaine *Nymphs*. To *Amalthea* hee gave in reward a goodly Countrey, that lay on the Sea-coaſt, bending in forme of a horne, whence grew the tale of *Amalthea's* plentifull horne, famous among the Poets. When *Rhea* heard theſe newes, ſhee fled from her husband to her brother *Saturne*, who not onely entertained her as a ſiſter, but tooke her to Wife, and at her inſtigation made warre upon *Hammon*, vanquiſhed him by the aſſiſtance of the *Titanes*, and made him flee into *Crete*. The *Curetes* *Jupiters* children before mentioned, held the Iſland at that time; which was new named *Crete* by *Hammon*, after the name of *Creta* the Kings daughter, whom hee tooke to wife, and had with her (women, as may ſeeme, being very gracious in thoſe names) the Kingdome. *Bacchus* was growne a proper young man, had found out the making of Wine, the art of planting Trees, and many things elſe commodious for mankinde, before the flight of his Mother in law. Now therefore hearing report of all that had happened, and that *Saturne* was comming againſt him with the Titans; hee levied an Armie, to which the Amazons, living not farre from Nyſa, added great forces, in love of *Minerva*, who was entred into their profeſſion. So *Bacchus* leading the men, and *Minerva* the women, they ſet forward againſt *Saturne*, met him, overthrew him, and taking many of the Titans priſoners, returned to Nyſa; where pardoning the priſoners, that promiſed to become his true followers, he prepared for a ſecond expedition. In the ſecond expedition he behaved himſelfe ſo well, that he wan the love of all the people by whom hee paſſed: inſomuch that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturns* rigorous government, hee was greatly ſtrengthened, and the enemy as much enfeebled by daily revolts. Comming to the Citie of *Hammon*, hee wan a battaile of *Saturne* before the very walls. After which, *Saturne* with his wife *Rhea* fled by night, ſetting the Towne on fire to deſpight *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindely entreated. *Saturne* had a young ſonne by *Rhea* called *Jupiter*. This childe *Bacchus* tooke with him in a great Expedition that he made into the Eaſt Countries: and comming into Egypt, he left this *Jupiter*, being then a boy, Governour of the Countrey; but appointed unto him as an Over-ſeer, one *Olympus*, of whom *Jupiter* grew to bee called *Olympus*. Whileſt *Bacchus* travailed through all Nations, as farre as into *India*, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the Titanes had found out his father *Hammon* in *Crete*, and began to warre upon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of India, with whom *Jupiter* from Egypt, and his ſiſter *Minerva*, together with the reſt, that afterwards were held as gods, joyning all their forces, went into *Crete*, overthrew the Titanes, chaſed them, tooke and ſlew them, and freed the World of them all. After all this, when *Hammon* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were deified; and the great *Jupiter*, the ſonne of *Saturne*, ſucceeding them, reigned Lord alone over all the world, having none of the Titans left alive, nor any other to diſturbe him. Betweene this tale of the Libyan gods, and the Egyptian fables of *Oſiris*, there is a rude reſemblance, that may cauſe them both to bee taken for the crooked Images of ſome one true hiſtory. For the expeditions of *Oſiris*, and of

Euſeb. l. 2. c. 7.

*Bacchus*; the warres of the Giants in the one ſtory, of the *Titanes* in the other; the Kingdome of Egypt given by *Hercules Libycus* to *Orus*, by *Bacchus* to *Jupiter*, the rattles of *Iſis*, and the cymballs of *Baſilea*, with many petty circumſtances, neerely enough reſemble each other, howſoever not alike fitted to the right perſons. *Sanchoniato* (as *Euſebius* cites him) would have all theſe to be *Phœnicians*, and is earneſt in ſaying, That it is a true ſtorie, and no allegorie. Yet he makes it ſeeme the more allegoricall, by giving to *Uranus* or Heaven for daughters, *Fate*, & *Beauty*, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by *Diodorus*, though *Diodorus* have enough. To the Genealogy hee addes *Elius* or the *Sunne*, as father of *Uranus*, and among the children of *Uranus*, *Japetus*, *Bætilus*, and *Dagon* (whom *Diodorus* doth not mention by their names) giving withall to *Uranus* the proper name of *Terrenus* or *Indigena*, and of *Illus* to *Saturne*, but omitting *Jupiter* of *Crete*. The pedigree of them is this.


Elius or Sol
Vranus
Titea
Bætilus
Iupiter of Crete had by Idaea
The Curetes of whō one had Creta
Dagon
Iapetus
Prometheus
Epimetheus
Deucalion
Pyrrha
Baſilea
Hyperion.
Sol
Luna
Atlas had by Pleio the daugh. of Ocean.
Saturne
Rhea
Iupiter Olympius
Hāmon King of Lybia
Amalthea
Minerua
Bacchus
Heſperus
Atlas
Alcyone
Merope
Electra
Celeno
Tayeta
Sterope.
Maia had by Iupiter
Mercurius

## §. VI.

### Of Cham, *and other wicked ones, whereof ſome gate, ſome affected the name of Gods.*

OF *Jupiter Belus*, the ſon of *Saturnus Babylonicus*, otherwiſe *Nimrod*, it ſeemeth that *Cicero* had not heard, (at leaſt by that name) who was more antient than any of the former three by him remembred: for long after theſe times were the Greekes but Salvages, if they ſeeke no farther off for their Gods.

But the Egyptians, even after the floud, began (ſomewhat before this *Chaldæan Jupiter*) to intitle *Cham*, the parent of their owne *Mizraim*, *Jupiter Chammon* or *Hammon*. For the Etymologie of this word (*Hammon*) which the Greekes deduce *ab arenis, from the ſands*, is ridiculous (ſaith *Peucer*;) neither yet is his owne much better, who brings it from *Hammath*, which ſignifieth heat: becauſe the ſaid Temple of *Jupiter Hammon* was ſeated in Libya, where the aire is exceeding hot and ſcorching. And as for the antiquitie of the latter *Jupiter* (among the Greeks and Romanes the moſt renowned) it is certain that he was borne not long before the warre of *Troy*, as by many of his ſonnes is made manifeſt; namely, *Caſtor*, *Pollux*, *Hercules*, *Sarpedon*, and others, which lived in that age of *Priamus*, under whom, and with whom *Troy* was deſtroyed.

*Peucer de Oraculo.*

Now ſeeing that mortall men, and the moſt wicked, were eſteemed immortall among the Heathen; it was not to be wondred at, that *Alexander Macedon*, *Tyberius*, *Nero*, *Caligula*, and others, ſought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed monſters as the reſt: for by what reaſon could the ſame *Deity* be denied unto *Laurentia* and *Flora* which was given to *Venus*? ſeeing they were as notorious and famous harlots as ſhe was.

## §. VII.

### *That the wiſer of the antient Heathen had farre better opinions of God.*

BUt that ever *Pythagoras*, or *Plato*, or *Orpheus*, with many other antient and excellently learned, beleeved in any of theſe fooleries, it cannot be ſuſpected, though ſome of them (over-buſily) have mixed their owne inventions with the Scriptures: for, in puniſhment for their fictions, did *Pythagoras* hang both *Homer* and *Heſiodus* in Hell, where hee fained that they were perpetually ſtung and pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that *Homer* had read over all the bookes of *Moſes*, as by places ſtolne thence, almoſt word for word, may appeare; of which *Juſtine Martyr* remembreth many in that treatiſe converted by *Mirandula*. As for *Plato*, though he diſſembled in ſome things for feare of the Inquiſition of the *Areopagites*, yet Saint *Auguſtine* hath already anſwered for him (as before remembred) *Et mirifice iis delectatus eſt, quæ de uno Deo tradita fuerant*; *And he was greatly delighted in the doctrine of one God*, ſaith *Juſtine Martyr*. Now howſoever *Lactantius* pleaſed to reprehend *Plato*, becauſe (ſaith he) *Plato* ſought knowledge from the Egyptians, and the Chaldæans, neglecting the Jewes, and books of *Moſes*; *Euſebius*, *Cyrillus*, and *Origen*, find reaſon to beleeve the contrary, thinking that from thence hee tooke the grounds of all by him written of God, or ſavouring of Divinity: and the ſame opinion had Saint *Ambroſe* of *Pythagoras*.

*Euſ. præp. Evan. lib. 11.*
*Cyril. cont. Julian.*
*Origen. cont. Celſum.*
*Ambr. ad Iren. Ep. 6. lib. 1.*

But whether it were out of the ſame vanity, which poſſeſſed all thoſe learned Philoſophers and Poets, that *Plato* alſo publiſhed (not under the right Authours names) thoſe things which hee had read in the Scriptures; or fearing the ſeverity of the *Areopagites*, and the example of his Maſter *Socrates*, by them put to death by poyſon, I cannot judge. *Juſtine Martyr* (as it ſeemeth) aſcribeth it wholly to *Platoes* feare, whoſe words, among many other of the ſame effect, are theſe; Plato Moſis *mentionem facere, ob id, quod unum ſolumque Deum docuerat, ſibi apud Athenienſes tutum non putavit, veritus Areopagum*; Plato *fearing the Areopagites thought it not ſafe for him among the Athenians to make mention of* Moſes, *that hee taught that there is but one God.* But for that Divinity which hee hath written in Timæo; *id ipſum de Deo diſſeruit quod & Moſes*; *Hee diſcourſed and taught the ſame of God* (ſaith *Juſtine Martyr*) *which Moſes did.* For where it pleaſed God by his Angell to anſwere *Moſes*, *Ego ſum exiſtens* (which is) *I am*; and, *exiſtens miſit me ad vos*; *I am hath ſent mee unto you*; herein did *Plato* (ſaith *Juſtine Martyr*) no otherwiſe differ than that *Moſes* uſed the word (*qui*) and *Plato* the word *quod*: Moſes *enim qui exiſtit* (*inquit*,) Plato

*Areopagus* or *domus ſeu mons Martis*, *Mars* his hill: a houſe wherein capitall matters were tryed: ſo called at firſt, becauſe *Mars* therein firſt pleaded his cauſe for the murder of *Hulirrhothos*.
*Pauſan. in Attic.*
*Nat. Com. l.2. c.7.*
*Juſt. Mart. adm. Gent. fol. 8.*
*14. ut ſup.*
*Exod. 3. 14.*

quod

In Timæo.

De legib. l. 10.

Laërtius.

*quod exiſtit*; *for* Moſes *ſaith, Hee who is*; Plato, *That which is.* Now of Gods incomprehenſible nature, and of the difficulty either to conceive, or expreſſe the ſame, hee giveth this teſtimony: *Genitorem Univerſitatis tam difficile eſt invenire, quàm inventum impoſsibile dignè profari; It is as hard to find out the Creator of the Univerſall, as it is impoſſible, if he were found, to ſpeake of him worthily.* And what can bee more agreeable to the Majeſty of Gods Nature, than this property by *Plato* acknowledged? *Deus bonus, & quidem, Deus cauſa bonorum: malorum autem omnium non cauſa; God is abſolutely good, and ſo (aſſuredly) the cauſe of all that is good: but of any thing that is evill he is no cauſe at all:* and againe, *Charitas Dei fuit cauſa factionis mundi, & originis omnium rerum; The love of God was the cauſe of the worlds creating, and the originall of all things. Apuleius* the Platoniſt; *Summus Deus infinitus eſt, non ſolum loci excluſione, ſed etiam naturæ dignitate: & nihil eſt Deo ſimilius & gratius, quàm vir animo perfecto bonus; The moſt high God is alſo an infinite God, not onely by excluſion of place, but by the dignity of nature: neither is there any thing more like or more acceptable to God than a man of a perfect heart.* THALES affirmed that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the moſt antient: *Quia nunquam eſſe cæpit; Becauſe he never had any beginning.* ZENO, that God beheld even the thoughts of men. *Athenodorus*, that therefore all men ought to be carefull in the actions of their life, becauſe God was every where preſent and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to *Moſes* ſtory of the Creation, than this opinion and deſcription of the Worlds beginning in *Euripides*, Scholler of *Anaxagoras*?

*Cælum terraq; unius formæ fuit:*
*Sed cum fuiſſent abjuncta amplexu mutuo,*
*Emerſit omnis in lucem res progenita;*
*Arbores, aves, feræ, quaſq; affert mare,*
*Genuſq; mortalium.*

Heaven and Earth one forme did beare:
But when diſ-joined once they were
From mutuall embraces,
All things to light appeared then;
Of trees, birds, beaſts, fiſhes, and men
The ſtill-remaining races.

And as in *Pythagoras*, in *Socrates*, and in *Plato*: ſo we finde the ſame excellent underſtanding in *Orpheus*, who every where expreſſed the infinite and ſole power of one God; though he uſe the name of *Jupiter*, thereby to avoide the envie and danger of the time: but that hee could attribute thoſe things to the ſonnes of men, and mortall creatures, which hee doth to this *Jupiter*, there is no man who hath ever heard of God, that can imagine.

*Nomina Deorum* (ſaith MIRANDULA) *quos* ORPHEUS *canit, non decipientium dæmonum, à quibus malum & non bonum provenit; ſed naturalium virtutum divinarumq; ſunt nomina; The names of thoſe Gods whom* Orpheus *doth ſing, are not of deceiving Devils, from whom evill comes, and not goodneſſe; but they are the names of naturall and divine vertues.* Yea, that he yet reacheth higher, and ſpeaketh of God himſelfe, this his inſtruction to *Muſæus* and the *Hymne* following, teach us: *Reſpiciens vero ad divinum hunc ſermonem ei diligenter animum adverte, intendens cordis rationis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem aſcende viam, & ſolum aſpice mundi regem. Unus eſt ex ſe genitus, ex eo omnia nata ſunt: ipſe verò in illis verſatur, nec quiſquam eum intueri poteſt mortalium, ſed ipſe nihilominus omnes intuetur.*

Then marking this my ſacred ſpeech, but truely lend
Thy heart, that's reaſons ſphere, and the right way aſcend,
And ſee the worlds ſole King. Firſt, he is ſimply one,
Begotten of himſelfe, from whom is borne alone
All elſe; in which hee's ſtill: nor could it ere befall
A mortall eye to ſee him once, yet hee ſees all.

And againe the ſame Author,

Jupiter *omnipotens, & primus & ultimus idem;*
Jupiter *eſt caput & medium:* Jovis *omnia munus.*
Jupiter *eſt fundamen humi & ſtellantis Olympi.*
Jupiter *& mas eſt, & fœmina neſcia mortis.*
*Spiritus eſt cunctis, validi vis* Jupiter *ignis.*
*Et pelagi radix,* Sol, Luna *eſt* Jupiter *ipſe.*
*Rex & origo ſimul rerum eſt, & terminus idem.*
*Nam prius occuluit, magno poſt numine, ſacrum*
*Cor reſerans bonus in dulcem dedit omnia lucem.*

The firſt of all is God, and the ſame laſt is he.
God is the head and midſt, yea from him all things be.
God is the Baſe of earth, and of the ſtarred skie.
He is the male and female too, ſhall never die.
The ſpirit of all is God, the Sunne and Moone, and what is higher.
The King, th'originall of all, of all the end.
For cloſe in holy breaſt hee all did comprehend,
Whence all to bleſſed light, his wondrous power did ſend.

Now beſides theſe former teſtimonies, that all the learned men of ancient times were not ſo ſtupid and ignorant, as the Egyptians, Græcians, and other Nations by them infected were, I will onely repeate two or three other opinions, and leave the Reader to thoſe large and learned Collections of *Juſtine Martyr*, *Clemens*, *Lactantius*, *Euſebius*, *Eugubinus*, *Peucer*, *Pleſsis*, *Danæus*, and others. For *Cleanthes* the *Stoick*, being demanded of what nature God was, deſcribed him by theſe attributes and properties: *Bonus, juſtus, ſanctus, ſeipſum poſsidens, utilis, ſpecioſus, optimus, ſeverus, liber, ſemper commodus, tutus, glorioſus, charitas, &c. Good, juſt, holy, poſseſsing himſelfe, profitable, beautifull, beſt, ſevere, free, alwaies doing good, ſafe without feare, glorious, and ſelfe-charity. Epicharmus* affirmed that God who beheld all things, and pierced every nature, was onely and every where powerfull: agreeing with *Democritus*: *Rex omnium ipſe ſolus; Hee is the onely King of kings*: and with *Pindarus* the Poet, *Deus unus, Pater, creator ſummus, atque optimus artifex, qui progreſſus ſingulis diverſos ſecundum merita præbet; One God, the Father, the moſt high Creator, and beſt artificer, who giveth to every thing divers proceedings according to their deſerts. This God* (ſaith *Antiſthenes*) *cannot bee reſembled to any thing, and therefore not elſewhere knowne; Niſi in patria illa perenni, cujus imaginem nullam habes: Save onely in that everlaſting Countrey, whoſe image thou haſt none at all.* Hereof alſo *Xenophanes Colophonius*: *Unus Deus inter deos & homines maximus, nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus ſimilis; There is one God among gods and men moſt powerfull, neither corporally, nor mentally like unto mortals*: and *Xenophon*, *Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quieſcere facit, magnus potenſque quod omnibus patet: qualis autem forma ſit, nemini patet, niſi ipſi ſoli, qui luce ſua omnia perluſtrat; God who ſhaketh all things, and ſetteth all things at reſt, is great and mighty; as is manifeſt to all: but of what forme he is, it is manifeſt to none; ſave onely to himſelfe, who illuminateth all things with his owne light.* Finally, *Plato* ſaith, *Totius rerum naturæ cauſa, & ratio, & origo Deus, ſummus animi genitor, æternus animantium ſoſpitator, aſsiduus mundi ſui opifex, ſine propagatione genitor, neque loco, neq; tempore ullo comprehenſus, eoq; paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis; God is the cauſe, ground, and originall of the whole nature of things, the moſt high Father of the ſoule, the eternall preſerver of living creatures, the continuall framer of his world, a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceive him in thought, none can expreſſe what he is.* Therefore was it ſaid by Saint *Hierome*, *Si enim cunctos Philoſophorum revolvas libros, neceſſe eſt ut in eis reperias aliquam partem vaſorum Dei, ut apud* Platonem, *fabricatorem mundi Deum: apud* Zenonem, *Stoicorum Principem, in eros & immortales animas, &c. If thou conſider all the bookes of the Philoſophers, thou canſt not but finde in them ſome part of the Veſſels of God, as in* Plato, *God the Creatour of the world: in* Zeno, *Prince of the Stoickes, Hell and immortall ſoules, &c.* And this is certaine, that if we looke into the wiſedome of all Ages, wee ſhall finde that there never was man of ſolid underſtanding or excellent judgement: never any man whoſe minde the Art of education hath not bended; whoſe eyes a fooliſh ſuperſtition hath not afterward blinded; whoſe apprehenſions are ſober, and by a penſive inſpection adviſed; but that hee hath found by an unreſiſtable neceſſity, one true God, and everlaſting being, all for ever cauſing, and all for ever ſuſtaining; which no man among the Heathen hath with more reverence acknowledged, or more learnedly expreſt, than that Egyptian Hermes, howſoever it fayled afterward in his poſterity: all being at length by divelliſh policie of the Egyptian Prieſts purpoſely obſcured; who invented new gods, and thoſe innumerable, beſt ſorting (as the Devill perſwaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fitteſt to keepe in awe and order their common people.

Hieron. in Com. in Dan. in princip.

§. VIII.

## §. VIII.

### *That Heatheniſme and Judaiſme, after many wounds, were at length about the ſame time under Julian miraculouſly confounded.*

BUt all theſe are againe vaniſhed: for the inventions of mortall men are no leſſe mortall than themſelves. The Fire, which the Chaldæans worſhipped for a god, is crept into every mans chimney, which the lacke of fuell ſtarveth, water quencheth, and want of ayre ſuffocateth: *Jupiter* is no more vexed with *Junoes* Jealouſies; *Death* hath perſwaded him to chaſtity, and her to patience; and that time which hath devoured it ſelfe, hath alſo eaten up both the Bodies and Images of him and his: yea their ſtately Temples of Stone and durefull Marble. The houſes and ſumptuous buildings erected to *Baal*, can no where bee found upon the earth, nor any monument of that glorious Temple conſecrated to *Diana*. There are none now in Phœnicia that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in Libya, Creta, Theſſalia, or elſewhere, that can aske counſaile or helpe from *Jupiter*. The great god *Pan* hath broken his Pipes, *Apolloes* Prieſts are become ſpeechleſſe, and the Trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Devills telling mens fortunes therein, is taken up by counterfait Egyptians, and couzening Aſtrologers.

But it was long ere the Devill gave way to theſe his over-throwes and diſhonours: for after the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (one of his chiefe manſions) was many times robbed, burnt, and deſtroyed; yet by his diligence the ſame was often enriched, repayred, and re-edifyed againe, till by the hand of God himſelfe it received the laſt and utter ſubverſion. For it was firſt robbed of all the Idolls and Ornaments therein by the Eubæan Pyrates: Secondly, by the Phlegians utterly ſackt: Thirdly by *Pyrrhus* the ſonne of *Achilles*: Fourthly, by the armie of *Xerxes*: Fiftly, by the Captaines of the *Phocenſes*: Sixtly, by *Nero*: who carried thence five hundred brazen Images: all which were new made, and therein againe ſet up at the common charge. But whatſoever was gathered betweene the time of *Nero* and *Conſtantine*, the Chriſtian armie made ſpoile of, defacing as much as the time permitted them: notwithſtanding all this, it was againe gloriouſly rebuilt, and ſo remained till ſuch time as *Julian* the *Apoſtata* ſent thither to know the ſucceſſe of his Parthian enterpriſe, at which time it was utterly burnt and conſumed with fire from Heaven, and the Image of *Apollo* himſelfe, and all the reſt of the Idols herein, molten downe, and loſt in the earth.

The like ſucceſſe had the Jewes in the ſame *Julians* time, when by his permiſſion they aſſembled themſelves to rebuild the Temple of Jeruſalem: for while they were buſied to lay the foundations, their buildings were overthrowne by an earth-quake, and many thouſands of the Jewes were overwhelmed with the ruines, and others ſlaine, and ſcattered by Tempeſt and Thunder: though *Am. Marcellinus* report it more favourably for the Jewes, aſcribing this to the nature of that Element. For, ſaith hee, *Allypius* and the Ruler of the province of Judæa, being by *Julian* buſied in the re-edifying of this Temple, flaming Balls of fire iſſuing neere the foundation, and oft conſuming the Worke-men, made the enterprize fruſtrate.

*Am. Mar.l.23. cap.1.*

## §. IX.

### *Of the laſt refuges of the Devill to maintaine his Kingdome.*

NOw the Devill, becauſe hee cannot play upon the open Stage of this World, (as in thoſe dayes) and being ſtill as induſtrious as ever, findes it more for his advantage to creepe into the mindes of men; and inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, works them to a more effectuall adoration of himſelfe than ever. For whereas he firſt taught them to ſacrifice to Monſters, to dead ſtones cut into faces of Beaſts, Birds, and other mixt Natures; he now ſets before them the high and ſhining Idoll of glory, the All-commanding Image of bright Gold. Hee tels them that truth is the Goddeſſe of dangers and oppreſſions, that chaſtity is the enemie of Nature, and laſtly, that as all vertue (in generall) is without taſte; ſo pleaſure ſatisfieth and delighteth every ſenſe: for true wiſedome (ſaith hee) is exerciſed in nothing elſe, than in the obtayning of power to oppreſſe, and of riches to maintaine plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-Politician* finde in his pupils any remorſe, any feeling or feare of Gods future judgement, hee perſwades them that God hath ſo great neede of mens ſoules, that hee will accept them at any time, and upon any condition: interrupting by his vigilant endeavours all offer of timefull returne towards God, by laying thoſe great blockes of rugged poverty and deſpiſed contempt in the narrow paſſage leading to his divine preſence. But as the minde of man hath two Ports, the one alwaies frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other deſolate and over-growne with graſſe, by which enter our charitable thoughts and divine contemplations: ſo hath that of death a double and twofold opening, worldly miſery paſſing by the one, worldly proſperity by the other: at the entrance of the one we find our ſufferings and patience to attend us: (all which have gone before us to prepare our joyes) at the other our cruelties, covetouſneſſe, licentiouſneſſe, injuſtice, and oppreſſions (the Harbingers of moſt fearefull and terrible ſorrow) ſtaying for us. And as the Devill our moſt induſtrious enemy was ever moſt diligent: ſo is he now more laborious than ever, the long day of Mankind drawing faſt towards an evening, and the Worlds Tragedy and time neere at an end.

# CHAP. VII

## *Of* NOAHS *Floud.*

### §. I.

### *Of Gods fore-warning: and ſome humane teſtimonies: and ſome doubting touching the truth of* Noahs *Floud.*

OF this deſtruction it pleaſed God to give warning unto *Noah*: who (ſaith *Joſephus*) fearing to periſh among the reſt, *Secedens cum ſuis in aliam regionem migravit: He departed with his children, and travailed into another region.* And of theſe Giants from whom *Noah* withdrew himſelfe, *Beroſus* writeth in this manner; *That they exceeded in all ſorts of inhumane and unnaturall wickedneſſe*, and that they were *contemptores & religionis & deorum; contemners of religion and of the Gods*: among which mighty men (ſaith *Beroſus*) *unus erat qui deorum venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huic nomen erat* Noah: *There was one more wiſe and reverencing the Gods than the reſt, whoſe name was* Noah: who with his three ſonnes, *Sem, Japhetus*, and *Cham*, and with their Wives, and the Wife of *Noah*, (namely *Titea* the great, *Pandora, Noela*, and *Noegla*) preſerved themſelves in the *Arke*. This *Arke* God commanded *Noah* to prepare: *And God ſayd unto* Noah, *Make thee an Arke of Pinetrees: thou ſhalt make Cabines in the Arke, and ſhalt pitch it within and without with Pitch.* For God made *Noah* to know, that an end of all fleſh was at hand, and that the graves of the rebellious and cruell Generations were already faſhioned in the Clouds, which ſoone after ſhould ſwallow up and cover all living creatures which breathed in the aire, *Noah* and his family excepted.

*Joſeph.l.1.c.4.*

*Gen.6.14.*
*V.13.*

But this univerſall grave of waters, and generall Deluge hath not beene received by all: for divine teſtimonies doe not perſwade all naturall men to thoſe things to which their own reaſon cannot reach: *Dum obvoluta in obſcuro veritas latet: Whilſt the truth lieth wrapt up in obſcurity.* Many there are who have diſputed againſt the univerſality of this overflowing, and have judged that this floud of *Noah* fell but in ſome particular places and kingdomes: moved ſo to thinke, becauſe in elder ages there have bin many other flouds (as they ſuppoſe) of that nature. Hereof *Nicholas Damaſcenus* writeth in this manner, as his words are cited by *Joſephus*. *Eſt ſuper Minyadam excelſus mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos confugientes ſermo eſt diluvii tempore liberatos, & quendam ſimul in Arca devectum in hujus vertice hæſiſſe, lignorumq; reliquias multo tempore conſervatas, qui fortaſſe is fuit de quo etiam* Moſes *Judaorum legiſlator ſcribit*: thus far this Author. *There is* (ſaith he) *above Minyada* (or the country of *Minyæ*) *an exceeding high mountaine in Armenia, called Baris: on which it is reported, that many having fled thither, were ſaved in the time of the deluge: and that one was carried in an arke, and reſted upon the top of the mountaine, whereon there remained a long time after certain pieces thereof; and this might be the ſame of which* Moſes *the Law-giver of the Jewes makes mention.* And of this opinion were

*Lact. in præf. de falſa relig.*

*Joſ. ant. l.1.c.4.*
*Euſeb. de præp. l.9. cap.4.*

were the *Thalmudiſts* (ſaith *Annius*) that many Giants ſaved themſelves upon Mount Sion.

But *Beroſus* (who, after *Moſes*, was one of the moſt antient, howſoever he hath been ſince deformed and corrupted) doth in the ſubſtance of all agree with *Moſes* as touching the generall Floud, taking from thence the beginning of his Hiſtory in theſe words: *Ante aquarum cladem famoſam, qua univerſus periit Orbis, &c. Before that famous deſtruction of Waters, by which the World univerſall periſhed:* witneſſing withall, that *Noah* with his wife *Titea*, and his three ſons with their wives (in all eight perſons) were only ſaved.

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## §. II.

### *Of the Floud in the time of* Ogyges*: and that this was not* Noahs *Floud.*

But from the vanity of the Greekes, the Corrupters of all truth (ſaith *Lactantius*) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their Antiquity, came the errour firſt of all: who therein flattering themſelves alſo, ſought to perſwade the world that there was no Floud preceded the Floud of *Ogyges*, King of the Thebans in Bæotia, or rather of *Attica*; and therefore (ſaith *Rhodiginus*) *Ogygum id appellant Poetæ, tanquàm pervetus dixeris, ab Ogyge vetuſtiſsimo: The Poets gave the name of Ogygia to things exceeding ancient, as of Ogyges the moſt ancient.*

*Rho.l.15.c.33.*

But let *Ogyges* be as ancient as thoſe men can make him, yet it is manifeſt that hee lived but in *Jacobs* time (though *Euſebius* makes him later, and in *Moſes* time) and was born 67. yeeres after him. There is alſo an opinion that *Ogyges* was *Cadmus* (and then was he farre later) as *Rhodiginus* in the ninth booke of his Antiquities remembreth: *Sunt tamen qui in Aegypto regnaſſe autumant hunc: unde ſit* Cadmus *qui in Græciam profectus Thebas condidit, à bove jugulato ſic nuncupatas; quoniam Syrorum lingua Bos dicitur Thebe. There are* (ſaith hee) *who thinke that this Ogyges did reigne in Egypt, whereby he ſhould be* Cadmus, *who travailing into Greece built Thebes, ſo named of a Beefe ſlaine: becauſe in the Syrian Language, a Beefe is called Thebe.*

*Euſeb.de præp. Evang.l.10.c.3. Ca.22.*

But this Floud of *Ogyges* fell in the yeere of the World, 3440. according to *Euſebius*, who followed the account of the Septuagint: and the Floud of *Noah* in the yeere 2242. after the ſame account: and ſo there came 1200. betweene theſe Flouds, wanting but two, though herein *Euſebius* was much miſtaken, and corrected this opinion in his *Chronologie*. Now although the very yeere and time of this overflowing in *Achaia*, or rather *Attica*, bee not preciſely ſet downe, but that there is a great difference among Writers; yet whoſoever makes it moſt ancient, findes above 500. yeeres difference betweene that and the generall floud.

For *Paulus Oroſius* affirmes that this tempeſt fell upon the Athenians, but 1040. yeers before Rome was built. *Bucholzerus* ſaith, it was 1043. elder than Rome; which was founded (according to the ſame *Bucholzerus*) in the worlds yeere 3219. though after the account which I follow (and whereof I will give my reaſons in the Story of *Abraham*) it was built in the Worlds yeere, 3280. Now the generall Floud preceded the building of Rome (ſaith *Bucholzerus*) 1563. yeeres: and the Floud of *Ogyges* (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by eaſie calculation, that (if hee place *Ogyges* in his true age) the difference betweene theſe two Flouds muſt bee 520. yeeres, to which wee (allowing 60. more) find 580. And that this of *Ogyges* was not the ſame of *Noah* (except we call *Noah*, *Ogyges Priſcus*, as ſome doe) it appeares by this, that the Floud of *Ogyges* then King of *Attica* or *Ogygia*, did not extend it ſelfe any farther than the bankes of *Archi-pelago*, or the *Aegæan* Sea. For whereas *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus* witneſſe, that the City of Joppe in Judæa was founded before the Floud; and that (notwithſtanding the waight of Waters) there remained on certaine Altars of ſtone, the Title of the King, and of his Brother *Phineus*, with many of the grounds of their Religion: ſure it is no where found among prophane Hiſtorians, nor in the Scriptures, that ever the Floud of *Ogyges* ſpred it ſelfe over any part of Syria, much leſſe over all the earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of *Attica* about *Athens*, and that of *Achaia* in *Peloponneſus*, it is very probable. For it ſeemeth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were ſwallowed up (Cities ſeated on the North part of *Peloponneſus*): of which *Ovid*:

*Lib.1.c.7.*

*Xenophon Annianus.*

*Mela.lib.3. Plin.lib.5. Sol.cap.47. Joppe oppidum antiquiſsimum orbe toto, utpotè ante inundationem terrarum conditum. Sol. ibid. Ovid. Metam. lib.15.30.3.*

*Si quæras Helicæn, & Buran, Achaidos urbes,*
*Invenies ſub aquis.*

Ovid.Metam. lib.15.303.

*Bura* and *Helice*, on *Achaian* ground
Are ſought in vaine, but under Sea are found.

Nat.Com.l.1.c.5.

Of this Floud of *Ogyges* was invented the Fable of *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latona*, the daughter of *Cœus*, the ſonne of *Titan*, being beloved and forced by *Jupiter*, and by him gotten with child, *Juno* thereat enraged, permitted her (as they ſay) no part of the Earth to be delivered on; and withall, cauſed the monſtrous Serpent *Python* to follow & affright her, whereſoever ſhe travelled: till at length arriving at the Ile of *Ortygia*, ſhe was there received; in which ſhe was delivered, firſt of *Diana*, and then of *Apollo*, being Twins: whereof *Barlaam* makes this expoſition: That at ſuch time as the Deluge (which happened in *Ogyges* his reigne) ceaſed, out of the abundant moiſture of the Earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled ſuch thicke miſts and fogges, that in *Attica*, and along the Coaſts of the *Aegean* Sea, neither the beames of the Sunne by day, nor of the Moone by night, could pierce the ayre, or be perceived by the inhabitants: ſo as when at length (the Earth being dryed, and theſe vapours diſſipated) the ayre began to be cleare, the people of *Ortygia* eſpyed the light of the Moone ſomewhat before day, and in the ſame morning the Sunne alſo appeared: fabulouſly (becauſe *Diana* repreſented the Moone, and *Apollo* the Sunne) they were reported to be borne in the Ile of *Ortygia*, thereof afterwards called *Delos*; which ſignifieth manifeſtation.

Plin.l.4.c.12.

And ſurely it is not improbable, that the Floud of *Ogyges*, being ſo great, as Hiſtories have reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the ayre, ſenſibly diſcerned in thoſe parts, and ſome unuſuall face of the Skyes. *Varro* in his Bookes *de gente populi Romani* (as he is cited by Saint *Auguſtine*) reporteth out of *Caſtor*, that ſo great a miracle happened in the Starre of *Venus*, as never was ſeene before, nor in after-times: For the colour, the greatneſſe, the figure, and the courſe of it, were changed. This fell out, as *Adraſtus Cyzicenus*, and *Dion Neapolites*, famous Mathematicians, affirmed, in the time of *Ogyges*.

Aug.de.Civit. Dei.l.21.cap.8.

Now concerning the courſe of that or any other Planet, I do not remember, that I have any where read of ſo good Aſtrologers, flouriſhing among the *Greekes*, or elſewhere in thoſe dayes as were likely to make any calculation of the revolutions of the Planets, ſo exact, that it ſhould need no reformation: Of the colour and magnitude. I ſee no reaſon, why the difference found in the Starre of *Venus*, ſhould be held miraculous; conſidering, that leſſer miſts and fogges than thoſe which covered Greece with ſo long darkneſſe, do familiarly preſent our ſenſes with as great alterations in the Sunne and Moone. That the figure ſhould varie, queſtionleſſe it was very ſtrange: Yet I cannot hold it any prodigie: for it ſtands well with good reaſon, that the ſide of *Venus* which the Sunne beholds, being enlightned by him, the oppoſite halfe ſhould remaine ſhadowed; whereby that Planet would, unto our eyes, deſcrying onely that part whereon the light falleth, appeare to be horned, as the Moone doth ſeeme; if diſtance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehenſion of our ſenſes.

A worthy Aſtrologer now living, who by the helpe of perſpective Glaſſes hath found in the Starres many things unknowne to the Ancients, affirmeth ſo much to have beene diſcovered in *Venus*, by his late obſervations. Whether ſome watrie diſpoſition of the ayre might preſent as much to them that lived with *Ogyges*, as *Galilæus* hath ſeen through his Inſtrument; I cannot tell: ſure I am, that the diſcoverie of a truth formerly unknown, doth rather convince Man of ignorance, than Nature of error. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular Floud of *Ogyges*, was (as appeareth by this of Saint *Auguſtine*) accompanied with ſuch unuſuall (and therefore the more dreadfull, though naturall) ſignes, teſtifying the concurrence of cauſes with effects in that inundation; whereas the Floud of *Noah*, which was generall, and altogether miraculous, may ſeeme to have had no other token, or fore-ſhewing, than the long preaching of *Noah* himſelfe, which was not regarded: for they were eating and drinking, when the Floud came ſuddenly, and tooke them all away.

Luke 17.v.27.

## §. III.

### *Of* Deucalions *Floud: and that this was not* Noahs *Floud: nor the Umbri in Italie a remnant of any univerſall Floud.*

A Second Floud of great fame, and of which the time is more certaine, was that of *Deucalion* in *Theſſalia*; of which S. *Auguſtine* out of *Varro*: *His temporibus* (*ut* Varro *ſcribit*) *regnante Athenienſibus* Cranao, *ſucceſſore* Cecropis (*ut autem noſtri,* Eusebius *&* Hieronymus) *adhuc eodem* Cecrope *permanente, diluvium fuit, quod appellatum eſt* Deucalionis: (that is) *In theſe times* (*as* Varro *reporteth*) Cranaus *the ſucceſſor of* Cecrops *governing the Athenians, or* (*as our* Eusebius *and* Hierome *ſay*) Cecrops *yet living, that Floud* (*called* Deucalions) *happened.*

And in the beginning of the eleventh Chapter of the ſame eighteenth Booke, he uſeth theſe words: *Eduxit ergo* Moses *ex Egypto populum Dei noviſſimo tempore* Cecropis *Athenienſium Regis, cum apud Aſſyrios regnaret* Aſcatades, *apud Sicyonios* Marathus, *apud Argivos* Tripas: Moses *led the people of God out of Egypt about the later time of* Cecrops *King of the Athenians,* Aſcatades *raigning over the Aſſyrians, over the Sicyonians* Marathus, *and over the Argives* Triopas. So as leaving the curioſitie of a few yeeres, more or leſſe, it appeareth, that this Floud of *Deucalion* was either at the egreſſion of the children of Iſrael out of Egypt, or neere it: and then after *Noah* 753. yeers, according to *Functius*, who makes *Cecrops* to live in the yeere of the World 2409, or if we follow *Mercator*, then 739. yeeres after *Noah*, and in the yeere of the World 2395. But if *Deucalion* were borne in the age of the World 2356. according to *Codoman*; then giving unto *Deucalion* 40. yeeres of age when this Floud happened, it falleth within one yeere of *Mercators* account. But *Deucalion* by all approved Hiſtorians is ſaid to have beene 82. yeeres old at that time. Now *Clemens Alexandrinus* dates the time of this Floud of *Deucalion*, and the conflagration and burning in *Phaëtons* time, by the reigne of *Crotopus*, King of the *Argives*; but *Crotopus* lived King of the *Argives* fixe yeeres after Iſrael departed Egypt, which makes twenty yeeres difference, according to *Functius*, who will have this Floud and Burning to have fallen 14. yeeres before *Moſes* left Egypt: for he gave of the Worlds yeeres to the Floud and Burning the yeere 2440.
Cedren.l.1 f.34. and to *Moſes* his egreſſion the yeere 2454. And yet *Cedrenus* thinkes that *Moſes* was more ancient, and lived with *Inachus*; but that cannot be true: for then had the Floud of *Deucalion*, and the burning of *Phaëton*, preceded the Floud of *Ogyges*, which is denyed by all: for that of *Theſſalie* (called *Deucalions*) followed that of *Attica* (called *Ogygia*) at leaſt 250. yeeres, or thereabouts. *Euſebius* in his Chronologie makes it 230. & ſo doth *P. Oroſius*: *Euſebius* about the 50. yeere of *Moſes* life, and *Cyrillus* about the 67. and
Clem. Alex. 1. ſtro. ex Cteſ. both after *Noahs* Floud 770. yeeres: for theſe be *Clemens Alexandrinus* his words: *Fuit autem in Gracia tempore quidem* Phornei, *qui fuit poſt* Inachum, *inundatio quæ fuit tempore Ogygis*: *There happened in Greece in the time of* Phorneus, *who lived after* Inachus, *the Floud of Ogyges*. Now if the Floud of *Ogyges* in *Attica* were 1020. or 1016. yeeres before the firſt *Olympiad*, according to *Euſebius* and *Oroſius*; (as before) then is it manifeſt, that taking 763. out of this number of 1020. it fals out, that *Ogyges* Floud, happened before the Hebrewes left Egypt 250. yeeres, or 260. yeeres, according to the
Euſeb. in. Chron. difference betweene the opinions of *Euſebius* and *Oroſius*. And for my ſelfe (who rather follow thoſe Chronologers, which give 60. yeeres more to *Abraham* after the Floud, than the reſt) I reckon the times which come betweene theſe Flouds in this ſort. The generall Floud was in the yeere of the World 1656. *Jacob* was borne in the yeere of the World 2169. ſo as from the beginning of the Floud to *Jacobs* birth, there were conſumed 513. yeeres. *Ogyges* Floud happened 100. yeeres after *Jacob* was borne; and therefore after the generall Floud 613. yeeres. Now *Deucalion* was borne in the yeere of the World 2356. and had lived 82. yeeres, when his Kingdome of *Theſſalie* was overwhelmed; (which added to 2356. make 2438.) his Floud was after *Noahs* Floud ended, 782. yeeres. And hereto *Annius* his *Xenophon* agreeth, who makes 700. yeeres betweene the generall Floud and *Deucalions* birth; to which adde 82. yeeres of his Age (as before) and then the Floud of *Theſſalie* followed the generall 782. yeeres. The words of that *Xenophon* are theſe: *Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum Deucalionis, ſecundo anno Sphaeri, ſeptingenti ſupputantur anni, qui natus annos duos & octoginata Theſſaliam vidit inundatam*: *From the drowning of the World to the birth of Deucalion, in the ſecond*

*yeere of* SPHÆRUS, *are numbred* 700. *yeeres, and when* DEUCALION *was* 82. *yeeres old, he ſaw Theſſalia drowned.* This Floud happened in the Winter time about *Parnaſſus*: witneſſe *Ariſtotle* in the firſt of his *Meteors*. And *Varro* ( whom Saint *Auguſtine* ſo often citeth for his excellent Learning, eſpecially in Antiquities ) findeth this Floud of *Deucalion* to have happened in the time of *Cranaus*, who ſucceeded *Cecrops*: *Oroſius* thinkes it ſomewhat later, *Amphytrion* reigning in *Athens*, the third from *Cecrops*: Onely this of *Deucalion* was very great, and reached not onely over *Theſſalie* it ſelfe, and the Regions adjoyning Weſtward, but it covered the greateſt part of *Italie*: and either the ſame, or ſome other particular Floud then happening, oppreſt *Egypt*, ſaith *Euſebius*: And therefore did the *Greekes* eyther thinke it, or faine it to be univerſall; and *Deucalion* then King, ſaving himſelfe and ſome others on the Mountaine of *Theſſalie* ( of all other the higheſt, ſaith *Solinus* ) was by reaſon thereof ( as *Strabo* witneſſeth ) ſaid to be the preſerver of Mankind. That this Floud covered a great part of *Italie*, *Plinie* and *Solinus* make it probable, who affirme, that the people then inhabiting *Italie*, were therefore called ὀμβριοι: *quia ab imbribus diluvii ſuperfuiſſent*; and therefore alſo were they eſteemed the moſt ancient Nation, as *Strabo* confirmeth in his firſt Booke, and *Trezenius* in his ſecond: which *Umbri* theſe Authors make the parents of the *Sabines*, and the *Sabines* to be the Parents of the *Samnites*, *Piceni*, *Lucani*, *Brutii*, and all others inhabiting anciently the bankes of the *Mediterrane* Sea. But that theſe *Umbri* were not the Inhabiters of *Italie* before the Floud of *Noah*, and ſo tooke name by ſaving themſelves upon the *Appenine* Mountaines, the Scriptures teach us; ſhewing who, and who onely then were reſerved, which is ſufficient. Report hath adventured further, telling us, that the firſt eople which after the generall Floud inhabited *Italie*, were the *Cameſenes*; ( ſo named rom *Cameſe*, whom CATO *in originibus*, another of *Annius* his Authors, names for a onſort of *Janus* ) which people lived altogether a ſavage life; till ſuch time as *Saturne* rriving on thoſe Coaſts, deviſed Lawes to governe them by: the memorie of whoſe Acts in that Region, *Diodor* and *Thallus* among the *Greekes*, *Nepos Caſsius* and *Varro* among the *Latines*, have preſerved; and of whom *Virgil*:

c.14.

*Solin.l.14.*
*Strab.l.9.*
*Plin.l.3.c.14.*
*Sol.c.7.*
*Plin.ibid.*

*Athenæus dipnoſoph.l.15.* out of *Draco Corcyræus* ſaith, that *Cameſe* was the wife and ſiſter of *Janus*.
*Lact.l.1.c.13.*

*Æn.l.8.319.*

*Primus ab æthereo venit* SATURNUS *Olympo,*
*Arma* JOVIS *fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis,*
*Is genus indocile, ac diſperſum montibus altis*
*Compoſuit, Legeſq; dedit; Latiumq; vocari*
*Maluit.*

SATURNE deſcending from the Heavens high,
Fearing the Armes of JUPITER his Sonne,
His Kingdome loſt, and baniſht thence, doth flie.
Rude people on the Mountaine tops he wonne
To live together, and by Lawes: which done,
He choſe to call it *Latium*.

And afterward in the Verſes following he ſpeaketh of the *Auſones*, and after them, of the *icani*: Nations, which againe ſought to diſ-plant the ancient Inhabiters:

*Tum manus Auſonia, & gentes venēre Sicani.*
Then came th' *Auſonian* Bands, and the *Sicanian* Tribes.

*Virg.l.8.Æn.*

Of theſe *Sicani* ( which left *Spaine*, and ſat downe in *Italie* ) *Thucydides* and *Plinie* give eſtimonie: who were againe expelled by the *Ligii*, ſaith *Thucydides*. After all theſe lantations & replantations, came the *Umbri*, deſcended of the *Gaules* (ſaith *Annius*,) not of hoſe *Gaules* of *France*, but of thoſe of *Scythia*, who commanded a great part of *Italie*, ven all *Hetruria* and *Campania*; as *Herodotus*, *Plinie*, and *Dionyſius* have aſſured us: & therore this Floud of *Deucalion* was long after that of *Noah*. For all thoſe Nations were planed in *Italie*, & diſpoſſeſt of *Italie* again, before the *Umbri* were ever heard of or had being o that Kingdome was firſt called *Camaſene*, then *Latium* or *Saturnia*, then *Auſonia*, then *icania*; before the *Umbri* (in whoſe time *Deucalions* Floud happened) poſſeſt the ſame, bout 306. yeeres before the Warre of *Troy*; *Lycaon* then governing *Arcadia*: who being he father of two and twenty ſonnes, the youngeſt called *Oenotrius* invaded *Italie*, who ave it the name of *Oenotria*. This name it held untill *Italus* of the ſame Nation changed into *Italie*, after his owne name, about 250. yeeres before the fall of *Troy*. After theſe,

*Thucyd.l.6.*
*Plin.l.3.c.5.*
*Annius ex Samuele Thalmudiſta.*
*Herod.l.1.*
*Plin.l.3.c.5.*
*Dion.l.1.& 2.*
*Pauſan.Arcad. lib.8.*
*Ariſt.Pol.7.c.10.*

Herod.l.2.
Plin.l.3.c.4.

came the *Pelaſgi*, of whom *Plinie* in his third Booke and fifth Chapter, and *Strabo* in his fifth, *Thucydides* in his ſixt, ſpeake at large: and after them the *Lydi*, under *Tyrrhenus* their Captaine, that gave name to the *Tyrrheni*; who caſting thence the *Umbri*, tooke from them three hundred Caſtles, and built therein twelve Cities; to which (after they had poſſeſt and paſt over the *Appenine* Mountaines) they added divers others, whereof *Telſina* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Now that there was not anciently ſuch a Nation as theſe *Umbri* in thoſe parts, I doe not affirme; having reſpect to the teſtimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus* thinkes, that the name was derived from the *Greeke* word *Ombros*; but that theſe *Umbri* of *Italie* were deſcended of the Nation of *Scythians* (called *Galli*) it ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

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## §. IIII.

### *Of ſome other Records teſtifying the univerſall Floud: and of two ancient Deluges in Egypt: and of ſome elſewhere.*

Saint *Auguſtine* out of *Varro* affirmeth, that the *Greekes* and *Latines* made not any mention of the Univerſall Floud, becauſe they had nothing of Antiquitie foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (according to *Rhodoginus*, before remembred) were all things among the *Greekes* (which antiquitie had worne out of knowledge) called *Ogygia*, which we in *Engliſh* commonly call (worme-eaten) or of defaced date. But as all the parts of the Earth were ſucceſſively planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the inſtant: ſo did every Familie, which afterward became a great People, with whom the knowledge of divine Letters was not received, finde no Parent of more antiquitie, than ſuch as they had themſelves, nor allow of any before their owne; and as the *Græcians*, ſo did others vaunt themſelves to be *Indigenæ*, and growing out of the Earth, or invent ſome other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldæans* had certaine knowledge of *Noahs* Floud, as *Beroſus* witneſſeth; and *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforeſaid) though he alſo affirme by heare-ſay, that ſome Giants ſaved themſelves upon the Mountaines *Baris* in *Armenia*, but ſpeaketh not thereof as from any authoritie approved: uſing the word *Sermo eſt*; *That ſuch a ſpeech there was*. And *Euſebius* remembreth a place out of the ancient Hiſtorian *Abydenus*: who writteth, that *Siſithrus*, to preſerve himſelfe from a Floud fore-told him by *Saturnus*, fled to the Hils of *Armenia* by ſhip, *ad Armeniam navigio confugiebat*: who the third day (after the Waters were fallen) ſent forth birds, that finding no land to reſt on, returned againe; which he alſo did a ſecond time, but at the third returne the birds feet were covered with mudde and ſlime. To this effect are *Euſebius* words out of *Abydenus*, which may ſeeme a true deſcription (though in other termes) of *Noahs* Floud.

Euſ.de præp. Evang.l.9.c.4.

*Cyrillus* alſo affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhiſtor* maketh mention of this generall Floud. And *Plato* in *Timæo* produceth an *Egyptian* Prieſt, who recounted to *Solon* out of the holy Bookes of *Egypt*, the ſtorie of the Floud univerſal, which (ſaith he) happened long before the *Græcian* inundations. Fryer *Annius* his *Xenophon* remembreth a third Floud, which alſo *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, ſomewhat more ancient than that of *Ogyges* in *Attica*. For he named the generall Floud for the firſt, which happened (ſaith he) under the old OGYGES: *Sub priſco Ogyge*, which was *Noah*; he calleth the ſecond *Niliaca*: *Hercules* and *Prometheus* then living; 44. yeere before that of *Attica*, in the 34. yeere of *Belochus* King of the *Aſſyrians*, though I doe not beleeve him as touching the time. But this Floud covered a great part of the nether *Egypt*, eſpecially all the Region ſubject to *Prometheus*; & hereof came the fable of the *Vulture* on *Prometheus* his Liver, afterward ſlaine by *Hercules* of *Egypt*: which fiction *Diod. Siculus* delivereth in theſe words: *Fluvium propter curſus velocitatem, profunditatemq; aquarum, Aquilam tunc appellatum,* HERCULEM *cum conſilii magnitudine, tum virtute, volunt è veſtigio compreſſiſſe, & aquarum impetum ad priorem curſum convertiſſe: Unde & Græci quidam Poetæ rem geſtam in fabulam vertentes,* HERCULEM *tradunt Aquilam* PROMETHEI *jecur depaſcentem occidiſſe*; *This Floud* (meaning of *Nilus*) *for the ſwiftneſſe of his courſe, as alſo for the depth, was in thoſe dayes called the Eagle: but* HERCULES *by his great judgement and vertue did againe compreſſe and ſtraighten this River, ſo far extended and over-ſpred, turning it into the old channels. Whence certaine Greeke Poets (converting this labour and worke of* HERCULES *into*

Diod.l.1.

Nat.Com.l.4.c.6.

*fable) deviſed, that* HERCULES *ſlew the Eagle which fed on* PROMETHEUS *Liver*; meaning that he delivered *Prometheus* of that ſorrow and torment, which for the loſſe of his People and Countrey (by the Waters deſtroyed and covered over) he ſuffered.

A fourth Floud chanced about *Pharus* in *Egypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Annius* conceiveth out of his *Xenophon*, who in this briefe ſort writeth of all theſe Inundations: *Inundationes plures fuere: prima novimeſtris inundatio terrarum ſub priſco* OGYGE: *ſecunda Niliaca, &c. There were many Inundations* (ſaith the ſame *Xenophon*:) *the firſt, which was univerſall, of nine Moneths; and this happened under the firſt* OGYGES: *the ſecond was Niliaca*, & of one Moneths continuance, in the time of *Hercules* and *Prometheus, Egyptians*: a third of two Moneths, under *Ogyges Atticus*: the fourth of three moneths, in *Theſſalia*, under *Deucalion*: and a fifth of the like continuance (called *Pharonica*) under *Proteus* of *Egypt*, about the time of *Helens* rape. *Diodorus* in his fifth Booke and eleventh Chapter, taking the *Samothraces* for his Authors, remembreth a Floud in *Aſia* the leſſe, and elſewhere, of no leſſe deſtruction than any of the other particular Inundations, ſaying, that the ſame happened before that of *Deucalion*; the Sea of *Pontus* and *Helleſpont* breaking in over the Land.

*Xenop. de æquiv. Comm. per Annium, fol. 37.*

But there have bin many Flouds in divers times, and ages, not inferior to any of theſe two laſt remembred, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Egypt*: as in the yeere of our Redemption 590. when in *October* of the ſame yeere, *Gregory* then being Biſhop of *Rome*, there happened a marvellous overflowing in *Italy*, and eſpecially in the *Venetian* Territorie, and in *Liguria*, accompanied with a moſt fearefull ſtorme of thunder and lightning: after which followed the great Plague at *Rome*, by reaſon of the many dead Serpents caſt up and left upon the Land, after the Waters decreaſed and returned. And in the yeere 1446. there periſhed 10000. people, by the breaking in of the Sea at *Dordrech* in *Holland*: of which kind I take that Floud to be of *Achaia* or *Attica*. Before that, and in the yeere 1238. *Trithemius* ſpeaketh of an Earthquake, which ſwallowed many thouſands: and after that of a Floud in *Friſeland*, in which there periſhed 100000. perſons. *Strozius Sigog.* in his *Magia omnifaria*, telleth of an Inundation in *Italie*, in the time of Pope *Damaſus*, in which alſo many Cities of *Sicil* were ſwallowed: another in the Papacie of *Alexander* the ſixt: alſo in the yeere 1515. *Maximilian* being Emperor. He alſo remembreth a perillous over-flowing in *Polonia*, about *Cracovia*, by which many people periſhed. Likewiſe *Viginier* a *French* Hiſtorian ſpeaketh of a great Floud in the South part of *Languedoc*, which fell in the yeere of our Lord 1557. with ſo dreadfull a tempeſt, as all the people attended therein the very end of the World, and Judgement Day; ſaying, That by the violent deſcent of the Waters from the Mountaines, about *Niſmes* there were removed divers old heapes and mountures of ground, and many other places torne up and rent: by which accident there was found both Coyne of Silver and Gold, divers pieces of Plate, and Veſſels of other Mettall, ſuppoſed to be hidden at ſuch time as the *Gothes* invaded that Province, in the yeere 1156.

*Munſter.*

*Eclypſis, & terræ motus continui multa hominum millia oppreſſerunt. Friſia quoq; per maritimos fluctus tota pænè ſubmerſa fuit, & perierunt pluſquam* 100000.

## §. V.

## *That the Floud of* NOAH *was ſupernaturall, though ſome ſay it might have beene foreſeene by the Starres.*

NOw howſoever all theſe Flouds, and many other, which have covered at ſeverall times ſeverall Regions, not onely in theſe parts of the World, but in *America* alſo; (as I have learned of ſome ancient Southſayers among them) may be aſcribed to naturall cauſes and accidents; yet that univerſall Floud (in the time of *Noah*) was poured over the whole face of the Earth by a power above Nature, and by the eſpeciall commandement of God himſelfe, who at that time gave ſtrength of influence to the Starres, and abundance to the Fountaines of the Deepe: whereby the irruption of Waters was made more forcible, than any ability of nature could effect, or any ſecond cauſes, by whatſoever union, could performe, without receiving from the Fountaine of all power ſtrength, and faculties ſupernatural. *Henricus Mechlinienſis*, a Scholler of *Albertus Magnus* in his Commentaries upon the great conjunctions of *Albu Maſar*, obſerveth, that before the Floud of *Noah*, the like conjunction of *Jupiter* and *Saturne* happened in the laſt degree of *Cancer*, againſt that conſtellation ſince called the *Ship of Argos*; by which the Floud of *Noah* might be fore-told, becauſe *Cancer* is both a watrie Signe, and the Houſe of the *Moone*, which is the Ladie of the Sea, and of Moyſture, according to the rules of *Aſtronomie*, and common experience. And this opinion *Petrus de Aliaco* upon *Geneſis* confirmeth, aſſirming, that although *Noah* did well know this Floud by divine revelation, yet (this conjunction being notorious ) he could not be ignorant of the ſecond cauſes thereof: for thoſe were not onely ſignes, but alſo working cauſes, by ſtrength received from the firſt cauſe, which is God himſelfe: and further, that by * *Catarractæ Cœli*, Engliſhed the Windowes of Heaven) *Moſes* meant this great and watrie conjunction; the word (*Catarractæ*) ſignifying flowing downe or comming downe. Now ( ſaith *P. de Aliaco* ) it pleaſed God to ordaine by the courſe of the Heavens ſuch a conſtellation, by which all men might behold therein their deſtruction towards, and thereby forſake thoſe wicked wayes wherein they walked, and call unto God for mercy.

Alſo *de Concordia Theolog. & Aſtrolog.* *Gen 7.11.*

* The word καταῤῥάκτης properly ſignifieth any place of ſtoppage, againſt which the force of the water being naturally carryed downwards, daſheth and breaketh; of ἀῤῥάσσω, *allido*, or *frango*. Hence becauſe Windowes doe not onely open, but alſo ſhut, the word hath beene expounded (*Windowes*) for Barres or Floud-gates.

Of this judgement was *Gul. Pariſienſis*, who underſtood, that the words *Catarractæ Cœli*, or Windowes of Heaven, were to be taken for the former conjunction, or for theſe watrie Signes, *Cancer*, *Piſces*, *Pleiades*, *Hyades*, and *Orion*; and of the Planets, *Mars*, *Venus* and the *Moone*: which are the forcible cauſes of the greateſt Inundations. His owne words are theſe: *Nondum intelligo Prophetam Hebræorum Catarractas Cœli vocâſſe, niſi partes illas Cœli, quæ generativa ſunt Pluviarum & Inundationum Aquarum, quales ſunt ſigna aquatica, ut Cancer, &c.* as aforeſaid. As yet ( ſaith he ) *I perceive not what the Prophet of the Hebrewes meaneth by thoſe words* ( *Catarractæ Cœli*, or Windowes of Heaven) *unleſſe he thereby underſtanding thoſe Celeſtiall powers, by whoſe influences are engendred the Raine, and Inundations of Waters, ſuch as are the watrie Signes of Cancer, &c.*

But in a word, as it might pleaſe God, that in the courſe of his unſearchable Wiſdome this conjunction ſhould at ſuch time be: ſo did he ( as aforeſaid ) adde vigor and faculty, and gave to every operation encreaſe of vertues, violent eruptions to Springs and Fountaines, commanding them to caſt out the whole treaſure and heape of their waters; taking retention from the Clouds, and condenſing ayre into water by the miniſterie of his Angels, or whoſoever elſe beſt pleaſed his All-powerfulneſſe.

## §. VI.

### *That there was no need of any new Creation of Matter to make the univerſall Floud: And what are Catarractæ Cœli.*

GEN. 7. VERS. 11.

NOw if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new; ( for God reſteth the ſeventh day: ( that is ) he did not then after create any new *ſpecies*) which granted, it may ſeeme that then all the Earth and Ayre had not waters ſufficient to cover the habitable World fifteene Cubits above the higheſt Mountaines. Of this propoſition, whether God hath ſo reſtrayned himſelfe, or no, I will not diſpute; but for the conſequent ( which is ) that the World had want of water to over-cover the higheſt Mountaines, I take that conceit to be unlearned and fooliſh: for it is written, that *the Fountaines of the great Deepe were broken up* ( that is ) the waters forſooke the very bowels of the Earth; and all whatſoever was diſperſt therein, pierced and brake through the face thereof. Then let us conſider, that the Earth had above one and twentie thouſand miles, the *Diameter* of the Earth, according to that circle, ſeven thouſand mile, and then from the *Superficies* to the *Center* ſome three thouſand five hundred miles. Take then the higheſt Mountaine of the World, *Caucaſus*, *Taurus*, *Olympus*, or *Atlas*, the Mountaines of *Armenia* or *Scythia*, or that ( of all other the higheſt ) in *Tenuerif*, and I doe not finde, that he that looketh higheſt, ſtretcheth above thirtie miles upright. It is not then impoſſible, anſwering reaſon with reaſon, that all thoſe waters mixed within the Earth three thouſand five hundred miles deepe, ſhould not well helpe to cover the ſpace of thirtie miles in height, this thirtie miles upright being found in the depths of the Earth one hundred and ſixteene times: for *the Fountaines of the great Deepe were broken up*, and the waters drawne out of the bowels of the Earth. Secondly, if we conſider what proportion the Earth beareth to the extenſion of the Ayre over and above it, we ſhall finde the difference exceeding great. If then it pleaſed God to condenſe but ſo much of this Ayre, as every where compaſſeth and embraceth the Earth, which condenſation is a converſion of Ayre into Water, a change familiar in thoſe Elements; it will not ſeeme ſtrange to men of judgement, yea but of ordinary underſtanding, that the Earth ( God ſo pleaſing ) was covered over with Waters, without any new Creation.

Laſtly, for the opinions of *Gulielmus Pariſienſis*, and *Aliacenſis*, to which I may adde *Beroſus* and others, That ſuch a conjunction there was, fore-ſhewing that deſtruction by Waters which followed; and that by the word *Catarractæ Cœli*, or Windowes of Heaven, was meant this conjunction; there needes no other anſwer than that obſervation of *Ludovicus Vives*, who affirmeth, That by the graveſt *Aſtrologian* it was obſerved, that in the yeere 1524. there ſhould happen the like conjunction as at *Noahs* Floud; than which (ſaith he) there was never a more faire, drie, and ſeaſonable yeere: the like deſtruction was prophecied of the yeere 1588. But *Picus* Earle of *Mirandula* proveth, that there could not be any ſuch conjunction at that time.

To conclude, I find no other myſterie in the word *Catarractæ Cœli*, than that the clouds were meant thereby: *Moſes* uſing the word *Windowes of Heaven* (if that be the ſenſe of the word) to expreſſe the violence of the Raynes, and powring downe of Waters. For whoſoever hath ſeene thoſe fallings of water, which ſometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the Spouts, (where clouds do not breake into drops, but fall with a reſiſtleſſe violence in one body) may properly uſe that manner of ſpeech which *Moſes* did; That the Windowes or Flud-gates of Heaven opened: (which is) That waters fell contrarie to cuſtome, & that order which we call naturall. God then looſened the power retentive in the uppermoſt ayre, and the waters fell in aboundance: *Behold* (ſayth Job) *he withholdeth the Waters, and they drie up* (or better in Latine, *Et omnia ſiccantur; And all things are dryed up*) *but when he ſendeth them out, they deſtroy the Earth*: And in the 26. Chapter: *He bindeth the Waters in the Clouds*. But theſe Bonds God looſed at that time of the generall Floud, and called up the Waters which ſlept in the great Deepe; and theſe joyning together, covered the Earth, till they performed the worke of his will: which done, he then commanded them to returne into their darke and vaſt Caves, and the reſt (by a winde) rarified againe into ayre, formerly condenſed into drops.

*Job.c.12.v.15*

*Gen.8.2*

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## §. VII.

### *Of ſome remainder of the memorie of* Noah *among the Heathen.*

Noah, commanded by God, before the fall of thoſe Waters, entred the Arke which he had built, with his owne Wife, and his Sonnes, and his Sonnes Wives, taking with them of every Creature which tooke life by generation, ſeven of the cleane, and of the uncleane, two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, ſignifieth quietneſſe: after others, and according to the prophecie of his Father *Lamech*, ceſſation; to whom after-times gave many Names, anſwering his antiquitie, zeale, vertue, and other qualities: as, *The firſt Ogyges*, becauſe in the time of the *Grecian Ogyges* there was alſo a great Floud of *Achaia*: *Saturne* they called him, becauſe he was the Father of Nations: Others gave him the Name of *Prometheus*, who was ſaid to ſteale away *Jupiters* fire; fire in that place being taken and underſtood for the knowledge of God and heavenly things. Others thinke, that he was ſo called for his excellent wiſedome and foreſight. He had alſo the Name of *Janus*, (*id eſt*) *vinoſus*, becauſe *Jain* ſignifieth Wine in the *Hebrew*. And ſo *Tertullian* findes him written *in Libris Ritualibus, in the Bookes of Ceremonies*, preceding both *Saturne*, *Uranus*, and *Jove*: which three enjoyed an elder time than all the other ancienteſt fayned gods. And this Name *Jain* is taken from the *Hebrew* and *Syrian*, and not from the *Latine*: for it was in uſe before there was any *Latine* Nation, or any Kingdome by that Name known. Of the antiquitie of *Janus*, *Fabius Pictor* giveth this teſtimony: Jani *ætate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pectoribus nondum hæſerat ulla regnandi cupiditas, &c. Vinum & Far primus populus docuit* Janus *ad ſacrificia: primus enim Aras & Pomœria & ſacra docuit*; *In the time of* Janus (ſaith he) *there was no Monarchie: for the deſire of rule had not then folded it ſelfe about the hearts of men.* Janus *firſt taught the people to ſacrifice Wine and Meale: he firſt ſet up Altars, inſtituted Gardens and ſolitarie Groves, wherein they uſed to pray; with other holy Rites and Ceremonies.* A greater teſtimonie than this there cannot be found among the Heathen, which in all agreeth ſo well with the Scriptures. For firſt, whileſt *Noah* flouriſhed, there was not any King, or Monarch; *Nimrod* being the firſt that tooke on him ſoveraigne authority. Secondly, *Noah* after the Floud was the firſt that planted the Vine, and became a Huſbandman; and therefore offered the Firſt-fruits of both (to wit) Wine and Meale. Thirdly, he was the firſt that rayſed an Altar, and offered ſacrifice to God; a thankſgiving for

*Gen.9.20*

*Gen.8.20*

for his mercifull goodneſſe towards him. *Noah* was alſo ſignified in the Name of *Bifrons* (which was given to *Janus*) becauſe he beheld the times both before & after the Floud, *Quia præterita noverit, & futura proſpexerit*, ſaith ARNOBIUS: *Becauſe he knew what was paſt, and provided for what was to come.* He was alſo in the perſon of *Janus* ſhadowed by the Name of *Chaos*, and *Semen Orbis*, *The Seed of the World*: becauſe as out of that confuſed Heape was drawne all the kinds of Beaſts and Plants; ſo from *Noah* came all Mankind. Whereof *Ovid* in the perſon of *Janus*:

*Arn.cont.Gent. lib.6.*

*Ovid.de Faſtis. lib.1.*

*Me Chaos antiqui (nam ſum res priſca) vocabant,*
*Aſpice quàm longi temporis acta cano.*

The ancient call'd me *Chaos*: my great yeeres
By thoſe old-times, of which I ſing, appeares.

He was alſo intituled *Cælum* and *Sol*, *Heaven* and the *Sunne*, for his excellent knowledge in Aſtronomie: *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus*, and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod. Siculus* and *Alex. Aphrodiſeus* ſo call, becauſe he was the reſtorer of the *Greekes* to their former libertie, but in reſpect of the Floud. For the *Greekes* called *Liber* ὕης, and his Nurſes *Hyades*, of Rayne, becauſe *Noah* entred the Arke when the Sunne joyned with the Starres *Hyades*, a conſtellation in the Brow or Necke of *Taurus*, and ever after a Monument of *Noahs* Floud. He was alſo by others ſurnamed *Triton*, a Marine god, the ſonne of *Neptune*; becauſe he lived in ſafetie on the Waters. So was he knowne by the name of *Dionyſus*, *quaſi* διανύσσων, *mentem pungens*, *Bite-braine*, or *Wit-ſtinger*; though *Diodorus* conceive otherwiſe, and derive that name *à Patre & Loco*; *Of his Father, and the place of his Birth*, (to wit) of *Jove*, and *Niſa*, a Towne of *Arabia fœlix*, ſaith *Suidas* out of *Orpheus*. He had alſo the by-name of *Taurus*, or *Taurophagus*; becauſe he firſt yoked Oxen, and tilled the ground: according to that of *Moſes*; *And* NOAH *became an Husbandman.* Now howſoever the *Grecians* vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus*, (otherwiſe *Dionyſus*) it is certaine, that the Name was borrowed, and the Invention ſtolen from *Noah*. But this Name of *Bacchus*, more anciently *Boäcus*, was taken (ſaith *Gul. Stuckius*, and out of him *Danæus*) from *Noachus*, (*N*) being changed into (*B*); and it is the more probable, becauſe it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the firſt planter of the Vine after the Floud: and of *Noah* (the firſt and ancient *Bacchus*) were all thoſe fables deviſed, of which *Diodorus* complayneth in his fourth Booke and fifth Chapter. This firſt *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah*, was ſurnamed *Nyſius*, of the Mountaine *Nyſa* in *India*; where the *Grecian Bacchus* never came, whatſoever themſelves faine of his enterpriſes: and theſe Mountaines of *Nyſa* joyne with thoſe of *Paropaniſus*, and thoſe other *Eaſterne* Mountaines, on which the Arke of *Noah* reſted after the Floud.

*Nat.Com.l.5. c.13.*

*Cœlius.*

*Gen.9.20.*

*Stuck.in libris convivalibus, & Danæus de prima mundi ætate.*

Furthermore, to the end that the memorie of this ſecond Parent of Mankind might the better be preſerved, there were founded by his Iſſues many great Cities, which bare his Name, with many Rivers and Mountaines; which oftentimes forgat that it was done in his regard, becauſe the many Names given him brought the ſame confuſion to places as to himſelfe. Notwithſtanding all which, we find the Citie of *Noah* upon the bankes of the red Sea, and elſewhere: the River of *Noas* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Noarus*; *Ptolomie*, *Danus*; dividing *Illyria* from *Panonia*. Thus much for the Name.

*Plin.l.6. Steph.de Vib. Herod.l.4. Strabo.l.7.*

## §.VIII.

### *Of ſundry particulars touching the Arke: as the place where it was made, the matter, faſhion, and name.*

NOw in what part of the World *Noah* built the *Arke*, it doth not appeare in the Scriptures, neither doe I find any approved Author that hath written thereof: onely *Goropius Becanus* in his *Indo-Scythia* conceiveth, that *Noah* built his *Arke* neere the Mountaines of *Caucaſus*, becauſe on thoſe Hils are found the goodlieſt Cedars: for when *Alex. Macedon* made the warre among the people, called *Nyſæi*, inhabiting the other ſide of *Caucaſus*, he found all their Burials & Sepulchers wrought over with Cedar. To this place (ſaith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to ſeparate himſelfe from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled againſt God & Nature, as alſo becauſe he would not be interrupted in the building of the *Arke*; to which alſo he addeth the conveniencie of Rivers, to tranſport the Timber which he uſed, without troubling any other Carriages.

Onely this we are ſure of, that the Arke was built in ſome part of the Eaſterne World; and to my underſtanding, not far from the place where it reſted after the Floud. For *Noah* did not uſe any Maſt or Sayle (as in other Ships) and therefore did the *Arke* no otherwiſe move, than the Hulke or body of a Ship doth in a calme Sea. Alſo, becauſe it is not probable, that during theſe continuall and downe-right Raines there were any Windes at all, therefore was the *Arke* little moved from the place where it was faſhioned and ſet together: for it is written, *God made a Wind to paſſe upon the Earth, and the* Gen.8.1. *Waters ceaſed.* And therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the Waters, there was not any Storme or forcible winde at all, which could drive the *Arke* any great diſtance from the place where it was firſt by the Waters lifted up. This is alſo the more probable, if that ancient opinion be true, as it is very likely, that the *Arke* had *fundum planum, a flat bottom*, and not rayſed in forme of a Ship, with a ſharpeneſſe forward, to cut the waves, for the better ſpeed.

This kind of Veſſell the *Hebrewes* call *Thebet*, and the *Greekes Larnax*, for ſo they termed *Deucalions* Ship: and ſome ſay, that the Hill *Parnaſſus*, to which in eight dayes he arrived, was firſt called *Larnaſſus*, and by the change of (*L*) into (*P*) *Parnaſſus*; but *Pau-* Steph.de Vrb. *ſanias* thinkes that it tooke name of a Sonne of the Nymph *Cleodora*, called *Parnaſſus*, the fol.227. Inventor of *Auguration*.

*Peucerus* findes the word (*Parnaſſus*) to have no affinitie with the *Greeke*, but thinkes De Oracul.fol. it derived from the *Hebrew* word *Nahas*, which ſignifieth *Auguration* and *Divination* or 94. from *Har* or *Parai*, as in his Chapter of Oracles in the Leafe before cited.

*Joſephus* calls the *Arke Machina*, by the generall name of a huge Frame; and *Epiphanius* Epiph.in Ancor. out of the *Hebrew*, *Aron*: but herein lyeth the difference betweene *Aron* and *Thebet*, That *Aron* ſignifieth properly the *Arke* of the *Sancturie*, but *Thebet* ſuch a Veſſell, as ſwimmeth, and beareth it ſelfe upon the Waters.

Laſtly, this *Arke* of *Noah* differed from the faſhion of a ſhip in this, that it had a Cover and Roofe, with a Creſt in the middeſt thereof, and the ſides declining like the Roofe of an Houſe; to the end, both to caſt off the Waters, and that thereunder *Noah* himſelfe and his children might ſhelter, and ſeparate themſelves from the noyſomneſſe of the Gen.6.4. many Beaſts, which filled the other roomes and parts of the *Arke*.

Of what Wood the *Arke* was built, it is uncertaine. The *Hebrew* word *Gopher* once, and in this place onely uſed, is diverſly underſtood: and though the matter be of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the *Geneva* Tranſlation calls it Pine-tree; the *Rabbine*, Cedar; the *Seventie*, ſquare Timber; the *Latine*, ſmooth Timber. Other will have it Cypres Trees, as dedicated to the dead, becauſe Cypres is worne at Funerals. But out of doubt, if the word *Gopher* ſignifie any ſpecial kind of Timber, *Noah* obeyed the voyce of God therein; if not, he was not then curious as touching the kind or nature of the wood, having the promiſe of God, and his grace and mercie for his defence: For with *Noah* God promiſed *to eſtabliſh his covenant*. *Plinie* affirmeth, that in *Egypt* it V.18. was the uſe to build ſhips of Cedar, which the wormes eate not; and he avoweth, that he Plin.l.16.c.40. ſaw in *Utica*, in the Temple of *Apollo*, Cedar beames, laid in the time of the foundation of the Citie, and that they were ſtill ſound in his time, which was about 1188. yeares after: proving thereby, that this kind of wood was not ſubject to putrefying or mouldring in a very long time. But in that it is eaſie to cut, light to carrie, and of a ſweete ſavour, laſting alſo better than any other wood, and becauſe neere the place where the *Arke* reſted there are found great ſtore of theſe Cedar trees, as alſo in all the Mountaines of the Eaſt, beſides thoſe of *Libanus*, it is probable enough that the *Arke* might be of that wood: which hath, beſides the other commodities, the greateſt length of Timber, & therefore fitteſt to build ſhips withall. *Pererius* conceiveth, that the *Arke* had divers ſorts of Timber, and that the bottome had of one ſort, the decke & partition of another; all which may be true or falſe, if *Gopher* may be taken for Timber in generall. True it is, that Cedar will ſerve for all parts of a Ship, as well for the body, as for Maſts and Yards. But *Noah* had moſt reſpect to the direction received from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the *Arke*; and to pitch it, and to divide it into Cabines: thereby to ſever the cleane beaſts from the uncleane, and to preſerve their ſeverall ſorts of food, and that it might be capable of all kind of living creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when *Noah* had gathered together, he caſt his confidence wholly on God; who by his Angels ſteered this Ship without a Rudder, and directed it without the helpe of a Compaſſe, or the North ſtar. The Pitch which *Noah* uſed, is by ſome ſuppoſed to have bin a kind of *Bitumen*, whereof there is great quantitie about the Valley of *Sodome* and *Gomorah*, now the dead Sea, or *Aſphaltes*, and in the Region of *Babylon*, and in the Weſt *India*: and herein it exeeedeth other Pitch, that it melts not with the Sunne, but by the fire onely, after the manner of hard Waxe.

*Pererius.*

## §. IX.

### *That the Arke was of ſufficient capacitie.*

THe *Arke*, according to Gods commandement, had of length three hundred Cubites, fifty of bredth, and thirtie deepe or high: by which proportion, it had ſixe parts of length to one of bredth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which S. AUGUSTINE: *Proculdubio figura eſt peregrinantis in hoc ſeculo Civitatis Dei,* (*hoc eſt*) *Eccleſiæ, quæ ſit ſalva per lignum, in quo pependit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Jeſus Chriſtus: nam & menſura ipſa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudiniſq; ejus ſignificat corpus humanum, in cujus veritate ad homines prænunciatus eſt venturus, & venit, &c. Without doubt* (ſaith he) *it is a figure of the City of God travailing in this World as a ſtranger,* (*that is*) *of the Church, ſaved by the Tree, whereupon the Mediator betweene God and Man, the Man Jeſus Chriſt did hang: for even the very meaſure of the length, height and breadth, anſwereth the ſhape of Mans body, in the truth whereof the comming of Chriſt was fore-told and performed.*

*De Civit. Dei. l.15.c.26.*

By what kinde of Cubite the *Arke* was meaſured, it hath bin a diſputed queſtion among the Fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect theſe: The firſt kind of Cubit (called the Common) containeth one foot and a halfe, meaſured from the ſharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The ſecond (the Palme-Cubit) which taketh one handfull more than the common. The third is called *Regius Cubitus*, or the *Perſian* Cubit, which exceedeth the common Cubit three ynches. The fourth is the ſacred Cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar Cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Laſtly, there is a fift Cubit, called Geometricall, which containeth ſix common Cubits. But of all theſe ſorts, which were commonly meaſured by the vulgar Cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens ſtatures hath made the difference. For as there is now a leſſe proportion of bodies, ſo is the common Cubit, from the ſharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of leſſe length than it was in elder times.

S. *Auguſtine* conſidering the many ſorts of Beaſts and Birds which the *Arke* held, with their food and water, was ſometimes of opinion, that the *Arke* had proportion after the Geometricall Cubit, which containeth almoſt ſixe of the Common: For, meaſuring the *Arke* by the vulgar Cubit, it did not exceed the capacitie of that Veſſell built by *Hiero* of *Syracuſe*, or the Ship of *Ptolomie Philo-pater*. But S. *Auguſtine* (who at the firſt was led by *Origen*) changed his judgement as touching the Geometricall Cubit; and found, upon better conſideration, that there needed not ſo huge a Body to preſerve all ſorts of Creatures, by God appointed to be reſerved. For it was not needfull to take any kindes of Fiſhes into the *Arke*, becauſe they were kept living (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) in their owne element. *Non fuit neceſſe conſervare in Arca quæ poſſent in aquis vivere; non ſolùm merſa ſicut Piſces, verùm ſuper-natantia, ſicut multa alites: It was not needfull to conſerve thoſe Creatures in the Arke, which could live in the Waters; and not onely Fiſhes which can live under water, but alſo thoſe Fowles which ſit and ſwim on them.* And againe *Terra, non aqua, maledicta, quia* ADAM *non hujus, ſed illius fructum vetitum comedit: It was the Earth, and not the Waters which God curſed; for of the forbidden fruit of the Earth, and not of the Sea, did* ADAM *eat.* So as S. *Auguſtine* gathereth hereupon (as aforeſaid) that ſo huge a Frame needed not.

*Athen. dipnoſop. lib.4.*
*Plutar. in vita Demetrii.*

*Aug. de Civit. Dei. lib.5.c.27.*

And if we looke with the eyes of judgement hereunto, we ſhall finde nothing monſtrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the moſt part) have more of miſchiefe and of ignorance, than of any reverend reaſon, found many impoſſibilities in this worke of God. But it is manifeſt, and undoubtedly true, that many of the *Species*, which now ſeeme differing, and of ſeverall kinds, were not then *in rerum natura*. For thoſe Beaſts which are of mixt natures, either they were not in that age, or elſe it was not needfull to preſerve them, ſeeing they might be generated againe by others: as the Mules, the *Hyana's*, and the like; the one begotten by Aſſes and Mares, and the other by Foxes and Wolves. And whereas by diſcovering of ſtrange Lands, wherein there are found divers Beaſts and Birds, differing in colour or ſtature from thoſe of theſe Northerne parts; it may be ſuppoſed by a ſuperficiall conſideration, that all thoſe which weare red and pyed Skinnes, or Feathers, are differing from thoſe that are leſſe painted, and weare plaine ruſſet or blacke; they are much miſtaken that ſo thinke. And for my owne opinion, I find no difference, but onely in magnitude, betweene the Cat of Europe, and the Ownce of India; and even thoſe Dogges which are become wilde in *Hiſpagniola*, with which the Spaniards uſed to devoure the naked Indians, are now changed to Wolves, and begin to deſtroy the breed of their Cattell, and doe alſo oftentimes teare aſunder their owne Children. The common Crow and Rooke of India is full of red feathers in the drowned and low Iſlands of Caribana; and the Black-bird and Thruſh hath his feathers mixt with blacke and carnation, in the North parts of Virginia. The Dog-fiſh of England is the Sharke of the South Ocean: For if colour or magnitude made a difference of *Species*, then were the Negro's, which we call the Blacke-Mores, *non animalia rationalia*, not Men, but ſome kind of ſtrange Beaſts: and ſo the Gyants of the South America ſhould be of another kind, than the people of this part of the World. We alſo ſee it daily, that the natures of Fruits are changed by tranſplantation, ſome to better, ſome to worſe, eſpecially with the change of Clymate. Crabs may be made good Fruit by often grafting, and the beſt Melons will change in a yeere or two to common Cowcummers, by being ſet in a barren Soyle. Therefore taking the kindes preciſely of all Creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the Earth by is Ordinance produced; the Arke, after the meaſure of the common Cubit, was ſufficiently capacious to containe of all, according to the number by God appointed: For f we adde but halfe a foot of meaſure to the common Cubit, which had a foot and a alfe of Giantly ſtature (and leſſe allowance we cannot give to the difference betweene hem and us) then did the Arke containe 600. foot in length, and 100. foot in bredth, and 0. foot deepe.

Acoſt.hiſt.India.

But firſt of all, to make it manifeſt that the Geometricall Cubit is not uſed in the cripture, the ſtature of the Giants therein named may ſuffice. For if the Bed of *Og*, King of Baſan, had bin nine Geometricall Cubites long, it had taken 54. Cubites of e common, which make 80. foot: and *Goliah*, who had the length of ſix Cubites and handfull, which makes nine foot and a handfull (a proportion credible) if theſe Cubites ad bin Geometricall, then had bin 54. foot in height, and upwards, which were onſtrous and moſt incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the head of *Go-ah* bin nine foot long, and farre weightier and bigger than all *Davids* bodie, who carried away.

Deut.3.11.

1 Sam.17.4.

Againe, if the Geometricall Cubit had beene uſed for a Meaſure in the Scripture, as any Commenters have obſerved, then had the Altar (appointed to containe five Cu-tes of length, five of bredth, and three of height) have reached the length of 27. foot pright, and ſo muſt their Prieſts have aſcended by ſteps or Ladders ot have performed eir Sacrifices thereon, which was contrarie to Gods Commandement given in theſe ords: *Thou ſhalt not goe up with ſteppes unto mine Altar, that thy ſhame be not diſcove-d thereon*; and therefore was the Altar but three common Cubits high, which make ure foot, that their Prieſts ſtanding thereby might execute their Office: Wherefore may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was not the Geometricall, t the ordinarie Cubit of one foot and a halfe, according to the meaſure of Giantly ature; which meaſure (doubtleſſe) might give much the more capacitie to the Arke; though it be alſo probable, that as the Men were, ſo were the Horſes whereon they de, and all other creatures of a correſpondent ſize. And yet (as I take it) though by s meanes there were not any whit the more roome in the Arke, it were not hard to ceive, how all the diſtinct *Species* of *Animals*, whoſe lives cannot be preſerved in the aters, might according to their preſent quantities be contained in a Veſſell of thoſe menſions which the Arke had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a halfe of our now all meaſure: whence it followeth of neceſſitie, that thoſe large Bodies which were in e dayes of *Noah* might have roome ſufficient in the Arke, which was meaſured by a bit of length proportionable.

Exod.20.26.

How the appointed number of creatures to be ſaved, (that is ſeven of the cleane, two he uncleane (with neceſſarie foode) might have place in the *Arke*; *Buteo* hath very learnedly declared: the briefe ſumme of whoſe diſcourſe to that purpoſe, is this. *The length of the Arke was three hundred Cubites, which multiplyed by the bredth, namely fifty Cubits, and the product by the height of thirtie Cubites, ſheweth the whole Concavitie to have beene.* 450000. Now whereas the poſts, walls, and other partitions of Lodgings may ſeeme to have taken up a great part of the hollow: the height of the roofe, which (the perpendicular being one Cubite) contained 7500. cubicall Cubes, was a ſufficient recompence: If therfore in a Ship of ſuch greatneſſe we ſeeke roome for 89. diſtinct *Species* of Beaſts, or (leſt any ſhould be omitted) for 100. ſeverall kinds, we ſhall eaſily find place both for them, and for the Birds, which in bigneſſe are no way anſwerable to them, and for meat to ſuſtaine them all. For there are three ſorts of Beaſts, whoſe bodies are of a quantitie beſt knowne; the Beefe, the Sheepe, and the Wolfe: to which the reſt may be reduced, by ſaying, (according to *Ariſtotle*) that one Elephant is anſwerable to foure Beeves, one Lyon to two Wolves, and ſo of the reſt. Of Beaſts, ſome feede on vegetables, others on fleſh. There are one and thirtie kinds of the greater ſort, feeding on vegetables: of which number, onely three are cleane, according to the Law of *Moſes*, whereof ſeven of a kind entred into the *Arke*, namely, three couples for breede, and one odde one for ſacrifice: the other eight and twentie kindes were taken by two of eac kinde, ſo that in all there were in the *Arke* one and twentie great Beaſts cleane, & ſix an fiftie uncleane, eſtimable for largeneſſe as ninetie one Beeves; yet for a ſupplement (le perhaps any *Species* be omitted) let them be valued as a hundred and twentie Beeves Of the leſſer ſort feeding on vegetables, were in the *Arke* ſixe and twentie kinds, eſtima ble with good allowance for ſupply, as fourescore Sheepe. Of thoſe which devou fleſh were two and thirtie kinds, anſwerable to threeſcore and foure Wolves. All the two hundred and eightie Beaſts might be kept in one ſtorie or roome of the *Arke*, their ſeverall Cabbines; their meate in a ſecond: the Birds and their proviſion in a thi with place to ſpare for *Noah* and his family, and all their neceſſaries.

## §. X.

## *That the Arke reſted upon part of the Hill Taurus (or Caucaſus) betweene the Eaſt Indies, and Scythia.*

### †. I.

### *A preterition of ſome queſtions leſſe materiall: with a note of the uſe of this queſtion to finde out the Metropolis of Nations.*

WHat time *Noah* tooke to build the *Arke*, I leave to others to diſpute: b he received the Commandement from God a hundred yeeres before t waters fell; and had therefore choyce of time and leyſure ſufficient. A for the number of Deckes and Partitions, which *Origen* divides into foure, S. *Auguſti* into three, I wil not trouble the Reader with the controverſie: or whether thoſe creatu which ſometimes reſt on the Land, other times in the Waters, as the Crocodiles (no called *Alegartos*) the Sea-Cowes or Sea-Horſes, were kept in the *Arke*, or no, I thin it a needleſſe curioſitie; and yet to this ſaith *Pererius*, and others before him, that a Fi poole might be made as well within the *Arke*, as in *Hiero* his Ship of *Syracuſe*. Laſtly, t conſider or labour to diſprove the foolerie of the *Hebrewes*, who ſuppoſe that the *Ar* was lightened by a Carbuncle, or had Windows of Cryſtall to receive in Light, & keep out Water, were but to revive the buried vanities of former times. But that which I ſeek moſt to ſatisfie my ſelfe and others in, is, in what part of the World the *Arke* reſted afte the Floud: becauſe the true underſtanding of ſome of theſe places (as the Seate of th terreſtriall *Paradiſe*, and the reſting of the *Arke*) doe onely and truly teach the World Plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the Floud; and all ſtorie, a well generall as particular, thereby may be the better underſtood.

### †. II.

### *A propoſall of the common opinion, that the Arke reſted upon ſome of the Hils of Armenia.*

AND firſt, for the true place where the *Arke* reſted after the Floud, and from wha part of the World the Children of *Noah* travailed to their firſt ſettlement an pla plantation, I am reſolved (without any preſumption) that therein the moſt writers were utterly miſtaken. And I am not led ſo to thinke out of my Humour or newneſſe of opinion, or ſingularitie; but doe herein ground my ſelfe on the originall & firſt truth, which is the word of God, and after that upon reaſon, and the moſt probable circumſtances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, *that the Arke ſtaied upon one of the mountaines of Ararat*, which the *Chaldean Paraphraſt* hath converted *Kardu*, meaning the hils *Gordæi* or *Gordiæi* in *Armenia* the greater: (as the words *Gordæi* and *Kardu*, ſeeme to be one and the ſame) of which opinion alſo the moſt of our Interpreters are; I finde neither Scripture nor reaſon which teacheth any ſuch thing: (to wit) that it reſted on that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater *Armenia*. *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* cals this mountaine of *Ararat*, *Baris*; being the ſame which the *Chaldæan* nameth *Kardu*, to which mountaine the Fryer *Annius* (citing this place out of *Joſephus*) makes him finde another adjoyning, called *Ocila*, and to ſay that the *Arke* (of which *Moſes* the Lawgiver of the Hebrewes wrote) did firſt take ground on this *Ocila*. But I doe not finde any ſuch mountaine in being, as this *Ocila*, neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Joſephus*. *Strabo* remembreth a Promontorie in *Arabia fælix* of that name; and *Plinie* findes a Mart-towne ſo called in the ſame, which *Ptolomie* cals *Ocilis*, *Pinetus Acyla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocila* of *Damaſcenus*, or rather of *Annius*, ſeemeth to be one and a part of the *Armenian* mountaines. *Beroſus* calleth thoſe mountaines of *Armenia Gordiæi*, and *Curtius Cordæi*: *Ptolomie Gordæi* and *Gordiæi*: of which the Countrie next adjoyning is by this *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* called *Ninyada*, perhaps (as *Becanus* conjectures) for *Milyada* or rather *Minni*: which word is uſed for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of *Armenia* ſeemes to be compounded of this word *Minni*, and *Aram*: as if we ſhould ſay *Minni of Syria*; for that *Armenia* alſo was a part of *Syria*, *Plinie* witneſſeth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Cardyes* about theſe mountaines, whom others call *Gordieni* or *Gordeni*. The mountaines are ſeated apart from all other to the North of that Ledge of the mountaines called *Taurus*, or *Niphates* in the plaines of *Armenia* the great, neere the Lake *Thopitis*: whence the River of *Tigris* floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. and 42. degrees of latitude. One of the mountaines *Gordiæi* (that which ſurmounteth the reſt) *Epiphanius* cals *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* ſignifieth a place of deſcent: but this out of *Joſephus*; which name (ſaith *Junius*) was of the event, becauſe of *Noahs* comming downe with his children. But this alſo I take to be a ſuppoſed event; ſeeing any hill from whence on every ſide we muſt deſcend, may thus be called: as *Junius* corrects the place *Joſephus* λούβαρις (*Kubaris*.) That the place is thus to be read, he conjectureth, becauſe *Joſep.l.1.c.4.* ſayes, the place is called ἀποβατήριον (as it were the deſcent or comming downe) and *Epiphan. l.1. contr. Hæreſ.* cals it λόφαρ. which word in the *Armenian* and *Egyptian* tongue ſignifieth deſcent, of *Lubar*, which is to deſcend; whence alſo *Lubra* a *Synagogue*, becauſe it was commonly built on ſome high place: whereof alſo the Latine *Delubrum* may ſeeme to be derived; and *Act.6.9.* they that belonged to the *Synagogue* of the *Ægyptians* are called *Libertini*, for *Lubratenu*. Yet this opinion hath beene embraced from age to age, receiving a habit of ſtrength by time, and allowance without any farther examination; although the name of *Lubar* might otherwiſe rightly be given, eſpecially to that mountaine, by reaſon that the paſſage was more faire, up and downe to it, than to any of the reſt adjoyning.

Gen.8.4.
Hiero.51.27.
Nat.hiſt.l.5. cap.12.
Joſeph.de Antiq. l.1.c.4.

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### †. III.

### *The firſt argument againſt the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, would have come ſooner, had they come from ſo neere a place as Armenia.*

But there are many arguments to perſwade me, that the *Arke* of *Noah* did not reſt it ſelfe in any part of *Armenia*, and that the mountaine *Ararat* was not *Baris*, nor any one of the *Gordiæan* mountaines.

the firſt, it is agreed by all which follow *Beroſus*, that it was in the 130. yeere, or in the yeere 131. after the floud, when *Nimrod* came into the valley of *Shinar*, which Valley was afterward called *Babylonia*, *Chuſh*, and *Chaldæa*. If then the *Arke* had firſt found *Armenia*, it is very unprobable, that the children of *Noah* which came into that ſhould have ſpent ſo many yeeres in ſo ſhort a paſſage: ſeeing the Region of *Meſo-* was onely interjacent, which might by eaſie journeyes have beene paſt over in

Beroſ.l.1.

twentie dayes; and to haſten and helpe which paſſage, the navigable River of *Tygris* offered it ſelfe, which is every where tranſpaſſable by boates of great burden: ſo as where the Deſart on the one ſide reſiſted their expedition, the river on the contrary ſide ſerved to advance it; the River riſing out of the ſame Ledge of mountaines, or at the foote of them, where the *Arke* of *Noah* was firſt ſuppoſed to ſettle it ſelfe; Then if the Nations which followed *Nimrod* ſtill doubted the ſurpriſe of a ſecond floud (according to the opinions of the ancient Hebrewes) it ſoundeth ill to the eare of reaſon, that they would have ſpent many yeeres in that low and overflowne Valley of *Meſopotamia*, ſo called of the many Rivers which imbroyder or compaſſe it: for the effects witneſſed their affections, and the workes which they undertooke, their unbeleefe; being no ſooner arrived in *Shinar*, but they began to provide themſelves of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) againſt any future or feared inundation. Now at *Babel* it was that *Nimrod* began his Kingdom, the firſt knowne Citie of the world, founded after the floud about 131. yeeres, or (as others ſuppoſe) ten yeeres later: though (for my ſelfe) I rather thinke, that they undertooke that worke in two reſpects; firſt, to make themſelves famous, *To get us a name* (ſaith the Text:) Secondly, thereby to uſurpe dominion over the reſt.

*Gen.*10.10.
*Beroſ.l.*1.

### †.IIII.
### *The ſecond argument, That the Eaſterne people were moſt ancient in populoſitie, and in all humane glory.*

FOr a ſecond Argument: The civilitie, magnificence and multitude of people (wherein the Eaſt parts of the world firſt abounded) hath more weight than any thing which hath bin, or can be ſaid for *Armenia*, and for *Noahs* taking land there. And that this is true, the uſe of Printing and Artillerie (among many other things which the Eaſt had), may eaſily perſwade us, that thoſe Sunne-riſing Nations were the moſt ancient. The certaintie of this report, that the Eaſt *Indians* (time out of minde) have had Gunnes and Ordnance of batterie, confirmed by the *Portugals* and others, make us now to underſtand, That the place of *Philoſtratus in vita Apollonii Tianæi, l.*2.*c.*14. is no fable, though expreſt in fabulous words: when he ſaith, that the wiſe men, which dwell betweene *Hyphaſis* and *Ganges*, uſe not themſelves to goe forth into battaile: but that they drive away their enemies with thunder and lightning ſent from *Jupiter*. By which meanes there it is ſaid, that *Hercules Ægyptius* and *Bacchus*, joyning their forces, were defeated there; and that this *Hercules* there caſt away his golden ſhield. For the invention of letters was ignorantly aſcribed to *Cadmus*, becauſe he brought them firſt into Greece: of which the people (then rude and ſavage) had reaſon to give him the honour, from whom they received the benefit. But it is true, that letters are no leſſe ancient than *Seth* or *Henoch* were: for they are ſaid to have written on pillars of ſtone (as before remembred) long before the floud. But from the Eaſterne world it was that *John Cuthenberg* a *Germane*, brought the device of Printing: by whom *Conradus* being inſtructed, brought the practice thereof to *Rome*: and after that *Nicholaus Gerſon* a *Frenchman*, bettered both the letters and invention. And notwithſtanding that this myſterie was then ſuppoſed to be but newly borne, the *Chinaos* had letters long before either the *Egyptians* or *Phœnicians*; and alſo the Art of Printing, when as the Greekes had neither any civill knowledge, or any letters among them.

And, that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* have witneſſed, who about an hundred yeeres ſince diſcovered thoſe Kingdomes, and doe now enjoy their rich trades therein: for the *Chinaos* account all other Nations but Salvages, in reſpect of themſelves.

And to adde ſtrength to this argument, the conqueſt and ſtorie of *Alex. Macedon* may juſtly be called to witneſſe, who found more Cities and ſumptuoſitie in that little Kingdome of *Porus*, which lay ſide by ſide to the Eaſt *India*, than in all his other travails & undertakings. For in *Alexanders* time learning and greatneſſe had not travailed ſo far to the Weſt as *Rome*: *Alexander* eſteeming of *Italie* but as a barbarous Countrie, and of *Rome* as of a Village. But it was *Babylon* that ſtood in his eye, and the fame of the Eaſt pierced his eares. And if we looke as farre as the Sun-riſing, and heare *Paulus Venetus* what he reporteth of the uttermoſt Angle and *Iſland*, thereof, wee ſhall finde that thoſe Nations have ſent out, and not received; lent knowledge, and not borrowed it from the Weſt. For the farther Eaſt (to this day) the more civill, the farther Weſt the more Salvage.

And of the *Iſle of Japan* (now *Zipingari*) *Venetus* maketh this report: *Incolæ religioni, literis, & ſapientiæ ſunt addictiſsimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more noſtro) ſacris in delubris exercent: unum cognoſcunt Principem, unum Deum adorant: The Ilanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters and Philoſophie, and moſt diligent ſearchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent than prayer, which they uſe in their Churches, after the manner of Chriſtians. They acknowledge one King, and worſhip one God.* The antiquitie, magnificence, civilitie, riches, ſumptuous buildings, and policie in government, is reported to be ſuch by thoſe who have bin employed into thoſe parts, as it ſeemeth to exceede (in thoſe formerly named, and divers other particulars) all other Kingdomes of the world.

### †.V.

### *The third argument, From the wonderfull reſiſtance which* SEMIRAMIS *found in the Eaſt Indies.*

BUt for a third argument, and alſo of a treble ſtrength to the reſt, I lay the invaſion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and adviſed Reader: who may conſider in what age ſhe lived, and how ſoone after the worlds new birth ſhee gathered her Armie (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Cteſias* reporteth) of more than three Millions to invade *India*, to which he adjoyned alſo 500000. Horſe; and 100000. Waggons: whereof if we beleeve but a third part, it ſhall ſuffice to prove that *India* was the firſt planted and peopled Countrie after the floud. Now as touching the time wherein ſhee lived: All Hiſtorians conſent, that ſhee was the wife of *Ninus*; and the moſt approved Writers agree, that *Ninus* was the Sonne of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the Sonne of *Cuſh*, *Cuſh* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at ſuch time as *Nimrod* came to *Shinaar*, he was then a great Nation, as by the building of the Citie and Tower of *Babel* may appeare; and being then ſo multiplied and increaſed, the two deſcents caſt betweene *Nimrod* and *Semiramis*, brought forth in that time thoſe multitudes, whereof her Armie was compoſed. Let us then ſee with whom ſhee encountred in that warre with this her powerfull Armie: even with a multitude, rather exceeding, than equalling, her owne, conducted by *Staurobates* King of *India* beyond *Indus*; of whoſe multitudes this is the witneſſe of *Diod. Siculus*. STAUROBATES *avitis majoribus quàm quæ erant* SEMIRAMIDIS *copiis:* STAUROBATES *gathering together greater troupes than thoſe of* SEMIRAMIS. If then theſe numbers of *Indians* had beene encreaſed but by a *Colonie* ſent out from *Shinaar*, (and that alſo after *Babel* was built, which no doubt tooke ſome time in the performance) this encreaſe in the Eaſt, and this Armie of *Staurobates* muſt have beene made of ſtone, or ſomewhat elſe by miracle. For as the numbers which *Semiramis* gathered might eaſily grow up in that time, from ſo great a Troupe as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as ſhall be demonſtrated hereafter in the Storie of *Iſrael*) ſo could not any ſuch time, by any multiplication naturall, produce ſo many bodies of men as were in the *Indian* Armie victorious over *Semiramis*, if the *Colonies* ſent thither had beene ſo late as *Babel* overturned, and the confuſion of Languages. For if wee allow 65. yeeres time after the Floud, before *Nimrod* was borne: of which, thirty yeeres to *Cuſh* ere he begat *Seba*, after whom he had *Havilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecha*: and then thirtie yeeres to *Raamah*, ere he begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, both which were borne before *Nimrod*: and five yeeres to his five elder brothers, which make ſixtie five, and then twice thirtie yeeres for two Generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba* and *Dedan* with others, to beget their ſonnes; and that a third Generation might grow up, which makes in all an hundred twenty five yeeres; there will then remaine ſixe yeeres to have bin ſpent in travailing from the Eaſt, ere they arrived in *Shinaar* in the yeere after the Floud 131. And ſo the followers of *Nimrod* might be of ſufficient multitude. But as for thoſe which make him to have arrived at *Shinaar* in the yeere 101. and the confuſion to have beene at *Pelegs* birth, theſe men doe all by miracle: they beget whole Nations without the helpe of time; and build *Nimrods* Tower in the Ayre; and not on thoſe low and mariſh grounds (which require ſound foundations) in the Plaines of *Shinaar*. For except that huge Tower were built in a day, there could be no confuſion in that yeere 101. or at *Pelegs* birth. And therefore it is farre more probable, that *Nimrod* uſurped Regall authority in the 131. yeere

*Gen.10.7.*

*Glycas in Gen.& de Turris exſtructione fol.*173.

after the Floud, ( according to *Beroſus* ) and that the worke of *Babel* laſted forty yeeres ( according to GLYCAS) *Hominibus in ea perficienda totis* 40.*annis incaſſum laborantibus*; *Men labouring in vaine* 40.*yeeres to finiſh it.* By which account it fals out,that it was 170. yeeres after the Floud,ere a *Colonie* was ſent into *Eaſt India*; which granted (the one being the maine body,and the other but a Troupe taken thence ) it can hardly be beleeved that *Staurobates* could have exceeded *Semiramis* in numbers: who being then Empreſſe of all the part of that world,gathered the moſt of Nations into one bodie.

### †. VI.

### *The fourth Argument from diuers conſiderations in the perſon of* NOAH.

FOurthly,it is no way probable,that *Noah*, who knew the world before the floud, and had lived therein the long time of 600.yeeres,was all that ſpace 130. yeeres after the floud,without any certain habitation:No,it wil fall out,and better agree with reaſon,that *Nimrod* was but the conducter of thoſe people,by *Noah* deſtined and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth and the Weſterne world; (which travailes *Noah* put over to young and able bodies ) and that *Noah* himſelfe then covered with many yeeres, planted himſelfe in the ſame place which God had aſſigned him; which was where he firſt came downe out of the *Arke* from the waters: for it is written, that after *Noah* came downe out of the *Arke*, he planted a Vineyard, and became a Husbandman: whoſe buſineſſe was to dreſſe and manure the earth; and not to range over ſo many parts of the world, as from *Armenia* into *Arabia fœlix*, where he ſhould (if the tradition be ſound ) have left certaine *Colonies*: thence into *Africa* towards *Triton*, then into *Spaine*, where they ſay he ſettled other companies, and built Cities after the names of *Noela* and *Noegla* his ſonnes wives: from thence into *Italie*, where they ſay he found his ſonne *Cham* the *Saturne* of *Egypt*, who had corrupted the people and ſubjects of *Gomer* in his abſence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the ſtorie) had patience for three yeeres; but then finding no amendement, they ſay he baniſht him out of *Italie*. Theſe be but the fancies of *Beroſus Annianus*, a plaine imitation of the Græcian fables. For let every reaſonable man conceive, what it was to travaile farre in ſuch a forreſt as the World was, when after ſo great a rotting of the earth by the floud, the ſame lay waſte and over-growne for 130.or 140. yeeres, and wherein there could hardly be found either part or paſſage through which men were able to creepe for woods, buſhes and bryars that in thoſe yeeres were growne up.

And there are ſo many reaſons,proving that *Noah* never came into the valley of *Shinaar*, as we need not ſuſpect his paſſage into *Italie* or *Spaine*: For *Noah*, who was Father of all thoſe Nations,a man reverenced both for his authority, knowledge, experience and pietie, would never have permitted his children and iſſues to have undertaken that unbeleeving preſumptuous worke of *Babel*. Rather by his preſence and prevalent perſwaſions he would have bound their hands from ſo vaine labours,and by the authority which he received even from God himſelfe, he would have held them in that awfull ſubjection, as whatſoever they had vainely conceived or feared,yet they durſt not have diſobeyed the perſonall commandement of him, who in the beginning had a kinde of Regall authority over his children and people. Certainely, *Noah* knew right well, that the former deſtruction of mankinde was by themſelves purchaſed through crueltie and diſobedience; and that to diſtruſt God, and to raiſe up building againſt his Almighty power, was as much as in them lay, a provocation of God to lay on them the ſame, if not a more ſharpe affliction. Wherefore, there is no probabilitie, that ever he came ſo farre Weſt as *Babylonia*; but rather, that he ſent thoſe numbers, which came into *Shinaar* ( being the greateſt troupe, becauſe they had the greateſt part of the world to plant ) under *Nimrod*, or thoſe upon whom he uſurped. *Nauclerus* and *Cæleſtinus* take the teſtimony of *Methodius* Biſhop of *Tyre* for currant, that there were three Leaders of the people after their encreaſe ( to wit ) *Nimrod*, *Suphene*, and *Joctan*: of which *Nimred* commanded the iſſues of *Cham*, *Joctan* of *Sem*, and *Suphene* of *Japhet*. This opinion I cannot judge of, although I will not doubt, but that ſo great a worke as the worlds plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction.

Of the ſonnes of *Sem*: *Joctan*, *Havilah*, and *Ophir*, are eſpecially noted to have dwelt in the *Eaſt India*. The reſt of *Sems* iſſues had alſo the Regions of *Perſia* and the other adjoyning to *Indus*, and held alſo a part of *Chaldæa* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Ur*, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sonnes of *Joctan*, or of all the reſt a certaine number (*Cham* and his iſſue onely excepted) that *Noah* kept with himſelfe; it cannot be knowne. Of which plantation I ſhall ſpeake at large in the Chapter following.

Now another reaſon which moves me to beleeve, that *Noah* ſtayed in the Eaſt far away from all thoſe that came into *Shinaar*, is, that *Moſes* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the ſtory of the Hebrewes, or among any of thoſe *Nations* which contended with them. And *Noah*, being the Father of all mankinde, and the choſen ſervant of God, was too principall a perſon, to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in reſpect of his age and weariſome experience of the world) withdrawne himſelfe, and reſted a part with his beſt beloved, giving himſelfe to the ſervice and contemplation of God and heavenly things, after he had directed his children to their deſtined portions. For he landed in a warme and fertile ſoile, where he planted his Vineyard, and dreſt the earth; after which, and his thankſ-giving to God by ſacrifice, hee is not remembred in the Scriptures, becauſe he was ſo farre away from thoſe Nations of which *Moſes* wrote: which were the Hebrewes chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

### †. VII.

### *Of the ſenſeleſſe opinion of* ANNIUS *the Commentor upon* BEROSUS: *who finds divers places where the Arke reſted; as the Caſpian and Gordiæan hils which are three hundred miles aſunder; and alſo ſome place of Scythia.*

IT remaineth now that we examine the Arguments and authorities of Frier *Annius*, who in his Commentaries upon *Beroſus* and others, laboureth marvailouſly to prove that the *Arke* of *Noah* reſted upon the *Armenian* mountaines called *Caſpii*; which mountaines ſeparate *Armenia* from the upper *Media*, and doe equally belong to both. And becauſe all his Authours ſpeake of the mountaines *Gordiæi*, he hath no other ſhift to unite theſe opinions, but by uniting thoſe farre-diſtant mountaines together. To effect which he hath found no other invention, than to charge thoſe men with errour, which have carefully over-ſeene, printed, and publiſhed *Ptolimies* Geographie, in which they are altogether diſſevered. *Ptol.tab.Aſiæ.3.* For that laſt edition of *Mercators*, ſets theſe hills five degrees (which makes three hundred Engliſh miles) aſunder. And certainely, if we looke into thoſe more ancient copies of *Villanovanus* and others, we ſhall find nothing in them to helpe *Annius* withall: for in thoſe the mountaines *Caſpii* ſtand ſeven degrees to the Eaſt of the *Cordiæi*, which make 420. miles. And for thoſe Authours by whoſe authoritie *Annius* ſtrengtheneth himſelfe, *Diodorus* whom he ſo much followeth, giveth this judgment upon them in the like diſpute. *Aberrârunt verò omnes, non negligentâ, ſed regnorum ſitus ignorantiâ, They have all erred* (ſaith he) *not through negligence, but through ignorance of the ſituation of Kingdomes.* *Diod.l.c.3.* But for an induction, to prove that the *Arke* of *Noah* ſtood on the mountaines of *Armenia*, he beginneth with the antiquity of the *Scythians*: and to prove the ſame he citeth *Marcus Portius Cato*, who avoweth that 250. yeeres before *Ninus*, the earth was overflowne with waters, *& in Scythia Sagarenatum mortale genus; and that in Scythia the flocke of mortall men was renewed.* *Cato de orig. pars prima.* The ſame Authour alſo teacheth that the *Umbri* before remembred (who were ſo called, becauſe ſaved from *Deucalions* floud) were the Sonnes of the *Galli*, a Nation of the *Scythians*. *Ex his veniſſe* JANUM *cum* DYRIM, *& Gallis progenitoribus Umbrorum; From theſe Sythians*, he ſaith, *that* JANUS *ſame with* DYRIM, *and with the Galli the progenitours of the Umbri*: And againe, *Equidem principatus originis ſemper Scythis tribuitur; Certainely, the Prime antiquitie of off-ſpring is alway given to the Scythians.* And herein truely I agree with *Annius*, that thoſe Regions called *Scythia*, and now *Tartaria*, and by ſome Writers *Sarmatia*, *Aſiatica*, were among the firſt peopled: and they held the greateſt part of *Aſia* under tribute till *Ninus* time. Alſo *Plinie* called the *Umbri* which long ſince inhabited *Italie*, *Gens antiquiſſima, a moſt ancient Nation*, who deſcended of theſe *Scythians*. *Plin.l.3.c.14.* Now that which *Annius* laboureth, is to proove that theſe ancient *Scythians* (meaning the Nephewes of *Noah*) did firſt inhabit that Region of the mountaines, on which the *Arke* reſted; and confeſſing that this great ſhip was grounded in *Armenia*, he faineth a nation of *Scythians* called *Araxea*, taking name of the mountaine *Ararat*, neere the River of *Araxes*. And becauſe his Author *Cato* helpeth him in part

( to wit, That in *Scythia* mankinde was reſtored after the great floud, 250.yeares before *Ninus* ) and in part utterly deſtroyeth his conceit of *Armenia*, by adding the word *Saga*; as, *In Scythia Sagæ renatum mortale genus*; *In Scythia Saga mankinde was reſtored*, he therfore in the *Proœme* of his Commentary upon *Beroſus*, leaveth out the additition of *Saga* altogether in the repetition of *Cato* his words, and writes, *homines in Scythia ſalvatos*. For *Scythia Saga* or *Sacæ*, is undoubtedly under the Mountaines of *Paropaniſus*; on which, or neare which it is moſt probable that the *Arke* firſt tooke ground: and from thoſe Eaſt parts ( according to *Moſes* ) came all thoſe companies which erected the Tower of *Babel* in *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*.

Beroſ.l.1.
Ptol.Aſiæ.tab.7.
Gen.11.2.

But now the beſt authority which *Annius* hath, is out of *Diodorus*: where he hath read, that the *Scythians* were originally *Armenians*, taking name *à Scytha Rege eorum*, *from Scytha their King*. But ( in a word ) we may ſee his vanity, or rather( indeede ) his falſhood in citing this place. For *Diodorus*, a moſt approved and diligent Author, beginneth in that place with theſe words: *Fabulantur Scythæ*; *The Scythians fable*: and his Interpreter in the table of that worke giveth this title to that very Chapter. *Scytharum origo & ſucceſſus, fabula*; *The originall and ſucceſſe of the Scythians, a fable*. And( indeede) there needs no great diſproofe hereof, ſince *Ptolomie* doth directly delineate *Scythia Saga* or *Sacæ*, and ſets them in 130.degrees of longitude: and the *Perſians* ( ſaith *Herodotus* ) call all the *Scythians*, *Sacæ*; which *Pliny* confirmeth: for in reſpect that theſe *Sacæ* ( ſaith *Pliny* ) are the next *Scythians* to the *Perſians*, therefore they gave all the reſt that name. Now that any Nation in *Armenia* can neighbour the *Perſians*, there is no man beleeveth. But this ſuppoſed *Scythia Araxea* in *Armenia* lyeth in 78. degrees of longitude ( that is ) 42.degrees diſtant from the *Sacæ*; and the Country about *Araxes Ptolomy* calleth *Colthene* and *Soducene* and *Sacapene* without any mention of *Scythia* at all: and yet all thoſe which are or were reputed *Scythians* either within *Imaus* or without, to the number of 100. ſeverall Nations, are by *Ptolomie* preciſely ſet downe.

L.6.c.17.
Tab.Aſiæ.7.& 8.

But to come to thoſe latter Authors, whereof ſome have written, others have ſeene a great part of thoſe North-eaſt Regions, and ſearched their antiquities with great diligence: Firſt, *Marius Niger* boundeth *Scythia* within *Imaus*, in this manner: ( for *Scythia* without theſe Mountaines is alſo beyond our purpoſe ) *Scythia inter Imaum montem ea eſt, quæ proprio vocabulo Gaſſaria hoc tempore dicitur: ab Occaſu Sarmatia Aſiatica: ab Oriente Imao monte: à Septentrione terra incognita. à Meridie Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianis, uſque oſtia Oxaamnis in Hyrcanum mare exeuntis; & parte ipſius maris hinc uſq; ad Rha fluminis oſtia terminatur: Scythia within the Mountaine Imaus is that part of the World, which in their owne ſpeech is at this time called Gaſſaria; and the ſame is bounded on the West ſide by Sarmatia Aſiatica* ( or of *Aſia*: ) *on the Eaſt by the Imaan Mountaines: on the North by unknowne Lands: on the South by the Saccæ* ( which are in the *Sacæ*) *the Sogdiani, and the Margiani, to the mouth of Oxus, falling into the Hyrcan Sea, and by a part of the ſame Sea as farre as the mouth of Rha.*

Rha now Wolga.

Now if *Niger* ſets all *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, to the Weſt of *Scythia*, then *Sarmātia* ( *quæ magna ſanè Regio eſt, & quæ innumeras nationes complectitur* ) *Which is a great Region, comprehending innumerable Nations*( ſaith *Niger*) much of it being betweene *Scythia* and *Armenia*, doth ſufficiently warrant us, that *Armenia* can be no part of *Scythia*; and to make it more plaine, he diſſevereth *Sarmatia* it ſelfe from any part of *Armenia*, by the Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, & *Albania*, which he leaveth on the right hand of *Sarmatia*, & yet makes *Sarmatia* but the Weſt bound of *Scythia*.

Com.2.Aſiæ fol.412.

*Ad meridiem flexo Boſphoro pars ſeptentionalis ponte Euxini uſq; in oſtium Coracis fluvii: unde relictis à parte dextra Colchis, Iberis, Albaniſq; in littus Hyrcani maris provenit.* Spec. hiſt.l.30.

And for *Paulus Venetus*, he hath not a word of *Armenia* among the *Tartarian* or *Scythian* Nations; neither doth his fellow Frier *John Plancarpio* ( cited by *Vincentius* in his deſcription of *Scythia* ) make any mention of *Armenia*; neither doth *Haytonus*, an *Armenian* borne, of the bloud of thoſe Kings ( though afterward a Monke ) ever acknowledge himſelfe for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythian* Races deſcended: though he write that ſtorie at large, gathered by *Nicholaus Salcuni*, and(by the commandement of Pope *Clement* the fifth ) in the yeere 1307.publiſhed.

Neyther doth *Mathias a Michon*( a Canon of *Cracovia* in *Polonia* ) a *Sarmatian* borne, and that travailed a great part of *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, finde *Armenia* any way within the compaſſe of *Tartaria*, *Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*; and yet no man( whoſe Travailes are extant) hath obſerved ſo much of thoſe Regions as he hath done: proving and diſproving many things, heretofore ſubject to diſpute. And among others he burieth that ancient and receined opinion, That out of the Mountaines, *Riphæi*, and *Hyperborei* in *Scythia*, ſpring the Rivers of *Tanais* or *Don*, *Volga* or *Edel*; providing by unanſwerable experience, that there are no ſuch Mountaines *in rerum natura*; and (indeed) the Heads and Fountaines of thoſe famous Rivers are now by the Trade of *Muſcovia* knowne to every Merchant, and that they ariſe out of Lakes, low, wooddie, and mariſh grounds. The River of *Tanois* or *Don*, ariſeth to the South of the Citie *Tulla*, ſome twentie *Engliſh* miles, out of a Lake called *Iwanoweſero*, in the great Wood *Okenitzkilies* or *Jepiphanolies*. *Volga*, which *Ptolomie* calls *Rha*, and the *Tartars* call *Edel*, riſeth out of a Lake called *Fronow*, in the great Wood *Vodkonzki*: from which Lake the two other famous Rivers flow of *Boryſthenes* (now *Neyper*) and *Dſuina* or *Dividna*. And this learned *Polonian* doth in this ſort bound the *Europæan Sarmatia*. *In Sarmatia of Europe are the Regions of Ruſsians, Lithuanians, Muſcovians*, and thoſe adjoyning, bounded on the Weſt by the River of *Viſſa*, the Name perchance miſ-printed *Viſſa* for *Viſtula*, a River which parts *Germanie* and *Sarmatia*: and for the Eaſt border he nameth *Tanais*, or *Don*. *Sarmatia Aſiatica* he cutteth from *Europe* by the ſame River of *Tanais*, and the *Caſpian* Sea, to with-hold it from ſtretching farther Eaſt: this *Aſian Sarmatia* being part of that *Scythia* which *Ptolomie* calleth *Scythia intra Imaum montem*: *Scythia within the Mountaine Imaus*. And the ſame *Mathias Michon* farther affirmeth, that the *Scythians* (which Frier *Annius* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Sarmatia Aſiatica* it ſelfe above three hundred and a few odde yeeres before his owne time: theſe be his words: *Conſtat eam eſſe gentem novam, & adventitiam à partibus Orientis* (*mutatis ſedibus*) *paulò plus abhinc trecentis annis Aſiæ Sarmatiam ingreſſam*: *It is manifeſt* (ſaith he, ſpeaking of the *Scythian* Nation) *that this is a late planted Nation, come from the coaſts of the Eaſt: from whence they entred into Aſia, & gat new ſeates a little more than 300. yeeres ſince*: For (indeed) before that time the *Gothes* or *Pouloci* inhabited *Sarmatia Aſiatica*. And this *Mathias* lived in the yeere 1511. and this his Diſcourſe of *Sarmatia* was printed at *Auguſta* in the yeere 1506. as *Bucholzerus* in his *Chronologie* witneſſeth. Now theſe *Scythians* (ſaith he) came from the Eaſt, for in the Eaſt it was that the *Arke* of *Noah* reſted, and the *Scythæ Sacæ* were thoſe people which lived at the North foot of thoſe Mountaines, of *Taurus* or *Ararat*, where they encounter or begin to mixe themſelves with the great *Imaus*. And were there no other teſtimony than the generall deſcription of the Earth now extant, and the witneſſe of *Ptolomie*, it is plaine, that betweene all parts of *Armenia*, and *Scythia*, there are not only thoſe three Regions of *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*, but the *Caſpian* Sea: on the Eaſt ſhore of which Sea, but not on the Weſt, or on that part which any way toucheth *Armenia*, there are (indeed) a Nation of *Scythians* (called *Ariacæ*) betweene *Jaxartus* and *Jactus*; but what are theſe *Scythians* to any *Ariaca*, or *Scythia Araxea*, which *Annius* placeth in *Armenia*, more than the *Scythians* of *Europe*?

*Sig. Herberſtein.*

*Crazeus* calleth this River *Wiſlaus*, *Niger Dravamanza*, *Pom. Mela. Viſula* & *Plin. Viſtillus*.

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## †. VIII.

### *The fift Argument, The Vine muſt grow naturally neere the place where the Arke reſted.*

TO this if we adde the conſideration of this part of the Text, *That* NOAH *planted a Vineyard*, we ſhall find that the fruit of the Vine or Rayſin did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this reſting of the *Arke* was ſuppoſed: for if the Vine was a ſtranger in *Italie* and *France*, and brought from other Countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a farre colder Country. For *Tyrrhenus* firſt brought Vines into *France*, and *Saturnus* into *Latium*: yea at ſuch times as *Brennus* and the *Gaules* invaded *Italie*, there were few or no Vines in *France*. For (ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Camilus*) the *Gaules* remained betweene the *Pyrenæi* and the *Alpes*, neere unto the *Senones*, where they continued a long time, untill they drunke Wine, which was firſt brought them out of *Italie*; and after they taſted thereof, they haſted to inhabite that Country, which brought forth ſuch pleaſant fruit: ſo as it appeareth, that the Plant of the Vine was not naturall in *France*, but from *Italie* brought thither; as by *Saturne* from elſe where into *Italy*.

*Gen.* 9.20.

*Servius Aeneid.* *Eutropius.*

Now it is manifeſt, that *Noah* travailed not farre to ſeeke out the Vine. For the Plantation thereof is remembred, before there was any counſaile how to diſpoſe of the World among his children: and the firſt thing he did, was, to till the ground, and to plant a Vineyard, after the Sacrifice and Thankeſgiving to God; and whereſoever the *Arke* reſted, there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appeare, that he travailed far: for the Scriptures teach us, that he was a Husband-man, and not a Wanderer.

## †. IX.

### *An anſwer to an objection out of the words of the Text: The Lord ſcattered them from thence upon the face of the whole earth.*

AND that all the children of *Noah* came together into *Shinaar*, it doth not appeare ſaving that it may be inferred out of theſe words (*from thence*) becauſe it is written: *So that the Lord ſcattered them from thence upon all the earth*; which hath no other ſenſe, but that the Lord ſcattered them (to wit) thoſe that built this Tower: for thoſe were from thence diſperſed into all the Regions of the North and South, & to the Weſtward. And by theſe words of *Sybilla* (as they be converted) it ſeemeth that all came not together into *Shinaar*; for they have this limitation: *Quidam eorum turrem ædificarunt altiſsimam, quaſi per eam cœlum eſſent aſcenſuri: Certaine of them built a moſt high Tower, as if they meant thereby to have ſcaled the Heavens.*

## †. X.

### *An anſwer to the objection of the name of Ararat, taken for Armenia: and the heighth of the Hils there.*

BUt before I conclude this part, it is neceſſarie to ſee & conſider, what part of Scripture, and what reaſon may be found out, to make it true or probable, that the *Arke* of *Noah* was forſaken by the waters on the Mountaines of *Armenia*. For the Text hath onely theſe words: *The Arke reſted on* (or upon) *the Mountaines of Ararat*, or *Armenia*, ſaith the marginall note of the *Geneva*: the *Chaldæan Paraphraſt* cals it *Kardu*; of which, the higheſt hath the name of *Lubar*, ſaith *Epiphanius*. Now this *Ararat* (which the *Septuagint* doe not convert at all, but keepe the ſame word) is taken to be a Mountaine of *Armenia*, becauſe *Armenia* it ſelfe had anciently that name: ſo as firſt out of the name, and ſecondly out of the heighth (which they ſuppoſe exceeded all other) is the opinion taken, That the *Arke* firſt ſate thereon.

Gen.8.14.

Epiph.l.1.contra. Hæreſ.

But theſe ſuppoſitions have no foundation: for neither is *Ararat* of *Armenia* alone, neither is any part, or any of thoſe Mountaines of equall ſtature to many other Mountaines of the World; and yet it doth not follow, that the *Arke* found the higheſt Mountaine of all other to reſt on: for the Plaines were alſo uncovered, before *Noah* came out of the *Arke*. Now, if there were any agreement among Writers of this *Ararat*, and that they did not differ altogether therein, we might give more credit to the conceit. For in the Bookes of the *Sybils* it is written, that the Mountaines of *Ararat* are in *Phrygia*, upon which it was ſuppoſed that the *Arke* ſtayed after the Floud. And the better to particularize the place and ſeate of theſe Mountaines, and to prove them in *Phrygia*, and not *Armenia*, they are placed where the City of *Cælenes* was afterward built. Likewiſe in the ſame diſcription ſhee maketh mention of *Marſyas*, a River which runneth through part of *Phrygia* and afterward joyneth it ſelfe with the River *Mæander*, which is farre from the *Gordiæan* Mountaines in *Armenia*. We may alſo finde a great miſtaking in JOSEPHUS (though out of BEROSUS, who is in effect the Father of this opinon) that JOSEPHUS ſets *Ararat* betweene ARMENIA and PARTHIA, toward ADIABENE, and affirmeth withall, that in the province of *Cæron* (by others *Kairos* and *Arnos*, ſo called by reaſon that the waters have from thence no deſcent, nor iſſue out) the people vaunt that they had in thoſe dayes reſerved ſome peices of *Noahs Arke*. But *Parthia* toucheth no where upon *Armenia*, for *Armenia* bordereth *Adiabene*, a Province of *Aſſyria*: ſo that all *Media* and a part of *Aſſyria* is betweene *Parthia* and *Armenia*. Now whereas the diſcoverie of the Mountaines *Cordiæi* was firſt borrowed out of *Beroſus* by *Joſephus*; yet the Text which *Joſephus* citeth out of *Beroſus*, differs far from the words of that *Beroſus*, which wandreth up and downe in theſe dayes, ſet out by *Annius*. For *Beroſus*, cited by *Joſephus*, hath theſe words: *Fertur & navigii hujus pars in Armenia apud montem Cordiæorum fupereſſe, & quoſdam Bitumen inde abraſum ſecum reportare, quo vice amuleti loci hujus homines uti ſolent:* (which is) *It is reported alſo that a part of this ſhip is yet remaining in Armenia upon the Cordiæan Mountaines; & that diverſe do ſcrape from it the Bitumen or Pitch, and carrying it with them, they uſe it in ſtead of an amulet.* But *Annius* his

Edition of the Fragment of *Beroſus* uſeth theſe words: *Nam elevata ab aquis in Gordiæ montis vertice quievit, cujus adhuc dicitur aliqua pars eſſe, & homines ex illa Bitumen tollere quo maximè utuntur ad expiationem: For the whole Arke being lifted up by the waters, reſted on the top of the Gordiæan Mountatines, of which it is reported that ſome parts remaine, and that men doe carry thence of the Bitumen to purge by Sacrifice therewith:* ſo as in theſe two Texts (beſides the difference of wordes) the name is diverſly written. The ancient *Beroſus* writes *Cordiæi* with a (*C.*) and the Fragment *Gordiæi* with a (*G.*) the one that the *Bitumen* is uſed for a preſervative againſt Poyſon or Inchantment; the other in Sacrifice. And if it be ſaid that they agree in the generall, yet it is reported by neither from any certaine knowledge, nor from any approved Authour: for one of them, uſeth the word (*fertur*) the other (*dicitur*) the one, that ſo it is *reported*, the other, *that ſo it is ſaid*; and both but by heare-ſay, and therefore of no authority nor credit. For common bruit is ſo infamous an Hiſtorian, as wiſe men neither report after it, nor give credit to any thing they receive from it.

Furthermore, theſe Mountaines which *Ptolomie* cals *Gordiæi*, are not thoſe Mountaines which himſelfe giveth to *Armenia*, but he calleth the Mountaines of *Armenia Moſchici*. Theſe be his owne words: *Montes Armeniæ nominantur ii, qui Moſchici appellantur, qui protenduntur uſq; ad ſuperjacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum; & mons qui Paryardes dicitur: The Mountaines of Armenia are they which are called Moſchici, ſtretcht along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians: alſo the Hill which is called Paryardes:* which Mountaines *Plinie* calleth *Pariedri*, & both which lye to the North of *Gordiæi* or *Baris*, in 43. and 44. and a halfe; and the *Gordiæan* Mountaines in 39. and a halfe: from the Northermoſt of which did the *Georgians* take their names, who were firſt *Gordians*, and then *Georgians*, who amidſt all the ſtrength of the greateſt Infidels of *Perſia* and *Turkie*, doe ſtill remaine *Chriſtians*. Concerning the other ſuppoſitions, that the Mountaines of *Gordiæi*, otherwiſe *Baris*, *Kardu* or *Lubar* (which *Ptolomie* calleth *Torgodiaion*) are the higheſt of the World, the ſame is abſolutely falſe.

*Ptol. Aſiæ.tab.*

*Plin.l.6.c.9.*

## †. XI.

### *Of Caucaſus, and divers farre higher hils than the Armenian.*

FOr the beſt *Coſmographers* with other, that have ſeene the Mountaines of *Armenia*, find them farre inferiour, and under-ſet to divers other Mountaines even in that part of the World, and elſe where: as the Mountaine *Athos* between *Macedon* & *Thrace*, which *Ptolomie* cals *Olympus*, now called *Lacas*, (ſaith *Caſtaldus*) is farre ſurmounting any Mountaine that ever hath beene ſeene in *Armenia*: for it caſteth ſhade three hundred furlongs, which is ſeven and thirtie miles and upwards: of which *Plutarch*: *Athos adumbrat latera Lemniæ bovis: Athos ſhadoweth the Cow of Lemnos.* Alſo the Mount of *Olympus* in *Theſſalie*, is ſaid to be of that heighth, as neither the Windes, Cloudes or Raine overtop it. Againe, the Mountaine of *Antandrus* in *Myſia*, not farre from *Ida*, whence the River *Scamandrus* floweth, which runneth through *Troy*, is alſo of a farre more admiration than any in *Armenia*, and may be ſeene from *Conſtantinople*. There are alſo in *Mauritania* neere the Sea, the famous Mountaines of *Atlas*, of which HERODOTUS: *Extat in hoc mari Mons cui nomen Atlas, ita ſublimis eſſe dicitur, ut ad illius verticem oculi mortalium pervenire non poſſint: Upon this Coaſt there is a Mountaine called Atlas, whoſe heighth is ſayd to be ſuch, as the eye of no mortall man can diſcerne the top thereof.* And if we may beleeve *Ariſtotle*, then are all theſe inferiour to *Caucaſus*, which he maketh the moſt notorious both for breadth and height: *Caucaſus Mons omnium maximus, qui æſtivum ad ortum ſunt, acumine atq; latitudine, cujus juga à Sole radiantur uſq; ad conticinium ab ortu: & iterum ab occaſu; Caucaſus* (ſaith ARISTOTLE) *is the greateſt Mountaine both for breadth and heighth of all thoſe in the North-eaſt, whoſe tops are lightned by the Sun-beames, uſq; ad conticinium* (which is, ſaith *Macrobius*) *betweene the firſt crowing after mid-night and the breake of day*: Others affirme, that the top of this Mountaine holds the Sunne-beames when it is darke in the Valley; but I cannot beleeve either: for the higheſt Mountaine of the World knowne, is that of *Teneriſe* in the *Canaria*: which although it hath nothing to the Weſtward of it for 1000. Leagues together but the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not enjoy the Suns company at any ſuch late houres. Beſides theſe Mountaines which *Ariſtotle* calleth *Caucaſi*, are thoſe which ſeparate *Colchis* from

*Plut. Munſt. Coſm.*

*Ariſt.Met.cor.l. 1.c.13.*

*Iberia*; though ( indeed ) *Caucaſus* doth divide both *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* from *Sarmatia*: for he acknowledgeth that the River of *Phaſis* riſeth in the ſame Mountaine, which himſelfe calleth *Caucaſus*, and that *Phaſis* ſpringeth from thoſe Hils which ſunder *Colchis* from *Iberia*, falling afterward into *Euxinus*: which River ( it is manifeſt) yeeldeth it ſelfe to the Sea, two degrees to the North of *Trapezus* ( now *Trabeſunda* ) howſoever *Mercator* bring it from *Paryardes*.

## †. XII.

### *Of divers incongruities if in this Storie we ſhould take Ararat for Armenia.*

SO as it doth firſt appeare, that there is no certaintie what Mountaine *Ararat* was: for the Bookes of the *Sybils* ſet it in *Phrygia*, and *Beroſus* in *Armenia*: and as for *Beroſus* authoritie, thoſe men have great want of proofes that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that *Baris* was the higheſt Hill, and therefore moſt likely that the *Arke* grounded thereon, the aſſertion and ſuppoſition have equall credit: for there are many Hils which exceed all thoſe of *Armenia*; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the *Arke* ſhould ſit on the higheſt.

Thirdly, it cannot be proved that there is any ſuch Hill in *Armenia*, or *in rerum natura*, as *Baris*: for *Baris* ( ſaith *Hierome* ) ſignifieth high Towers: and ſo may all high Hils be called indifferently; and therefore we may better give the name of *Baris* to the Hils of *Caucaſus* ( out of which *Indus* riſeth ) than to any Hils of *Armenia*. For thoſe of *Caucaſus* in the Eaſt, are undoubtedly the higheſt of *Aſia*.

Fourthly, the Authours themſelves doe not agree in what Region the Mountaines *Gordiæi* ſtand: for *Ptolomie* diſtinguiſheth the Mountaines of *Armenia* from the *Gordiæan*, and calleth thoſe of *Armenia Moſchici* and *Paryardes*, as aforeſaid. Now *Paryardes* is ſeated neere the middle of *Armenia*, out of which on the Weſt-ſide riſeth *Euphrates*, and out of the Eaſt-ſide, *Araxis*: and the Mountaines *Moſchici* are thoſe Hils which diſjoyne *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* (now the Country of the *Georgians* ) from *Armenia*.

## †. XIII.

### *Of the contrary ſituation of Armenia, to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no marvaile that the ſame Ledge of Hils running from Armenia to India, ſhould keepe the ſame name all along: and even in India be called Ararat.*

LAſtly, we muſt blow up this Mountaine *Ararat* it ſelfe, or elſe we muſt digge it downe, and carry it out of *Armenia*, or find it elſe where, and in a warmer Country, and ( withall ) ſet it Eaſt from *Shinaar*; or elſe we ſhall wound the Truth it ſelfe with the weapons of our owne vaine imaginations.

Therefore to make the miſtaking open to every eye, we muſt underſtand, that *Ararat* ( named by *Moſes* ) is not any one Hill, ſo called, no more than any one Hill among thoſe Mountaines which divide *Italie* from *France*, is called the *Alpes*: or any one among thoſe which part *France* from *Spaine* is the *Pyrenian*; but as theſe, being continuations of many Hils, keepe one name in divers Countries: ſo all that long Ledge of mountaines, which *Plinie* calleth by one name *Taurus*, and *Ptolomie* both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Coatras*, *Coronus*, *Sariphi*, untill they encounter and croſſe the Mountaines of the great *Imaus*, are of one generall name, and are called the Mountaines of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, becauſe from thence or thereabout they ſeeme to ariſe. So all theſe Mountaines of *Hyrcania*, *Armenia*, *Coraxis*, *Caſpii*, *Moſchici*, *Amazonici*, *Heniochi*, *Scythici*, ( thus diverſly called by *Plinie* and others ) *Ptolomie* cals by one name *Caucaſus*, lying betweene the Seas *Caſpium* and *Euxinus*: as all thoſe Mountaines which cut aſunder *America*, even from the new kingdome of *Granado*, to the ſtreight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as theſe Mountaines of *Ararat* runne Eaſt and Weſt, ſo doe thoſe marvailous Mountaines of *Imaus* ſtretch themſelves North and South; and being of like extent well-neere, are called by the name of *Imaus*, even as *Plinie* called theſe former hils *Taurus*, and *Moſes* the hils of *Ararat*. The reaſon of ſeverall names given by *Ptolomie*, was, thereby the better to diſtinguiſh the great Regions and Kingdomes, which theſe great mountaines bound and diſſever; as *Armenia*, *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Media*, *Suſiana*, *Perſia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and *Paropaniſus*: having

*Plinie* in his deſcription of *Lycia* l.5.c.27.

ving all theſe Kindomes either on the North or South ſide of them. For all the mountaines of *Aſia* (both the leſſe and the greater) have three generall names, (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucaſus*: and they receive other titles, as they ſever and divide particular places and regions. For theſe mountaines which ſunder *Cilicia* from the reſt of *Aſia* the leſſe on the North ſide, are called *Taurus*; and thoſe mountaines which part it from *Comagena* (a Province of *Syria*) are called *Amanus*: the mountaines called *Taurus* running Eaſt and Weſt, as *Imaus* doth North and South. Through *Taurus* the River of *Euphrates* forceth her paſſage, leaving the name of *Amanus* to the mountaines on her Weſt-banke, and on her Eaſt ſide the mountaines are ſometimes knowne by the name of *Taurus*, (as in *Ptolomies* three tables of *Aſia*) and ſometimes *Niphates*; (as in the fourth) retaining that uncertaine appellation ſo long as they bound *Armenia* from *Meſopotamia*: and after the River of *Tygris* cutteth them aſunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, untill they ſeparate *Aſſyria* and *Media*; but then they call themſelves *Coatras*, though betweene the upper and nether *Media*, they doe not appeare, but altogether diſcontinue. For at *Mazada* in *Media* they are not found, but runne through the Eaſterne *Media* by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call themſelves *Orontes*, and towards the Eaſt part *Coronus*; out of the Southerne part whereof the River of *Bagradus* riſeth, which divideth the ancient *Perſian* from *Caramania*: and then continuing their courſe Eaſtward by the name of *Coronus*, they give to the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians* their proper Countries. This done, they change themſelves into the mountaines of *Sariphi*, out of which riſeth the River *Margus*, afterward yeelding her ſelfe to *Oxus* (now *Abia*): and drawing now neere their wayes end, they firſt make themſelves the South border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the Title of *Paropaniſus*; and laſtly of *Caucaſia*, even where the famous River of *Indus*, with his principal companions *Hydaſpis* and *Zaradrus*, ſpring forth and take beginning. And here doe theſe Mountaines build themſelves exceeding high, to equall the ſtrong Hils called *Imaus* of *Scythia*, which encounter each other in 35. 36. and 37. degrees of Latitude, and in 140. of Longitude: of the which the Weſt parts are now called *Delanguer*, and the reſt *Nagracot*; and theſe Mountaines in this place onely are properly called *Caucaſi* (ſaith *Ptolomie*) that is, betweene *Paropaniſus* and *Imaus*: and improperly, betweene the two Seas of *Caſpium* and *Pontus*.

*Ptol.tab.Aſiæ.*

## †. XIIII.

### *Of the beſt Vine naturally growing on the South ſide of the Mountaines Caucaſi, and toward the Eaſt Indies: and of other excellencies of the ſoile.*

NOw in this part of the World it is, where the Mountaine and River *Janus*, & the Mountaine *Nyſeus* (ſo called of *Bacchus Niſeus* or *Noah*) are found: and on theſe higheſt Mountaines of that part of the world did *Goropius Becanus* conceive that the *Arke* of *Noah* grounded after the Floud; of all his conjectures the moſt probable, and by beſt reaſon approved. In his *Indoſcythia* he hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantaſtical opinions of this ſubject. And as the ſame *Becanus* alſo noteth; that as in this part of the world are found the beſt Vines: ſo it is as true, that in the ſame Line, and in 34. 35. & 36. degrees of Septentrionall Latitude, are the moſt delicate Wines of the World, namely, in *Judæa*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece*: and likewiſe in this Region of *Margiana*: and under theſe Mountaines *Strabo* affirmeth, that the moſt excellent Vines of the World are found; the cluſters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: & it is the more probable, becauſe this place agreeth in Climate with that part of *Paleſtina*, where the ſearchers of the land, by *Moſes* direction, found bunches of equal bignes at *Eſcol*.

*Num.13.24.*

The fruitfulneſſe of this place (to wit) on the South bottome of theſe Hils, *Curtius* witneſſeth. For in *Margiana* neere the Mountaines of *Meros* did *Alexander* feaſt himſelfe and his Armie ten daies together, finding the moſt delicate Wine of all other.

## †. XV.

### *The concluſion, with a briefe repeating of divers chiefe points.*

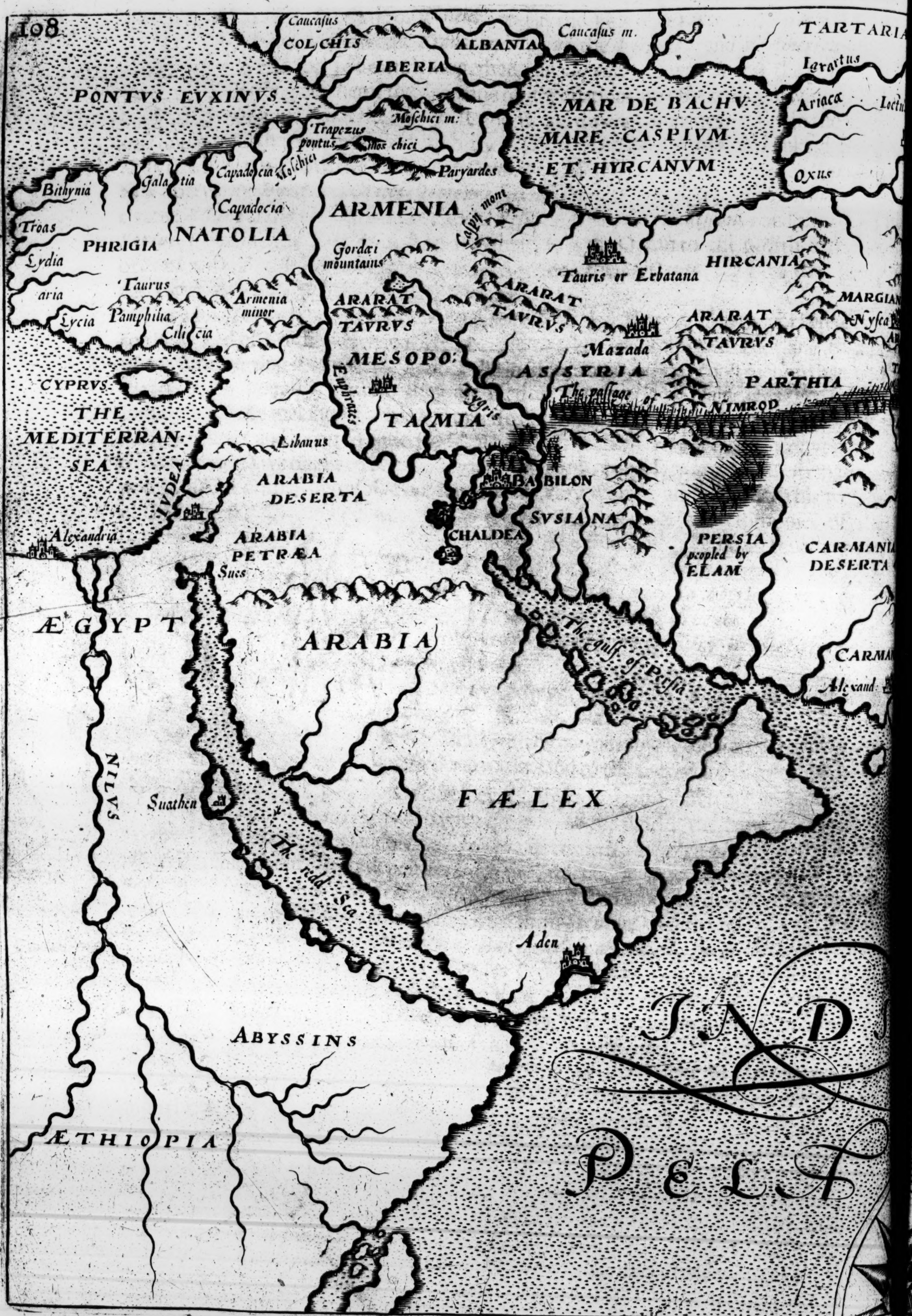
ANd therefore to conclude this opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that thoſe Mountaines doe alſo traverſe *Armenia*: yea, and *Armenia* it ſelfe ſometime is knowne by the

name

L.5.c.27. name of *Ararat*. But as *Plinie* giveth to this ledge of high Hils, even from *Cilicia* to *Paroponiſus* and *Caucaſus*, the name of *Taurus*: and as the Hils of *France* and *Germanie* are called the *Alpes*: and all betweene *France* and *Spaine* the *Pyrenes*: and in *America* the continuation of Hils for 3000. miles together, the *Andes*: ſo was *Ararat* the generall name which *Moſes* gave them; the diverſitie of appellations no otherwiſe growing, than by their dividing and bordering divers Regions and divers Countries. For in the like caſe doe we call the Sea, which entreth by *Gibraltar*, the *Mediterran* and inland Sea; and yet where it waſheth the Coaſts of *Carthage*, and over againſt it, it is called *Tyrrhenum*: betweene *Italie* and *Greece*, *Ionium*: from *Venice* to *Durazzo*, *Adriaticum*: betweene *Athens* and *Aſia*, *Aegeum*: betweene *Seſtus* and *Abydus*, *Helleſpont*: and afterward *Pontus*, *Propontis*, and *Boſphorus*. And as in theſe, ſo is the Ocean to the North-eaſt part of *Scotland* called *Deucaledonycum*: and on this ſide, the *Brittaine* Sea: to the Eaſt, the *Germane* and *Baltick*, and then the *Frozen*.

For a finall end of this queſtion we muſt appeale to that Judge, which cannot erre, even to the Word of Truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plaine ſenſe: ſeeing it can admit neither diſtinction, nor other conſtruction than the words beare literally, becauſe they are uſed to the very ſame plaine purpoſe of a deſcription, and the making of a true and preciſe difference of places. Surely, where the ſenſe is plaine (and being ſo underſtood, it bringeth with it no ſubſequent inconvenience or contrarietie) we ought to be warie, how we fancie to our ſelves any new or ſtrange expoſition; And (withall) to reſolve our ſelves, that every word (as aforeſaid) hath his weight in Gods Booke. And therefore we muſt reſpect and reverence the teſtimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in ſuch ſort as Saint *Auguſtine* hath taught us touching the Goſpell of Christ Jesus (which is) *Nequis aliter accipiat (quod narrantibus Diſcipulis Chriſti) in Evangelio legerit, quàm ſi ipſam manum Dei, quam in proprio corpore geſtabat, conſpexerit; That no man otherwiſe take or underſtand that which he readeth in the Goſpel (the Diſciples of Chriſt having written it) than if he had ſeene the very hand of the Lord, which he bare in his owne body, ſetting it downe.*

Gen.11.v.2. The wordes then of *Moſes* which end this diſpute, are theſe: *And as they went from the Eaſt, they found a Playne in the land of Shinaar, and there they abode*: which proveth without controverſie, that *Nimrod*, and all with him, came from the Eaſt into *Shinaar*; and therefore the *Arke* of *Noah* reſted and tooke land to the Eaſt-ward thereof. For we muſt remember, that in all places whereſoever *Moſes* maketh a difference of Countries, he alwayes preciſely nameth toward what quarters of the world the ſame were ſeated: as where he teacheth the plantation of *Joctan*, he nameth *Sephar*, a Mount in the Eaſt: where he remembreth *Cains* departure from the preſence of God, he addeth; *And* Cain Gen.10.30. *dwelt in the land of Nod towards the Eaſt-ſide of Eden*: And when he deſcribeth the Tents Gen.4.16. and Habitations of *Abraham* after he departed from *Sechem*, he uſeth theſe words; *Afterwards removing thence unto a Mountaine Eaſt-ward from Bethel,* Gen.12.8. *he pitched his Tents: having Bethel on the Weſt-ſide, and Hai on the Eaſt*: and afterward in the ninth Verſe of the ſame Chapter it is written; *And* Abraham *went forth journeying towards the South*: Ezeh.38.6. alſo when *Ezechiel* prophecieth of *Gog* and *Magog*, he ſheweth that theſe Nations of *Togorma* Matth.12.42. were of the North quarters: and of the Queene of *Saba* it is written, that *ſhe came* Matth.2.v.1. *from the South to viſit* Salomon: And the *Magi* (*or wiſemen*) *came out of the Eaſt to offer preſents unto Chriſt*. And that all Regions, and theſe travailes were preciſely ſet downe upon the points of the Compaſſe and quarters of the world, it is moſt manifeſt: for *Eden* was due Eaſt from *Judæa*; *Saba* South from *Hieruſalem*: the way from *Bethel* to *Egypt* directly South; and the *Cœloſyrians*, the *Tubalines* and *Magogians* inhabited the Regions directly North from *Paleſtina*, and ſo of the reſt. But *Armenia* anſwereth not to this deſcription of *Shinaar* by *Moſes*. For to come out of *Armenia*, and to arrive in that Valley of *Babylonia*, is not a journying from the Eaſt, nor ſo neere unto the Eaſt as the North: for *Armenia* is to the Weſt of the North it ſelfe; and we muſt not ſay of *Moſes* (whoſe hands the holy Ghoſt directed) that he erred *toto cœlo*, and that he knew not Eaſt from Weſt. For the body of *Armenia* ſtandeth in fortie three degrees Septentrionall, and the North part thereof in forty five; and thoſe *Gordiaan* Mountaines, whereon it was ſuppoſed that the *Arke* reſted, ſtand in fortie one. But *Babylonia*, and the Valley of *Shinaar* are ſituated in thirtie five; and for the Longitude (which maketh the difference betweene Eaſt and Weſt) the *Gordiaan* Mountaines ſtand in 75. degrees, and the


Caucasus
COLCHIS
ALBANIA
Caucasus m.
TARTARIA
IBERIA
PONTVS EVXINVS
MAR DE BACHV
MARE CASPIVM
ET HYRCANVM
Igrartus
Ariacæ
Moschici m:
Trapezus
pontus
Moschici
Capadocia
Moschici
Paryardes
Oxus
Bithynia
Galatia
Capadocia
ARMENIA
Caspij mont
Troas
PHRIGIA
NATOLIA
Lydia
Gordæi mountains
Tauris or Ecbatana
HIRCANIA
Taurus
aria
Armenia minor
ARARAT
TAVRVS
ARARAT
TAVRVS
MARGIAN
Lycia
Pamphilia
Cilicia
ARARAT
TAVRVS
Nysca
MESOPO:
TAMIA
Mazada
ASSYRIA
PARTHIA
CYPRVS
Euphrates
Tygris
The passage of
NIMROD
THE MEDITERRAN SEA
Libanus
BABILON
ARABIA DESERTA
IVDEA
SVSIANA
Alexandria
ARABIA PETRÆA
Sues
CHALDEA
PERSIA peopled by ELAM
CARMANIA DESERTA
ÆGYPT
ARABIA
The gulf of Persia
CARMA
Alexand
NILVS
Suathen
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The redd Sea
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IND
ABYSSINS
ÆTHIOPIA
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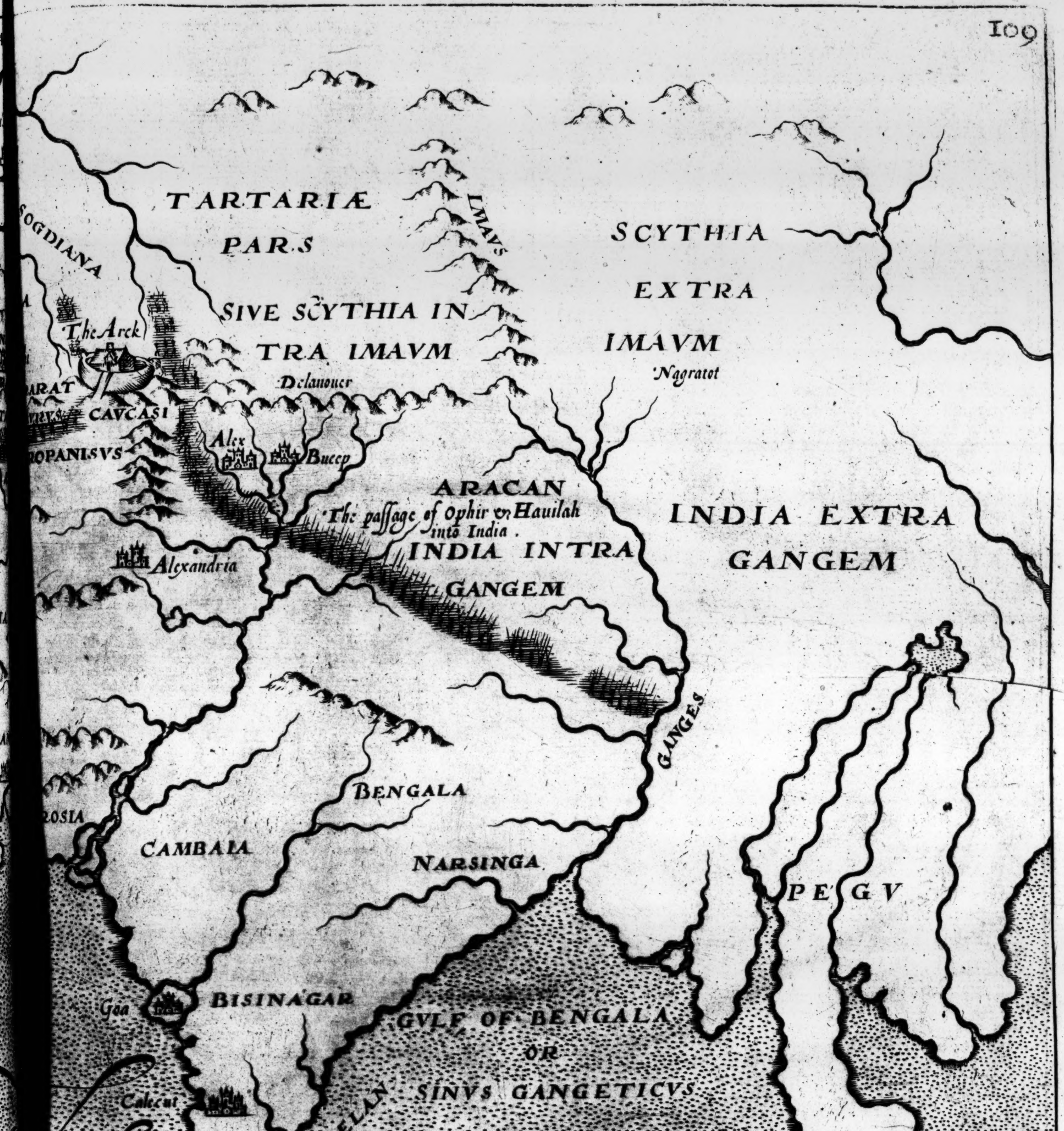
TARTARIÆ PARS
SIVE SCYTHIA INTRA IMAVM
SOGDIANA
IMAVS
SCYTHIA EXTRA IMAVM
Nagratot
The Arck
ARAT
CAVCASI
ROPANISVS
Delanouer
Alex
Bucep
Alexandria
ARACAN
The passage of Ophir & Hauilah into India.
INDIA INTRA GANGEM
INDIA EXTRA GANGEM
GANGES
BENGALA
CAMBAIA
NARSINGA
ROSIA
PEGV
Goa
BISINAGAR
GVLF OF BENGALA OR SINVS GANGETICVS
Calecut
ZELAN
MALACA
SVMATRA
M
GVS

the Vally of *Shinaar* in 79. and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lyeth from *Shinaar* North-weſt, nintie five degrees from the Eaſt; and if *Armenia* had beene but North, yet it had differed from the Eaſt one whole quarter of the Compaſſe. But *Gregorie* and *Hierome* warne us, *In ſcripturis ne minima differentia omitti debet: nam ſinguli ſermones, ſyllabæ, apices, & puncta in divina Scriptura plena ſunt ſenſibus*; *In the Scriptures the leaſt difference may not be omitted: for every ſpeech, ſyllable, note, or accent, and point in divine Scriptures are repleniſhed with their meanings.* And therefore ſeeing *Moſes* teacheth us that the children of *Noah* came from the Eaſt, we may not beleeve Writers (of little authority) who alſo ſpeake by heare-ſay and by report, *ut fertur, & ut dicitur*, as *Beroſus* and *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all adventure. But this is infallibly true, that *Shinaar* lyeth Weſt from the place where the *Arke* of *Noah* reſted after the floud; and therefore it firſt found ground in the Eaſt, from whence came the firſt knowledge of all things. The Eaſt parts were firſt civill, which had *Noah* himſelfe for an Inſtructer: and directly Eaſt from *Shinaar* in the ſame degree of 35. are the greateſt grapes and the beſt Wine. The great Armies alſo which overtopped in number thoſe Millions of *Semiramis*, prove, that thoſe parts were firſt planted. And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reaſon ſufficient: for my ſelfe I build on his words who in plaine termes hath told us, that the Sonnes of *Noah* came out of the Eaſt into *Shinaar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the *Arke* reſt on thoſe Eaſterne Mountaines, called by one generall name *Taurus*, and by *Moſes* the Mountaines of *Ararat*, and not on thoſe Mountaines of the North-weſt, as *Beroſus* firſt fained, whom moſt part of the Writers have followed therein. It was, I ſay, in the plentifull warme Eaſt where *Noah* reſted, where he planted the Vine, where he tilled the ground and lived thereon. *Placuit vero* Noacho *agriculturæ ſtudium, in qua tractanda ipſe omnium peritiſſimus eſſe dicitur: ob eamq; rem ſua ipſius lingua* Iſh-Adamath (*hoc eſt*) *telluris vir appellatur celebratuſq; eſt*, *The ſtudie of Huſbandrie pleaſed* Noah (ſaith the excellent learned man Arias Montanus) *in the knowledge and order of which it is ſaid, that* Noah *excelled all men: and therefore was hee called in his owne language a man exerciſed in the earth.* Which alſo ſheweth, that he was no Wanderer; and that he troubled not himſelfe with the contentions, beginning again in the world, and among men, but ſtayed in his deſtined places, and in that part of the world, where he was firſt delivered out of the priſon of the *Arke*, whereinto God had committed him, to preſerve him and mankind.

# CHAP. VIII.

## *Of the firſt planting of Nations after the Floud; and of the Sons of* NOAH, SHEM, HAM, *and* JAPHET, *by whom the earth was re-peopled.*

### §. I.

### *Whether* SHEM *and* HAM *were elder than* JAPHET.

OF theſe Sonnes of *Noah*, which was the eldeſt, there is a queſtion made. Saint *Auguſtine* eſteemed *Shem* for the eldeſt, *Ham* for the ſecond, and *Japhet* for the youngeſt: and herein the opinions of Writers are divers. But this we finde every where in the Scriptures, and eſpecially in *Moſes*, that there was never any reſpect given to the eldeſt in yeeres, but in vertue; as by the examples of *Henoch*, *Abraham*, *Jacob*, and *David*, is made manifeſt. In a few words, this is the ground of the controverſie; The *Latine* tranſlation, and ſo the *Geneva*, hath converted this Scripture of *Geneſis* the 10.v.21. in theſe words: *Unto* SHEM *alſo the Father of all the Sonnes of* HEBER, *and elder brother of* JAPHET, *were children borne*. But *Junius* agreeing with the *Septuagint*, placeth the ſame words in this manner: *to* SHEM *alſo the Father of all the Sons of* HEBER, *and brother of* JAPHET *the eldeſt ſonne, were children borne*: So the tranſpoſition of the word (*elder*) made this difference. For if the word (*elder*) had followed after *Japhet*, as it is in the vulgar tranſlation placed before it, then had it beene as plaine for *Japhet*, as it is by theſe tranſlations for *Shem*. Now (the matter being otherwiſe indifferent) ſeeing Gods bleſſings are not tyed to firſt and laſt in

*Aug de Civit. Dei.l.16.c.3.*

bloud, but to the eldeſt in pietie, yet the arguments are ſtronger for *Japhet* than for *Shem.* And where the Scriptures are plainely underſtood without any danger or inconvenience, it ſeemeth ſtrange why any man of judgement ſhould make valuation of conjecturall arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that *Noah* in the five hundreth yeere of his life, begate the firſt of his three Sonnes, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet:* and in the ſixe hundreth yeere (to wit) the hundreth yeere following, came the generall floud; two yeeres after Gen.11.10. which *Shem* begate *Arphaxad*, which was in the yeere 602. of *Noahs* life, and in the yeere of *Shems* life one hundred: ſo as *Shem* was but 100. yeeres old, two yeeres after the floud: and *Noah* begat his firſt borne being 500. yeers old, and therefore, were *Shem* the elder, he had then beene a hundred yeeres old at the floud, and in the ſixe hundreth yeere of *Noahs* life, and not two yeeres after. Which ſeeing the Scriptures before remembred hath denyed him, and that it is alſo written: Gen.9.v.24. *Then* NOAH *awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger ſonne had done unto him (to wit)* HAM; of neceſſitie the firſt place doth belong to *Japhet*. This *younger ſon*, ſo converted by the vulgar and *Geneva*, *Junius* turnes it *filius minimus*; *His youngeſt ſonne*; but S. *Chryſoſtome* takes it otherwiſe, and findes *Cham* to be the middle or ſecond brother, and *Japhet* the youngeſt ſonne of all: which *Cham* for his diſobedience and the contempt of his Father (whoſe nakedneſſe he derided) was diſ-inherited, and loſt the preeminencie of his birth, as *Eſau* and *Ruben* did. In Gen. *Pererius* conceiveth that *Ham* was called the younger in reſpect of *Shem* the eldeſt, but avoweth withall, that the *Hebrew* hath not that preciſe difference of *younger* and *youngeſt*, becauſe it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that *Shem* himſelfe was alwayes named in the firſt place, yet whereas in the firſt Verſe of the tenth Chapter of *Geneſis*, *Shem* is accounted before *Japhet:* in the ſecond Verſe *Moſes* leaveth to begin with the iſſue by *Shem*, and reciteth the children of *Japhet* firſt. So the firſt place was given to *Shem* for his election and benediction, and for this weightie reſpect, that the *Hebrew* Nation, *Abraham*, the *Prophets*, *David*, and *Chriſt* our Saviour were deſcended of him. And therefore, whether we ſhall follow the Vulgar *Pagninus*, and the *Geneva*, who agree in this converſion, SHEM *Frater* JAPHET *major*; or with the *Septuagint*, *Junius* and *Tremelius*, SHEM *fratris* JAPHET *majoris*; or with *Pererius*, SHEM *frater* JAPHET *ille magnus:* inferring that *Shem* was the great and famous brother of *Japhet*, let the Reader judge. But for ought that I have ſeene to the contrarie, it appeareth to me that *Japhet* was the eldeſt. For where *Pererius* qualifieth the ſtrength of the former Argument, That *Shems* age at the time of the floud did not agree with the eldership (with a ſuppoſition that the Scriptures tooke no account of ſmaller numbers) I doe not finde in the Scriptures Gen.11.v.10. any ſuch neglect at all: for it is written, that SHEM *was an hundred yeeres old, & begat* ARPHAXAD *two yeeres after the floud*; and againe in the 12. Verſe: *So* SHELA *lived after he begat* EBAR, *foure hundred and three yeeres, &c.* ſo as the number of two yeers, of three yeeres, of five yeeres, and afterward of two yeeres, were alwayes preciſely accounted.

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## §. II.

### *Of divers things that in all reaſon are to be preſumed, touching the firſt planting of the world: as that all Hiſtories muſt yeeld to* MOSES*: that the world was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that knowne great Lords of the firſt ages were of the Iſſue of* HAM.

BUt let us goe unto the Worlds plantation after the floud, which being rightly underſtood, we ſhall find that many Nations have ſuppoſed or fayned themſelves thoſe Anceſtors and Fathers, which never ſaw or approached the bounds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch deſcended. For it is plaine in the Scriptures how the ſons and iſſues of *Noah* were diſtributed, and what Regions were firſt planted by them, from whence by degrees the reſt of the world was alſo peopled. And if any prophane Author may receive allowance herein, the ſame muſt be with this caution, That they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For ſo far as the ſtory of Nations is therin handled, we muſt know, that both the truth & antiquity of the books of God find no companions equall, either in age or authority. All record, memorie, and teſtimony of antiquitie whatſoever, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the ſame hath beene borrowed thence, and therefore later than it, as all carefull obſervers of time have noted: among which thus writeth *Euſebius* in the *Proœme* of his Chronologie: Moses *is found more ancient than all thoſe whom the Grecians make moſt ancient*, *as* Homer, Hesiod, *and the Trajan warre*; *and far before* Hercules, Musæus, Linus, Chiron, Orpheus, Castor, Pollux, Æsculapius, Bacchus, Mercurius, *and* Apollo, *and the reſt of the gods of the nations, their Ceremonies, or holy Rites, or Prophets: and before all the deeds of* Jupiter, *whom the Greekes have ſeated in the top and higheſt Turret of their Divinitie.*

For of the three *Jupiters* remembred by *Cicero*, the ancienteſt was the ſonne of *Æther* whoſe three ſons begotten on *Proſerpina*, were borne at *Athens*, of which *Cecrops* was the firſt King: and in the end of *Cecrops* time did *Moſes* bring the children of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*: *Eduxit* Moses *populum Dei ex Egypto noviſsimo tempore* Cecropis *Athenienſis Regis*; Moses *brought the children of Iſrael out of Egypt, in the laſt dayes of* Cecrops, *king of the Athenians*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*: and yet was not *Cecrops* the Founder of the Citie it ſelfe, but *Theſeus* long after him. But becauſe the truth hereof is diverſly proved, and by many learned Authors; I will not cut aſunder the purpoſe in hand, by alledging many authorities in a needleſſe queſtion, but leave it to the proper place.

*Cicero de Nat. Deorum l. 3.*

*De Civit. Dei, l. 18. c. 11.*

The Sonnes of Japhet were,
- *Gomer*,
- *Magog*,
- *Madai*,
- *Javan*,
- *Tubal*,
- *Meſhach*, and
- *Tiras*.

The Sonnes of Gomer were,
- *Askenaz*,
- *Riphath*,
- *Togorma*.

The Sonnes of Javan were,
- *Eliſha*,
- *Tarſhis*,
- *Kittim*, and
- *Dodanim*.

Firſt, we are to conſider, that the world after the Floud was not planted by imagination; neither had the children of *Noah* wings to flie from *Shinaar* to the uttermoſt border of *Europe*, *Africa*, and *Aſia*, in haſte, but that theſe children were directed by a wiſe Father, who knew thoſe parts of the world before the Floud, to which he diſpoſed his children after it, and ſent them not as Diſcoverers, or at all-adventure, but aſſigned and allotted to every Sonne and their iſſues, their proper parts. And not to hearken to fabulous Authors, who have no other end than to flatter Princes (as *Virgil* did *Auguſtus* in the fiction of *Æneas*) or elſe to glorifie their owne Nations; Let us build herein upon the Scriptures themſelves, and after them upon Reaſon and Nature. Firſt therefore we muſt call to minde and conſider, what manner of face the earth every-where had in the 130. yeere after the great inundation, and by comparing thoſe fruitfulleſt Vallies, with our own barren and cold ground, informe our ſelves thereby, what wonderfull Deſarts, what impaſſable faſtneſſe of woods, reeds, bryars, and rotten graſſe, what Lakes and ſtanding Pooles, and what Mariſhes, Fens, and Bogs, all the face of the earth (excepting the Mountaines) was peſtered withall. For if in this our Climate (where the dead and deſtroying Winter depreſſeth all vegetative and growing Nature, for one halfe of the yeere in effect) yet in twenty or thirty yeers, theſe our grounds would all overgrow and be covered (according to the nature thereof) either with Woods, or with other offenſive Thickets and Buſhments: much more did all ſorts of Plants, Reedes, and Trees, proſper in the moſt fruitfull Vallies, and in the Climate of a long and warme Summer, and having withall the ſtart of 130. years, to raiſe themſelves without controlement.

This being conſidered, it will appeare, that all theſe people which came into *Shinaar*, and over whom *Nimrod* either by order or ſtrength tooke the Dominion, did after the confuſion of Languages, and at ſuch time as they grew to be a mighty People, diſperſe themſelves into the Regions adjoyning to the ſaid Vallie of *Shinaar*, which contained the beſt part of *Meſopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldæa*; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated, ſome of them towards the South, others towards the Weſt and North. And although there were allotted to *Shem* many Regions, both Eaſt and Weſt from *Shinaar*, with the Dominion of *Palaſtina*, which the *Canaanits* firſt poſſeſt; yet could he not enjoy the lot of his inheritance on the ſudden, but by time and degrees. For wee finde, that *Abraham*, the true ſucceſſour of *Shem*, dwelt in

*Chaldæa* at *Ur*; and from thence (called by God) he reſted at *Charran* in *Meſopotamia*: from whence after the death of *Thare* he travailed to *Sichem* in *Paleſtina*: and yet there had paſſed betweene *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neither of themſelves) ſeven Deſcents, before *Abraham* moved out of *Chaldæa*; where, and in *Babylonia*, all thoſe people by *Nimrod* commanded, inhabited for many yeeres, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Aſſyria*, and founded *Nineve*. Indeed the great Maſters of Nations (as farre as we can know) were, in that Age of the Iſſues of *Ham*; the bleſſing of God given by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Japhet* taking leſſe effect, untill divers yeers were conſumed; and untill the time arrived, which by the wiſedome of God was apointed. For of *Chus*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan*, came the People and Princes, which held the great Kingdomes of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, for many Deſcents together.

### §. III.

### *Of the Iles of the Gentiles in* JAPHETS *portion: of* BEROSUS *his too ſpeedie ſeating* GOMER *the ſonne of* JAPHET *in Italie; and another of* JAPHETS *ſonnes* TUBAL *in Spaine: and of the Antiquitie of Longinque Navigation.*

TO begin therefore (where *Moſes* beginneth) with the ſonnes of *Japheth*, among whom the Iles of the *Gentiles* were divided: which diviſion, as well to *Japhets* ſons as to the reſt which came into *Shinaar*, was (if the diviſion were made at *Phalegs* birth) in the yeere of the World 1757. or 1758. and (by that account) in the yeares after the Floud one hundred and one, of which queſtion elſewhere.

The habitations proper to the ſonnes of *Japhet* were the Iles of the *Gentiles*, which include all *Europe* with all the Ilands adjoyning, and compaſſing it about: *Europe* being alſo taken for an Iland, both in reſpect that the Sea *Helleſpont* and *Ægeum*, *Boſphorus* and *Euxinus* cut it off from the great Continent of *Aſia*, as alſo becauſe *Europe* it ſelfe is (in effect) ſurrounded with water, ſaving that it is faſtned to *Aſia* by the North, for it hath thoſe Seas before named to the Eaſt, the *Mediterran* to the South and Southweſt, the Ocean to the Weſt, and *Brittiſh*, *Germane*, and *Balticke* Sea, with that of *Glaciale* to the North North-eaſt, and North-weſt. Beſides, it hath about it all the *Cyclades* or Iles lying betweene *Greece* and the leſſer *Aſia*, and the Iles of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Creete*, or *Candia*, *Sicilia*, *Corſica*, *Sardinia*, *Malta*, the Iles of *Brittanie* and *Zealand*, with their young ones adjacent.

Gen. 9. v. 27.

This partition and portion of *Japheth*, with the part which he held in *Aſia*, and the North, which was alſo very great, anſwereth to that bleſſing of God by *Noah*, *Dilatet Deus* JAPHETH; *Let God ſpread abroad* (or increaſe the Poſteritie of) JAPHETH, *and let him dwell in the Tents of* SHEM. For though *Junius* here uſeth the word (*alliciat*) and not *dilatet*: and the *Geneva perſuadeat*; yet the *Septuagint* have *dilatet* or *amplificet*; and ſuch was the bleſſing given to our Fathers, which God promiſed to *Abraham* and his Seede for ever. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of *Shem* was a bleſſing by God to the Poſteritie of *Japheth*: noting not onely an enlargement of Territories, but that thereby they ſhould be made participant of Gods Church. But to come to *Japhets* ſonnes, of whom *Gomer* is the eldeſt. This *Gomer* (if we may beleeve *Beroſus* and *Annius*, whoſe authoritie the greateſt number of all our late Writers have followed) did in the the tenth yeer of *Nimrods* Reign depart from *Babylonia*, and planted *Italie*: which alſo *Functius* confirmeth in theſe words, *Anno decimo* NIMRODI, *&c. In the tenth yeere of* NIMRODS *Reigne*, GOMERUS GALLUS *planted a Colonie in that Land afterward called Italie: and in the twelfth yeere of the ſame* NIMRODS *Reigne* TUBAL *ſeated himſelfe in Auſturia in Spaine (now called Biſcay) which was in the* 140. *and in the* 142. *yeeres after the Floud, according to* BEROSUS. But this opinion is very ridiculous. For before the confuſion of Tongues the children of *Noah* did not ſeparate themſelves, at leaſt ſo many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*. Let us therefore conſider with reaſon, what time the building ſuch a Citie and Tower required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any readie meanes to performe ſuch a worke as *Nimrod* had erected (and as *Functius* himſelfe out of his Author *Beroſus* witneſſeth) *ad altitudinem & magnitudinem montium*; *To the heighth and magnitude of the Mountaines*. Sure that both this Citie and Tower was almoſt builded, the Scriptures witneſſe: *But*

Funct. Chronol.

*the Lord came downe to ſee the Citie and Tower, which the Sonnes of men builded.* Let us then but allot a time ſufficient for the making of Bricke to ſuch a Worke, of the greateſt heighth (and therefore of circuit and foundation anſwerable) that ever was. For where the univerſall Floud covered the higheſt Mountaines fifteene Cubits; *Let us build us a Citie and Tower* (ſaith NIMROD) *whoſe top may reach unto the Heaven:* meaning, that they would raiſe their Worke above fifteene Cubits higher than the higheſt Mountaine, otherwiſe they could not aſſure themſelves from the feare of a ſecond inundation: a great part whereof was finiſhed before it fell, and before they left the Worke. They alſo began this building upon a ground, the moſt oppreſſed with waters of all the world: as by the great ruine which theſe waters, forcibly over-bearing and over-flowing, made in the time of the ſucceeding Emperours, is made manifeſt, approved alſo by the Prophet *Hieremy*, ſpeaking of *Babylon* in theſe words: *Thou that dwelleſt upon many waters.* It cannot be doubted but that there needed a ſubſtantiall foundation, for ſo high a raiſed building on a mariſh ground: and to which, *Glycas* upon *Geneſis* giveth forty yeeres. For it ſeemeth, that the Tower was neere finiſhed when God overthrew it: it being afterward written, *So the Lord ſcattered them from thence upon all the Earth, and they left to build the Citie.* Out of which place it may be gathered (becauſe the Tower is not then named) that they very neere had performed the Work of their ſuppoſed defence, which was the Tower: and that afterward they went on with the Citie adjoyning, wherein they inhabited. It is alſo to be noted, that till ſuch time as this confuſion ſeized them (whereupon the Tower was throwne down) theſe Nations did not diſperſe themſelves: for *from thence the Lord ſcattered them upon all the Earth,* (that was) when they perceived not one anothers ſpeech. Now to thinke that this worke in the newneſſe of the World (wanting all inſtruments and materials) could be performed in ten yeares; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the ſame yeere could creepe through 3000. miles of Deſart, with Women, Children, and Cattell: let thoſe light Beleevers, that neither tye themſelves to the Scripture, nor to reaſon approve it, for I doe not. And if the *Arke* of *Noah* was 100. yeares in building, or but neere ſuch a time, (and then) when the World had ſtood 1556. yeares, it were more than fooliſhneſſe and madneſſe it ſelfe, to thinke that ſuch a Worke as this could be performed in ten; when the World (from the Floud to the arrivall at *Babel*, and beginning of this building there) had but 131. yeares, and whereof they had ſpent ſome part in travelling from the Eaſt. Againe, if all *Aſia* ſet to their helping hands in the building of the Temple of *Diana*, and yet they conſumed in that Work 400. yeares (or be it but halfe that time) and in ſuch an Age as when the World flouriſhed in all ſorts of Artificers, and with aboundant plentie of materials and carriages: This Worke of the Tower of *Babel* could hardly (with all the former wants ſuppoſed) be erected in thoſe few yeers remembred. And for concluſion, let all men of judgement weigh with themſelves how impoſſible it was for a Nation or Family of men, with their Wives, and Children, and Cattell, to travell 3000. miles through Woods, Bogs, and Deſarts, without any Guide or Conductor; and we ſhall find it rather a Worke of 100. years than of 100. dayes. For in the Weſt *Indies*, of which the *Spaniards* have the experience, in thoſe places where they found neither Path nor Guide, they have not entred the Countrey ten miles in ten yeeres. And if *Nimrods* people ſpent many yeeres by the account before remembred in paſſing from the Eaſt *India* or the higher part thereof, which ſtandeth in 115. Degrees of Longitude, untill they came into *Shinaar* which lyeth in 79. Degrees (the diſtance betweene thoſe places contayning 36. Degrees, which makes 720. Leagues, which is 2160. miles) & did all the way keepe the Mountaines and hard ground; then the difference betweene *Babylon* and *Biſcay* is much more: for the bodie of *Biſcay* lyeth in ten Degrees, and *Babylon* or *Shinaar*, (as aforeſaid) in 79. ſo the length of way from *Shinaar* to *Auſturia* or *Biſcay* is 69. Degrees, which make 1380. Leagues, or of miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* tooke divers yeeres to find *Shinaar*, which was but 2160. miles: or (ſuppoſing that the *Arke* reſted in *Armenia*) little above 400. miles: there is no cauſe to the contrary, but to allow as many yeeres to *Gomer* and *Tubal* to travaile 3000. miles, to Countries leſſe knowne unto them by far, than the Land of *Shinar* was to *Nimrod*. For *Paradiſe* was knowne to *Noah* before the Floud: and ſo was the Region of *Eden* by *Moſes* afterward remembred; but what hee underſtood of moſt part of the World elſe it is unknowne. And therefore did *Annius* ill adviſe himſelf to plant *Gomer* in *Italie*, and *Tubal* in *Spaine*, in the tenth and twelfth of *Nimrods*

Gen.c.11.

Gen.11.

Plin.

*Iſa.66.v.8.*

*rods* Reigne: ***Shall the Earth be brought forth in one day, or ſhall a Nation be borne at once?*** But it may be objected, That the Sonnes of ***Japheth*** might come by Sea, and ſo ſave this great travaile through Deſarts by Land. But we never reade of any Navigation in thoſe dayes, nor long after. Surely he that knoweth what it is to imbarke ſo great a people as we may juſtly ſuppoſe thoſe Conductors carryed with them, will not eaſily beleeve that there were any Veſſels in thoſe dayes to tranſport Armies, and (withall) their Cattell, by whoſe milke they lived and fed their Children: For Milke and Fruit were the banquetting Diſhes of our Fore-Fathers. And in the eldeſt times, even the Kings and Fathers of Nations valued themſelves by the Heards and numbers of their Cattell: who had Flockes of Sheepe, and great Droves, and Heards of their owne, and their owne Sheep-heards and Heardſmen. Now if ***Tubal*** had paſt by Sea from any part of ***Palæſtina, Syria***, or ***Cilicia***, he might have made good choice within the Streights, and not have over gone ***Granado, Valentia***, and other Provinces in that Tract: paſt the Streights of ***Gibralter***, diſdayned all ***Andaluſia***, and ***Portugal***, with all thoſe goodly Ports and Countries; and have ſought out the iron, woody, and barren Countrie of the World (called ***Biſcay***) by a long and dangerous Navigation. But before the journey of the ***Argonautæ***, there were ſcarce any Veſſels that durſt croſſe the Seas in that part of the world: aud yet that which ***Jaſon*** had (if the Tale be true) was but a Galley, and a poore one (God knowes) and perchance ſuch as they uſe this day in ***Ireland***: which although it carryed but foure and fifty Paſſengers, yet it was farre greater than any of the former times: ***Erat enim antea parvarum navicularum uſus: For in former times they uſed very ſmall Veſſels.*** I deny not but that the ***Tyrians*** gave themſelves of old to far-off Navigations, whence ***Tibullus*** aſcribed the invention of Ships unto them:

*Diod.Sicul.l.4. c.4.fol.115.*

*Tibull.Eleg.7. Strabo l.16.*

— ***Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros.***
***Tyrus*** knew firſt how ſhips might uſe the Wind.

*Diod.Sicul.l.1. Plin.l.7.cap.56.*

*Thucid.*

*Plin.l.7.c.56. Euſeb de præp. Evang.c.1. Tert.de Coron.mil.*

And for thoſe Boats called ***longæ naves*** or Gallies, ***Pliny*** ſaith that ***Ægeſias*** aſcribeth the device to ***Paralus:*** and ***Philoſtephanus*** to ***Jaſon: Cteſias*** to ***Samyras***; and ***Saphanus*** to ***Semiramis: Archimachus*** to ***Ægeon:*** to which invention the ***Erythræi*** are ſaid to have added certaine numbers of Oares: and then ***Aminocles*** the ***Corinthian*** to have increaſed them: the ***Carthaginians*** afterwards to have brought them to foure Bankes: the ***Quinq; Remi*** firſt to have beene uſed by ***Neſichthon*** the ***Salaminian***, with which veſſels in thoſe parts of the World, the ***Romans*** ſerved themſelves in the ***Punicke*** Warre. But theſe be perhaps but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as conſtantly caſt the deviſing of theſe Gallies on ***Seſoſiris***, though ***Semiramis*** uſed them in the paſſage of her Armie over ***Indus*** in ***Abrahams*** time. So it is ſaid, that ***Danaus*** was the firſt that brought a Ship into ***Greece:*** and yet the ***Samothracians*** challenge the invention; and yet ***Tertullian*** (on the contrarie) gives it to ***Minerva:*** others to ***Neptune; Thucydides*** to the ***Corinthians***. And ſo ignorant were the people of thoſe Ages, as the ***Egyptians*** uſed to coaſt the Shores of the Red Sea upon raffes, deviſed by King ***Erythrus:*** and in the time of the ***Romans***, the ***Brittans*** had a kind of Boat (with which they croſt the Seas) made of ſmall twigs, and covered over with Leather: of which kind I have ſeene at the ***Dingl*** in ***Ireland***, and elſewhere. ***Naves excorio circumſutæ in Oceano Britannico*** (ſaith ***Textor***) of which ***Lucan*** the Poet.

***Primum cana ſalix, madefacto vimine parvam***
***Texitur in puppim, cæſoq; induta juvenco,***
***Vectoris patiens tumidum ſuperenatat amnem.***
***Sic Venetus ſtagnante Pado, fuſoq; Britannus***
***Navigat Oceano.***

The moyſtned Oſyer of the hoarie Willow
Is woven firſt into a little Boat:
Then cloth'd in Bullockes hide, upon the billow
Of a proud river, lightly doth it float
Under the Waterman:
So on the Lakes of over-ſwelling ***Poe***
Sailes the ***Venetian:*** and the ***Brittaine*** ſo
On th' out-ſpred Ocean.

And although it cannot be denyed, when *Noah* by Gods inſpiration was inſtructed in ſo many particulars concerning the *Arke*, that then many things concerning Navigation were firſt revealed; yet it appeares that there was much difference betweene the *Arke* of *Noah*, and ſuch Ships as were for any long Navigation. Yea, ancient Stories ſhew, that it was long after theſe times, ere any durſt preſume upon any long Voyages to Sea, at leaſt with multitudes of Women, and Children, and Cattell: as alſo common reaſon can tell us, that even now when this Art is come to her perfection, ſuch Voyages are very troubleſome and dangerous. So as it doth appeare, that there was not in that Age of *Nimrod* any Ship, or uſe of Ships fit for any long Navigation. For if *Gomer* and *Tubal* had paſſed themſelves and their people by Sea; the exerciſe of Navigation would not have beene dead for ſo many hundred yeares after. Leaving therefore the fabulous to their Fables, and all men elſe to their fancies, who have caſt Nations into Countries far off, I know not how, I will follow herein the Relation of *Moſes* and the Prophets: to which Truth there is joyned both Nature, Reaſon, Policie, and Neceſſitie: and to the reſt, neither probabilitie, nor poſſibilitie.

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## §. IIII.

### *Of* GOG *and* MAGOG, TUBAL, *and* MESHECH, *ſeated firſt about Aſia the leſſe; out of* EZECHIEL, CAP. 38. 39.

NOw although many Learned and Reverend men have formed (I know not whereby led) a Plantation of the World, which alſo hath been and is received; yet I hope I may be excuſed, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great Learned man of this latter Age, *Arias Montanus* was alſo in ſome things much miſtaken: and for *Joſephus*, as he hath many good things, and is a Guide to many errours withall; ſo was he in the Plantation of the World very groſſe and fabulous; whereby both *Euſebius*, *Hieroſolymitanus*, *Epiphanius*, and others, that have taken his teſtimonies for currant, have beene by him farre miſſe-led. But the better to conceive what Regions of the World *Gomer* the firſt ſonne of *Japheth* poſſeſt, as alſo *Tubal*, it is needfull to begin with *Magog*: becauſe the Scriptures take moſt knowledge of *Gog* and *Magog*: which two names have troubled many Commentators, ſaith *Matth. Beroaldus*, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that ever I read) I find moſt judicious in the examination of this Plantation. Hee takes authoritie from the Prophet *Ezechiel* chiefly, who in the 38. and 39. Chapters directeth us, what Nations the *Gomerians*, *Tubalines*, and *Togormians* were, together with the *Magogians*: of which *Gog* was Prince or Chiefe Conductor in their Attempts againſt *Iſrael*. For beſides the portions of *Europe*, and the North-eaſt parts of the greater *Aſia*, which *Japheths* Iſſues poſſeſt, all *Aſia* the leſſe was peopled by them. And that thoſe of the Iſſue of *Japheth* (whom *Ezechiel* ſpeakes of) were ſeated hereabout, it may beſt appeare, if we conſider the circumſtances of the place, and the dependencie upon the former Propheſie in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter, *Ezechiel* propheſieth of the uniting of the two Kingdomes of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, after their deliverie from captivitie. C.37.v.15.

By which Propheſie of *Ezechiel*, it appeareth, that God purpoſed to gather together his people, to give life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpoſe it is written; *And* DAVID *my Servant ſhall be King over them, and they ſhall have one Sheepheard*, (that is) they ſhall be united as they were in *Davids* time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter, *Ezechiel* propheſieth againſt thoſe Nations, which ſhould ſeeke to impeach this Union, and diſturbe the people of *Iſrael*, whom God purpoſed to receive to grace, and promiſed to reſtore. And ſo in the ſame Chapter are thoſe Nations coupled together, which infeſted the *Iſraelites* after their returne, and ſought to ſubject them: all which were the Subjects or Allies of *Gog*, Prince of the *Magogians*, or *Cœloſyrians*, next bordering *Palaſtina*, or the holy Land, followed alſo by the reſt of the Nations of *Aſia* the leſſe, which lay North from *Judæa*. The words of *Ezechiel* are theſe: *Sonne of man, ſet thy face againſt* GOG, *and againſt the Land of* MAGOG, *the chiefe Princes of* MESECH (or MOSOCH) *and* TUBAL: and afterward; *Behold, I come againſt the chiefe Prince of* MESECH *and* TUBAL: and in the ſixth verſe; GOMER *and all his Bands, and the Houſe of* TOGORMA *of the North quarters*. Herein *Ezechiel* having firſt delivered C.38.v.2.

the purpoſe of his Prophecie, teacheth what Nations they were, that ſhould in vanitie aſſayle *Iſrael*. He joyneth them together under their Prince *Gog*, and ſheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of *Juda*, and how ſeated and joyned together. *Gog* ſignifieth in the *Hebrew* (ſaith Saint *Hierome*) *tectum* or *covering of a houſe*: and *Pintus* upon *Ezechiel* affirmeth that by *Gog* is meant *Antichriſt*: for (ſaith he) *Antichriſtus erit Diaboli tegumentum ſub ſpecie humana*: *That Antichriſt ſhall be the covering of the Devill under humane forme*. He addeth, that *Magog* is as much to ſay as *Gog*: the Letter (*M*) being an *Hebrew* Prepoſition, and importeth as much as *of* or *from*: ſo hee taketh *Magog* for thoſe people which follow *Antichriſt*. So farre *Pintus*; at leaſt in this not amiſſe, that he expoundeth *Magog* not for any one perſon, but for a Nation; with which agreeth this obſervation of *Beroaldus*. *Magog* (ſaith he) in *Hebrew* is written *Ham-Magog*, which ſheweth *Magog* to be a Region or Nation: for the Letter (*He*) which is uſed but for an *Emphaſis* (which the *Hebrewes* call *Heliajedia*) is never added to proper names of men, but often to place. So as *Gog* was Prince of that Nation (called either *Magog*, or, according to others, the people of *Gog*) alſo Prince of *Meſhech*, (or *Moſoch*) and of *Tubal*: as by the firſt Verſe of the 29. Chapter is made manifeſt: *Behold I come againſt thee* GOG *the chiefe Prince of* MESHECH *and* TUBAL. This muſt needes bee meant by the Succeſſours of *Seleucus Nicanor*, who did not (as other conquering Nations) ſeeke to make the *Jewes* their Tributaries only, but indevoured by all meanes, and by all kinde of violence to extinguiſh the Religion it ſelfe (which the *Hebrewes* profeſt) and the acknowledging of one true God: and to force them to worſhip and ſerve the mortall and rotten gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and dead Images. Saint *Ambroſe* and *Iſidore* take *Gog* for the Nation of the *Goths*: belike becauſe they invaded *Europe*, and ſacked *Rome*, and many other places and Cities thereabout. *Hermolaus Barbarus* out of *Pomp. Mela* derives the *Turkes* from the *Scythians*, eſteemed *Magogians* of *Gog*. Many take *Gog* for the proper name of a Man: others of a Region: others for a Nation inhabiting a Region, as *Junius*, who ſayes that *Gog* is the name of a Nation, denominated from him whom the *Greekes* Stories call *Gyges*: who in former time having ſlaine *Candaules* the *Lydian*, gave his owne name to that Nation, thence after called *Gygades*: and thereof alſo the *Gygean* Lake; which Lake *Strabo* alſo findeth in *Lydia*, (of which *Gyges* was King) fortie Furlongs from *Sardis*. *Plinie* calleth it *Gygeum ſtagnum*. *Herodotus* and *Nicander* ſet it about the Rivers of *Hillus*, and *Mæander*; but the difference is not great. *Marius Niger* maketh mention of this *Gyges* King of *Lydia*: who after he had ſubdued the Countrey about the River *Rhodius* which runneth into the *Helleſpont*, called the Promontorie *Trapeſe* after his owne name *Gyges*. Theſe Opinions doe alſo ſeeme to ſtrengthen that of *Junius*. For *Magog*, ſaith he, is that part of *Aſia* the leſſe, which *Halyattes* obtained, and after him his Sonne *Cræſus*; who (as *Junius* further notes) having maſtred all thoſe Regions as farre South as *Libanus*, in that Border built the Citie *Gigarta* or *Gogkarta* (which in the *Syrian* ſignifieth the Citie of *Gog*) ſeated in *Cœloſyria*, whoſe people were the ancient Enemies of the *Jewes*.

In Ezech.

L.2. de Fide.

Strab. lib.13.

Suid. Col.207.

Jun. in Ezech.38.

Now that *Magog* is found in *Cœloſyria*, *Plinie* affirmeth, ſaying; *Cœloſyria habet Bambycen, quæ alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur: Syris verò Magog*; *Cœloſyria hath in it Bambyce, which by another name is called Hierapolis, but of the Syrians Magog*. He further telleth us that the monſtrous Idoll *Atergatis*, called by the *Greekes Derceto*, was here worſhipped. *Lucian* makes mention hereof, ſaying that the Citie had anciently another name, which yet hee expreſſeth not; forbearing perhaps the word *Magog*, as ſounding nothing elegantly in the *Greeke*. But if wee may beleeve *Strabo*, then was *Edeſſa* in *Meſapotamia* the ſame *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*, where the ſame Idoll was worſhipped. *Ortelius* is doubtfull whether one of theſe Authors did not miſtake the place of this *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*. It may well enough bee that the ſame name and Religion was common to them both. Certaine it is, that both of them lay due North from *Palaſtina*, and were both ſubject unto the Kings of the Race of *Seleucus*. Now I doe not condemne the Opinion of *Hermolaus Barbarus* following *Joſephus*, but grant that perhaps *Magog* might alſo bee the Father of the *Scythians*; notwithſtanding that in this place, where *Gog* is made the Prince of *Magog*, the Nations of *Cœloſyria*, and the North parts adjoyning bee meant by *Magog*: for by a latter Plantation from theſe parts they might bee propagated into *Scythia*. Yet it is not to bee denyed, that the *Scythians*

Strab. l.16.

in old times comming out of the North-eaſt waſted the better part of *Aſia* the leſſe, and poſſeſt *Cœloſyria*, where they built both *Scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which the *Syrians* call *Magog*. And that to this *Magog* *Ezechiel* had reference, it is very plaine: for this Citie *Hierapolis* or *Magog* ſtandeth due North from *Judæa*, according to the words of *Ezechiel*, that from the North quarters thoſe Nations ſhould come. For as the Kings of the South which infeſted the *Iſraelites* were the *Ptolomies*, Kings of *Egypt*: ſo thoſe of the North were the Kings of *Aſia* and *Syria*, the Succeſſours of *Seleucus*, the Succeſſour of *Alexander Macedon*. *Gulielmus Tyrius* thinkes that this *Hierapolis* is that *Rages*, mentioned in the Storie of *Tobias*. *Plinie* takes it not onely to have beene called *Bambyce*, as we have ſaid, but alſo *Edeſſa*: not that by *Euphrates*; but another of the ſame name: now the known name is *Aleppo*: for ſo *Bellonius* expounds this *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*. This Citie had the Title of Sacred, as the Sacred Citie; (for ſo the word *Hierapolis* ſignifieth) yet was it a place of moſt deteſted Idolatry; and wherein was worſhipped the Idoll of the Mermayde *Atergatis*, or *Atergitis*, according to *Plinie*, which the *Greekes* call *Derceto*.

*Lib.4.cap.de bello Sacro*

If then we conferre the words of *Ezechiel* in the third verſe of the thirtie eight Chapter, wherein he joyneth together *Gog*, *Meſech* and *Tubal*; and withall remember that *Hierapolis* was the Citie of *Magog*, which alſo is ſeated directly North from *Judæa*: with whom alſo *Ezechiel* coupleth *Gomer*, and all his bands of the North quarters; we may (as I conceive) ſafely conclude, that theſe Followers and Vaſſals of *Gog* (which were Northerne Nations in reſpect of *Judæa*) were not the *Gomerians* of *France*, nor the *Tubalines* of *Spaine*, but a people of the leſſer *Aſia*, and *Cœloſyria*: and therefore that the opinions of *Beroſus*, *Joſephus*, and whoſoever elſe hath followed them therein, are to be rejected. But if *Joſephus* referre himſelfe to later times, and thinke that ſome *Colonie* of the *Tubalines* might from *Iberia* and *Aſia* paſſe into *Spaine* (to wit) from that piece of Land betweene *Colchis* (or *Mengrelia*) and *Albania*, (moſt part poſſeſt by the *Georgians*) then is his judgement of better allowance. For without any repugnancie of opinions, it may be granted, that in proceſſe of time theſe people might from their firſt habitation, paſſe into the Countries neere the *Euxine* Sea, and from thence in After-Ages into *Spaine*.

*Joſephus* makes mention of the *Iberi*, ſaying, that they were anciently called *Thobelos*, as of *Tubal*; from whence (ſaith *Juſtine*) *they paſſed into Spaine to ſearch out the Mines of that Region*: having belike underſtood that it was a Southerly Countrie, and Mountainous. For it ſeemeth that the *Tubalines* called *Chalybes* lived altogether by the exchange of Iron, and other Metals, as *Apollonius* witneſſeth in theſe following Verſes, telling how the *Argonautes* did viſit them:

*Hac gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,*
*Sed ferri venas ſcindit ſub montibus altis:*
*Mercibus hæc mutat, quæ vitæ alimenta miniſtrant;*

The *Calybes* plough not their barren ſoyle
But undermine high Hils for Iron Veines:
Changing the purchaſe of their endleſſe toyle
For Merchandize, which their poore lives ſuſtaines.

But it is more probable, that *Spain* was firſt peopled by the *Africans*, who had ever ſince an affection to returne thither, and to re-people it anew. This appeared by the *Carthaginians* of old, who were eaſily drawne to paſſe over the Streights into that Countrey: and after by the *Moores* who held *Granado*, and the South parts eight hundred yeeres, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*. And either of theſe opinions are more probable, than that in the twelfrh yeere of *Nimrods* Reigne, *Tubal* paſt into *Spaine*, and therein built Saint *Vual*: a poore Towne, and a poore device, God knowes. Certaine it is that we muſt finde *Moſoch* or *Meſech*, and *Tubal* Neighbours, and *Gomer* and *Togarma* not farre off, or elſe we ſhall wrong *Ezechiel*: for he called *Gog* the Leader or Prince of *Meſech* and *Tubal*, and maketh *Gomer* and *Togarma* their aſſiſtants. And that *Meſech* inhabited *Aſia*, *Functius* (though he followed *Beroſus*) confeſſeth, for theſe be his words: MESACUS, *qui à* MOSE MESECH, *priſcos Meſios ab Adula monte uſq; ad Ponticam regionem poſuit: hæc regio poſteà Cappadocia dicta eſt, in qua urbs Mazica, &c. hæc eſt terra* MAGOG *principalis*; MESACUS, *whom* MOSES *calleth* MESECH, *placed the ancient*

*Meſians from the Mount Adulas, unto the Coaſt of Pontus. This Region was afterward called Cappadocia, in which is the Towne Mazica, &c. this is the principall Countrey of* MAGOG. And this doth *Annius* alſo avow, and yet forgets that *Gog* was Prince both of *Meſech* and *Tubal*: and therefore that the one was a Nation of *Spaniards*, the other of *Cappadocians*, is very ridiculous; *Spaine* lying directly Weſt, and not North from *Judæa*. Alſo *Ezechiel* in the 27. Chapter, where he prophecieth of the deſtruction of *Tyre*, nameth *Meſech* and *Tubal* joyntly. And for a finall proofe, that theſe Nations were of a Northren Neighbour Land (how farre ſoever ſtretched) *Ezechiel* in the 38. Chapter makes them all Horſemen. *Thou, and much people with thee, all ſhall ride upon Horſes, even a great multitude and a mightie.* Then if any man beleeve that theſe troupes came out of *Spaine over the Pyrenes*, and firſt paſſed over a part of *France, Italie, Hungarie*, and *Sarmatia*, and imbarqued againe about the *Helleſpont*, or elſe compaſſed all *Pontus*, and *Euxinus*, to come into the leſſer *Aſia*, which is halfe the length or compaſſe of the then knowne World; he may be called a ſtrong beleever, but he ſhall never be juſtified thereby. But on the contrarie, it is knowne, that *Seleucis* was a Province neighbouring *Palæſtina* or *Judæa*, and that *Hierapolis* (or *Magog*) joyned unto it: whoſe Princes commanded all *Syria*, and *Aſia* the leſſe, (namely, the *Seleucida*) and held it, till *Scipio Aſiaticus* overthrew *Antiochus* the Great: after which they yet poſſeſt *Syria* till the time of *Tigranes*: and whether *Meſhech* be in *Cappadocia*, or under *Iberia*, yet is it of the *Tubalines*, and one and the ſame Dominion.

Of *Gomer* the like may be ſaid. Firſt, he ſeated himſelfe with *Togorma*, not farre from *Magog* and *Tubal*, in the borders of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Afterward he proceeded further into *Aſia* the leſſe; and in long tract of time his valiant Iſſue filled all *Germanie*, reſted long in *France* and *Brittanie*, and poſſeſſed the utmoſt borders of the earth, accompliſhing (as *Melancthon* well notes) the ſignification of their parents name, which is *Utmoſt bordering*. But when theſe borderers wanted further place, wherein they might exonerate their ſwelling multitudes that were bounded in by the great *Ocean*, then did they returne upon the Nations occupying the Countries, through which they had formerly paſſed, oppreſſing firſt their Neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy reſtorer of our Antiquities *M. Willian Cambden* hath noted) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their old Language doth ſignifie Robbers; neceſſity inforcing them to ſpoyle their Neighbours, to whom in their originall they were as neere joyned, as afterwards in the feates which they poſſeſſed. For that the Warlike nations of *Germany* were in elder Ages accuſtomed to be beaten by the *Gaules*, the authoritie of *Cæſar* affirming it, is proofe ſufficient. But in times following they purſued richer Conqueſts, and more eaſie though further diſtant, by which (to omit their other enterpriſes not here to be ſpoken of) they were drawne at length into *Aſia* the leſſe, and occupyed thoſe parts, which had formerly beene held by their Progenitours. I ſay not that they claymed thoſe Lands as theirs by Deſcent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their owne Pedigree. Neyther can any man therefore deny, that they were of old ſeated in *Aſia*, becauſe in late Ages they returned thither; unleſſe he will thinke, that all thoſe Nations which from farre parts have invaded and conquered the Land of *Shinaar*, may by that Argument be proved not to have iſſved from thence at the firſt.

Now concerning *Samothes*, for his excellent wiſedome ſirnamed *Dis*, whom *Annius* makes the Brother of *Gomer* and *Tubal* (which Brother, *Moſes* never heard of, who ſpake his knowledge of *Japhets* ſonnes) they muſt find him in ſome old Poet: for *Functius*, a great *Beroſian*, confeſſeth: *Quis hic* Samothes *fuerit incertum eſt*; *Who this* Samothes *was, it is uncertaine*; neither is there any proofe that he was that ſame *Dis*, whom *Cæſar* ſaith the *Gaules* ſuppoſe to be their Anceſtor; yea, and *Vignier* confeſſeth with *Functius*: *Mays on ne ſcayt qui il eſtoit*; *No man knowes who he was.*

*In Chron.*

*Cæſar.Comment.*
*Vigni.part* 1. *Chron.*

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## §. V.

### *Againſt the fabulous* Beroſus *his fiction, That the Italian* Janus *was* Noah.

BUt before I goe on with *Noah* his Sonnes, I thinke it is neceſſarie to diſprove the fiction which *Annius* hath of *Noah* himſelfe; an invention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as hee hath wreſted) by thoſe Authors of whom himſelfe hath Commented:as the Fragment of *Beroſus*,*Fabius*,*Pictor*,*Cato*, *Lavinius* and others. For *Annius* ſeeks to perſwade us,that *Noah*(ſurnamed *Janus*)was the ſame which founded *Genoa*,with other Cities in *Italie*, wherein he lived 92. yeeres. This to diſprove, by *Moſes* ſilence, is a ſufficient argument to me, if there were nothing elſe to diſprove it. For if he vouchſafed to remember the building of *Babel*, *Erec*, *Achad*, *Chalne* and *Nineve* by *Nimrod*, *Noah* was a man of too great marke to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92. yeeres. But it were a needleſſe labour for me to diſprove the authoritie of that *Beroſus*,on whom *Annius* groundeth,ſeeing ſo many learned men have ſo demonſtratively proved that Fragment to be counterfeit. Beſides that,*Tatianus* the *Aſſyrian*,in his Oration againſt the *Greekes*, avoweth; that the ancient and true *Beroſus* wrote onely three Bookes,dedicated to *Antiochus* the ſucceſſor of *Seleucus Nicanor* : but *Annius* hath deviſed five Bookes,wherewith he honoureth *Beroſus*. And whereas *Beroſus* handled only the eſtate of the *Chaldæans* and *Aſſyrians*; *Annius* hath filled this Fragment with the buſineſſe of all the World. And if we may beleeve *Euſebius* better than *Annius*, then all the Kings of the *Latines*(before *Æneas*)conſumed but 150. yeeres: whereas no man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Æneas* arrivall into *Italy* there paſt 1126.(after the leaſt rate of the *Hebrew* account)and(after *Codoman*) 1291. For *Janus* (who was the firſt of their Kings) lived at once with *Ruth*, who marryed *Booz*, in the Worlds yeare(as ſome reckon) 2717. after the Floud 1064.and *Noah* dyed 350. yeares after the Floud: and ſo there paſt betweene *Janus* of *Italie* and *Noah* ſurnamed *Janus* 704. yeeres. For *Saturnus* ſucceeded *Janus*,*Picus* after *Saturnus*, *Fannus* after *Picus*,and *Latinus* followed *Fannus* : which *Latinus* lived at once with *Tautanes* the 27. King of *Aſſyria*; with *Pelaſgus* of *Peloponneſus*; with *Demophoon* of *Athens*; and *Sampſon* Judge of *Iſrael*. Now all theſe five Kings of the *Latines* having conſumed but one hundred and fiftie years;and the laſt of them in the time of *Sampſon*: then reckoning upwards for one hundred & fiftie years,and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Janus* lived.

*Ann.de Hetruſ.*
*Pict.de aur.ſæculo.*
*Cato de origen.*
*Lavin.illuſt.de Gall.*

*Joſeph.l.1.*

True it is, that the *Greekes* had their *Janus*; but this was not *Noah* : ſo had they *Ion* the ſonne of *Xuthus*, the ſonne of *Deucalion*, from whom they draw the *Iones*, who were indeed the children of *Javan*, the fourth ſonne of *Japheth*. For the vulgar Tranſlation (where the *Hebrewe* word is *Javan*)writes *Greece*,and the *Septuagint*,*Hellas*; which is the ſame. So had they *Medus* the ſon of *Madea*, whom they make the Parent of the *Medes*, though they were deſcended of a far more ancient Father(to wit) *Madai* the third ſon of *Japheth*.

*Ezech.*27.19.13. and ſo the place of *Eſay* 66.19. (for *Javan*) *Hellada*: and (for the plurall *Juvamin*) *Hellenæ*;

Laſtly, we ſee by a true experience, that the *Brittiſh* Language hath remayned among us above 2000.yeeres,and the *Engliſh* ſpeech ever ſince the invaſion of the *Angles*, and the ſame continuance have all Nations obſerved among themſelves, though with ſome corruption and alteration. Therefore it is ſtrange if either *Noah* (by them called *Janus*) had left in *Italie* his Grand-child *Gomer* after him, or *Tubal* in *Spaine*, that no plaine reſemblance of the *Hebrew*, *Syrian*, or *Scythian* (which no time could have quite extinguiſhed)ſhould have beene found in the Languages of thoſe Countries. For which reaſons we doubt not but theſe perſonall Plantations of *Janus*, *Gomer*, *Tubal*, *&c. in Italie*, *Spaine*,or *France*, are meerely fabulous. Let the *Italians* therefore content themſelves with the *Gracian Janus*, which commanded them and planted them, and who preceded the fall of *Troy* but 150. yeeres (ſaith *Euſebius*) which was in the time of *Latinus*, the fift King: which alſo Saint *Auguſtine* and *Juſtine* confirme: and this agreeth with reaſon, time,and poſſibilitie. And if this be not ſufficient to diſprove this vanitie, I may out of themſelves adde thus much: That whereas ſome of them make *Veſta* (*others Camaſena*), the wife of this *Janus*,who inſtituted the holy Fire of the *Veſtal Virgins* in *Rome* (the *Latines* and *Romans* taking from *Janus* all their Idolatrous and Heatheniſh Ceremonies) there is no man ſo impious, as to beleeve that *Noah* himſelfe. (who is ſaid by *Moſes* to *have walked with God*, to be a juſt man, and whom God of all Mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or ſo wicked and ungratefull, to ſet up or deviſe any Heathen, Salvage, or Idolatrous adoration,or have inſtituted any Ceremonie,contrary to that which he knew beſt pleaſing to God himſelfe.

§. VI.

## §. VI.

### *That* GOMER *alſo and his ſonne* TOGORMA *of the Poſterity of* JAPHETH, *were firſt ſeated about Aſia the leſſe: and that from thence they ſpred Weſtward into Europe, and Northward into Sarmatia.*

TO turne now to the ſons of *Noah*, and the Worlds Plantation after the Floud: therein I obſerve, that as both reaſon and neceſſitie taught them; ſo, when they multiplyed in great numbers, and diſperſed themſelves into the next Countries bordering to their firſt habitations, and from thence ſent forth *Colonies* elſewhere, it was in ſuch a manner as that they might repayre to each other, and keepe intelligence by River: becauſe the Land was yet Deſart, and over-preſt with Woods, Reeds, Bogs, & rotten Mariſhes. As when *Nimrod* ſeated in *Babylonia*, *Chus* took the South part of *Chaldæa*, down the River of *Gehon*, by which he might paſſe to & fro from *Babylon* to his own Plantation: thoſe alſo, which were of the race of *Shem*, inhabiting at *Ur* or *Orchoa* neer the Lakes of *Chaldæa*, might by the ſame river get up to *Babylon*, and receive ſuccour from thence. All which Tract of Land upon *Gehon* Southward, *Moſes* in the deſcription of *Paradiſe* calleth the Land of *Chuſh*: becauſe the Dominion and Empire, was then in the hands of *Nimrod* a *Chuſite*, by whom the children of *Shem* (which came into that Valley and ſtayed not in the Eaſt) were for a while oppreſt, till God afterward by the ſeed of *Abraham* made them his owne Nation and victorious. *Havilah*, the brother of *Nimrod*, and ſonne of *Cuſh*, tooke both Bankes of *Tygris*, eſpecially on the Eaſt ſide of the River: by which River his people might alſo paſſe to and fro to *Babel*.

The Imperiall ſeate of which Region of *Havilah* or *Suſian*, was anciently called *Chuſian* or *Chuſan*, afterward *Suſa*. *Cuſh* himſelfe tooke the Bankes of *Gehon*, and planted thoſe Countries Weſtward, and Southweſt-ward towards *Arabia* the Stony, and the Deſart, where *Ptolomie* placeth the Citie of *Chuſidia*, firſt *Chuſia*. Ptol.Aſiæ.tab.4.

*Seba*, and *Sheba*, with the reſt that planted *Arabia fœlix*, had *Tygris*, to convey them into the *Perſian gulfe*, which waſheth the bankes of *Arabia fœlix* on the Eaſt ſide: ſo as thoſe ſons of *Cuſh* might take Land downe the River as they pleaſed. Alſo the Citie of *Ninive* was by *Nimrod* founded on the ſaid river of *Tygris*; and from thence a *Colonie* paſt to *Charran*, ſtanding alſo upon a navigable branch of *Euphrates*. In like manne did *Japheths* ſonnes ſettle themſelves together, and tooke their ſeates in *Aſia* the leſſe from whence they might indifferently ſtretch themſelves Northward, and Weſtward into the next parts of *Europe*, called the Iſles of the *Gentiles*. And it ſeemeth very agreeable to reaſon, that both *Gomer*, *Magog*, and *Tubal*, ſate downe firſt of all in that part o *Syria*, to the North of *Palæſtina* and *Phœnicia*: and from thence *Gomer* or his childre paſt on into *Aſia* the leſſe, as thoſe of *Magog* and *Tubal* did; from whence the *Tubaline* ſpred themſelves into *Iberia*: & the *Magogians* more Northerly into *Sarmatian*. The fir *Gomerians*, and firſt Planters in *Aſia* the leſſe, held the Country of the *Cymmerians* (wi neſſe *Herodotus*) the ſame Region which was afterward by the *Gallo-Greeks* called *Gal tia*, to whom Saint *Paul* wrote his Epiſtle ſo intituled. This Nation of the *Cymmeria* (whom the invincible *Scythians* afterwards diſperſed, and forced from their firſt Pla tations) gave names to divers places, as to the Mountaines about *Albania* (called *Cymmerini*) and to the Citie of *Cymmeris* in *Phrygia*: alſo *Boſphorus Cymmerius* took appellation from this Nation; in the out-let whereof was alſo a Citie of that name, called *Cymmerian*: which *Plinie* ſaith (miſtaking the place) had ſometime the name of *Cerberion*, but *Cerberion* was a Towne in *Campania*, ſo called of the unhealthfull waters ſavourin of Brimſtone, which *Auguſtus* cauſed to be cleanſed by letting in the water of the Lake *Lucrinus*. Lib.4.

The children of *Tubal* ranged as farre as *Iberia*, to whom the *Moſchici* were Neighbours, which others write *Meſhech*. The Prophet *Ezechiel* (coupling them together) calleth *Gog* the Prince of *Meſchech* and *Tubal*. For theſe *Meſchi* (which *Ptolomie* calle *Moſchi*) inhabit *Syracena* a Province of *Armenia*, directly South from the Mountains *Moſchici*, in the Valley betweene the Mountains *Moſchici*, and the Mountaines *Pariardes*: out of whoſe North part ſpringeth the River *Phaſis*; from the Eaſt part *Araxis*; and from the Weſt *Euphrates*: and of this *Meſchech* are deſcended alſo the *Moſcovians* (ſaith *Melancthon*) and it may be, that in proceſſe of time ſome of them inhabited thoſe Regions alſo: For *Meſhech* (ſaith *Melancthon*) ſignifieth *extendens*, *enlarging* or *ſtretching* *forth.* *Togorma* alſo at firſt did inhabite amongſt his parents and kindred: The *Togormians* were alſo called *Giblei*, a people neighbouring the *Sydonians* in *Gabala*, a *Tetrarchie* of *Phœnicia*, the ſame which *Plinie* calleth *Gaben*: from whence *Salomon* had his moſt excellent Maſons, which hewed ſtones for the Temple of *Hieruſalem*. Thence the *Togormians* ſtretched into the leſſe *Armenia*, whoſe Kings were hence called *Tigranes*, and their Cities *Tigranokarta*: of which Cities *Tigranes*, ſubdued by *Lucullus* the *Roman*, built one. *Hieroſolymitanus* hath planted the *Togormians* in *Barbary*; forgetting the propheſie of *Ezekiel* againſt the *Tyrians*: *They of the houſe of Togorma, brought to thy Faires, horſes, and horſe-men, and mules*; which could not well be driven over the whole length of the Mediterran Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by land. But *Joſephus* takes them for the parents of the *Phrygians*; which I doe not deny, but they might be in the enſuing ages: and ſo might the *Tubalines* be of the *Spaniards*; but it was from *Iberia*, and many hundred yeeres after the twelfth of *Nimrods* reigne. The *Jewes* conceive that the *Turkes* came of thoſe *Togormians*, becauſe their Emperor is called *Togor*. The *Chaldæans* make them the Fathers of the *Germanes*. But *Laonicus* affirmes, that the *Turkes* deſcended of the *Crim Tartar*, which borders *Muſcovia*. But for theſe ſubderivations it were infinit to examine them. Onely of the firſt and ſecond plantation, and of the firſt Nations after the floud, is the matter which I labour to diſcover; and therein to open the ignorance of ſome, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this we muſt *Note*, that thoſe grand-children of *Noah* which were of a more quiet, or (perchance) of leſſe underſtanding, and had not therefore the leading of *Colonies* ſent out, their proper habitations could be hardly knowne: onely reaſon hath taught us, that they dwelt among the reſt, and were covered with the fame of others, who tooke on them the Conduction and Dominion over the reſt.

1.Kin.5.18.

*Jun.in Gen.10 verſ.3.*

*Judg* 17.14.

*Note.*

From *Madai* the third ſonne of *Japheth*, were the *Medes*. The *Grecians* bring them (as before) from *Medus* the ſonne of *Medea*.

## §. VII.

### *Of* Javan *the fourth ſon of* Japheth: *and of* Meſceh *of* Aram, *and* Meſhech *of* Japheth.

Of *Javan* the fourth ſonne of *Japheth* came the *Iones*, which were afterwards called the *Greekes*: and ſo the *Latine* & *Greeke* Interpreters for *Javan* write *Greece*, as in *Eſay*: *Et mittam ex iis qui ſalvati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Græciam: And I will ſend thoſe that eſcape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italy and in Greece.* The *Geneva* here uſeth the word (*Tarſhiſh*) for *Tarſus*, a City in *Cilicia*, though *Tarſis* in many places be taken for the Sea. The *Tigurine* and the *Geneva* uſe the names *Tubal* and *Javan*, and not *Italy* and *Greece*: keeping the ſame *Hebrew* words. Of the *Iones* were the *Athenians*, though themſelves dreame that they were *Aborigines*, or men without Anceſters, and growing (as it were) out of the ſoile it ſelfe: who abounding in people, ſent Colonies into *Aſia* the leſſe, of whom came the *Iones* of thoſe parts. Others derive the *Athenians* from *Ion* the ſon of *Xuthus*, the ſon of *Deucalion*; but the antiquity of *Javan* marres the faſhion of that ſuppoſition, who ſo many yeers preceded *Xuthus*, *Ion* or *Deucalion*. *Pauſanias* tels us that *Xuthus* ſtole out of *Theſſaly* with all his Fathers treaſure, and his Brothers portions, and arriving at *Athens*, he was graciouſly received by *Ericthеus*, who gave him his Daughter in marriage; of whom he received two ſonnes, *Ion* and *Achaus*, the ſuppoſed Anceſters of the *Athenians*: (For *Attica* was called *Ionia*, ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Theſeus*;) who, when he had joyned *Megara* to *Attica*, erected a pillar in that *Iſthmos* or *Strait*, which faſtneth *Peloponneſus* to the other part of *Greece*: writing on that part which looketh towards the Eaſt, theſe words: *Hac non ſunt Peloponneſus, aſt Ionia; Theſe Countries are not of Peloponneſus, but of Ionia*; and on the other ſide which looked towards the South, and into *Peloponneſus*, this: *Theſe parts are Peloponneſus, and not Ionia.*

*Thucyd.*

*Strabo* out of *Hecataus* affirmeth that the *Iones* came out of *Aſia* into *Greece*; which is contrary to the former opinion: That the *Iones* of *Greece* tranſporting certaine companies into *Aſia* the leſſe, the name of *Iones* was thereby therein retained. And though *Strabo* knew no more thereof than he learned of the *Greekes* themſelves, yet I finde this conjecture of *Hecataus* reaſonable enough. For though it were to him unknowne, yet ſure I am that *Aſia* the leſſe had people before *Greece* had any: and that *Javan* did not flie from

*Babylonia* into *Greece*, but tooke *Aſia* the leſſe in his paſſage; and from thence paſt over the neereſt way, leaving his owne name to ſome maritimate Province on that ſide, as hee did to that part of *Greece* ſo called. But yet *Strabo* himſelfe beleeved, that *Ionia* took the name from *Ion* the ſon of *Xanthus*: for ſo much he had learned from themſelves; which was alſo the opinion of *Pauſanias*. True it is, that the *Greekes* in after-times caſt themſelves into that part of *Aſia* the leſſe, oppoſite unto them, which they held for divers yeeres. And howſoever the *Greekes* vaunt themſelves to be Fathers of Nations, and the moſt ancient; yet all approved Hiſtorians (not their owne) deride and diſprove their pride, and vanity therein. For this diſpute of Antiquity (among prophane Writtes) reſted betweene the *Scythians* and the *Egyptians*, as *Juſtine* out of *Trogus*, in the warre between *Vexorus* of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, witneſſeth: which preceded farre the reigne of *Ninus*, and was long before the name of *Greece* was ever heard of. And it is alſo manifeſt, that in *Cecrops* time the *Greekes* were all ſalvages, without law or religion, living like brute beaſts in all reſpects: and *Cecrops* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) lived together with *Moſes*.

*Lib.18.de Civ. Dei,c.10.*

The ſixth ſonne of *Japheth* was *Meſhech*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Moſech*: (a part of thoſe Nations commanded by *Gog* the chiefe Prince of *Meſhech* and *Tubal*.) But this we muſt remember, that betweene *Meſech* the ſonne of *Aram*, and *Meſhech* (or *Moſech*) the ſonne of *Japheth*, there is little difference in name, and both by divers Interpreters diverſly written. *Montanus* with the Vulgar writeth *Meſceh*, the ſonne of *Aram*, *Mes*; the *Geneva*, *Maſh*; *Junius*, *Meſch*. But it may be gathered out of the 120. *Pſalme*; that eyther *Meſhech* the ſonne of *Japheth*, was the parent of thoſe people, or gave name to that Province wherein *David* hid himſelfe: or elſe (which may rather ſeeme) that it tooke name from *Meſch* the ſonne of *Aram*. For *David* bewayling his exile (while he lived among a barbarous and irreligious People) uſeth theſe words: *Woe is me that I remaine in Meſech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar*: which *Junius* converteth thus: *Hei mihi quia peregrinor tam diu: habito tanquam Scenitæ Kedareni*: The *Septuagint* gives it this ſenſe: *Woe is me becauſe my habitation* (or abode) *is prolonged, who dwell with the Inhabitants of Kedar*: with which this of the *Latine* agreeth; *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus eſt, habitavi cum habitantibus Kedar*: The *Chaldæan* otherwiſe, and in theſe words: *O me miſerum, quia peregrinatus ſum Aſianis, habitavi cum tabernaculis Arabum; O wretch, that I am, for I have travailed among thoſe of Aſia: I have dwelt in the Tabernacles of the Arabians*. But howſoever or which ſoever converſion be taken for the beſt, yet all make mention of *Kedar*: which is a Province of *Arabia Petræa*; and the *Chaldæan* putteth *Aſia* in ſtead of *Meſech*, but the *Hebrew* it ſelfe hath *Meſech*. And if it be to be taken for a Nation, (as it is moſt likely, becauſe it anſwers to *Kedar*, the name of a Nation) ſeeing *Meſh* the ſonne of *Aram*, 1. *Chron*. 17. is called *Meſhec*, it is indifferent whether this Nation tooke name from *Meſhech* or *Meſh*, both bordering *Judæa*, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince; for ſo *Ezechiel* makes *Meſech* and *Tubal*. But as for thoſe that take *Meſech* out of the word *Moſoch* (given by the *Septuagint*) to be the *Muſcovian*: ſure they preſume much upon the affinity of names, as aforeſaid. And ſure I am that *David* never travelled ſo farre North; (for to him *Muſcovia* was utterly unknown) but about the border of *Kedar* (it may be) he was often in all the time of his perſecution: the ſame being a City on the Mountains of *Sanir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arias Montanus* makes *Moſoch* the Father of the *Muſcovians*: and herein alſo *Melanchton* runnes with the tide of common opinion, and ſets *Meſech* in *Muſcovia*, though with ſome better advice of judgement; as, firſt ſeated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence travelling Northward: expounding the places of the 120. *Pſalme*, (*Hei mihi quòd exulo in Meſech*) to ſignifie, *Gentis ejus feritatem inſignem eſſe*; *That the ferity of that Nation exceeded*: which fierceneſſe or brutality of the *Muſcovians*, *David* never proved, or (perchance) never heard of. But the ſame ferity or cruelty which thoſe Northerne *Muſcovians* had, may aſwell be aſcribed to the *Arabians* and *Kedarens*. For this Country tooke name of *Kedar* the ſecond ſonne of *Iſmael*, of whom a people of equall fierceneſs to any of the world were begotten, both in thoſe times and long after, even to this day (if the *Arabians*, *Iſmaelites*, and *Saracens*, may be accounted one people:) the ſame being foreſhewed by the ſpeech of the Angell to *Hagar*, *Gen*. 16. *v*. 12. *And he ſhall be a wilde man: his hand ſhall be againſt every man, & every mans hand againſt him*. Now *Arabia* the *Deſart* (ſaith *Pliny*) confronteth the *Arabians Cochlei* on the Eaſt, and the *Cedrei* Southward, both which joyne together upon the *Nabathei*. So it appeareth (as before

*Pſal.120.v.5.*

*Gen.25.13.*

before) that *Meſech, Tubal, Gomer, Togorma*, and *Magog*, neighboured *Canaan* and *Iſrael*, and that *Kedar* alſo did joyne to *Meſech*: all which were Regions of *Syria*, or of *Aſia* the leſſe, commanded by the Succeſſors of *Seleucus*, enemies of the re-eſtabliſhment of *Iſrael* and *Juda*. But (as I have already ſaid) it might well be, that long after the firſt plantation the iſſue of *Meſech* (or *Moſoch*) might paſſe into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Hyrcania*, and give names, both to *Mazega* in the one, and to the Mountaines *Moſchici* in the other, and from thence might ſend people more Northerly into *Muſcovia*, & ſo all opinions ſaved. But all ſalvage Nations over-growne and uncultivated, doe (for the moſt part) ſhew a late plantation, even as Civility, Letters, and magnificent Building, witneſſe antiquity.

*Tiras*, the ſeventh ſonne of *Japheth*, which *Montanus* reckons among the ſonnes of *Gomer*, was the Father of the *Thracians*, as all Authors (worthy the examination) affirme. *Joſephus* was the firſt that determined hereof: and becauſe the Scriptures are altogether ſilent, what part of the world *Tiras* peopled, the conjectures are indifferent, and give no ground at all of diſpute. It followeth now to ſpeake of the ſonnes of *Gomer*, which were three,

*Mont.in Chr.*

*Aſcanez, Riphath*, and *Togorma*.

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## §. VIII.

### *Of* Aſcanez *and* Riphath, *the two elder Sonnes of* Gomer.

Aſcanez was the Father of thoſe which the *Greekes* call *Regini*, (ſaith *Joſephus*) but he gives no reaſon why.

*Euſebius* makes *Aſcanez* the Father of the *Goths*. The *Jewes* in their *Thargum* make him the roote of the *Germane Nation*; but their expoſitions are commonly very idle. *Pliny* findeth *Aſcania* in *Phrygia*, neere the Rivers of *Hilas* and *Cios*: *Melanchton* being of the ſame opinion, that the *Tuiſcones* were deſcended of the *Aſcanez*: (for *Tuiſcones*, ſaith he, is as much to ſay, as of the *Aſcanez, præpoſito articulo die Aſcanez*) & that the word ſignifieth a Religious Keeper of fire: it being an ancient ſuperſtition to pray at the fire of Sacrifices, as afterwards at the Tombes of Martyrs. Not farre from *Phrygia* was the lake *Aſcania*, knowne by that name in the *Romanes* time. And among the Kings which came to the ſuccour of *Troy*, was *Aſcanius* (*Deo ſimilis*, ſaith *Homer*) *like unto God*: becauſe he was beautifull and ſtrong: for in the ſame manner doth *Virgil* grace Æneas, *Os humeroſq; Deo ſimilis*; *in face and body like one of the Gods*: *Virgil* alſo remembreth ſuch a River, together with the Hils *Gargara*: as, *Illas ducit amor trans Gargara, tranſq; ſonantem* Aſcanium; *Appetite leads them both over the Mountains Gargara, and the roaring* Aſcanius. But this *Pliny* maketh more plaine in the deſcription of *Phrygia*. For he placeth the City of *Brillion* upon the River *Aſcanius*, which is adjoyning to *Myſia*, and is neere the border of the *Trojan Empire*: and the Lake *Aſcanez* he directs us to finde by the deſcription of *Pruſia*, founded by *Hannibal* at the foot of *Olympus*, which lieth farre within the Countries of *Bithynia*: and then from *Pruſia* to *Nicea* are accounted 25. miles, in which way this Lake lyeth, even betweene *Pruſia* and *Nicea*. And ſo *Junius* (as I conceive him) takes them of *Aſcanez*, to be the Inhabitants of *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*, and thoſe North parts of *Aſia*. *Stephanus de Urbibus* makes it a City of *Troâs*, built by *Aſcanius* the ſon of *Æneas*: ſaying, that there was another of that name in *Myſia*. Of *Aſcania* a Lake of *Bithynia*, *Ptolomy* witneſſeth: and *Strabo* giveth *Aſcania* both a Lake, a River, and a Towne in *Myſia*, neere unto *Cio*; which alſo agreeth with *Pliny*. For *Pliny* findeth *Pruſia* (before ſpoken of) neere *Cio*, and calleth the Iſlands before *Troy*, *Aſcanes*.

*Melanch.in Chr. lib.1.*

*Hom.Iliad.24.*

*Virg.Georg.l.3.*

Now, whether theſe places tooke name of *Aſcanez* the ſon of *Gomer*, or of *Aſcanius* the ſonne of *Æneas*, it might be queſtioned: ſure it is, that *Aſcanius* which brought ſuccour to the *Trojans*, could not take his name from *Æneas* ſon, who was then either exceeding young, or rather unborne: and it ſeemeth that the Countries whence thoſe ſuccours came, were not out of any part of *Phrygia* or *Myſia*, but farther off, and from the North parts of all *Aſia* the leſſe, which by *Hieremy* is called *Aſcanez*, by the figure *Synecdoche*, as *Junius* thinketh. Out of thoſe teſtimonies therefore which deceive not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet *Hieremy* wee ſhall learne of what Nation the *Aſcanez* were, whoſe words are theſe: *Set up a Standard in the Land, blow the Trumpet among the Nations againſt her, call up the Kings of Ararat, Minni, and Aſcanez*

*C.51.v.27.*

*againſt her*, *&c.* meaning againſt the *Babylonians*. *Ararat* was *Armenia* the greater, as moſt Interpreters conſent, ſo called of the Mountaines of *Ararat* which runne through it: *Minni* the leſſer *Armenia*: *Armenia* being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni*. For *Minni* was the ancient name, (ſaith *Junius* and others before him:) and *Aram* anciently taken for *Syria*, which contained all that Tract from *Euphrates* to the Sea-coaſts of *Phœnicia*, and *Palaſtina*; and therefore *Meſopotamia* being in elder times but a Province of *Syria*, the Scriptures difference it in the ſtory of *Jacob* and *Eſau*, and call it *Aram-padan*. Then if theſe two Nations were of the *Armenians* and *Aſcanez* joyned with them (who altogether united under *Cyrus* and *Darius*, came to the ſpoyle of the *Babylonian Empire*) we ſhall erre much to call *Askenez Germany* or *Almaine*: for we heare of no ſwart *Ruttiers* at that ſiege. But the *Askenez* were of thoſe Nations which were either ſubject or allied to the *Medes*: of which if any of them came afterward into *Phrygia*, I know not: for the diſperſion of Nations was in after-times without account. But for the opinion of *Euſebius*, who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Joſephus*, who cals them *Rhegini*; or of the *Jewes*, who will have them to be *Almaines*; when they confirme it either by Scriptures or Reaſon, I will thinke as they doe.

Of *Riphath* the ſecond ſonne of *Gomer* there is mention in the firſt of *Chronicles*. *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* thinke that he wandered farre off from the reſt of his Brothers, and therefore no memory of his plantation. But I ſee nothing to the contrary, but that he might ſeate himſelfe with the reſt of his Family: for there wanted no roome or ſoyle in thoſe dayes for all the ſoones and Grand-children of *Noah*. Therefore I take it to be well underſtood, that the *Riphei* were of *Riphath*, which the *Greekes* afterwards (according to *Joſephus*) called the *Paphlagones*: and *Riphei* (ſaith *Melanchton*) ſignifieth Gyants. Theſe people were very famous in the North parts, and in *Sarmatia*: the moſt of number and power among them, *Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti*, *The greateſt number of the Sarmatians were the Heneti*; who ſpake the ancient *Polac*: which being firſt called *Riphei* (for the love of ſome of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names and became *Heneti*, (a cuſtome exceeding common in thoſe times) and dwelt firſt in *Paphlagonia*, as *Homer* witneſſeth, and ſo doth *Apollonius* in his *Argonauticks*: Now, when theſe *Riphei* (afterward *Heneti*) ſought new Regions, they came along the ſhores of *Euxinus*, and filled the North-part of *Europe*, containing *Ruſsia*, *Lituania*, and *Polonia*. From thence they croſt thwart the Land, and peopled *Illyria*, deſirous (ſaith *Melanchton*) of a warmer ſoile of Fruit and Wine. Theſe *Heneti* or *Veneti*, whom *Melanchton* taketh to be one people, filled all that Land betweene the *Baltick* and *Adriaticke* Sea; and to this day the name of the Gulfe *Venedicus* is found in *Ruſsia*. This Nation, after they were poſſeſt of *Lituania* and *Polonia*, diſturbed the plantation of the *Boii* and *Hermondurii*. Therefore, it ſeemeth to me, that of *Riphath*, came the *Riphei*, afterward *Heneti*; and ſo thinketh *Arias Montanus*, firſt ſeated in *Paphlagonia*, but in courſe of time Lords of *Sarmatia*, and thoſe other parts before remembred, chiefly betweene the Rivers of *Viſtula* and *Albis*. The name (ſaith *Melanchton*) ſignifieth Wandering or Wanderers, or *Nomades*: a people which lived by White-meats and fruits, as (indeed) all Nations did in the firſt Ages.

*Melanch. in Carion.*

Of the third ſonne of *Gomer*, *Togorma*, I have ſpoken already; now therefore of *Javans* children, which were foure:

*Eliſa*, *Tharſis*, *Cethim*, *Dodanim*.

### §. IX.

### Of foure ſonnes of Javan: *and of the double ſignification of Tharſis, either for a proper name, or for the Sea.*

Of *Eliſa* or *Elipha*, came the *Æoles*: and of this *Eliſa*, all the *Greekes* were called *Hellenes*, ſaith *Montanus*. *Melanchton* makes *Eliſa* the Father of the *Æoles* in *Aſia* ſide: others of *Elis* in *Peloponneſus*; or of both. And ſeeing the *Greekes* were deſcended in generall of *Javan*, it is probable that the *Æoles* & the *Elei*, tooke name of *Eliſa*, his eldeſt ſonne. *Ezechiel* in the 27. ſpeaking of *Tyre*, nameth the Iſles of *Eliſa*; *Hyacynthus & purpura de inſulis Eliſa facta ſunt operimentum tuum*: *Blue Silke and Purple, brought from the Iſles of Eliſa, was thy covering*. The *Chaldaans* for *Eliſa* write *Italia*: but the *Vulgar*, the *Tigurine*, the *Geneva*, and *Junius*, keepe the word *Eliſa*: and ſo I thinke they might doe with reaſon. For there was not found any ſuch Purple Dye in *Italie*

*V.7.*

in thoſe dayes, nor ſince, that I can read of: but thoſe Iſles of *Eliſa*, were by a better conjecture the Iſles of *Greece*; and the beſt Purple was found afterward at *Tyre* it ſelfe: and before that, among the *Cyclades*, and on the coaſt of *Getulia*.

*Tharſis*, the ſecond Sonne of *Javan*, inhabited *Cilicia*, of which *Tharſis* is the *Metropolis*. *Montanus* for *Tharſis* in *Cilicia*, underſtands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but (reſerving the reſpect due to ſo learned a man) he was much miſtaken in that conjecture. The *Chaldæan Paraphraſt* puts *Carthage* for *Tharſis*, but it hath no authority nor warrant of reaſon therein. So likewiſe, where it is written, that the Ships of *Salomon* went every three yeares to *Tharſis*, and brought thence Gold, Silver, Elephants teeth, &c. the *Chaldæan Paraphraſt* tranſlates *Tharſis* (*Africa*.) But *Salomons* Ships were prepared in the Red Sea at *Eſion-Gaber*, in the Bay of *Elana*, neere unto *Madian*, where *Jethro* (*Moſes* Father in Law) inhabited; a Province of *Arabia Petræa*, *Idumæa*, or of the *Chuſites*; and they ſayled to the higher part of the Eaſt *India*. For it had beene a ſtrange Navigation to have ſpent three yeares in the paſſage betweene *Judæa* and *Carthage*, or any other part of *Africa*, which might have beene ſayled in ſixe or ten dayes. And if ſo great riches might have bin found within the bounds of the *Mediterran* Sea, all the other neighbouring Princes would ſoon have entertained that Trade alſo. But this enterprize of *Salomon* is in this ſort written of in the firſt of *Kings*: *Alſo King* Salomon *made a Navie of Ships in Eſion-Gaber, which is beſide Elath and the brinke of the Red Sea in the Land of Edom: and* Hyram *ſent with the Navie his ſervants, that were Mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the ſervants of* Salomon: *and they came to Ophir, and fet from thence 420. Talents of Gold, &c.* But as the Nations about *Pontus* thought no Sea in the world like unto their owne, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that onely: (whereof it came, that *Pontus* was a word uſed for the Sea in generall) ſo, becauſe the *Iſraelites* and the *Phœnicians* knew no other Sea than that of the *Mediterran* in the beginning; and that the people of *Tharſis* had the greateſt Shippes, and were the firſt Navigators in thoſe parts with ſuch Veſſels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the word *Tharſis* uſed often for the Sea. And whereas it is ſaid that the Shippes of *Salomon* went every three yeares to *Tharſis*, that phraſe is not ſtrange at all; for wee uſe it ordinarily whereſoever we navigate, (namely) that the Kings Ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are ſet out every yeare, or every three yeare to the Sea, and therefore *Tharſis* was not therein named, either for *Carthage*, *Africa*, or *India*, but uſed for the Sea it ſelfe. But in this place *Tharſis* is truely taken for *Tharſis*, the chiefe City in *Cilicia*, founded by *Tharſis* the ſecond ſonne of *Javan*; or by his Succeſſors in memory of their firſt Parent. To this City arrived *Alex. Macedon*, before he gave the firſt overthrow to *Darius*, and caſting himſelfe into the River to bathe and waſh his body, he fell into an extreme Fever, and great danger of death: and in this City of *Tharſis* was S. *Paul* borne. Now this agreeth with the reaſon and nature of a Plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other ſonnes inhabiting *Aſia* the leſſe, and that part of *Syria* adjoyning) *Javan*, who was to paſſe over the Sea into *Greece*, tooke the edge of the ſame Coaſt, and firſt planted the *Iones* on that ſhore: gave the Iſlands betweene *Aſia* the leſſe and *Greece*, to *Eliſa*, and left *Tharſis* upon the Sea-ſide in *Cilicia*; of whom that City tooke name.

The third ſonne of *Javan* was *Cethim*, of whom were the *Romanes* and *Italians*, ſaith *Beroaldus*, but I allow better of *Melanchtons* opinion, who makes *Cethim* the Father of the *Macedonians*. *Cethim* is a voyce plurall (ſaith he) and ſignifieth *percuſſores*, though in that reſpect it may be meant by either. But it ſeemeth more probable, that the place of *Eſay* 23. (according to *Melanchton*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*: *Hæc calamitas ab* Eſai *prædicta eſt, qui capite viceſimo tertio inquit, venturos eſſe everſores Tyri ex terra Cittim*; *This calamity* (ſaith Melanchton) *was foreſhewed by* Eſai *the Prophet, who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the Deſtroyers of Tyre were come out of Cittim.* And although the children of *Iſrael* eſteemed all men Iſlanders, which came to them by Sea, and ſeparate from that Continent; (and ſo alſo *Cittim* might be taken for *Italy*, ſaith *Beroaldus*) yet we muſt take the firſt performance of the former Propheſie, which tooke effect by the deſtruction of the *Tyrians* by *Alexander*, who after 7. Moneths ſiege, entred that proud City, and cut in pieces ſeven thouſand princiall Citizens; ſtrangled two thouſand, and changed the freedome of 13. thouſand others into bondage and ſlavery. Now, that *Macedon* was taken for *Cethim*, it doth appeare plainely in the firſt of the *Macchabees*, in theſe words: *After that* Alexander *the Macedonian*, *the ſonne of* Philip, *went forth of the Land of Cethim, and ſlew* Darius *King of the Perſians, and Medes. Joſephus* ſets *Cethim* in the Iſle of *Cyprus*, in which (ſaith he) there remaineth the City *Citium*, the Countrie of *Zeno* the Philoſopher (witneſſe *Laertius*;) which City *Pintus* upon *Ezechiel* affirmeth, that it ſtood in Saint *Hieromes* time. So it may be that all the Iſlands in ancient times by the Hebrewes were called the Iſlands of *Cethim*: and in that ſenſe might *Cyprus* be ſo called alſo; and yet becauſe *Tharſis* was the very next Port to *Cyprus*, and directly over againſt it, it is alſo very probable, that *Cethim* dwelt by his brother *Tharſis*: and finding that Iſland too ſtreight for his people after they were increaſed, and that the reſt of the Coaſts, both on *Aſia* ſide and *Greece*, were inhabited by his Father and Brothers, he ſent *Colonies* over the *Ægaan* Sea, and inhabited *Macedonia*.

*Dodanim* the fourth ſonne of *Javan*, and the youngeſt Brother (by the moſt opinions) ſate downe at *Rhodes*, as neere *Cethim*, *Tharſis*, and *Eliſa*, as he could. For *Dodanim* and *Rhodanim* are uſed indifferently by many Tranſlators: the *Hebrew* (*D*) and the *Hebrew* (*R*) are ſo like, as the one may eaſily be taken for the other, as all *Hebricians* affirme. There is alſo found in *Epirus* the City of *Dodona*, in the Province of *Moloſsia*. And as *Cethim*, when he wanted ſoyle in *Cyprus*: ſo *Dodanim* (ſeated in a far leſſe Iſland) did of neceſſity ſend his people farther off; and keeping alongſt the Coaſt, and finding *Peloponneſus* in the poſſeſſion of *Eliſa*, he paſſed a little further on the Weſtward, and planted in *Epirus*. And though the City of *Dodona* was not then built, or (perchance) not ſo ancient as *Dodanim* himſelfe, yet his Poſterity might give it that name in the memory of their firſt Parent, as it hapned all the World over. For names were given to Cities, Mountaines, Rivers, and Provinces, after the names of *Noahs* children and grand-children; not in all places by themſelves, but by their ſucceſſors many yeares after: every of their Families being deſirous to retaine among them by thoſe memories, out of what branch themſelves were taken, and grafted elſewhere. And becauſe great Kingdomes were often by new Conquerers newly named, and the greateſt Cities often fired and demoliſhed, therefore thoſe that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gave their own names, or the names of their Anceſtors, to Mountaines and Rivers, as to things (after their judgements) freeſt from any alteration.

Thus then did *Javan* ſettle himſelfe and his children, in the edge and frontier of *Aſia* the leſſe, towards the Sea-ſhore: and afterward in *Greece*, and the Iſlands and neighbour Provinces thereof, as *Japheth* their Father had done in the body of the leſſer *Aſia*, together with *Javans* brethren, *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Tubal*, *Meſech*, and the reſt round about him. And in like ſort did *Chuſh* (the ſonne of *Cham*) people *Babylonia*, *Chaldæa*, and the borders thereof towards the Weſt and South-weſt: and the ſonnes of *Chuſh* (all but *Nimrod*, who held *Babylonia* it ſelfe) travelled Southward in *Arabia fælix*, and Southweſtward into *Arabia petræa*: the reſt of his children holding the Regions adjoyning to *Nimrod*. *Mizraim* the brother of *Chuſh* in like manner tooke the way of *Egypt*: and his brother *Canaan* the Region of *Palaſtina* adjoyning. The ſonnes of *Canaan* had their portions in *Canaan*, of whom all thoſe Nations came, which were afterward the Enemies both to the *Hebrews*, and to thoſe of the ſons of *Shem*, which ſpread themſelves towards the Weſt, and the borders of the *Mediterran* Sea: of which I ſhall ſpeake hereafter. But firſt of the ſonnes of *Cham* or *Ham*; which were foure:

*Chuſh*, *Mizraim*, *Phut*, and *Canaan*.

## §. X.

## *That the ſeat of* Chuſh *the eldeſt ſon of* Ham, *was in Arabia, not in Æthiopia: and of ſtrange Fables, and ill Tranſlations of Scripture, grounded on the miſtaking of this point.*

### †. I.

### *Of* Joſephus *his Tale of an Æthiopeſſe wife of* Moſes, *grounded on the miſtaking of the ſeate of* Chuſh.

THat *Ham* was the Father of the *Egyptians*, it is made manifeſt in many Scriptures, as in the 105. *Pſalme, verſe* 51. *Then* Iſrael *came to Egypt, and* Jacob *was a ſtranger in the land of* Ham: and in the 78. Pſalme, *He ſlew all the firſt-borne in Egypt, even the beginning of their ſtrength, in the Tabernacles of* Ham. There is alſo found a great City in *Thebaida*, called *Cheramis*: (as it were the City of *Ham*) of which name *Herodotus* alſo diſcovers an Iland in the ſame Region. But becauſe *Chuſh* is the elder ſonne of *Ham*, it agreeth with order to ſpeake firſt of him. Now though I have already in the deſcription of *Paradiſe* handled this queſtion, and (I hope) proved that *Chuſh* could not be *Æthiopia*: yet ſeeing it commeth now to his turne to ſpeake for himſelfe, I will adde ſome farther proofe to the former. For, the manifeſtation hereof ſets many things ſtraight, which had otherwiſe very crooked conſtructions, and ſenſeleſſe interpretations. Surely, howſoever the *Septuagint* and *Joſephus* have herein failed, that *Chuſh* could not be Æthiopia, but *Arabia*: (to wit) both that *Arabia* called *Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the Happy and the Deſart: which Regions *Chuſh* and the *Chuſites* preſently planted, after they left *Babylonia* to *Nimrod*, wherein they firſt ſate down all together. And there is nothing which ſo well cleereth this Controverſie, as the true interpretation of the place, *Num.12.v.1.* where *Moſes* his Wife is called a *Chuſite*; together with ſome places which ſpeake of *Nabuchodonoſors* Conqueſts. For whereas *Joſephus* and the *Septuagint* in the place *Num.12.v.1.* as alſo elſewhere, underſtand *Chuſh* for *Æthiopia*, we muſt give credit to *Moſes* himſelfe herein; and then it will appeare that *Joſephus* was groſly miſtaken, or vainely led by his owne invenion. For *Joſephus* preſuming that *Chuſh* was *Æthiopia*, and therefore that the Wife of *Moſes* (which in Scripture, *Num.12.ver.1.* is called a woman of *Chuſh*) was a woman of the land of *Æthiopia*, faineth that *Tharbis* the Daughter of the King of *Æthiopia*, fell in love with the perſon and fame of *Moſes*, while he beſieged *Saba* her Fathers City; and to the end, to obtaine *Moſes* for her Husband, ſhe practiſed to betray both her Parents, Country, and Friends, with the City it ſelfe, and to deliver it into *Moſes* hands. The Tale (if it be worth the reciting) lyeth thus in *Joſephus*. After he hath deſcribed the ſtrength of the *Æthiopian* City *Meroe*, which he ſaith at length *Chambyſes* called ſo from the name of his Siſter, (the old name being *Saba*) he goeth on in theſe words: *Hic cum* Moſes *deſidere exercitum otioſum agrè ferret, hoſte non audente manus conſerere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Æthiopum Regi filia nomine* Tharbis, *&c.* which tale hath this ſenſe in Engliſh: *When* Moſes *was grieved that his Army lay idle, becauſe the Enemy beſieged durſt not ſally and come to handy-ſtrokes, there happened this accident in the meane while. The Æthiopian King had a Daughter called* Tharbis, *who at ſome aſſaults given, beheld the perſon of* Moſes, *and withall admired his valour. And knowing that* Moſes *had not only up-held and reſtored the falling eſtate of the Egyptians, but had alſo brought the conquering Æthiopians to the very brinke of ſubverſion: theſe things working in her thoughts, together with her owne affection, which daily increaſed, ſhee made meanes to ſend unto him by one of her truſtieſt ſervants, to offer her ſelfe unto him, and become his Wife; Which* Moſes *on this condition entertained, that ſhe ſhould firſt deliver the City into his poſſeſſion; whereunto ſhe condeſcending, and* Moſes *having taken oath to performe this contract, both the one and the other were inſtantly performed.*

*Herod.in Euterpe.*

*Antiq.l.2.c.5.*

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### †. II.

### *A diſpute againſt the tale of* Joſephus.

THis Tale (whereof *Moſes* hath not a word) hath *Joſephus* faſhioned, & therein alſo utterly miſtaken himſelfe, in naming a City of *Arabia* for a City of *Æthiopia*: as he names *Æthiopia* it ſelfe to have bin the Country of *Moſes* his Wife, when (indeede) it was *Arabia*. For *Saba* is not in *Æthiopia*, but in *Arabia*, as both *Strabo* and all other Geographers, ancient and moderne, teach us, ſaying, that the *Sabæans* are *Arabians* & not *Æthiopians*; except *Joſephus* can perſwade us, that the Queene of *Saba* which came from the South to heare the wiſedome of *Salomon*, were a *Negro*, or *Blacke-Moore*. And though *Damianus à Goes* ſpeake of certaine Letters to the King of *Portugall* from *Preſter John*, of the *Abiſsines*: wherein that *Æthiopian* King would perſwade the *Portugals* that he was deſcended of the Queene of *Saba* and of *Salomon*; yet it doth no where appeare in the Scriptures, that *Salomon* had any Son by that great Princeſſe: which had it beene true, it is likely that when *Siſhac* King of *Egypt* invaded *Roboam*, and ſackt *Hieruſalem*, his Brother (the Sonne of *Saba* and *Salomon*) who joyned upon *Egypt*, would both have impeached that enterprize, as alſo given aide and ſuccour to *Roboam* againſt *Jeroboam*, who drew from him ten of the twelve Tribes to his owne obedience. Neither is it any thing againſt our opinion of *Moſes* his Wife, to have beene an *Arabian*, that the Scriptures teach us, that *Moſes* married the daughter of *Jethro* Prieſt of *Midian* or *Madian*: which ſtanding on the North Coaſt of the Red Sea, over againſt the body of *Egypt*, and neere *Eſion-Gaber*, where *Salomon* provided his Fleet for *India*, in the Region of *Edom*, may well be reckoned as a part of *Arabia*, as the Red Sea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Edumaa* joyneth to the Tribe of *Juda* by the North, to *Arabia Petraa* by the Eaſt, to the *Mediterran* by the Weſt, and to the Red Sea by the South-eaſt. And if we marke the way which *Moſes* tooke when he left *Egypt*, and conducted *Iſrael* thence, it will appeare that he was no ſtranger in *Arabia*: in the border whereof, and in *Arabia* it ſelfe, he had formerly lived fortie yeares; where it ſeemeth, that beſides his carefull bringing up in *Egypt*, he was inſtructed by *Jethro* in the *Egyptians* learning. For *Joſephus* confeſſeth, and Saint *Stephen* V.15. confirmeth, that he was learned in all the wiſedome of the *Egyptians*. But on the other ſide, this Text makes much againſt *Joſephus*, where it is written in *Exodus* the ſecond *Therefore* Moſes *fled from* Pharao, *and dwelt in the Land of Madian* or *Midian*, and not in *Æthiopia*. And in the third Chapter it is as plaine as words can expreſſe, in what Region *Madian* was, where it is written, *When* Moſes *kept the ſheepe of* Jethro *his Father in Law Prieſt of Madian, and drave the Flocke to the Deſart, and came to the Mountaine of* God *in Horeb*. Now that Mount *Horeb* is not in *Æthiopia*, every Infant knoweth. And if we may beleeve *Moſes* himſelfe, then was not the Wife of *Moſes* purchaſed in that manner which *Joſephus* reporteth (which was for betraying her Countrey and Friends) neither had ſhe the name of *Tharbis*, but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora*: neither was ſhe a *Negro*, but *a Madianiteſſe*. And as God worketh the greateſt things by the ſimpleſt meanes: ſo it pleaſed him from a Shepheard to call *Moſes*, and after him *David*, and by them Exod.2. to deliver his people firſt and laſt. For *Moſes*, ſitting by a Well (as diſconſolate and a ſtranger) defended the daughters of *Reguel* from the other ſhepherds, and drew them Water to water their ſheepe: upon which occaſion (by God ordained) he was entertained by *Jethro*, whoſe Daughter he married: and not for any betraying of Townes or Countries.

From hence alſo came *Jethro* to *Moſes* at *Rephidim*, not farre from *Idumaa*, and finding the inſupportable government of ſuch a multitude, he adviſed him to diſtribute this weightie charge, and to make Governours and Judges of every Tribe and Familie. And if *Jethro* had beene an *Æthiopian*, it had beene a farre progreſſe for him to have paſſed through all *Egypt* with the Wife and Children of *Moſes* and to have found *Moſes* in the border of *Idumæa*: the *Egyptians* hating *Moſes* and all that favoured him. But the paſſing of *Moſes* through *Arabia Petræa* (which joyneth to *Madian*) proveth that *Moſes* was wel acquainted in thoſe parts, in which the ſecond time he wandred forty yeares, and did by theſe late travailes of his, ſeeke to inſtruct the children of *Iſrael* in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the Land of plenty and reſt. For he found them nouriſhed up with the milke of Idolatry, and obſtinate in the Religion of the *Heathen*, and finding that thoſe ſtiffe plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perſwaſion or by miracle, he ware them out in the Deſarts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from thoſe he might receive fruit, agreeable to his owne deſire, and Gods Commandements.

Laſtly, this opinion of *Joſephus* is condemned by *Auguſtinus Chriſamenſis*, where alſo Sixt.Senenſ. Bibl. he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who avowed that *Moſes* had married both *Tharbis* and *Sephora*: His owne words have this beginning: *Mentitur etiam* Apollinaris *duas uxores habuiſſe* Moſes, *&c.* Apollinaris *alſo lyeth, in affirming that* Moſes *had two wives: and who doth not perceive theſe things fained by them? for it is manifeſt that the Wife of* Moſes *was* Zephora, *Daughter to the Prieſt or Preſident of Madian: and that Madian cannot bee taken for Æthiopia beyond Egypt; being the ſame that joyneth to Arabia*: ſo farre *Chryſamenſis*.

## †. III.

### *Chuſh ill expounded for Æthiopia.* Ezech.29.10.

NOw as *Chuſh* is by the *Septuagint* converted *Æthiopia*, and the wife of *Moſes* therefore called *Æthiopiſſa*: ſo in the conqueſt of *Nabuchodonoſor* is *Æthiopia* written for Ezech.29.10. *Arabia*. For by the words of *Ezechiel*, it is manifeſt that *Nabuchodonoſor* was never in *Æthiopia*. *Behold* (ſaith *Ezechiel*, ſpeaking of the perſon of this great *Aſſyrian*) *I come* *upon thee and upon thy Rivers, & I will make the Land of Egypt utterly waſte and deſolate, from the Tower of Sevench, even to the borders of the blacke-Moores:* which laſt words ſhould have beene thus converted: *From the Tower of Seveneh to the borders of the Chuſites* or *Arabians:* betweene which two is ſituated all *Egypt*. For to ſay, from the borders of *Seveneh* to the *Æthiopians*, hath no ſenſe at all, *Seveneh* it ſelfe being the border of *Egypt*, confronting and joyning to *Æthiopia*, or the Land of the blacke-Moores. So as if *Nabuchodonoſors* conqueſt had beene but betweene *Seveneh* and the border of *Æthiopia*, it were as much to ſay, and did expreſſe no other victory than the conqueſt of all that Land and Countrey, lying betweene *Middleſex* and *Buckingham*, where both the Countries joyne together; or all the North parts of *England*, betweene *Barwick* and *Scotland*; for this hath the ſame ſenſe with the former, if any man ſought to expreſſe by theſe two bounds, the Conqueſt of *England*: *Barwick* being the North border of *England*, as *Seveneh* or *Syena* is the South bound of *Egypt*, ſeated in *Thebaida*, which toucheth *Æthiopia*. But by the words of *Ezechiel* it appeareth, that *Nabuchodonoſor* never entred into any part of *Æthiopia*, although the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and all other (in effect) have written *Æthiopia* for *Chuſh*.

## †. IIII.

### *Another place of* Ezechiel, *cap.30.verſ.9. in the like manner miſtaken.*

AND as the former, ſo is this place of *Ezechiel* miſtaken, by being in this ſort converted: *In die illa egredientur nuncii à facie mea in trieribus ad conterendam Æthiopiæ confidentiam:* Which place is thus turned in *Engliſh* by the *Geneveans*: *In that day ſhal there Meſſengers goe forth from me in ſhips to make the careleſſe Moores affraid.* Now the *Latine* for (ſhips) hath the *Greek* word *Trieres* for *Triremes*, which are Gallies of three bankes, and not ſhips. But that in this place the Tranſlation ſhould have beene (as in the former) amended by uſing the word *Chuſh* or *Arabia* for *Æthiopia* or the black-Moores, every man may ſee which meanely underſtandeth the *Geography* of the World, knowing that to paſſe out of *Egypt* into *Æthiopia* there neede no Gallies or Ships, no more than to paſſe out of *Northampton* into *Leiceſterſhire*: *Æthiopia* being the conterminate Region with *Egypt*, and not divided ſo much as by a River. Therefore in this place of *Ezechiel* it was meant, that from *Egypt*, *Nabuchodonoſor* ſhould ſend Gallies alongſt the coaſt of the Red Sea, by which an Army might be tranſported into *Arabia* the *Happy* and the *Stony* (ſparing the long weariſome march over all *Egypt*, and the Deſart of *Pharan*) which Army might thereby ſurpriſe them unawares in their ſecurity and confidence. For, when *Nabuchodonoſor* was at *Seveneh* within a mile of *Æthiopia*, he needed neither Galley nor Ship to paſſe into it; being all one large and firme Land with *Egypt*, and no otherwiſe parted from it, than one In-land ſhire is parted from another: and if hee had a fancy to have rowed up the River but for pleaſure, he could not have done it: for the fall of *Nilus* (tumbling over high and ſteepy Mountaines) called *Catadupæ Nili*, were at hand.

Laſtly, as I have already obſerved, the ſonnes of every father ſeated themſelves as neer together as poſſibly they could, *Gomer* and his ſonnes in *Aſia* the leſſe; *Javan* and his ſonnes in *Greece*, and the Ilands adjoyning; *Shem* in *Perſia* and Eaſtward. So the Sonnes and Grand-children of *Chuſh* from the River of *Gehon* (their Fathers firſt ſeate) inhabited upon the ſame, or upon ſome other contiguat unto it, as *Nimrod* and *Havilah* on the one ſide, and *Saba*, *Sheba*, and *Sabtecha* (with the reſt) did on the other ſide. And to conclude in a word, the *Hebrewes* had never any acquaintance or fellowſhip, any warre, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the *Æthiopian* black-Moores, as is already remembred in the Chapter of *Paradiſe*.

## †. V.

### *A place,* Eſay 18.v.1. *in like manner corrupted, by taking Chuſh for Æthiopia.*

AND as in theſe places before remembred, ſo in divers other is the word *Æthiopia* put for *Arabia* or *Chuſh*, which puts the ſtory (where it is ſo underſtood) quite out of ſquare; one Kingdome therby being taken for another. For what ſenſe hath this part of Scripture, *Eſay* 18. *Væ terra Cymbalorum alarum quæ eſt trans flumina Æthiopiæ*; or according to the *Septuagint* in theſe words: *Væ terra navium alarum quæ eſt trans fluvios Æthiopiæ: Woe to the land ſhaddowing with wings, which is beyond the Rivers of Æthiopia, ſending Embaſſadours by ſea, even the veſſels of reeds upon the waters. Væ terra umbroſæ oræ, Woe to the Land of the ſhadie coaſt*, ſaith *Junius*. The former Tranſlators underſtand it in this ſenſe; That the waters are ſhaddowed with the ſails, which are ſignificatively called the wings of the ſhips; the other, that the coaſt of the Sea was ſhaddowed by the height of the Land.

But to the purpoſe: That this Land here ſpoken of by the Prophet *Eſay*, is *Egypt*, no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the *Egyptians* that ſent this meſſage to the *Iſraelites* which *Eſay* repeateth, and by the former tranſlation every man may ſee the tranſpoſition of Kingdomes: for hereby *Egypt* is tranſported unto the other ſide of *Æthiopia*, & *Æthiopia* ſet next unto *Judæa*, when it is the Land of *Chuſh* and *Arabia* indeed that lyeth betweene *Judæa* and *Egypt*, and not *Æthiopia*, which is ſeated under the *Equinoctiall* Line. And of this, *Beroaldus* asketh a materiall queſtion, (to wit) what Region that ſhould be, of which the Prophet ſpeaketh, and placeth it beyond the Rivers of *Æthiopia*. *Nam de ignota agi regione dici nequit; For it cannot be ſaid that he treateth of an unknowne Region*. Now if *Æthiopia* it ſelfe be under the *Equinoctiall* line, with whom the *Jewes* had never any acquaintance, why ſhould any man dreame that they had knowledge of Nations far beyond it againe, and beyond the Rivers of *Æthiopia*? except we ſhall impiouſly thinke that the Prophet ſpake he knew not what, or uſed an impertinent diſcourſe of thoſe Nations, which were not diſcovered in 2000. yeares after, inhabiting as farre South as the *Cape of good Hope*, commonly knowne by the name of *Bona eſperanza*.

## †. VI.

### *That upon the like miſtaking, both* Terrhaca *in the ſtory of* Senacherib, *and* Zera *in the ſtory of* Aſa *are unadviſedly made Æthiopians.*

ANd by this tranſlation is the ſtory of *Senacherib* utterly miſtaken in the cauſe of his retrait. For *Senacherib* was firſt repulſed at *Peluſium*, at the very entrance of *Egypt* from *Judæa*: when having certaine knowledge that *Thirrhaca*, (which all the Interpreters call King of *Æthiopia*) was on the way to ſet on him, he began to withdraw himſelf: and fearing to leave his Army in two parts, he ſent threatning Meſſengers to *Ezechia* King of *Juda*, perſwading him to ſubmit himſelfe: the Tenor whereof is ſet down in the ſecond of *Kings* in theſe words: *Have any of the gods of the Nations delivered his Land out of the hands of the King of Aſhur? Where is the god of Hamah, &c.* By which proud Embaſſage, if he had obtained entrance into *Jeruſalem*, he then meant to have united that great Army before *Jeruſalem*, commanded by *Rabſekeh*, with the other which lay before *Peluſium*, a great City upon the branch of *Nilus* next *Arabia*. For *Senacherib* had already maſtered the moſt part of all thoſe Cities in *Judæa* & *Benjamin* with a third Army, (which himſelfe commanded) being then at the ſiege of *Lebna*. But upon the rumor of that *Arabian* Army led by their King *Thirrhakeh* (whom *Joſephus* calls *Tharſices*) *Rabſakeh* haſted from the ſiege of *Hieruſalem*, and found *Senacherib* departed from *Lachis*, & ſet downe before *Lebna*, which was afterwards called *Eleuthoropolis*, as ſome have ſuppoſed. But while he had ill ſucceſſe at *Peluſium* and feared *Thirrhakeh*, God himſelfe whom he leaſt feared, ſtrook his Army before *Jeruſalem* by the Angel of his power, ſo as 158000 were found dead in the place, as in the life of *Ezechias* is hereafter more largely written. And that this Army of *Thirrhakeh* was from *Arabia*, *Joſephus* himſelf makes it plaine. For he confeſſeth in the tenth Booke, the firſt Chapter of the *Jewes* Antiquities, that it was come to *Senacheribs* knowledge, that the Army which was a foote (both to relieve the *Egyptians* and the *Jewes*) marched towards him by the way of the *Deſart*: Now the *Deſart* which lay indifferent betweene *Hieruſalem* and *Peluſium*, was that of *Pharan* or *Sur*, which alſo toucheth on the three *Arabia's*, to wit, the *Stony*, of which it is a part: the *Deſart*, and the *Happy*; and by no other way indeed could the *Arabians* come on to ſuccour either *Peluſium* or *Hieruſalem*. But that there is any Deſart betweene *Peluſium* and the South part of *Egypt*, hath never yet beene heard of, or deſcribed by any *Coſmographer* or *Hiſtorian*. So then this deſcription of the ſecond of *Kings*, verſ. the ninth, hath the ſame miſtaking as the reſt. For here the word (*Chuſh*) is alſo tranſlated *Æthiopia*; and in this ſenſe have all the Interpreters, (but *Junius*) expreſſed the beginning of the ninth Verſe: *He*

Joſep.l.10.c.1.

2.Kings 19.

Antiq.l.10.
2.Kings 19.

Lib.10.cap.1.

*He heard alſo men ſay of* Thirrhakeh *King of Æthiopia, &c.* whereas it ſhould have beene thus converted with *Junius*: *Audiens autem de* Thirrhakeh *Rege Chuſhi*; *He heard alſo of* Thirrakeh *King of the Chuſhites*. For they were the *Chuſites* and *Arabians*, whoſe Houſes and Cities were next the fire, and upon whom the very ſmoake of *Juda* flaming was blowne, being their neereſt Neighbours: and ſo were not the *Æthiopian* black-Moores *Plin.l.5.c.9* under the *Equinoctiall*, whom neither War nor peace (which diſcovereth all Regions) ever found out, ſaith *Pliny*. For this King was no more King of *Æthiopia* than *Zerah* was, who invaded *Aſa* King of *Juda*, with an Army of a Million, and three thouſand Charriots. *2.Chron.c.14* Indeed, how ſuch an Army & thoſe Charriots ſhould paſſe through all *Egypt*, (the Kings of *Egypt* being mighty Kings) let all men that know how theſe Regions are ſeated, and how farre diſtant, judge. For Princes doe not eaſily permit Armies of a Million to runne through them; neither was there ever ſuch ſtrength of Black-Moores heard of in that part of the World, or elſewhere. Neither are theſe *Æthiopians* ſuch travailers or Conquerors; and yet is this King *Zerah* alſo called King of *Æthiopia*. But the word *Chuſh* being firſt ſo converted for *Æthiopia*, the reſt of the Interpreters (not looking into the ſeates of Kingdomes, or the poſſibilities of attempts, or invaſions) followed one another in the former miſtakings.

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### †. VII.

### *A farther expoſition of the place,* Eſay 18.1.

Concerning theſe words in that eighteenth Chapter of *Eſay*, *Navium alarum*; *Winged ſhips*, (ſo the *Septuagint* turne it) or *Cymbalo alarum* (according to the *Latine*) *ſayles whiſtling in the windes*, or *terræ umbroſæ oræ* (after *Junius*) *the Land of a ſhaddowed coaſt*, or *the Land ſhaddowing with wings*, as our *Engliſh Geneva* hath it. The two firſt interpretations of the *Septuagint* and S. *Hierome*, have one ſenſe in effect. For the ſailes are commonly called the wings of a ſhip; and we uſe to ſay ordinarily when our ſhips ſaile ſlowly, that ſhe wanteth wings: (that is) when her ſailes are either worne or too narrow: and we alſo uſe the ſame phraſe of the winde whiſtling in the ſailes. And it may be that the *Egyptians* emploied ſo many of thoſe ſmal ſhips, as their ſails were ſaid to give a ſhaddow over the Red Sea. But to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (upon *Eſay*) affirmeth, that the word (*Sabal*) doth ſignifie both to ſhaddow and to gingle (which is) to make a kinde of *Cymbaline* ſound: ſo as the meaning of this place (ſaith *Pintus*) is this: *Woe to thee, O Egypt, which doeſt promiſe to others ſafeguard, under the ſhaddow of thy wings*; which (indeede) ſeemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of *Eſay*: and this phraſe is often elſewhere uſed, as in the ſitxeenth Pſalme: *Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me*; *Defend me under the ſhaddow of thy wings*. The Boates of reede ſpoken of are of two kindes; either of basket-willow covered with hides (as anciently in *Brittaine*) or a Tree made hollow in the bottome, and built upon both ſides with Canes. Of the one ſort I have ſeene in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

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## §. XI.

## *Of the plantation and antiquities of Egypt.*

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### †. I.

### *That* Mizraim *the chiefe planter of Egypt: and the reſt of the ſonnes of* Ham, *were ſeated in order, one by another.*

The ſecond ſonne of *Ham* was *Mizraim*; (who according to the place of a ſecond brother) was ſent ſomewhat farther off to inhabite. For *Chuſh* firſt poſſeſt *Chaldæa* on the Weſt ſide of *Gehon* chiefly: and from thence, as he increaſed in people, ſo he entred *Arabia*, and by time came to the border of the Red Sea, and to the South-eaſt-ſide of *Judæa*. *Mizraim* his brother (with *Phut*) paſt over into *Africa*: *Mizraim* held *Egypt*: and *Phut* (as a third brother) was thruſt farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* tooke the Sea-coaſt, and held the ſide of *Palæſtina*: and theſe foure brothers poſſeſt all that Tract of Land, from *Gehon* in *Chaldæa*, as farre to the Weſt as the *Mediterrane* Sea: comprehending all *Arabia Deſerta*, and *Petræa*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galilæa*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa*; with the two *Egypts*, whereof the neather is bounded by *Memphis* on the South, and by the *Mediterrane* Sea on the North: and *Thebaida* (called the upper *Egypt*) ſtretheth it ſelfe toward the South as far as *Syene*, the border of the *Æthiopians* or black-*Moors*. All the reſt of the coaſt of *Africa* Weſtward, *Phut* peopled; which brothers had not any other Nation or Family that dwelt between them. And in the ſame manner did all their ſons againe, and all the ſons of the reſt of *Noahs* children, ſort themſelves.

## †. II.

### *Of the time about which the name of Egypt began to be knowne: and of the Egyptians Lunarie yeeres, which made their antiquities ſeeme more fabulous.*

THis flouriſhing Kingdome poſſeſt by *Mizraim*, changed her ancient name, & became *Egypt*, at ſuch time as *Ægyptus* (otherwiſe *Rameſſes*, as ſome thinke) the ſon of *Belus*, chaſed thence his elder brother *Danaus*, ſhifting him into that part of *Greece* now called *Morea*, by whom the *Argives* were made *Danai*, abandoning their proper names: which happened 877. yeeres after the Floud, in the time of *Joſua*, as S. *Auguſtine* conjectureth out of *Euſebius*. But in *Homers Odyſſes* it appeareth that the *Egyptians* were ſo called at the time of the *Troian* Warre. And before this, *Egypt* was knowne by divers other names, as *Oceana*, *Aria*, *Oſiriana*, *&c.* And *Manethon* (whom *Joſephus* citeth in his firſt booke againſt *Appion*) numbreth all the Kings of *Egypt* after *Moſes* departure, who conſumed 393. yeeres. By which other men conjecture, that the *Egyptians* tooke on them that name 330. yeeres after *Joſua*, and about 1000. yeeres after the Floud. But where *Joſephus* in the ſame booke taketh *Iſrael* to be thoſe *Hycſos*, which he alſo calleth *Paſtores* or Shepherds, which are ſaid to have reigned in *Egypt* 511. yeeres: whom alſo he calleth his Anceſtors, (meaning the Anceſtors of the *Jewes*) in this I am ſure he was groſly deceived, or that he vainly boaſted: for the *Iſraelites* had no ſuch Dominion as *Manethon* faineth, nor abode in *Egypt* ſo long a time by many yeeres.

Of the *Egyptian* Antiquities there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Mela*, and others. For they affirme (ſaith *Pomp. Mela*) that there had reigned in *Egypt* 330. Kings before *Amaſis*, who was contemporary with *Cyrus*; and that they had memory and ſtory of 13000. yeares; and that the Stars had foure times changed their courſe, and the Sunne twice ſet in the Eaſt. Theſe Riddles are alſo rife among the *Athenians* and *Arcadians*, who dare affirme, that they are more ancient than *Jupiter* and the *Moone*; whereof *Ovid*:

*Ante* Jovem *genitum terras habuiſſe feruntur*
*Arcades*: *&* Luna *gens prior illa fuit.*

The Arcadians the earth inhabited
Ere yet the *Moone* did ſhine, or *Iove* was bred.

But for thoſe 13000. yeares it may well be true; ſeeing it is certaine that the *Egyptians* reckon their yeeres by Moneths, which makes after that account not above 1000. or 1100. yeeres, whether we take their Moneths or Lunary yeeres to have beene of the firſt kinde of 27. dayes and eight houres; or otherwiſe 29. dayes and twelve houres; or after any other of thoſe five diverſities of their Lunary yeeres.

## †. III.

### *Of certaine vaine aſſertions of the Antiquity of the Egyptians.*

GErardus *Mercator* in his *Chronology*, reaſoneth for the *Egyptians* Antiquity in this manner: That the ſixteenth *Dynaſty* (where *Euſebius* begins to reckon the *Egyptians* times) had beginning with the generall Floud: and that therfore the firſt of the other fifteene reached the Creation, or ſoone after it. To which conjecture of *Mercator*, *Pererius* maketh this anſwer; That therein *Mercator* was firſt deceived, becauſe he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the ſixteenth *Dynaſty* was at once with the generall Floud: which *Euſebius* maketh 292. yeeres after, and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the ſhepherds *Dynaſtia* (being in number 17.) in the time of their firſt King, *Saltis*, to have beene in the yeere of the World 1846. which

*Euſebius* findeth in the Worlds age 2140. For the 16. *Dynaſtia* was begun but in the 292. yeeres after the Floud, as they account, and continued 190. yeeres. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh every *Dynaſtia* to endure 115. yeers, *Euſebius* reckoneth many of them at leſſe than 100. yeeres: for the 28. had but ſixe yeeres, the 29. but 20. and the 30. but 18. yeeres.

Now *Annius* in his Supplement of *Manethon* affirmeth, That all theſe 15. *Dynaſties* laſted but 162. yeeres: and that the firſt of the 15. began but in the 131. yeere after the floud: ſo as where *Mercator* makes all the 15. to precede the floud, and the 16. to have beene then in being at the time of the floud, *Annius* makes them all after it. But the contrariety of falſhood cannot be hidden, though diſguiſed. For *Annius* had forgotten his former Opinion and aſſertion, that it was in the 131. yeere that *Nimrod*, with the ſonnes of *Noah*, came into the Valley of Shinaar: ſo he forgets the time which was conſumed in the building of Babel: and that before the confuſion of Speech there was no diſperſion, nor far-off plantation at all. And though he haſtily conveyed *Gomer* into Italy, and *Tubal* into Spaine, in the tenth yeere of *Nimrods* reigne: (which was ten yeeres after his arrivall into Babylonia) yet herein he is more unadviſed. For he makes Egypt poſſeſt, and a government eſtabliſhed in the very firſt yeere of the arrivall of *Nimrod* into Shinaar, before all partition, or any expedition farre off or neere in queſtion: for *from thence* (that is, from Babel) *did the Lord ſcatter them upon all the earth.*

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## †. IV.

*Againſt* Pererius: *that it is not unlikely, but that Egypt was peopled within 200. yeeres after the Creation; at leaſt, that both it, and the moſt parts of the World were peopled before the Floud.*

But whereas *Pererius* ſeeketh to overthrow this Antiquity of the Egyptians touching their *Dynaſties*, (which *Euſebius* doth not altogether deſtroy, but leſſen) I doe not find any great ſtrength in this opinion of *Pererius*; (to wit) that it was either unlikely or impoſſible that Egypt ſhould be peopled within 100. or 200. yeeres after *Adam*, in the firſt Age. And whereas he ſuppoſeth that it was not inhabited at all before the generall Floud, I doe verily beleeve the contrary: and that not onely of Egypt, but the better part of all World was then peopled: *Pererius* his words are theſe; *Quomodo enim primos mundi ducentos, vel etiam centum annos* Adami *proles adeò multiplicari potuit, ut ad Egyptum uſq; habitandum & complendum propagata ſit, &c. For how could the children of* Adam *be ſo multiplied iu the firſt two hundred, or in the firſt hundred yeers of the World, and ſo propagated as to inhabite and fill Egypt?* for allowing this (ſaith *Pererius*) we muſt alſo confeſſe, that there were then both the Aſſyrians and other Nations.

Now ſeeing that the Scriptures are ſilent herein, and that it is no point of our ſaving beleefe, it is lawfull for every man to be guided in this and the like queſtions by the beſt reaſon, circumſtance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the reſt, I proteſt that I doe not gainſay any mans opinion out of any croſſing or cavilling humours: for I thinke it the part of every Chriſtian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is poſſibilty of union, than out of froward ſubtlety, and prejudicate reſolvedneſſe, to maintaine factions needleſſe, and dangerous contentions.

Firſt therefore, for this opinion, that Egypt was not planted ſo ſoone after *Adam*, no, not at all before the Floud, I ſay, that there is no reaſon why we ſhould give a leſſe increaſe to the ſonnes of *Adam*, than to the ſonnes of *Noah*. For their length of life, which exceeded thoſe which came after the Floud double, and (after a few yeeres) treble, is an infallible proofe of their ſtrength and ability, to beget many Children: and at that time, they obſerved no degrees of kindred, nor conſanguinity. And that there was a ſpeedy increaſe of people, and in great numbers, it may in ſome ſort appeare by this, that *Cain*, who (being fearefull that the death of *Abel* would have beene revenged on him) withdrew himſelfe from the reſt, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the Land of *Nod*, and there, by the helpe of his owne iſſues, built a City, (called Enoch) after the name of his firſt-borne. Now if it be gathered that *Nimrod* came into the Valley of Shinaar with ſo many multitudes, as ſufficed to build the City and Tower of Babel: and that to this increaſe there was given but 130. yeeres by *Beroſus*, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly underſtood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*, *Selah*, *Heber*, and *Phalegh*) but one hundred and one yeere: I ſee no cauſe to doubt, but that in the infancy of the firſt age, when the bodies of men were moſt perfect, even within 130. yeeres, the ſame (if not a greater) number might be increaſed; and ſo within 70. yeers after (that is, by ſuch time as the World had ſtood 200. yeeres) aſwell *Aſſyria*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* might be poſſeſt before the Floud, as they were within the ſame or leſſe time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumſtance or true Story of the *Babylonian* and *Aſſyrian Empire*, that all thoſe people, which were increaſed in the firſt hundred or 130. yeers after the Floud, came into *Shinaar* and *Babylonia*. For that ever *Noah* himſelfe came out of the Eaſt, as there is no Scripture or Authority to prove it, ſo all probable conjecture and reaſon it ſelfe denies it. Againe, thoſe multitudes and powerfull numbers, which *Semiramis* (but the third from *Nimrod*) found in *India*, conſidered with her owne Army of three Millions, (and ſhe left not all her Kingdomes empty) doe well prove, that if the World had ſuch plenty of people in ſo few yeeres after the Floud, it might alſo bee as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their owne account *Ninus* governed *Babylonia* and *Aſſyria* but 292. yeeres after the Floud of *Noah*. And theſe Troupes of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all thoſe Eaſterne Kingdomes, from *Media* to the *Mediterran* Sea; when there had now paſt from the floud to the time of this her invaſion, ſomwhat leſs or more than 360. yeeres: for much more time the true *Chronologie* cannot allow; though I confeſſe, that in reſpect of the ſtrange greatneſſe of *Semiramis* Army, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as ſhort a time as can well be given. And if but one halfe be true of that which is ſaid, That her Army conſiſted of 1300000. Footmen, and 500000. Horſemen, it muſt needs be, that long before *Semiramis* Reigne, the greateſt part of *Aſia* (whence her huge Army was gathered) was full of people: yea *Arabia* it ſelfe (much part whereof is barren) muſt long before this time of *Semiramis* have been plentifully peopled; when *Ninus* having a determination to make himſelfe Maſter of all Nations, entred (notwithſtanding) in League with the King thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or ſought his aſſiſtance. And if *Arabia* were then ſo well repleniſhed, I ſee no cauſe but *Egypt* might alſo be peopled. Now if we may beleeve *Trogus Pompeius* (*Epitomiz'd* by *Juſtine*) *Egypt* was a moſt flouriſhing and magnificent Nation before *Ninus* was borne. For theſe be his owne words, ſpeaking of *Ninus*. *Fuere quidem temporibus antiquioribus* Vexoris *Rex Ægypti, &c. But there were in times more ancient* Vexoris *King of Egypt, and* Tanais *king of the Scythians*: of which the one invaded *Pontus*, the other *Egypt*. And how full of people all that part of the world was, the Conqueſts of *Ninus* witneſſe, who ſubdued with no ſmall force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*, and afterward the *Bactrians*; yea, all that whole body of *Aſia* on this ſide *India*. For *Diodorus* out of *Cteſias* numbreth the Armies wherewith *Ninus* invaded *Zoroaſter*, at 1700000. Footmen, and 200000. Horſemen: and the Stories generally ſhew, that though *Zoroaſters* Armie was farre ſhort of this, yet it was greater than any that thoſe parts of the World ever ſince beheld. But to what end ſhould I ſeeke for forreigne authority? for no man doubteth but that *Egypt* was poſſeſt by *Mizraim*, the ſonne of *Ham*; and that it was an eſtabliſhed Kingdome, filled with many Cities in *Abrahams* time, the Scriptures tell us. And ſure, to prepare and cultive a deſolate & overgrown ground, to beautifie it with many Cities, Lawes, and Policies, cannot be eſteemed a labour of a few daies: and therefore it muſt be inhabited in a leſſe time than 200. yeeres after the Floud; and in the ſame time (if not in a ſhorter) before the Floud. For if ſo many Millions of men were found within 300. yeeres after the generall Floud; ſo as not onely *Babylon*, and *Aſſyria*, *Bactria*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Arabia*, *Egypt*, *Palæſtina*, yea the farre-off *Lybia* on the one ſide, and *India* on the other, and *Scythia* (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what ſmall corners could then all thoſe Nations be compreſt, which 1656. yeeres brought forth before the Floud? even neceſſity, which cannot be reſiſted, caſt the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the knowne world; eſpecially, where death forbare the Father, and made no place for the Sonne, till he had beheld living Nations of his owne body.

## †. V.

### *Of ſome other reaſons againſt the opinion of* Pererius.

FOr what a ſtrange increaſe did the long lives of the firſt Age make, when they continued 800. or 900. yeeres? Surely, we have reaſon to doubt, that the World could not containe them, rather than that they were not ſpred over the World. For let us now reckon the date of our lives in this Age of the World: wherein if one exceede 50. yeeres, ten for one are cut off in that paſſage, and yet we finde no want of people; nay we know the multitude ſuch, as if by warres or peſtilence they were not ſometimes taken off by many thouſands, the earth with all the induſtry of man could not give them food. What ſtrange heapes then of ſoules had the firſt Ages, who enjoyed 800. or 900. yeares, as aforeſaid? Theſe numbers, I ſay, cannot be counted nor conceived. For it would come to the ſame reckoning in effect, as if all thoſe which have beene borne in *Brittaine* ſince 3. or 4. hundred yeeres before the *Norman Conqueſt* (ſaving ſuch as by accident or by violence were cut off) were now alive; and if to theſe there were added as many as by *Polygamy* might have beene increaſed. For (to omit, that the Gyants and mighty ones of the firſt Age obſerved no law of Matrimony) it is to be thought that thoſe Lovers of the world and of pleaſure, when they knew the long and liberall time which Nature had given them, would not willingly or haſtily preſent themſelves to any danger which they could flye from or eſchew. For what humane argument hath better perſwaſion to make men careleſſe of life, and feareleſſe of death, than the little time which keepes them aſunder, and that ſhort time alſo accompanied with ſo many paines and diſeaſes, which this envious old Age of the World mingleth together, and ſoweth with the ſeedes of Mankinde?

Now if that *Beroſus* or *Annius* may bee alleadged for ſufficient Authours, whom *Pererius* himſelfe in this queſtion citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Joſephus* confirmed, that the City of *Enoch* was ſeated neere *Lybanus* in *Syria*: and if other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cains* time, I ſee no cauſe why *Palaſtina* (which is alſo a Province of *Syria*) and *Egypt* (which neighboureth it) could be left deſolate both all the life time of *Cain*, and all thoſe times betweene his death and the Floud, which were by eſtimation 700. or 800. yeares. And ſure though this Fragment of *Beroſus* with *Annius* his Comment be very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or loſt) yet all things in *Beroſus* are not to bee rejected. Therefore Saint *Hierome* for ſuch Authors gives a good rule: *Bona eorum eligamus, vitemus contraria; Let us chooſe what is good in them, and reject the reſt.* And certainely in the very beginning of the firſt Booke, *Beroſus* agreeth (in effect) with *Moſes*, touching the generall Floud: and in that firſt part *Beroſus* affirmeth, that thoſe mighty men and Gyants which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded over all Nations, and ſubjected the univerſall World: and though that phraſe (*of all the World*) be often uſed in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the ſecond of the *Acts, That there were dwelling at Hieruſalem Jewes, men that feared God of every Nation under Heaven:* yet by the words which follow in *Beroſus*, it is plain, that his words & ſenſe were the ſame: for he addeth, from the Sunnes riſing to the Sunnes ſetting; which cannot be taken for any ſmall part thereof. Againe, we may ſafely conjecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the World among his ſonnes at adventure, or left them as Diſcoverers, but directed them to thoſe Regions which he formerly knew had been inhabited. And it cannot be denyed that the earth was more paſſable and eaſie to travell over before the Floud, than after it. For *Pererius* himſelfe confeſſeth, that *Attica* (by reaſon of mud and ſlime which the water left upon the Earth) was uninhabited 200. yeeres after *Ogyges* Floud; whereby we may gather, that there was no great pleaſure in paſſing into farre Countries, after the generall Deluge, when the earth lay (as it were) incopſed for 100. or 130. yeeres together. And therefore was the face thereof in all conjecture more beautifull, and leſſe cumberſome to walke over, in the firſt Age, than after the generall overflowing.

## †. VI.

### *Of the words of* Moſes, Gen. 10. v. *ultimo, whereupon* Pererius *grounded his opinion.*

LAſtly, whereas ***Pererius*** drawes this Argument out of the laſt Verſe of the tenth of ***Geneſis***; ***And out of theſe were the Nations divided after the floud: Quo ſignificatur talem diviſionem non fuiſſe ante diluvium; By which it appeareth*** (ſaith ***Pererius***) ***that there was no ſuch diviſion before the Floud***; which hee alſo ſeeketh to confirme out of the eleventh of ***Geneſis***, becauſe the diviſion of tongues was the cauſe of the diſperſion of the people. This conſequence, ***quo ſignificatur, &c.*** ſeemeth to me very weak: The Text it ſelfe rather teacheth the contrary: ***For out of theſe*** (ſaith Moſes) ***were the Nations divided in the earth after the Floud***; inferring, that before the Floud the Nations were divided out of others, though after the Floud out of theſe only. But whatſoever ſenſe may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawne to the times before the Floud, or to any plantation or diviſion in that age: for if there were none elſe among whom the earth could be divided after the Floud, but ***Noahs*** Sonnes, wherein doth that neceſſary diviſion controule the planting of the World before it? And whereas it is alledged that the confuſion of ſpeech was the cauſe of this diſperſion; it is true, that it was ſo for that preſent; but if ***Babel*** had never beene built, nor any confuſion of Languages at all, yet increaſe of people and time would have enforced a farther-off and generall Plantation: as ***Beroſus*** ſayes well, that when Mankinde were exceedingly multiplyed, ***Ad comparandas novas ſedes neceſſitas compellebat, They were driven by neceſſitie to ſeeke new Habitations.*** For we finde (as it is before ſaid) that within 300. yeeres after the Floud, there were gathered together into two Armies, ſuch multitudes as the Valley about ***Babylon*** could not have ſuſtained thoſe numbers, with their increaſe, for any long time; all ***Aſia*** the greater and the leſſer; all ***Scythia, Arabia, Palæſtina***, and ***Ægypt***, with ***Greece***, and the Iſlands thereof; ***Mauritania*** and ***Lybia***, being alſo at that time fully peopled. And if we beleeve ***Beroſus***, then not onely thoſe parts of the World, but (within 140. yeeres after the Floud) ***Spaine, Italie*** and ***France*** were alſo planted: much more then may we thinke, that within 1656. yeeres before the Floud, in the time of the chiefe ſtrength of Mankind, they were repleniſhed with people. And certainely ſeeing all the world was overflown, there were people in all the World which offended.

Lib.3.

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## †. VII.

### *A concluſion, reſolving of that which is moſt likely, touching the Ægyptian Antiquities: with ſomewhat of* Phut (*another Sonne of* Ham) *which peopled Lybia.*

THerefore, for the Antiquity of the ***Egyptians***, as I do not agree with ***Mercator***, nor judge with the ***Vulgar***, which give too much credit to the ***Egyptians*** Antiquities: ſo I doe not think the report of their Antiquities ſo fabulous, as either ***Pererius*** or other men conceive it. But I rather incline to this, that ***Egypt*** being peopled before the Floud, and 200. or 300. yeeres, more or leſſe after ***Adam***, there might remaine unto the Sonnes of ***Mizraim*** ſome Monuments in Pillars or Altars (of ſtone or mettall) of their former Kings or Governours: which the ***Egyptians*** having added to the Liſt and Roll of their Kings after the Floud, in ſucceeding time (out of the vanity of glory, or by ſome corruption in their Prieſts) ſomething beyond the truth might be inſerted. And that the memory of Antiquitie was in ſuch ſort preſerved, ***Beroſus*** affirmeth it of the ***Chaldæans***, and ſo doth ***Epigenes***. For they both write, that the uſe of Letters and the Art of Aſtronomie was knowne to the ***Babylonians*** 3634. yeeres before ***Alexanders*** Conqueſt: and this report ***Annius*** findeth to agree and reach to the time of ***Enoch***, who was borne 1034. yeeres before the Floud, and wrote of the Worlds deſtruction, both by Water and Fire; as alſo of ***Chriſt*** his comming in judgement, as Saint ***Jude*** hath witneſſed. But leaving theſe Antiquites to other mens judgements, and every man to his owne reaſon, I will conclude this Plantation of ***Egypt***. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by ***Mizraim***, and that it tooke the name of ***Egypt*** from ***Egyptus*** the ſonne of ***Belus***, as aforeſaid. Being divided into two Regions, that part from ***Memphis*** or ***Nicopolis*** to the ***Mediterran*** Sea, was called the inferiour ***Egypt***; ſurnamed alſo ***Delta***: becauſe the ſeverall branches of ***Nilus*** breaking aſunder from one body of the River, gave it the forme of the *Greeke* letter *Delta*, which is the forme of a *Triangle*. That branch, which ran toward the North-eaſt and embraced the Sea, next unto the Deſarts of *Sur* and *Pharan*, had on it the City of *Peluſium*, where *Senacherib* was repulſed: The other branch, which yeelded it ſelfe to the Salt-water towards the North-eaſt, is beautified by that famous City of *Alexandria*: The upper part of *Egypt* is bounded betweene *Memphis* and *Syene* neere *Æthiopia*, and had the name of *Thebaida*, of that ancient City of *Thebes*; which (according to *Homer*) was adorned with 100. Gates, and therefore called *Civitas centum portarum*; and by the *Greeks Dioſpolis*; in the Scriptures *No-hamon*, which ſignifieth multitudes of Inhabitants, exceeding beliefe. *Joſephus* cals *Egypt Merſin* of *Mizraim*: and *Herodotus* affirmes that it had once the name of *Thebais*. *Joſ.l.1.Ant.c.7.* *Hero.Euterpe.*

*Phut* the third ſonne of *Ham* tooke the next portion of Land to his brother *Mizraim*, and inhabited *Lybia*: whoſe people were anciently called *Phutei*, (ſaith *Joſephus*) & *Pliny* mentioneth the River *Phut* in *Mauritania*: which River from the Mountain *Atlas* (known to the Inhabitants by the name of *Dyris*) he maketh to be diſtant the ſpace of two hundred miles. It alſo appeareth in the thirtieth Chapter of *Ezechiel*, that *Phut*, *Chuſh*, & *Lud* were *contermini* and Aſſociates with the *Egyptians*. *L.5.c.1.*

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## §. XII.

## *Of the eleven ſonnes of* Canaan, *the fourth ſonne of* Ham.

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### †. I.

### *Of the bounds of the Land of* Canaan: *with the names of his eleven ſonnes.*

C*Anaan* (the fourth ſonne of *Ham*) poſſeſt all that Region called by the *Romanes Palæſtina*; in the Scriptures *Galilæa*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa*; in the later times known by the name of the Holy Land and *Jurie*: the limits whereof are preciſely ſet downe by *Moſes*, *Geneſis* the tenth, *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon as thou goeſt to Gerar untill Azzah, and as thou goeſt unto Sodom and Gomorrha, and Admah, & Zeboim, even unto Laſha.* Now howſoever theſe words of the *Hebrew* Text (*as thou goeſt*) be converted, *Moſes* meaning was that *Gerar* was the South bound of *Canaan*, and *Zidon* the North; *Sodome* and *Gomorrha* the Eaſt, and the other Cities named ſtood on the Frontiers thereof. For *Gerar* ſtandeth in a right Line from *Gaza* in the way of *Egypt*, the uttermoſt Territory of *Canaan* Southward: and this was properly the Land of *Canaan*.

Now the ſons of *Canaan* which poſſeſt this Country, and inhabited ſome part of the borders thereof, were in number eleven:

1. *Zidon.*
2. *Heth* or *Chethus.*
3. *Jebuſi* or *Jebuſæus.*
4. *Emori* or *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus.*
5. *Girgeſhi* or *Girgeſeus.*
6. *Hevi* or *Chiveus.*
7. *Arki* or *Harkeus.*
8. *Seni* or *Sinæus.*
9. *Arvadi or Arvadæus.*
10. *Zemari* or *Samareus*, or *Tzemareus.*
11. *Hamathi*, or *Hamatheus*, or *Chamathæus.*

Of which the moſt renowned were the *Hethites*, *Gergeſites*, *Amorites*, *Hevites*, *Jebuſites*, and *Perizzites*: which *Perizzites* were deſcended of *Zemari* or *Samareus*, or from ſome of his.

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### †. II.

### *Of the portions of* Zidon *and* Heth.

Z*Idon* the firſt borne of *Canaan*, built the famous City of *Zidon* in *Phœnicia*, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of *Aſſer*: *for Aſſer*, *Zabulon*, & *Nephtali* had a great part of the ancient *Phœnicia* diſtributed among them; but the *Aſſerites* could never obtaine *Zidon* it ſelfe.

Gen.10.19. Gen.23. Gen.27.46. 2 Kin.7.6.

The ſecond ſonne of *Canaan* was *Heth* or *Cethus*: of whom came the *Hethites*: or *Hittites*, one of thoſe ſeven principall Nations (commanders of *Canaan*) appointed by God to be rooted out; namely, the *Gergeſites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, the *Hevites*, and the *Jebuſites*. The *Hittites* inhabited about *Berſabe*, and towards *Hebron* neer the Torrent *Beſor*, and about *Gerar*, which *Moſes* maketh the uttermoſt limit of *Canaan*, having the Deſart of *Pharan* to the South: for about *Berſabe* (otherwiſe *Puteus juramenti*) foure miles from *Gaza* dwelt *Heth* and his Poſterity, as far to the Northeaſt as *Hebron*, & *Mamre*; & of *Ephraim* the *Hittite* did *Abraham* buy the field of *Sarahs* buriall. Of which Nation *Rebecca* bewailed her ſelfe to *Iſaac*, ſaying, *That ſhe was weary of her life for the Daughters of* Heth. The Giants *Anakim* were of theſe *Hittites*, a ſtrong and fierce Nation, whoſe entertainment by the kings of *Iſrael* againſt them the *Syrians* greatly feared: as in the ſeventh of the *Kings*; *Iſrael hath hired againſt us the Kings of the Hittites.*

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## §. III.

## *Of the Jebuſites and Amorites.*

*IEbuſæus*, the third ſonne of *Canaan*, of whom came the *Jebuſites*, and whoſe principall ſeat was *Jebus*, (afterward *Hieruſalem*) were alſo a valiant and ſtubborne Nation, and held their City and the Country neere it, till ſuch time as *David* by Gods aſſiſtance recovered both: yet were not the *Jebuſites* extinguiſhed, but were Tributaries to *Solomon*.

*Amoreus* was the fourth ſonne of *Canaan*, of whom the *Amorites* tooke name, who inhabited that Land to the Eaſt of *Jordan* below the Sea of *Galilee*, having *Arnon* and the Mountaines of *Galaad* on the Eaſt, and *Jordan* on the Weſt: of whom *Og* (King of *Baſan*) and *Sihon* (overthrowne by *Moſes*) were Princes.

Deut.2. Num.13. Amos 2.

The *Amorites* had alſo many other habitations diſperſed within the bounds of *Canaan*: as behinde *Libanus* in the edge of *Cœloſyria*, or *Syria Libanica*. They had alſo their being in the Mountaines of *Juda*, and in *Idumæa* neere the *Metropolis* thereof, called *Duma*. And hereof it came that all the *Canaanites* were ſometime called *Amorites*: as in *Geneſis* the fifteenth: *For the wickedneſſe of the Amorites is not yet full.* And that this was alſo a powerfull Nation, wee finde in the Prophet *Amos*: *Yet deſtroyed I the Amorite before them, whoſe heighth was like the heighth of a Cedar, and hee was ſtrong as the Oake.*

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## †. IIII.

## *Of the Gergeſites, Hevites, and Harkites.*

THe fift ſonne of *Canaan* was *Gergeſius* or *Gergeſion*, (otherwiſe *Girgaſi*) who inhabited on the Eaſt ſide of the Lake of *Tiberias*, or the Sea of *Galilee*, where *Ptolomy* ſets the City *Geraſa*, which *Joſephus* cals *Geſera*, in the Territory of *Decapolis*. Here it was that Chriſt diſpoſſeſt the poſſeſſed with Divels; and the *Gergeſites* deſired him to depart their Coaſts: becauſe their Swine, filled with the evill ſpirits, drowned themſelves in the Sea of *Galilee*. *Gergeſeus* alſo built *Beritus* (ſometime *Geris*) afterward *Fœlix Julia*, three miles from the River *Adonis* in *Phœnicia*: in which the *Romans* held a Garriſon: and to which *Auguſtus* gave many large priviledges.

*Heveus* the ſixth ſon, and Father of the *Hevites*, inhabited under *Libanus* neer *Emath*. Theſe *Hevites*, howſoever the *Caphthorim* expelled a good part of them (as in *Deuteronomy* the ſecond is remembred) yet many of them remained all the warre of *Joſua*, and afterward to the time of *Solomon*. For God was not pleaſed utterly to root out theſe Nations, but they were ſometimes made Tributaries to the *Iſraelites*, and at other times ſerved (in their falling away from the true worſhip of God) to afflict them: for as it is written, *Judges* the third: *They remained to prove* Iſrael *by them, whether they would obey the Commandements of God.*

The ſeventh ſonne was *Araceus* or *Harki*, who between the foote of *Libanus* and the *Mediterran* Sea, (over againſt *Tripolis*) built the City of *Archas*, *Arce*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Arachis*.

†. V.

## †. V.

## *Of* Sini *and* Arvadi.

SIneus the eight ſon, *Hieroſolymitanus* ſets at *Caparorſa*, which *Ptolomy* finds in *Judæa*, not far from *Jebus*; to the South thereof, ſaith *Junius*. But it is more probable, that *Sineus* founded *Sin*, which S. *Hierome* cals *Sim*: *Ptolomy*, *Simyra*: *Mela* and *Pliny*, *Simyrus*: *Brochard*, *Sycon*; (called *Synochis*) neere *Arca*. *Pererius* thinkes that *Sineus* inhabited the Deſarts of *Sinai*, or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certainty than the report of *Brochard*, who took view of all theſe places, affirming, that *Sineus* built *Synochis*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is alſo another Nation of *Cini* written with the lettter *C*. otherwiſe *Kenæi*) who deſcended of *Hobab* the ſon of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, who aſſiſted the *Iſraelites* in their conduction through the Wildernes of *Pharan*. But theſe *Cinæi* were admitted among the *Iſraelites*, and had a portion of Land with the *Nephtalims*, beſide *Judg.4.* their habitations with the *Amalekites*: againſt theſe *Cinæi*, *Balaam* prophecied, that they *Joſ.19.33.* ſhould be deſtroyed by the *Aſſyrians*.

The ninth ſonne was *Aradeus* or *Arvadeus*, who in the Ile of *Aradus* built the City *Gul.Tyr.Vitri.* *Arados*: oppoſite againſt which Iland on the Maine of *Phœnicia*, they founded another City of that name, which for oppoſition was afterwards called *Antaradus*. To this City came S. *Peter* (ſaith *Clement*) and in this Ile preached the Goſpell, and founded a Church in honour of our Lady: but we finde no ſuch worke of his in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles. Both theſe two were very famous, and places of skilfull Sea-men: whom *Ezechiel* remembreth in his prophecies againſt the *Tyrians*: *The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were* *Cap.27.v.8.* *thy Mariners.*

## †. VI.

## *Of* Zemari.

OF *Samareus*, or *Zemari*, the tenth ſon, there are divers opinions. Some think that he inhabited in *Cœloſyria* at *Edeſſa*, and founded *Samaraim*, which in *Joſua* is placed in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. There is alſo *Samarajim* (of the ſame orthography) upon the Mountains of *Ephraim* (ſaith *Beroaldus*) mentioned in the ſecond of *Chr.c.13.v.4.* *Beroal.in Chro.l.4.* which the *Latine* converteth amiſſe (ſaith he) by *Semeron*. The *Hieroſolymitan Paraphraſt* makes *Samareus* (of whom were the *Perizzites*) the parent of the *Emiſſani*, which *Pliny* cals the *Hemiſſeni*, in *Cœloſyria*; and it may be that it was their firſt habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited thoſe other places before remembred. But that they founded *Samaria*, both the Hebrew Orthographie, and this place in the firſt of *Kings* (ſpeaking *1 Kin.16.24.* of *Omri*) diſproveth: *And he bought the Mountaine Samaria or Shemeron of one* Shemer, *for two talents of ſilver, and built in the Mountaine; and called the name of the City which hee built, after the name of* Shemer, *Lord of the Mountaine, Samaria.* But of all theſe places I ſhall ſpeake more at large in the conqueſt of the holy Land, by the children of *Iſrael*. Of whomſoever the *Samaritanes* were deſcended, ſure I am, that they were ever a perfidious Nation, and baſe: for as long as the ſtate of the *Jewes* ſtood up, they alwayes called themſelves *Jewes*: when it ſuffered or ſanke, they then utterly denyed to be of that Nation or Family; for at ſuch time as they were returned from their firſt captivitie, they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the *Aſſyrians*, and partly of the Naturals.

## †. VII.

## *Of* Hamathi.

THe laſt of *Canaans* ſons was *Hamatheus*, or (according to the *Hebrew*) *Hamathi*, of *Hamath*, (ſaith *Beroaldus*:) of which (the aſpiration taken away) the ſame is pronounced *Emath*, whereof *Hamatheus* was preſent. *Joſephus* & S. *Hierome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*: not that *Antioch* which ſtandeth on the River *Orontes*, on the frontier of *Comagena*, between the Mountaine *Caſsius* and the Province of *Pieria*, and *Seleucis*, of which Saint *Peter* was Biſhop, and in which Saint *Luke* and *Ignatius* were borne; but *Antioch*, ſurnamed *Epiphania*, as *Beroaldus* ſuppoſeth, which ſtandeth betweene

*Apamea* and *Emeſa* in *Caſsiotis*. Yet, indeed, *Emath* cannot be taken for either: for both that *Antioch* upon *Orontes*, and that which neighboureth *Emeſa*, are farther off ſeated from *Canaan*, than ever any of thoſe Nations ſtraggled. And whereas S. *Hierome* ſetteth *Emath*, which he confoundeth with *Epiphania*, in the Tribe of *Nephtali*; it is manifeſt, that *Epiphania*, which ſtandeth to the North of *Emeſa*, hath all the Province of *Laodicea* betweene it and any part of the Land divided. And if *Libanon* it ſelfe were not ſhared among the Tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong unto them: for both the Provinces *Laodicea* and *Libanica*, are betweene *Epiphania* and any part of the holy Land: and therefore *Emath* ſo taken could not be a part of *Nephtali*, as in the thirteenth of *Joſua* is directly proved. For *Joſua* counting the lands that remained unpoſſeſt, reckoneth all Mount *Libanon* towards the Sunne-riſing, from *Baalgad* under Mount *Hermon*, until we come to *Hamath*. And this reaſon (among others) is uſed, that *Emath* was not in *Nephtalim*, or any way belonging to the children of *Iſrael*: becauſe *David* accepted the preſents of *Tohu* King of *Emath*, and (therewithall) conditions of peace: which hee would not have done, if that Territory had ever belonged to the children of *Iſrael*, but would have recovered it without compoſition, and by ſtrong hand, as he did the reſt. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great weight. For if the promiſe which God made, be conſidered, as it is written in *Deuteronomy*, then might *Emath* be comprehended, though ſeated altogether without the bounds of the Land promiſed, according to the deſcription of *Moſes* and *Joſua*: for *Emath* is indeed ſituate on the other ſide of the Mountaine of *Hermon*, which joyneth to *Libanus*: and is otherwiſe called *Iturea*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Joſua* the 19.*v*.35. and written in the *Latine* converſion *Emath*, therein (ſaith *Beroaldus*) was S. *Hierome* miſtaken. *Emath* or *Iturea* is that over the Mountaines, and the City in *Nephtalim* ſhould be written *Hamath*: and ſo the *Septuagint* (underſtanding the difference) write it *Ammath* and not *Emath*, the ſame which indeed belongeth to the *Nephtalims*, ſeated on the South ſide of *Libanus*, to the Eaſt of *Aſſedim*: which Citie S. *Hierome* writes *Emath*; *Joſephus*, *Hamah*; others, *Emathin*, or *Amatheos*, and the people *Amathein*; of which (as I take it) *Rabſakeh* vaunteth in the ſecond of *Kings*: *Where is the god of Hamath?*

*2 Sam.8.9.*

*Cap.11.v.24.*

*Cap.18.&.19.*

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## §. XIII.

### *Of the ſonnes of* Chuſh (*excepting* Nimrod) *of whom hereafter.*

The ſonnes of *Chuſh* were, { *Seba*, *Havila*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, *Sabteca*, *Nimrod*. } And the ſonnes of *Raama* were, { *Sheba*, and *Dedan*. }

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### †. I.

### *That moſt of the ſonnes of* Chuſh *were ſeated in Arabia the happy: and of the Sabæans that robbed* Job: *and of the Queene that came to* Salomon.

SEba or *Saba* was the eldeſt ſonne of *Chuſh*, the eldeſt ſonne of *Ham*; to make a difference betweene Him and his Nephew *Sheba*, the ſonne of his brother *Raama*, or *Regma*, (or *Ragma* after *Montanus*:) his name is written with a ſingle (*S*) *Samech*, and *Sheba* the ſonne of *Regma* with an (*S*) aſperate, which is the *Hebrew Schin*. *Seba* the eldeſt ſonne of *Chuſh*, *Regma* his brother, and *Sheba* the ſonne of *Regma*, poſſeſt both the ſhores of *Arabia Fœlix*. *Saba* tooke that part toward the Red Sea, as neereſt his Father *Chuſh*, and the Land of the *Chuſites*: *Regma* and *Sheba* the Eaſt coaſt of the ſame *Arabia*, which looketh into the Gulfe of *Perſia*; of which *Pliny*: *Sabai, Arabum populi, propter thura clariſsimi ad utraq; maria porrectis gentibus habitant; The Sabæans, people of Arabia, famous for their Frankincenſe, extending their Nations, dwell along both the Seas,* (to wit) *the Perſian, and the Arabian or Red Sea.* This Countrey was afterwards called *Arabia, à populi mixtione*, ſaith *Poſtellus*. To this agreeth *Ptolomy*, who ſetteth the City of *Saba* towards the *Arabian* or *Red Sea*, & the City *Rhegama* towards the *Perſian*; with whom alſo we may leave *Sabta*: for ſo much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Ptolomy*, becauſe he remembreth a Nation (called *Stabæi*) neere the *Perſian* Sea; and *Maſſabathæ* which deſcended of them. But *Montanus* hath ſent *Regma*, or (as he cals him) *Rhama*, into *Carmania*, for which I ſee no reaſon. *Joſephus*, who onely attended his owne fancies, hath baniſhed *Saba* or *Seba* to the border of *Ethiopia*. But *Beroaldus* thinkes it ſtrange, that the *Sabæi*, which ſtole away *Jobs* Cattle, ſhould runne through all *Egypt*, and all *Arabia Petræa*, and finde out *Job* in *Traconitis*, betweene *Palæſtina* and *Cœloſyria*, 1200. miles off. Now, as this conjecture was more than ridiculous, ſo doe I thinke, that neither the *Sabæi* on the Red Sea, nor thoſe toward the *Perſian* Sea, could by any meanes execute the ſtealth upon *Job*, which ſoever *Beroaldus* ſhall take for neereſt. But theſe were the *Sabæi* of *Arabia* the Deſart, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth out of his owne experience, that the Citie *Saba* is ſeated: the ſame which *Ptolomy* calls *Save*, now *Semiſcaſac*: and from this *Saba* in *Arabia* the Deſart, came thoſe *Magi* or *Wiſe men*, which worſhipped *Chriſt*, ſaith *Melchior*, whoſe words are theſe: *The Magi came neither out of Meſopotamia* (as *Chryſoſtome*, *Hierome*, and *Ambroſe* ſuppoſed) *nor out of Arabia the Happy, as many wiſe men doe beleeve, but out of Saba in Arabia the Deſart: which City, when my ſelfe was there, was* (*as I judged it*) *called Semiſcaſac.* And to approve this opinion of *Guilandinus*, is appeareth that theſe *Sabæi* were neighbours to *Job*, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other Nations (as well thoſe on the *Perſian* Sea, as thoſe on the Red Sea) are ſo diſ-joyned with large Deſarts, as there is no poſſibilitie for ſtrangers to paſſe them, eſpecially with any numbers of Cattell, both in reſpect of the Mountaines, of the ſands, and of the extreme want of water in thoſe parts: *Ubi nec homines, nec beſtiæ videntur, nec aves, imò nec arbores, nec gramen aliquod, ſed non niſi montes ſaxoſi, altiſſimi, aſperimi*; *Where there are found neither men, nor beaſts, no not ſo much as birds; or trees, nor any paſture or graſſe, but onely ſharpe, and high, ſtonie, and craggie mountaines.* *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* conceive, that the Queene of *Saba* which came to viſit *Solomon*, was of the *Sabæi* on the Eaſt ſide of *Arabia Fœlix*; but the contrarie ſeemeth more probable, and that ſhe was Queen of *Saba* towards the Red Sea: for *Solomon* at that time commanding all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, betwixt *Idumæa* and the Red Sea, as farre downe as *Midian* or *Madian*, and *Ezion Gaber*: and this Queene of *Saba*, which inhabited the Weſt part of *Arabia Fœlix*, being his neighbour, might without any far travell enter his Territories, free from all danger of ſurpriſe by any other Prince or Nation.

But to avoid tediousneſſe, it is manifeſt that *Seba* or *Saba*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, or *Regma*, with his Sonnes *Sheba* and *Dedan*, and *Sabteca*, were all the poſſeſſors of *Arabia* the Happy, and the Deſart: only *Havilah* and *Nimrod* dwelt together on the Eaſt ſide of *Chuſh*, who held *Arabia Petræa*. Now for *Sabta*, there is found of his name the City of *Sabbatha* or *Sabota* in the ſame *Arabia*: of which both *Plinie* and *Ptolomy*; who withall nameth *Sabotale*, within the wals whereof there were ſometimes found ſixtie Temples. *Ezechiel* joyneth the Father and the Sonne together, *The Merchants of Sheba and Raama were thy Merchants.* And that they were the Eaſterne *Arabians*, their merchandiſe witneſſeth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of *Paradiſe*. For *Joſephus* his fancies, that *Saba* was the Parent of the *Ethiopians* about *Meroe*, and *Sabta* of the *Ethiopians Aſtabari*, they be not worthy any farther anſwer than hath already beene given: eſpecially ſeeing theſe Cities, preſerving the memorie of the names of *Saba*, and of *Sabta* in *Arabia*, were yet remaining in *Ptolomies* time, though in ſome letters changed. As alſo in the coaſts adjoyning, the names of other of the brethren of the familie of *Cuſh*, with little alterations are preſerved. In *Arabia* the Deſart is found the Citie *Saba* or *Save*, (now *Semiſcaſac*) with the Citie of *Rhegana* for *Rhegma*; and the Nation by *Ptolomie* himſelfe called *Raabeni* of *Raamah*. In *Arabia* the Happie is found the Citie of *Rhegama*, and *Rabana*; which alſo keepeth the ſound of *Rhegma*, the Citie of *Saptha* or *Saptah*, not far from the Eaſt-coaſt of *Arabia*: as alſo the *Metropolis* and chiefe Citie in the bodie of the South part of *Arabia*, called without defference or alteration *Sabatha*, and to the Weſt of *Sabatha* towards the Red Sea the great Citie of *Saba*; and the Nation adjoyning, *Sabæi*: and to the South thereof againe toward the ſtreight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of *Sabe*. To all theſe his brothers and nephewes which were ſeated on the Eaſt ſide of *Arabia*, *Havilah* by the paſſage of *Tigris* was a neighbour, to whom he might paſſe by Boate even unto *Rhegma* the Citie of *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, ſet neere the River of *Lar* towards the mouth of the *Perſian* Sea, which ſtood in *Ptolomies* time.

*Plin.l.12.c.14.*
*Ptol.tab.6. Aſiæ.*
*Ezech.27.22.*

### †. II.

### Joſephus *his opinion of* Dedan, *one of the iſſue of* Chuſh, *to have beene ſeated in the Weſt Æthiopia, diſproved out of* Ezechiel *and* Hieremy.

AND whereas *Joſephus* (whom in this S. *Hierome* followeth, as not curious herein) ſent *Dedan* the ſon of *Raamah* into Weſt *Æthiopia*, it is ſtrange that *Ezech.* ſhould couple *Sheba*, *Raamah*, and *Dedan* together; *Dedan* in the 15. Verſe, and *Sheba*, and *Raamah* in the 22. Verſe, to be the Merchants of *Tyre*, if *Dedan* had dwelt in Weſt *Æthiopia*, which is diſtant from *Raamah* and *Sheba* (the habitation of his father and brother) to above foure thouſand miles. Beſides which, the merchandiſe that the *Dedanites* brought to *Tyre* doth not make them naked Blacke-moores. For they of *Dedan* (ſaith *Ezechiel*) were thy Merchants in precious clothes for thy Chariots; and theſe Weſterne *Æthiopians* never ſaw cloth, till the *Portugals*, ſeeking thoſe Coaſts, traded with them: the merchandiſe of the Countrie being Hides, Elephants teeth, ſome Gold and Amber, Civet Cats, and Rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: & all theſe they exchanged for linnen, or iron chiefly.

But in thoſe dayes the Weſt part of *Africa* within the body of the land was knowne onely by imagination: and, being under the burnt *Zone*, was held uninhabitable. And therefore that the *Negroes* of the Weſt *Æthiopia*, which inhabite about *Serra Liona*, or *Niger*, could either paſſe by Sea or Land to *Tyre*, in the bottome of the *Mediteran* Sea, were a ſtrange, or rather a fooliſh fancy. Now to put it out of diſpute that *Dedan* alſo dwelt by the reſt of the children of *Chuſh*, which ſeats they held by that name in the time of *Hieremy* the Prophet, let us heare *Hieremy* his owne words: *Fly, ye Inhabitants of Dedan, for I have brought the deſtruction of* Eſau *upon him.* Hereby it appeareth, that *Dedan* was a Neighbour to the *Idumæans*: and *Idumæa* is a Province of *Arabia Petræa*: and *Dedan* which dwelt on the North part of *Arabia fœlix*, joyned in that part to *Petræa*, the ſeat of his Grand-father *Chuſh*; which neighbourhood and fellowſhip of *Dedan* and the *Idumæans*, is alſo confirmed by *Ezechiel*: *I will ſtretch out my hand upon Edom, and deſtroy Man and Beaſt out of it, and I will make it deſolate from Teman: and they of* Dedan *ſhall fall by the ſword.* Ezech.15.15.

## §. XIII.

### *Of the iſſue of* Mizraim: *and of the place of* Hieremie, *Chap.9.Verſ.7.*

The termination *im* in the *Hebrew*, is commonly a ſigne of the plurall number, as *aim*, of the *dual*.

AFter *Chuſh*, it followeth to ſpeake of *Mizraims* ſonnes, whoſe names (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) were plurall, to ſignifie the Nations, which came of them. *Ludim*, the elder ſon of *Mizraim*, was the Father of the *Lybians* in *Africa*: and the reſt of his Brothers diſperſed themſelves into all the Regions adjoyning. Among the ſons of *Shem* there is alſo *Lud*; but he is differenced from *Lud* the ſonne of *Mizraim* by the ſingular number: the ſonne of *Shem* being written *Lud*; the ſonne of *Mizraim*, *Ludim*: and yet theſe Names and Nations are often confounded, notwithſtanding the apparent difference both of Names and Nations. For, that *Ludim* the ſonne of *Mizraim* was the Parent of the *Lybians* in *Africa*, and that he was ſeated not farre from *Mizraim* his father, appeareth by the Prophet *Hieremy*, who joyned them in this ſort together: Cap.46.v.9. *Come up yee Horſes, and rage ye Chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the Blacke-moores, and the Lybians which beare the ſhield*: for thoſe Nations aſſiſted the *Egyptians*, being of one Parent deſcended. And in *Ezechiel*, *Phut* and *Lud* are joyned together. *Æthiopia* (or *Chuſh*) ſaith *Ezechiel*, *c.30.v.3. and Phut, and Lud, and all the common people, and the men of the Land that are in league, ſhall fall with them by the ſword*: which is as much to ſay, as the ſons of *Chuſh*, (which were the *Chuſites*) the ſonnes of *Mizraim*, (which were the *Egyptians*) and the *Lybians* (deſcended of his ſonne *Lud*) with other the Inhabitants of *Egypt* and *Africa*, ſhall fall together. *Hieroſolymitanus* finds alſo in *Africa* a Nation of the *Lydians*. And I beleeve it: becauſe *Hieremy* joyneth the *Lybians*, and *Lydians* together in the place before remembred. But *Lybia* in *Africa* is by the *Hebrewes* called *Ludim* (ſaith *Arias Montanus*) though 2 *Chron.* 12.3. they ſeeme to bee called *Lubim* or *Lubæi*, a name ſomewhat neerer the word *Lybies*, and by which it may ſeeme that the truer writing is, not ***Libyes***, but ***Lybies***. Neither is it here to be omitted, that ***Pintus*** (upon the thirtieth of ***Ezechiel***) underſtandeth that which is ſpoken in the third Verſe of ***Lud***, not to be meant of the ***Lybians*** at all: for he will have this threatning to be meant againſt the people of ***Lyda***, a City (ſaith he) between ***Egypt*** and ***Palæſtina***, which opinion I could not miſlike if the City of ***Lyda*** were ſo ſeated. But ***Lyda*** (which ſhould be written ***Lydda*** with a double ***D***, and is the ſame City which was afterward ***Doiſpolis***, in which S. ***Peter*** cured ***Æneas*** of the palſey) ſtandeth neere the Torrent ***Gaas***, not farre from ***Joppe*** the Port of ***Hieruſalem***. Yet it is not impoſſible but that this City might have ***Lud*** for the Founder. For there are many Cities of one name founded in all the Regions of the World, and farre aſunder; as after the names of ***Alexander***, ***Seleucus***, and ***Antiochus***, many Cities called ***Alexandria***, ***Seleucia***, and ***Antiochia***, ſo of divers others. S. ***Hierome*** maketh ***Lebabim*** to be the Father of ***Libya***, who was the third ſonne of ***Mizraim***: and ſo doth ***Poſtellus***; and either opinion may be true.

The reſt of ***Mizraims*** ſonnes have no proper Countries given them in the Scriptures, ſaving ***Caſluhim*** and ***Caphtorim***, of whom came the ***Philiſtims***, whom the Scriptures call ***Peleſet***.

Theſe ***Caſluhim*** inhabited ***Caſsiotis***, a Region lying in the entrance of ***Egypt*** from ***Palæſtina***, in which the Lake ***Sirbonis***, and the Mountaine ***Caſsius*** are found, not farre from whence ***Pompey*** was buried.

***Caphtorim*** ſeated neere ***Caſluhim*** in that Tract of ***Egypt*** called ***Sethrotis***, not farre from ***Peluſium***. ***Strabo*** calls it ***Sethrotis***; ***Stephanus*** and ***Pliny***, ***Sethroitis***, of the City ***Sethron***: which ***Ortelius*** takes to be the ſame which ***Ptolomy*** calls ***Hercules parva***. Of the ***Caſluhim*** and ***Caphtorim*** came the ***Philiſtims***, which are called by the ***Septuagint Allophyli*** (which is) ***Alienigenæ***, Strangers, or of a ſtrange kindred. Theſe ***Philiſtims*** inhabited the South part of the holy Land towards ***Egypt***, of whom ***Palæſtina*** tooke name. For the ***Hebrewes*** (ſaith ***Iſidore***) doe not uſe the letter (***P***) but in ſtead of it (***ph.***) Their principall Cities were ***Gaza***, ***Aſcalon***, ***Azotus***, ***Geth***, and ***Accaron***: and the people of them called ***Gaſæi***, ***Aſcalonitæ***, ***Azotii***, ***Gethæi***, and ***Accaronitæ***: ***Iſidore*** affirmes, that ***Aſcalon*** was firſt called ***Philiſtim***; and of that City the Country adjoyning. But where ***Iſidore*** had it, I know not.

The firſt knowne King of the ***Philiſtims*** was that ***Abimelech***, who had a liking to ***Abrahams*** wife; with whom ***Abraham*** made a covenant and league. This ***Abimelech*** dwelt indeed at this time in ***Gerar***; but it is written that he was alſo King of the ***Philiſtims***, in theſe words: ***Wherefore Iſaac went to Abimelech King of the Philiſtims unto Gerar***. Now in regard that this or ſome ancienter ***Abimelech*** governed the commonwealth greatly to his glory, the reſt of his ſucceſſors called themſelves by the ſame name. The ***Philiſtims*** commanded that Tract of land upon the mediterran Sea to the Northward, from the Caſtle of ***Pilgrims*** (otherwiſe ***Cæſarea Palæſtinæ***, or ***Stratons*** Tower) which was the South-border of ***Phœnicia***, to ***Gaſa***, or to the River of ***Egypt***. The ***Anakims*** or ſtrong Gyants were of theſe ***Philiſtims***: & ***Goliah*** was of ***Geth***, one of the five Cities above named. They had ſometimes five Kings, ſaith ***Lyranus***. They maſtered the ***Iſraelites*** at ſeverall times above 150. yeeres, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by ***Sampſon*** and ***Samuel***; but in the end this yoke was taken off by ***David***, and laid on themſelves.

***Baſil*** upon the 33. Pſalme. ***Hierome*** upon the 29. of ***Ezechiel***.

It is objected, that becauſe theſe Cities and the Countries adjoyning, were held by the ſonnes of ***Mizraim***, therefore did the ***Iſraelites*** diſpoſſeſſe the ſonnes of ***Mizraim***, and not of ***Canaan***, by forcing thoſe places.

To this ſaith ***Pererius***, that although the ***Palæſtines*** or ***Philiſtims*** held it in the time of ***Joſua***, yet at the time of the promiſe it was poſſeſt by the ***Canaanites***; as in the ſecond of ***Deuteronomy***. The ***Hevites*** dwelt in the Villages unto ***Gaza***. And what marvell, if (the ***Canaanites*** being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the ***Philiſtims*** were of ***Caphtor***, and ſo of ***Mizraim***, and not of ***Canaan***, beſides ***Moſes***, the Prophet ***Hieremy*** witneſſeth: ***The Lord will deſtroy the Philiſtims: the remnant of the iſſue of Caphtor***: and in like manner in the ninth of ***Amos***, the ***Philiſtims*** are ſaid to be the reliques of ***Caphtorim***: ***Have not I brought up*** Iſrael ***out of the Land of Egypt, and the Philiſtims from Caphtor, and*** Aram ***from Kir***? ſo I reade this place with divers of the learned. For whereas the Vulgar hath, ***& Palæſtinos de Cappadocia, & Syros de Cyrene***, this converſion ***Beroaldus*** condemneth; where ***Caphtor is*** taken for ***Cappadocia***, and ***Cyrene*** for ***Kir***. For ***Cyrene*** is a City directly Weſt from ***Egypt***, betweene ***Ptolomais*** or ***Barce*** and ***Apollonia***: but ***Kir*** in ***Aſia*** under the ***Aſſyrians***: ***Junius*** hath it ***Kir***, and not ***Cyrene***: and ſo hath the ***Geneva***.

*Hieremia* 47.4.

*Amos* c.9.v.7.

But

Of which ſee in the ſecond Booke, Chap.7. §.3.†.5.

Cap.16.v.9.

But *Pererius* calls Caphtorim Cappadocia, according to the Vulgar tranſlation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he mean Cappadocia in Palæſtina, and not that Cappodocia by the Sea Pontus in the North of Aſia the leſſe. For whether they inhabited Sethreites, or Cappadocia of Palæſtina, it is not certainly knowne. And ſure in this maner he may expound Cappadocia to be ambiguous, aſwell as he doth Cyrene: taking it here not for Cyrene in Africa, but for a place in Media. For it is written in the ſecond of *Kings*, that *Teglatphalaſſer* King of the Aſſyrians carried away the inhabitants of Damaſcus into Kir: and ſo *Joſephus* ſeemes to underſtand this Kir for Cyrene in Media, calling this Cyrene, *Media ſuperior*: for it was the manner and policy of the Aſſyrians to tranſplant the people conquered by them, as they did the Samaritans or Iſraelites, and other Nations. And hereof it came that Kir was called *Syro-Media*: becauſe the Syrians by the Aſſyrians were therein captived.

## §. XV.
## *Of the iſſue of* Sem.

### †. I.
### *Of* Elam, Aſſur, Arphaxad, *and* Lud.

It remaineth laſtly to ſpeake of the Sons of *Sem*, who are theſe:

1. *Alam*, or *Elam*,
2. *Aſhur*,
3. *Arphaxad*,
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

THe poſterity of *Sem*, *Moſes* recounteth after the reſt: becauſe from them he proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and Story of the Hebrewes: (For of *Sem* was *Abraham* deſcended.)

Of theſe five ſonnes, the Scriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the children of him & *Aram*; the reſt are barely ſpoken of by rehearſall of their names, ſaving that it may be gathered, that *Aſſur* (who was ſuppoſed to found Ninive) was alſo ſaid to be the Father of the Aſſyrians, whoſe iſſues, and the iſſues of *Cham*, inſtantly contended for the Empire of the Eaſt: which ſometimes the Aſſyrians, ſomtimes the Babylonians obtained, according to the vertue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which alſo teacheth us, that all the Eaſt parts of the World were peopled by *Aſſur*, *Elam*, and *Lud* (ſaving India) which I beleeve *Noah* himſelfe firſt inhabited: and to whom *Ophir* and *Havilah* the ſons of *Joctan* afterward repaired, *Hi filii* Sem *ab Euphrate fluvio partem Aſiæ uſq; ad Oceanum Indicum tenuerunt*; *Theſe ſons of* Sem (ſaith S. Hierome) *held all thoſe Regions from Euphrates to the Indian Ocean.*

Joſ.Ant.l.1.c.7.

Of *Elam* came the Elamites, remembred, *Acts* 2.*ver*.9. and the Princes of Perſia; which name then began to be out of uſe and loſt, when the Perſians became Maſters of Babylonia: the Eaſt Monarchy being eſtabliſhed in them. Some prophane Writers diſtinguiſh Elam from Perſia, and make the Elamites a people apart. But Suſa (which the Scriptures call Suſan) in Elam was the kings ſeate of Perſia (witneſſe *Daniel*:) *And I ſaw* (ſaith he) *in a viſion, & when I ſaw it, I was in the Palace of Suſan, which is in the Province of Elam.* This City is embraced by the River Eulæus (according to *Ptolomy*) in *Daniel*, Ulai: and ſeated in the border of Suſiana.

Cap.8.verſ.2.

Ptol.Aſiæ tab.5. Dan.8.2.

*Aſhur* (as moſt Hiſtorians beleeve) the ſecond ſon of *Sem*, was Father of the Aſſyrians, who diſdaining the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from Babel, and built Ninive, of equal beauty and magnitude with Babylon, or exceeding it. But we ſhall in due place diſprove that opinion. Every mans hand hath beene in this Story, and therefore I ſhall not neeed herein to ſpeake much: for the *Aſſyrians* ſo often invaded and ſpoiled the Iſraelites, deſtroyed their Cities, and led them Captives, as both in Divine and Humane letters there is large, and often mention of this Nation.

But howſoever *Herodotus* and *D. Siculus* extend this Empire, and honour this Nation with ample Dominion; yet was not the ſtate of the *Aſſyrians* of any ſuch power, after ſuch time as *Sardanapalus* loſt the Empire. For *Senacherib* who was one of the powerfulleſt Princes among them, had yet the Mountaine *Taurus* for the utmoſt of his Dominion toward the North-eaſt, and *Syria* bounded him toward the Weſt, notwithſtanding theſe vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Eſay* the 37. *Have the gods of the Nations dilivered them whom my Fathers have deſtroyed: as* Gozan, *and* Haran; *and* Reſeph, *and the children of* Eden *which were at Telaſſar? Where is the King of Hamath, and the King of Arphad, & the King of the City Sepharuaim, Hena and Jvah?* All theſe were indeede but petty Kings of Cities, and ſmall Countries as *Haran* in *Meſopotamia*: *Reſeph* in *Palmyrena*: *Hamath* or *Emath* in *Ituræa*, under *Libanus*: the Iſle of *Eden*: *Sepher*, and others of this ſort. Yea, *Nabuchodonoſor*, who was moſt powerfull, before the conqueſt of *Egypt*, had but *Chaldæa*, *Meſopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Palæſtina*, and *Phœnicia* parts thereof. But in this queſtion of *Aſſur*, I will ſpeake my opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whoſe plantation I have omitted among the reſt of the *Chuſites*, becauſe he eſtabliſhed the firſt Empire: from whom the moſt memorable ſtory of the World taketh beginning.

Verſ.11.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldæans*, ſaith Saint *Hierome*, and *Joſephus*; but it muſt be thoſe *Chaldæans* about *Ur*: for the ſonnes of *Cham* poſſeſt the reſt. It is true that he was the Father of the *Hebrewes*: for *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*, and *Shela*, *Heber*, of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud*, the fourth ſonne of *Shem*, gave name to the *Lydians* in *Aſia* the leſſe, is the common opinion; taken from *Joſephus* and S. *Hierome*; but I ſee not by what reaſon he was moved to ſtraggle thither from his friends.

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## †. II.

## *Of* Aram, *and his Sonnes.*

ARam the fiſt and laſt Son of *Shem* was the Parent of the *Syrians*: of which *Damaſcus* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Aramites* by *Syrus* (ſaith *Euſebius* out of *Joſephus*) which *Syrus* lived before *Moſes* was borne; the ſame which others call the ſon of *Apollo*. *Meſopotamia* alſo being but a Province of *Syria*, had the name of *Aram Naharajim*, which is as much to ſay; as *Syria duorum fluviorum*; *Syria compaſſed with two Rivers*, (to wit) *Tigris* & *Euphrates*. The Scriptures call it *Meſopotamia, Syria, and Padan Aram*: and the *Greekes Meſopotvmia* ſimply.

Eſay 7.8.
Euſeb.p.10.6.

*Ariſe and get thee to Padan Aram* (ſaith *Iſaac* to *Jacob*) *to the houſe of Bethuel thy mothers father, and thence take thee a wife.* *Strabo* alſo remembreth it by the ancient name of *Aram* or *Aramea*, as theſe his owne words converted witneſſe: *Quos nos Syros vocamus, ipſi Syri Aramenios & Arameos vocant*; *Thoſe which we call Syrians* (ſaith he) *themſelves call Aramenians and Arameans.*

Gen.28.2.ſee
Gen.25.10.alſo
Deut.23.4.
Judg.3.
Paral.1.19.
Pſal.59.
Strab.l.1.

Againſt this opinion, that *Aram* the ſonne of *Sem* was the Father and Denominator of the *Syrians* in generall; (and not onely of thoſe in *Syria Inter-amnis*, which is *Meſopotamia*) ſome reade, *Geneſ.22.21. Kemuel*, the Father of the *Syrians*: where other out of the originall read *Kemuel*, the ſonne of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconvenience for us to underſtand the word (*Aram*) here, not for the Nation, but for the name of ſome one of note; the rather, becauſe in the Hiſtory of *Abraham* and *Iſaac* (which was in time long before *Kemuels* Poſterity could be famous) we finde *Meſopotamia* called *Aram*; and that with an addition: ſometimes with *Naharajim*, and ſometimes of *Padan*, to diſtinguiſh it from another *Aram*, which (as it ſeemes) then alſo was called *Aram*. For whereas *Junius* thinks in his notes upon *Gen.25.20.* that *Padan Aram* ought to be reſtrained to ſome part of *Meſopotamia*, (to wit) to that part which *Ptolomy* calls *Ancobaritis* (ſo called from the River *Chaboras*, which dividing it, runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiſcuous uſe of *Padan Aram*, and *Aram Naharajim* (which latter appellation queſtion leſſe comprehends the whole *Meſopotamia*) may ſeeme to refute this opinion: eſpecially ſeeing the ſignification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it ſignifieth as much as the yoke of *Syria*, which name agreeth with this Region: becauſe the two Rivers, (as it were) yoked together goe along it. The Reliques of the name *Padan* appeare in the name of two Cities in *Ptolomy*, called *Aphadana*: (as *Junius* hath well noted) the one upon *Chaboras*, the other upon *Euphrates*.

The Sonnes of *Aram* were, {
*Uz* or *Hus*,
*Hul*,
*Gether*, and
*Meſch* or *Mes*.

Hieron. in trad. Hebraic.

*Uz* or *Hus* inhabited about *Damaſcus*, and built that City, ſaith *Joſephus* and S. *Hierome*. But *Toſtatus* miſtaking this opinion, both in them and in *Lyra*, who alſo followeth *Joſephus*, affirmeth that *Abrahams* Steward *Eliezer* was the Founder thereof, though it were likely that *Hus* the eldeſt ſon of *Aram* dwelt neare unto his father, who inhabited the body of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a Region of the ſame, adjoyning to *Arabia* the Deſart, and to *Batanea* or *Traconitis*, whereof the Prophet *Hieremy*: *Rejoyce and be glad O daughter of Edom that dwelleſt in the Land of Hus.* *Hus* therefore is ſeated beyond *Jordan*, in the Eaſt Region of *Traconitis*, adjoyning to *Baſan*, having *Batanea Gaulonitis*, and the Mountaine *Seir* to the Eaſt, *Edrai* to the South, *Damaſcus* North, and *Jordan* Weſt: having in it many Cities and people, as may alſo be gathered out of *Hieremy*: *And all ſorts of people: and all the kings of the Land of Hus*. In this Region dwelt *Job*, deſcended of *Hus*, the ſonne of *Nahor*, the brother of *Abraham* (ſaith S. *Hierome*) and married *Dina* the Daughter of *Jacob*, ſaith *Philo*.

Hierem. Lam. cap.4.ver.21.

Cap.25.ver.20.

*Hul* the ſecond ſon of *Aram*, S. *Hierome* makes the Father of the *Armenians*: and *Gether* the third ſon, Parent to the *Acarnanians* or *Carians*: which opinion, (becauſe I finde not where to ſet him) I do not diſprove, though I ſee no reaſon why *Gether* ſhould leave the fellowſhip of his owne brethren, and dwell among Strangers in *Aſia* the leſſe. *Junius* gives *Hul* (whom he writes *Chul*) the Deſart of *Palmyrena*, as far as *Euphrates*, where *Ptolimie* ſetteth the City of *Cholle*.

*Gether* (ſaith *Joſephus*) founded the *Bactrians*: but *Joſephus* gave all *Noahs* children feathers, to carry them far away in all haſte. For mine owne opinion, I alwayes keep the rule of Neighbourhood, and thinke with *Junius* (to wit) That *Gether* ſeated himſelfe neare his brothers, in the body of *Syria*, and in the Province of *Caſsiotis*, and *Seleucis*, where *Ptolomy* placeth *Gindarus*, and the Nation by *Plinie* called *Gindareni*.

*Junius* alſo giveth to *Mes* or *Meſch* the North part of *Syria*, between *Cilicia* and *Meſopotamia*, neare the mountaine *Maſius*. The certainty of thoſe Plantations can no otherwiſe be knowne than by this probability, that *Aram* the father (of whom that great Region tooke name) planted his ſons in the ſame Land about him: for he wanted no ſcope of Territory for himſelfe and them; neither then when the World was newly planted, nor in many hundred yeares after; and therefore there is no reaſon to caſt them, in the Deſart parts of the World, ſo far aſunder. And as neceſſity and policy held them together for a while: ſo Ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children, ſet them aſunder. For although theſe ſonnes of *Aram*, and the ſonnes of the reſt of *Noahs* children, kept themſelves within the bounds of ſome one large Kingdome; yet therein every one alſo ſought a Province apart, and to themſelves; giving to the Cities therein built their owne names, thereby to leave their memory to their Poſterity: the uſe of Letters being then rare, and knowne to few.

In this ſort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* caſt them into ſo many Provinces: every one emulating and diſdaining the greatneſſe of other, as they are thereby to this day ſubject to invaſion, expulſion, and deſtruction: ſo as (*Nova Hiſpania* and *Peru* excepted, becauſe thoſe Countries are unacceſſible to Strangers) an eaſie force will caſt them out of all the reſt.

Chap.8.§.7.

*Mes* the fourth ſon is made the Parent of the *Mæonians*: of whom ſomething hath bin ſpoken already. *Arphaxad* the third ſonne of *Shem*, begat *Shelah*, and *Heber*. *Heber* had two ſonnes, *Phaleg* and *Joctan*: and in *Phalegs* time was the Earth divided.

### †. III.

### *Of the diviſion of the Earth in the time of* Phaleg, *one of the ſonnes of* Heber, *of the iſſue of* Sem.

THe many people which at the diviſion (at *Phalegs* birth) were then living, and the through Plantation of all the Eaſt part of the World (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the Earth were divided at either. The *Hebrewes* (ſaith *Pererius* out of *Sedar Holam*, one of their Chronicles) affirme that this partition happened at the death of *Phaleg*: and *Phaleg* was borne in the yeare after the Floud 101. and lived in all 239. yeares, which numbers added makes 340. And therefore was it ſo many yeares after the Floud, ere the children of *Noah* ſevered themſelves. But to this opinion of the *Hebrewes*, and the doubt they make how in ſo few yeares as 101. (the time of *Phalegs* birth) ſo many people could be increaſed, *Pererius* gives this anſwer, That if 70. perſons of the Family of *Jacob* increaſed to 600000. fighting men in 215. yeares, (beſides women, children, and impotent perſons) how much more is it likely, that ſo ſoone after the Floud the children of *Noah* might in a ſhorter time bring forth many multitudes, having received the bleſſing of God, *Increaſe and multiply, and fill the earth?* What ſtrength this anſwer hath, let others judge: for the children of *Iſrael* were 70. and had 215. yeares time: and the ſons of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101. yeares of time, to the birth of *Phaleg*.

Others conceive that *Phaleg* tooke that name after the diviſion, in memory thereof: as *Joſephus* and Saint *Auguſtine*, who reaſon in this manner. If the diviſion were at *Phalegs* death (which hapned in the yeare, which is commonly held to be the 48. of *Abraham*, but was by more likely computation 12. yeares before his birth) then was the diviſion 38. yeares after *Ninus*, who governed 52. yeares: in the 43. yeare of whoſe reigne *Abraham* was borne. But when *Ninus* began to rule the *Aſſyrians*, 80. yeares before this diviſion (as this diviſion is placed by the *Hebrewes*, *Hierome* and *Chryſoſtome*) then was the earth ſo peopled in all the Eaſt and Northerne parts, as greater numbers have not beene found at any time ſince. For *Ninus* aſſociating to himſelfe *Ariæus* King of *Arabia*, a people who at that time (ſaith *Diod. Siculus*) *plurimum opibus atq; armis præſtabant*, *Exceeded both in riches and bodies of men*, ſubdued many Cities in *Armenia*; received *Barzanis* into grace; then invaded *Media*, and crucified *Pharnus* the King thereof, with his Wife and ſeven Children; vanquiſhed all thoſe Regions betweene *Nilus* and *Tanais*, the *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, the Kingdoms of *Syria*, and all the Nations of *Perſia*, to the *Hyrcanian* Sea. For the numbers which followed *Ninus* (already remembred out of *Cteſias*) againſt *Zoroaſter* and others: and *Zoroaſter* on the other ſide, who made reſiſtance with 400000. prove it ſufficiently, that if the diviſion had not happened before the death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no diviſion at that time at all. For ſome of them were ſo ill ſatisfied with their partitions, as they ſought to be maſters of all, and greater Armies were there never gathered than by *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: wherefore in this opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

*Joſeph.l.1.Ant.*
*Aug.de Civit. Dei.l.16.c.11.*

*Per.in Gen.lib. 15.c.10.*

But for that conceit that if the diviſion had beene made at the birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then ſufficient numbers borne to fill the earth: It was never meant that the earth could be filled every where at the very inſtant, but by times and degrees. And ſurely whatſoever mens opinions have beene heerein, yet it is certaine, that the diviſion of tongues and of men muſt goe neere together with the ceaſing of the worke at *Babel*: and that the enterprize of *Babel* was left off inſtantly upon the confuſion of Languages, where followed the execution of the diviſion; and ſo neyther at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was borne in yeare 101. after the Floud, which was the yeare that *Nimrod* came into *Shinaar*, or ten yeares after he arrived, ſaith *Beroſus*.

Now if it be objected that *Phaleg* (the Etymologie of whoſe name ſignifieth diviſion) muſt have lived without a name, except the name had bin given him at the time of this confuſion and partition: to this objection it may be anſwered, That the change of names upon divers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures: for *Jacob* was called *Iſrael* after he had wreſtled with the Angel; *Abraham* was firſt *Abram*; and *Edom*, *Eſau*; and that *Phaleg* being a principall man in this diviſion had his firſt name upon this accident changed, it is moſt probable.

And laſtly, whereas the *Hebrewes*, Saint *Hierome* and *Chryſoſtome* account *Heber* for a great Prophet, if that by giving his ſonne the name of *Phaleg*, he foretold the diviſion which followed: to this I ſay, I doe not finde that *Heber* deſerved any ſuch honour, if he had thereupon ſo called his ſonne: for diviſion and diſperſion followeth increaſe of people of neceſſity; and this Propheſie (if any ſuch had beene) might alſo have reference to the diviſion, which afterwards fell amongſt the *Hebrewes* themſelves.

But if we give a reaſonable time to the building of the Tower and City of *Babel*, in which time many people (by reaſon and by demonſtrative proofe) might be increaſed: and that upon the fall thereof the confuſion and diviſion followed (whereupon *Phaleg* tooke name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monſtrous.

### †. IV.

### *Of the ſonnes of* Joctan, *the other ſonne of* Heber.

The ſonnes of *Joctan* were

1. *Elmodad.*
2. *Saleph*, or *Salep*, or *Sheleph.*
3. *Aſamath*, or *ChatZar.*
4. *Jare*, or *Jaraah*, or *Jerath.*
5. *Hadoram.*
6. *UZal*, or *Uxal.*
7. *Dicklach*, or *Dicla.*
8. *Obal*, or *Ebal*, or *Hobal.*
9. *Abimael*,
10. *Sheba*, or *Seba.*
11. *Ophir*, or *Opir.*
12. *Havilah*, or *Chavila*, and
13. *Jobab.*

ALl thoſe ſonnes of *Joctan* (according to Saint *Hierome*) dwelled in the Eaſt parts of the world, or *India*, even from the River *Cophe* or *Choas*, which is one of the branches or heads of *Indus.*

But the certaine places of thoſe thirteene Sonnes cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of *Moſes* being generall: *And their dwelling was from Meſha as thou goeſt unto Separ a Mount in the Eaſt.* Of all theſe thirteene Sonnes, there were onely three memorable, (to wit) *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Havilah.* Concerning whoſe names, to avoid confuſion, it is to be obſerved, that among the ſonnes of *Chuſh*, two of them had alſo the names of *Sheba* and *Havilah.* *Abraham* had alſo a third *Saba* or *Sheba*, his grand-childe by his wife *Ketura.* But *Seba* the ſonne of *Chuſh*, and *Sheba* the ſonne of *Rhegma* his Nephew, we have left in *Arabia Fœlix*: and *Havilah* the ſon of *Chuſh* upon *Tigris.* *Saba* the grand-childe of *Abraham* was (as ſome have thought) the Father of the *Sabæans* in *Perſia*: of which Nations *Dionyſius de Orbis ſitu*, maketh mention. *Primùm Sabæi; poſt hos ſunt Paſſagardæ; prope verò hos ſunt Taſci: The firſt are Sabæans: after theſe be Paſſagardæ; and neere theſe the Taſci.* And whereas it is written: *But unto the Sonnes of the Concubines which* Abraham *had,* Abraham *gave gifts, and ſent them away from* Iſaac *his ſonne (while he yet lived) Eaſtward to the Eaſt-Countrey*: hereupon it is ſuppoſed, that this *Saba* the ſonne of *Abraham*, wandered into *Perſia*: for *Perſia* was accounted the furthermoſt Eaſt-Countrey in reſpect of *Judæa*; which alſo *Ovid* ſetteth under the Sun-riſing. Yet ſeeing the reſt of *Abrahams* ſonnes ſeated themſelves on the borders of *Judæa*, I rather chooſe to leave *Saba* the ſonne of *Abraham* in *Arabia* the Deſart, where *Ptolomy* ſetteth a City of that name.

*Gen.* 10. 30.

*Gen.* 25. 6.

*Metam. lib.* 1.

But *Saba* the ſonne of *Joctan*, the ſon of *Heber*, (as I conceive) inhabited *India* it ſelfe. For *Dionyſius Afer* in his *Periegeſis*, (or deſcription of the World) which he wrote in *Greeke* Verſe, among the Regions of *India* findeth a Nation called the *Sabæi.* *Taxilis hos inter medios habitatq; Sabæus; In the middeſt of theſe dwell the Sabæi, and the Taxili*, ſaith *Dionyſius.*

τῶνδε μέσοι
ναίουσι σαβαὶ
καὶ τάξιλοι
ἄνδρες.

### †. V.

### *Of* Ophir *one of* Joctans *ſonnes, and of Peru, and of that voyage* of Salomon.

OPhir alſo was an Inhabitant of the Eaſt *India*, and (as S. *Hierome* underſtands it) in one of the Ilands plentifull with gold, which are now known by the name of *Moluccæ.* *Joſephus* underſtands *Ophir* to be one of thoſe great head-lands in *India*, which by a generall name are called *Cherſoneſi*, or *Peninſulæ*: of which there are two very notorious; *Callecut* & *Malacon.* *Pererius* takes it rightly for an Iland, as Saint *Hierome* doth but he ſets it at the head-land of *Malacca.* But *Ophir* is found among the *Moluccas* farther Eaſt.

*Arias Montanus* out of the ſecond of *Chronicles*, the third Chapter and ſixth Verſe, gathers that *Ophir* was *Peru* in *America*, looking into the Weſt Ocean, commonly called *Mare del Sur*, or the South Sea; by others *Mare pacificum.* The words in the ſecond of the *Chronicles* are theſe: *And he over-layed the houſe with precious ſtones for beauty; and the gold was gold of Parvaim.* *Junius* takes this gold to be the gold of *Havilah*, remembred by *Moſes* in the deſcription of *Paradiſe*: *And the gold of that Land is good:* finding a Towne in *Characene* a Province of *Suſiana* called *Barbatia*; ſo called (as he thinks) by corruption for *Parvaim*: from whence thoſe Kings ſubjected by *David*, brought this gold, with which they preſented him; and which *David* preſerved for the enriching of the Temple.

Gen.2.11.& 12. Plin.l.6.c.28.

But this fancy of *Peru* hath deceived many men, before *Montanus*, and *Pleſsis*, who alſo tooke *Ophir* for *Peru.* And that this queſtion may be a ſubject of no further diſpute; it is very true that there is no Region in the World of that name: ſure I am, that at leaſt *America* hath none, no not any City, Village, or Mountaine ſo called. But when *Francis Piſarro* firſt diſcovered thoſe Lands to the South of *Panama*, arriving in that Region which *Atabaliba* commanded (a Prince of magnificence, Riches and Dominion inferior to none) ſome of the *Spaniards* utterly ignorant of that language, demanding by ſignes (as they could) the name of the Country, and pointing with their hand athwart a River, or Torrent, or Brooke that ranne by, the *Indians* anſwered *Peru*, which was either the name of that Brooke, or of water in generall. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiving that the people had rightly underſtood them, ſet it downe in the *Diurnall* of their enterpriſe, and ſo in the firſt deſcription made, and ſent over to *Charles* the Emperor, all that Weſt part of *America* to the South of *Panama* had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued ever ſince, as divers *Spaniards* in the *Indies* aſſured me; which alſo *Acoſta* the *Jeſuite* in his naturall and morall Hiſtory of the *Indies* confirmeth. And whereas *Montanus* alſo findeth, that a part of the *Indies* (called *Jucatan*) tooke that name of *Joctan*, who as he ſuppoſeth navigated from the utmoſt Eaſt of *India* to *America*: it is moſt true, that *Jucatan* is nothing elſe in the language of that Countrey, but [*What is that?*] or [*What ſay you?*] For when the *Spaniards* ask'd the name of that place (no man conceiving their meaning) one of the Salvages anſwered *Jucatan* (which is) *What aske you*, or *What ſay you?* The like hapned touching *Paria*, a Mountainous Country on the South ſide of *Trinidado* & *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring (as all men doe) the names of thoſe new Regions which they diſcovered, pointed to the Hils a farre off, one of the people anſwered, *Paria*, which is as much to ſay, as, *high Hils* or *Mountaines.* For at *Paria* begins that marvellous ledge of Mountaines, which from thence are continued to the Strait of *Magellan*, from eight degrees of North latitude to the 52. of South: and ſo hath that Country ever ſince retained the name of *Paria.*

The ſame hapned among the *Engliſh*, which I ſent under Sir *Richard Greenevile* to inhabite *Virginia.* For when ſome of my people asked the name of that Country, one of the Salvage anſwered, *Wingandacon*, which is as much to ſay, as *You weare good clothes*, or gay clothes. The ſame hapned to the *Spaniard* in asking the name of the Iland *Trinidado*: for a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that ſelfe place which the Sea incompaſſed, they anſwered, *Caeri*, which ſignifieth an Iland. And in this manner have many places newly diſcovered beene intituled, of which *Peru* is one. And therefore we muſt leave *Ophir* among the *Moluccas*, whereabout ſuch an Iland is credibly affirmed to be.

Now although there may be found gold in *Arabia* it ſelfe (towards *Perſia*) in *Havilah*, now *Suſiana*, and all alongſt that Eaſt *Indian* ſhore; yet the greateſt plenty is taken up at the *Philippines*, certaine Ilands planted by the *Spaniards*, from the Eaſt *India.* And by the length of the paſſage which *Salomons* ſhips made from the red Sea (which was three yeares in going and comming) it ſeemeth they went to the uttermoſt Eaſt, as the *Moluccas* or *Philippines.* Indeede theſe that now goe from *Portugal*, or from hence, finiſh that navigation in two yeares, and ſometimes leſſe: and *Salomons* ſhips went not above a tenth part of this our courſe from hence. But we muſt conſider, that they evermore kept the coaſt, and crept by the ſhores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the uſe of the Compaſſe was knowne, it was impoſſible to navigate athwart the Ocean; and therefore *Salomons* ſhips could not finde *Peru* in *America.* Neither was it needfull for the *Spaniards* themſelves ( had it not bin for the plenty of gold in the Eaſt *India* Ilands, farre above the mines of any one place of *America* ) to ſaile every yeare from the Weſt part of *America* thither, and there to have ſtrongly planted, & inhabited the richeſt of thoſe Ilands: wherein they have built a City called *Manilia*. *Salomon* therefore needed not to have gone farther off than *Ophir* in the Eaſt, to have ſped worſe: neither could he navigate from the Eaſt to the Weſt in thoſe dayes, whereas he had no coaſt to have guided him.

*Toſtatus* alſo gathereth a fantaſticall opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a Country, whoſe Mountaines of gold are kept by *Griffins*: which Mountaines *Solinus* affirmeth to be in *Scythia Aſiatica*, in theſe words: *Nam cum auro & gemmis affluant, Griphes tenent univerſa, alites ferociſſimæ, Arimaſpi cum his dimicant, &c. For whereas theſe Countries abound in gold, & rich ſtones, the Griffins defend the one & the other: a kinde of Fowle the fierceſt of all other; with which Griffins a Nation of people called Arimaſpi make warre.* Theſe *Arimaſpi* are ſaid to have beene men with one eye onely, like unto the *Cyclopes* of *Sicilia*: of which *Cyclopes*, *Herodotus* and *Ariſteus* make mention: and ſo doth *Lucan* in his third Booke: and *Valerius Flaccus*: and *D. Siculus* in the ſtory of *Alexander Macedon*. But (for mine owne opinion) I beleeve none of them. And for theſe *Arimaſpi*, I take it that this name ſignifying *One-eyed*, was firſt given them by reaſon that they uſed to wear a vizzard of defence, with one ſight in the middle to ſerve both eies; and not that they had by nature any ſuch defect. But *Solinus* borroweth theſe things out of *Pliny*, who ſpeakes of ſuch a Nation in the extreme North, at a place called *Giſolitron*, or the Cave of the Northeaſt winde. For the reſt, as all fables were commonly grounded upon ſome true ſtories or other things done: ſo might theſe tales of the *Griffins* receive this Morall: That if thoſe men which fight againſt ſo many dangerous paſſages for gold, or other riches of this World, had their perfect ſenſes, and were not deprived of halfe their eye-ſight ( at leaſt of the eye of right reaſon and underſtanding ) they would content themſelves with a quiet & moderate eſtate; and not ſubject themſelves to famine, corrupt aire, violent heate, and cold, and to all ſorts of miſerable diſeaſes. And though this fable be fained in this place, yet if ſuch a tale were told of ſome other places of the World, where wilde Beaſts or Serpents defend Mountaines of gold, it might be avowed. For there are in many places of the world, eſpecially in *America*, many high and impaſſable Mountaines, which are very rich and full of gold, inhabited onely with Tygres, Lyons & other ravenous and cruell beaſts: unto which if any man aſcend ( except his ſtrength be very great ) he ſhall be ſure to finde the ſame warre, which the *Arimaſpi* make againſt the *Griffins*: not that the one or other had any ſenſe of the gold, or ſeeke to defend that mettall, but being diſquieted, or made affraid of themſelves or their young-ones, they grow inraged and adventurous. In like ſort it may be ſaid that the *Alegartos*, (which the *Egyptians* call the *Crocodyles* ) defend thoſe Pearles which lye in the Lakes of the Inland: for many times the poore *Indians* are eaten up by them, when they dive for the pearle. And though the *Alegartos* know not the pearle, yet they finde ſavour in the fleſh and bloud of the *Indians*, whom they devoure.

*Flaccus lib.6.*
*Diod.Sicul.l.16.*

### †. VI.

*Of* Havilah *the ſonne of* Joctan, *who alſo paſſed into the Eaſt Indies: and of* Meſha *and* Sepher *named in the bordering of the Families of* Joctan: *with a Concluſion of this diſcourſe touching the plantation of the World.*

OF *Havilah* the ſonne of *Joctan*, there is nothing elſe to be ſaid, but that the generall opinion is, that he alſo inhabited in the Eaſt India in the Continent, from which *Ophir* paſt into the Ilands adjoyning. And whereas *Ganges* is ſaid to water *Havilah*, it is meant by *Havilah* in the Eaſt India, which tooke name of *Havilah* the ſon of *Joctan*: but *Havilah*, which *Piſon* compaſſeth, was ſo called of *Havilah*, the ſon of *Chuſh*, as is formerly proved by this place of Scripture: *Saul ſmote the Amalekites from Havilah as thou commeſt to Shur, which is before Egypt*. But that *Saul* ever made Warre in the Eaſt India, no man hath ſuſpected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteene ſonnes of *Joctan*, theſe three, *Saba*, *Havilah*, & *Ophir*; though at the firſt ſeated by their brethren about the hill *Maſius* or *Meſh*, *Gen.* 10.30. (to wit) betweene *Cilicia* and *Meſopotamia*; yet at length either themſelves or their iſſues removed into the Eaſt India, leaving the

*1.Sam.15.7.*

other Families of *Joctan*, to fill the Countries of their firſt plantation, which the Scripture defines to have beene from *Meſh* unto *Sephar*. And although S. *Hierome* take *Meſh* to be a Region of the Eaſt India, and *Sephar* a Mountaine of the ſame (which Mountaine, *Montanus* would have to be the *Andes* in *Armerica*) thoſe fancies are far beyond my underſtanding. For the word (*Eaſt*) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to *Judæa*, is never farther extended than into *Perſia*. But *Meſch* is that part of the Mountaine of *Maſius* in the North of *Meſopotamia*, out of which the River *Chaboras* ſpringeth which runneth by *Charran*: and in the ſame Region we alſo finde for *Sephar* (remembred by *Moſes*) *Sipphara* by *Ptolomy*, ſtanding to the Eaſt of the Mountaine *Maſius*, from whence *Joctan* having many ſonnes, ſome of them might paſſe into *India*, hearing of the beauty and riches thereof. But this was in proceſſe of time.

The other faſhion of planting I underſtand not, being grounded but upon mens imaginations, contrary to reaſon and poſſibility. And that this Mountaine in the Eaſt was no farther off than in thoſe Regions before remembred, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the ſame phraſe is uſed: as in *Numbers* 23. Balac *the King of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the Mountaine of the Eaſt*; which was from the Eaſt part of *Meſopotamia*. For *Balac* brought *Balaam* out of *Meſopotamia*, (witneſſe this place of Deuteronomie:) *Becauſe they hyred* Balaam *the ſonne of* Beor, *of Pethor in Aram Naharajim, to curſe thee*: for *Aram Naharajim* was *Syria fluviorum*, which is *Meſopotamia*, as aforeſaid.

*Verſe 7.*

*Cap.23.ver.4.*

This plantation of the World after the floud doth beſt agree (as to me it ſeemes) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And theſe be the reports of Reaſon and probable conjecture; the Guides which I have followed herein, and which I have choſen to goe after; making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their owne fancies, be they ancient or moderne. Neither have I any end herein, private or publike, other than the diſcovery of truth. For as the partiality of man to himſelfe hath diſguiſed all things: ſo the factious and hireling Hiſtorians of all Ages (eſpecially of theſe latter times) have by their many Volumes of untrue reports left *Honor* without a Monument, & *Vertue* without Memory: and (in ſtead thereof) have erected *Statues* and *Tropheis* to thoſe, whom the darkeſt forgetfulneſſe ought to have buryed, and covered over for evermore. And although the length and diſſolving Nature of Time hath worne out or changed the Names and Memory of the Worlds firſt planters after the floud (I meane the greateſt number and moſt part of them) yet all the foot-ſteps of Antiquity (as appeares by that which hath bin ſpoken) are not quite worne out nor over-growne: for *Babylon* hath to this day the ſound of *Babel*; *Phœnicia* hath *Zidon*, to which City the eldeſt ſon of *Canaan* gave name; ſo hath *Cilicia*, *Tharſis*; and the *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Hiberians*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, the *Syrians*, *Idumæans*, *Libyans*, *Moores*, and other Nations, have preſerved from the death of forgetfulneſſe ſome ſignes of their firſt Founders and true Parents.

## CHAP. IX.

## *Of the beginning and eſtabliſhing of Governmemt,*

### §. I.

### *Of the proceeding from the firſt Government under the eldeſt of Families to Regall, and from Regall abſolute, to Regall tempered with Lawes.*

IT followeth now to entreate how the World began to receive Rule and Government, which (while it had ſcarcity of People) under-went no other Dominion than Paternity and Elderſhip. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldeſt of Families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word (*Elder*) was alwayes uſed both for the Magiſtrate, & for thoſe of Age & Gravity: the ſame bearing one ſignification almoſt in all languages. For in the eleventh of *Numbers* God commanded *Moſes* to gather together 70. of the Elders of the people, &

Governour over them: the *Hebrew* bearing the ſame ſenſe, which the *Latine* word *Senes* or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Suſanna*, *Then the Aſſembly beleeved them as thoſe that were the Elders and Judges of the People.* And ſo in the words of thoſe falſe Judges and witneſſes to *Daniel*, *Shew it unto us, ſeeing God hath given thee the office of an Elder.* *Demoſthenes* uſeth the ſame word for the Magiſtrate among the *Grecians*. *Cicero* in *Cato* giveth two other reaſons for this appellation: *Apud Lacedæmonios qui ampliſsimum Magiſtratum gerunt, ut ſunt, ſic etiam appellantur Senes*; *Among the Lacedæmonians the chiefe Magiſtrates, as they were, ſo are they called Eldermen:* and againe: *Ratio & prudentia niſi eſſent in ſenibus, non ſummum Concilium Majores noſtri appellaſſent Senatum*; *If reaſon and adviſement were not in old men, our Anceſtors had never called the higheſt Councell by the name of a Senate.*

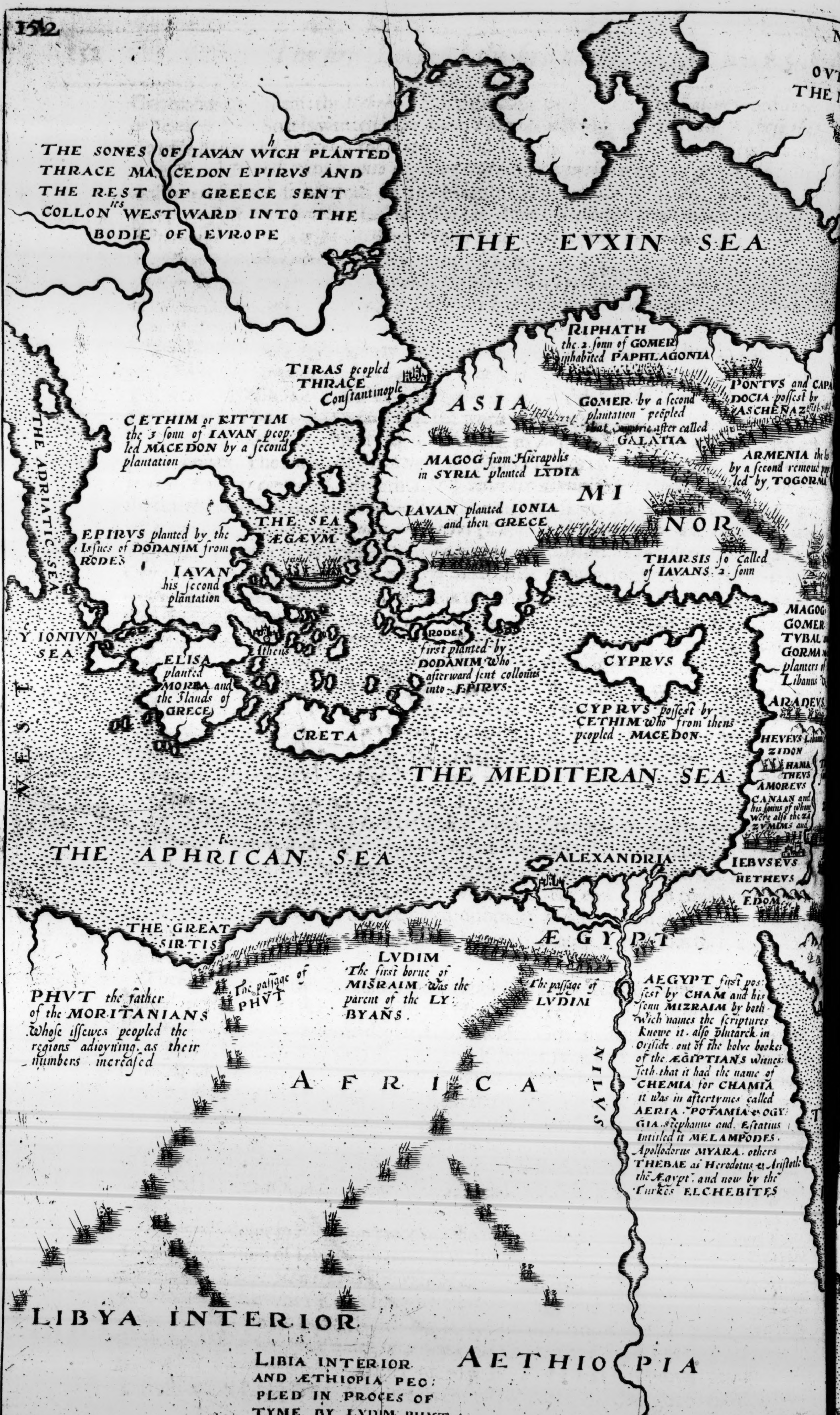
But though theſe reaſons may well be given, yet we doubt not but in this name of (*Elders*) for Governours or Counſailers of State, there is a ſigne that the firſt Governors were the Fathers of Families; and under them the eldeſt Sons. And from thence did the *French*, *Italian*, and *Spaniard* take the word (*Signor*) and out of it (*Seignourie*) for Lordſhip and Dominion: ſignifying (according to *Loyſeau*) puiſſance in propriety, or proper power. The kindes of this *Seignourie*, *Seneca* makes two: the one, *Poteſtas aut imperium*; *Power or command:* the other, *Proprietas aut dominium*; *Propriety or Maſterſhip:* the correlative of the one is the ſubject, of the other the ſlave. *Ad Cæſarem* (ſaith he) *poteſtas omnium pertinet; ad ſingulos proprietas*; *Cæſar hath power over all, and every man propriety in his owne:* and againe, *Cæſar omnia imperio poſsidet, ſinguli dominio*; *Cæſar holdeth all in his power, and every man poſſeſſeth his owne.* But as men and vice began abundantly to increaſe: ſo obedience (the fruit of naturall reverence, which but from excellent ſeed ſeldome ripeneth) being exceedingly over-ſhadowed with pride, and ill examples, utterly withered and fell away. And the ſoft weapons of paternall perſwaſions (after mankind began to neglect and forget the originall and firſt giver of life) became in all over-weake, either to reſiſt the firſt inclination of evill, or after (when it became habituall) to conſtraine it. So that now, when the hearts of men were onely guided and ſteered by their owne fancies, and toſt to and fro on the tempeſtuous Seas of the world, while wiſedome was ſevered from power, and ſtrength from charity: Neceſſity (which bindeth every nature but the immortall) made both the Wiſe and Fooliſh underſtand at once, that the eſtate of reaſonable men would become farre more miſerable than that of beaſts, and that a generall floud of confuſion would a ſecond time over-flow them, did they not by a generall obedience to order and dominion prevent it. For the mighty, who truſted in their own ſtrengths, found others againe (by interchange of times) more mighty than themſelves: the feeble fell under the forcible; and the equall from equall received equall harmes. Inſomuch that the licentious diſorder (which ſeemed to promiſe a liberty upon the firſt acquaintance) proved upon a better triall, no leſſe perillous than an unindurable bondage.

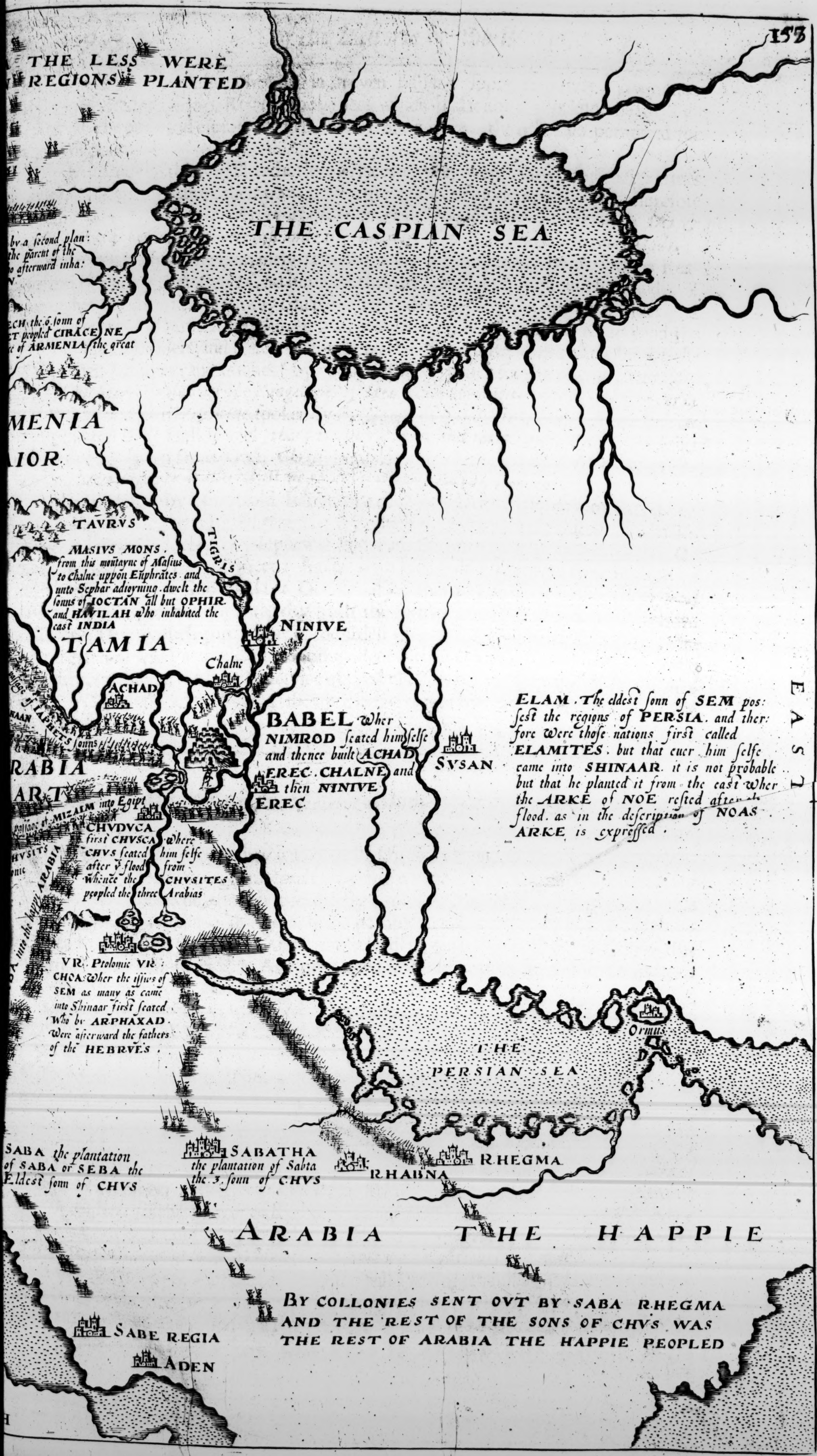
*Neceſsitas eſt firmum judicium, & immutabilis providentiæ poteſtas.*

Theſe Arguments by Neceſſity propounded, and by Reaſon maintained and confirmed, perſwaded all Nations which the Heavens cover, to ſubject themſelves to a Maſter, and to Magiſtracy in ſome degree. Under which Government, as the change (which brought with it leſſe evill, than the former miſchiefes) was generally pleaſing: ſo time (making all men wiſe that obſerve it) found ſome imperfection and corroſive in this cure. And therefore the ſame Neceſſity which invented, and the ſame Reaſon which approved ſovereign power, bethought it ſelfe of certaine equall rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundleſſe) might alſo diſcerne her own limits. For before the invention of Lawes, private affections in ſupreme Rulers made their own fancies both their Treaſurers and Hangmen: meaſuring by this yard, and waighing in this ballance, both good and evill.

For as wiſedome in Elderſhip preceded the rule of Kings; ſo the will of Kings forewent the inventions of Lawes. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: arbitria principum pro legibus erant*; *The people were not governed by any other lawes than the wils of Princes.* Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to be good, neither did thoſe mens vertues value them which were not fancied by their Kings, nor thoſe mens vices deforme them that were. *Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt*; *Love ſees one while too much, another while ſtarke nothing.* Hence it came to paſſe, that after a few yeares (for direction and reſtraint of Royall power) Lawes were eſtabliſhed: and that government which

had


THE SONES OF IAVAN WICH PLANTED THRACE MACEDON EPIRVS AND THE REST OF GREECE SENT its COLLON WESTWARD INTO THE BODIE OF EVROPE
THE EVXIN SEA
RIPHATH the 2 ſonn of GOMER inhabited PAPHLAGONIA
TIRAS peopled THRACE Conſtantinople
ASIA MI NOR
GOMER by a ſecond plantation peopled that countrie after called GALATIA
PONTVS and CAPADOCIA poſſeſt by ASCHENAZ
CETHIM or KITTIM the 3 ſonn of IAVAN peopled MACEDON by a ſecond plantation
MAGOG from Hierapolis in SYRIA planted LYDIA
ARMENIA the leſs by a ſecond remoue peopled by TOGORMA
THE ADRIATIC SEA
THE SEA ÆGÆVM
IAVAN planted IONIA and then GRECE
EPIRVS planted by the Iſſues of DODANIM from RODES
IAVAN his ſecond plantation
THARSIS ſo called of IAVANS 2 ſonn
MAGOG GOMER TVBAL GORMA planters of Libanus
IONIVN SEA
Athens
RODES first planted by DODANIM Who afterward ſent collonies into EPIRVS
CYPRVS
ELISA planted MOREA and the Ilands of GRECE
CYPRVS poſſeſt by CETHIM who from thens peopled MACEDON
ARADEVS
CRETA
HEVEVS Libanus
ZIDON
HAMATHEVS
AMOREVS
THE MEDITERAN SEA
CANAAN and his ſonns of whom were alſo the ZAZVMIMS and
WEST
THE APHRICAN SEA
ALEXANDRIA
IEBVSEVS
HETHEVS
EDOM
THE GREAT SIRTIS
ÆGYPT
PHVT the father of the MORITANIANS Whoſe iſſewes peopled the regions adioyning as their numbers increaſed
The paſſage of PHVT
LVDIM The first borne of MISRAIM Was the parent of the LYBYANS
The paſſage of LVDIM
AEGYPT firſt poſſeſt by CHAM and his ſonn MIZRAIM by both wich names the ſcriptures knowe it. alſo plutarck in Oriſide out of the holve bookes of the ÆGIPTIANS witneſſeth that it had the name of CHEMIA for CHAMIA it was in aftertymes called AERIA POTAMIA & OGYGIA. Stephanus and Eſtatius intitled it MELAMPODES. Apollodorus MYARA. others THEBAE as Herodotus & Ariſtotle the Ægypt. and now by the Turkes ELCHEBITES
NILVS
AFRICA
LIBYA INTERIOR
AETHIOPIA
LIBIA INTERIOR AND ÆTHIOPIA PEOPLED IN PROCES OF TYME BY LVDIM PHVT AND THEIR ISSVES


THE LESS WERE
REGIONS PLANTED
THE CASPIAN SEA
by a ſecond plan:
the parent of the
o afterward inha:
N
ECH the 6. ſonn of
ET peopled CIRACENE
e of ARMENIA the great
MENIA
IOR
TAVRVS
MASIVS MONS.
from this moũtayne of Maſius
to Chalne uppon Euphrates. and
unto Sephar adioyning. dwelt the
ſonns of IOCTAN all but OPHIR
and HAVILAH who inhabited the
east INDIA
TIGRIS
NINIVE
TAMIA
Chalne
ACHAD
IAPHETS ſonns
RABIA
ART
paſſage of MIZAIM into Egipt
CHVDVCA
first CHVSCA where
CHVS ſeated him ſelfe
after ye flood from
Whence the CHVSITES
peopled the three Arabias
HVSITS
ARABIA
into the happy ARABIA
BABEL Wher
NIMROD ſeated him ſelfe
and thence built ACHAD
EREC. CHALNE and
then NINIVE
EREC
SVSAN
ELAM. The eldest ſonn of SEM pos:
ſeſt the regions of PERSIA. and ther:
fore Were thoſe nations firſt called
ELAMITES. but that euer him ſelfe
came into SHINAAR. it is not probable
but that he planted it from the east Wher
the ARKE of NOE reſted after the
flood. as in the deſcription of NOAS
ARKE is expreſſed.
EAST
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CHOA: Wher the iſſues of
SEM as many as came
into Shinaar firſt ſeated
Who by ARPHAXAD
Were afterward the fathers
of the HEBRVES.
THE
PERSIAN SEA
Ormus
SABA the plantation
of SABA or SEBA the
Eldest ſonn of CHVS
SABATHA
the plantation of Sabta
the 3. ſonn of CHVS
RHABNA
RHEGMA
ARABIA THE HAPPIE
BY COLLONIES SENT OVT BY SABA RHEGMA
AND THE REST OF THE SONS OF CHVS WAS
THE REST OF ARABIA THE HAPPIE PEOPLED
SABE REGIA
ADEN

had this mixture of equality (holding in an even ballance ſupreme power and common right) acquired the title of Regall: the other (which had it not) was knowne for Tyrannicall: the one God eſtabliſhed in favour of his people: the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancy of this Regall authority, Princes as they were choſen for their vertues onely, ſo did they meaſure their powers by a great deale of moderation. And therefore (ſaith *Fabius Pictor*) *Principes, quia juſti erant, & religionibus dediti, jure habiti Dii & dicti; Princes becauſe they were juſt and religious, were rightly accounted and called Gods.*

*De aureo ſecul. part.1.*

And though (ſpeaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be aſcribed to Reaſon and Neceſſity; yet it was God himſelfe that firſt kindled this light in the mindes of men, whereby they ſaw that they could not live and be preſerved without a Ruler and Conducter: God himſelfe by his eternall providence having ordained Kings; and the law of Nature Leaders, and Rulers over others: For the very Bees have their Prince; the Deere their Leaders; and Cranes (by order impoſed) watch for their owne ſafety. *The moſt High beareth rule over the Kingdomes of Men; and appointeth over it whomſoever he pleaſeth. By me* (ſaith *Wiſedome*, ſpoken by the Sonne of God) *Kings reigne; By me Princes rule*; and *it is God* (ſaith Daniel) *that ſetteth up Kings, and taketh away Kings.* And that this power is given from God, *Chriſt* himſelfe witneſſeth, ſpeaking to *Pilate*; *Thou couldeſt have no power at all againſt me, except it were given thee from above.*

*Dan.5.21.*
*Prov.8.15.*
*Dan.2.21.*
*John 19.21.*

It was therefore by a threefold Juſtice that the World hath beene governed from the beginning, (to wit) by a Juſtice naturall: by which the Parents and Elders of Families governed their Children, and Nephewes, and Families; in which government the Obedience was called naturall Piety: Againe, by a Juſtice divine, drawne from the Lawes and Ordinances of God; and the Obedience hereunto was called Conſcience: And laſtly, by a Juſtice civill, begotten by both the former; and the Obedience to this we call Duty. That by theſe three thoſe of the eldeſt times were commanded, and that the rule in generall was Paternall, it is moſt evident: for *Adam* being Lord over his owne Children, inſtructed them in the ſervice of God his Creator; as we reade, *Cain* and *Abel* brought Oblations before God, as they had beene taught by their Parent, the Father of Mankinde.

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### † II.

### *Of the three commendable ſorts of Government with their oppoſites: and of the degrees of humane ſociety.*

WHat other Policy was exerciſed, or State founded after ſuch time as mankinde was greatly multiplied before the Floud, it cannot be certainely knowne, though it ſeeme by probable conjecture, that the ſame was not without Kings in that firſt Age: it being poſſible that many Princes of the *Egyptians* (remembred among their antiquities) were before the generall Floud: & very likely, that the cruell Oppreſſions in that Age proceeded from ſome tyranny in Government, or from ſome rougher forme of Rule, than the Paternall.

*Beroſus* aſcribeth the rule of the World in thoſe dayes to the Gyants of *Libanus*, who maſtred (ſaith he) all Nations from the Sun-riſing to the Sun-ſet. But in the ſecond Age of the World, and after ſuch time as the rule of Elderſhip failed, three ſeverall ſorts of Government were in ſeverall times eſtabliſhed among men, according to the divers natures of Places and People.

*Beroſ.lib.*[illegible]

The firſt, the moſt ancient, moſt generall, and moſt approved, was the Government of one, ruling by juſt Lawes, called *Monarchy*: to which *Tyranny* is oppoſed, being alſo a ſole and abſolute Rule, exerciſed according to the will of the Commander, without reſpect or obſervation of the Lawes of God, or Men. For a lawfull Prince or Magiſtrate (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) is the Keeper of Right and Equity: and of this condition ought every Magiſtrate to be, according to the rule of Gods word: *Judges and Officers ſhalt thou make thee in thy Cities: And theſe ſhall judge the people with righteous judgement.*

*Deut.16.1*[illegible]

The ſecond Government is of divers principall Perſons eſtabliſhed by order, and ruling by Lawes, called *Ariſtocracy*, or *Optimatum poteſtas*; to which *Oligarchia* (or the particular faction and uſurpation of a few great-ones) is oppoſed: as the *Decem viri*, or *Triumviri*, and the like.

The third is a State popular, ( or Government of the people ) called *Democratia*, to which is oppoſed *Ochlocratia*, or the turbulent unjuſt ruling of the confuſed multitude, ſeditiouſly ſwaying the State, contrary to their own Lawes and Ordinances. Theſe three kinds of Government are briefly expreſt by *Tholoſanus* ; *unius*, *paucorum*, *& multorum* ; *Of one, of few, of many.*

Now as touching the beginning and order of policy ſince the ſecond increaſe of Mankinde, the ſame grew in this ſort : Firſt of all, every Father, or eldeſt of the Family, gave Lawes to his owne iſſues, and to the people from him and them increaſed. Theſe, as they were multiplied into many Houſholds (man by nature loving ſociety) joyned their Cottages together in one common Field or Village, which the Latins call *Vicus* ; of the *Greeke* οἶκος, which ſignifieth a Houſe, or of the word (*Via*) becauſe it hath divers waies and paths leading to it. And as the firſt Houſe grew into a Village, ſo the Village into that which is called *Pagus*, (being a ſociety of divers Villages ) ſo called of the *Greeke* πηγὴ, which ſignifieth a Fountaine : becauſe many people ( having their habitations not far aſunder) dranke of one Spring or Streame of water. To this word the *Engliſh* Hundreds, or ( as ſome thinke ) Shires, anſwereth not unfitly.

But as men and impiety began to gather ſtrength, and as emulation and pride between the Races of the one and the other daily increaſed : ſo both to defend themſelves from out-rage, and to preſerve ſuch goods as they had gathered, they began to joyne and ſet together divers of their Villages, invironing them firſt with bankes and ditches, and afterwards with wals : which being ſo compaſſed were then called **Oppida** ; either *ab opponendo ſe hoſtibus*, *Becauſe wals were oppoſed againſt Enemies* ; or *ab opibus, becauſe thither they gathered their riches for ſafety and defence* : as alſo they were called *Urbes*, *ab orbe* ; becauſe when they were to build a City, they made a Circle with a Plough (ſaith *Varro*) therewith meaſuring and compaſſing the ground which they went to incloſe or fortifie. And although *Urbs* and *Civitas* be often confounded, yet the difference was anciently in this, that *Urbs* ſignified no other than the very wals & buildings, and *Civitas* was taken for the Citizens, inhabiting therein: ſo called of *Civis*, and that, *ab eo quod multitudo coivit, of comming together*. But all inhabitants within theſe wals are not properly Citizens, but onely ſuch as are called Free-men : who bearing proportionably the charge of the City, may by turnes become Officers and Magiſtrates thereof : the reſt goe under the name of Subjects, though Citizens by the ſame generall name of Subjects are alſo knowne. For every Citizen is alſo a Subject, but not every Subject a Citizen : perhaps alſo ſome Citizen (as the chiefe Magiſtrate, if he be to be termed one of the Citizens ) is no Subject; but of this we neede not ſtand to inquire. The word (Magiſtrate) is taken *à Magiſtro, from a Maſter*, and the word ( Maſter ) from the Adverbe *Magis* ( as alſo *Magiſteria, Precepts of Art* ) or elſe from the *Greeke* word ( *Megiſtos*:) and ſo the *Greekes* call them *Megiſtanes* whom the *Latines* call *Magnates*, or *Magiſtratus*.

*Ethic.5.* The office and duty of every Magiſtrate *Ariſtotle* hath written in few words. *A Magiſtrate or Prince* (ſaith he ) *is the keeper of right and equity* ; but the ſame is beſt taught by Saint *Paul*, who expreſſeth both the cauſe efficient, and finall, ( that is ) by whom Magiſtrates and Princes are ordained, together with their duties and office. *A Magiſtrate is the* *Rom.13.4.* *Miniſter of God for thy wealth ; but if thou doe evill, feare : for he beareth not the ſword for nought. For he is the Miniſter of God, to take vengeance on him that doth evill.* He alſo teacheth in the ſame place ; *Ver.1.* *That every ſoule ought to be ſubject to the higher powers, becauſe* *2.* *they are by God ordained*, and that *whoſoever reſiſteth that power, reſiſteth God*, the giver and fountaine thereof: and ſhall not onely be therefore ſubject to the judgement and condemnation *Ibid.v.5.* of Man, but of God : *For ye muſt be ſubject* ( ſaith he ) *not becauſe of wrath onely, but alſo for conſcience ſake.*

The examples are not to be numbred of Gods puniſhments upon thoſe that have reſiſted Authority, by God ordained and eſtabliſhed. Neither ought any Subject therefore to reſiſt the power of Kings, becauſe they may be taxed with injuſtice or cruelty : for it pleaſeth God ſometimes to puniſh his people by a tyrannous hand : and the Commandement of obedience is without diſtinction. The *Prophets* and *Chriſt* himſelfe ſubjected themſelves to the power of Magiſtracy. *Chriſt* commanded that all due to *Cæſar* ſhould be given unto him : and he payed Tribute for himſelfe and *Peter*. *Hieremy* commanded *Hierem.29.7.* the *Iſraelites* ( even thoſe that were Captives under Heathen Kings ) to pray for them, and *Gen.20.17.& 27.10.* for the peace of *Babylon*. So *Abraham* prayed for *Abimelech* ; and *Jacob* bleſſed the King of *Egypt*: And *it is acceptable in the ſight of our Saviour* (ſaith **Paul**) *that yee make Supplications and Prayers for Kings, and for all that are in authority*: and if for ſuch Kings as were Idolatrous, much more for Chriſtian Kings and Magiſtrates. And ſo much did Saint *Chryſoſtome* in his Homily to the people preferre *Monarchicall* Gouernment, as he rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) than that they ſhould be wanting: *Præſtat Regem tyrannum habere, quàm nullum; Better a tyrannous King, than no King*: to which alſo *Tacitus* ſubſcribeth: *Præſtat* (ſaith *Tacitus* in the firſt of his Hiſtory) *ſub malo principe eſſe quàm nullo*; *It is better to have a bad Prince than none at all*. And be they good Kings (which is generally preſuppoſed) then is there no liberty more ſafe, than to ſerve them: *Neq; enim libertas tutior ulla eſt* (ſaith *Claudian*) *quàm Domino ſervire bono*: *No liberty* (ſaith he) *more ſafe for us than to be ſervants to the vertuous*. And certainely howſoever it may be diſputed, yet is it ſafer to live under one Tyrant, than under 100000. Tyrants: under a wiſe man that is cruell, than under the fooliſh and barbarous cruelty of the multitude. For as *Ageſilaus* anſwered as Citizen of *Sparta* that deſired an alteration of the Government, That kinde of rule which a man would diſdaine in his owne houſe, were very unfit to governe great Regions by.

Laſtly, as many Fathers erected many Cottages for their many children: and as (for the reaſon before remembred) many Houſholds joyned themſelves together, and made Villages; many Villages made Cities: ſo when theſe Cities and Citizens joyned together, and eſtabliſhed Lawes by conſent, aſſociating themſelves under one Governour, and Government; they ſo joyned, were called a Commonwealth: the ſame being ſometimes governed by Kings; ſometimes by Magiſtrates; ſometimes by the people themſelves.

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## §. III.

## *Of the good Government of the firſt Kings.*

NOw this firſt Age after the Floud, and after ſuch time as the people were increaſed and the Families became ſtrong and diſperſed into ſeverall parts of the World, was by ancient Hiſtorians called Golden: Ambition and Covetouſneſſe being as then but greene, and newly growne up, the ſeeds and effects whereof were as yet but potentiall, and in the blowth and bud. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then ſought for no larger Territory than themſelves could compaſſe and manure: they erected no other magnificent buildings, than ſufficient to defend them from cold and tempeſt: they cared for no other delicacy of fare, or curioſity of dyet, than to maintaine life: nor for any other apparrell, than to cover them from the cold, the Raine and the Sunne.

And ſure if we underſtand by that Age (which was called Golden) the ancient ſimplicity of our Fore-fathers, this name may then truly be caſt upon thoſe elder times: but if it be taken otherwiſe, then, whether the ſame may be attributed more to any one time than to another, (I meane to one limited time and none elſe) it may be doubted. For good and Golden Kings make good and Golden Ages: and all times have brought forth of both ſorts. And as the infancy of Empirie, (when Princes plaied their Prizes, and did then only woo men to obedience) might be called the Golden Age: ſo may the beginning of all Princes times be truely called Golden. For be it that men affect honour, it is then beſt purchaſed; or if honour affect men, it is then that good deſervings have commonly the leaſt impediments: and if ever Liberality overflow her banks and bounds, the ſame is then beſt warranted both by policy and example. But Age and Time doe not onely harden and ſhrinke the openeſt and moſt *Joviall* hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it, layeth Princes torne eſtates before their eyes, and (withall) perſwadeth them to compaſſionate themſelves. And although there be no Kings under the Sunne whoſe meanes are anſwerable unto other mens deſires; yet ſuch as value all things by their owne reſpects, doe no ſooner finde their appetites unanſwered, but they complaine of alteration, and account the times injurious and yron. And as this falleth out in the Reigne of every King, ſo doth it in the life of every man, if his dayes be many: for our younger yeares are our Golden Age; which being eaten up by time, we praiſe thoſe ſeaſons which our youth accompained: and (indeed) the greivous alterations in our ſelves, and the paines and diſeaſes which never part from us but at the grave

make,

Tacit. in Dial. de Orat.

Eccleſ. 7.

Arnob. lib. 2.

Wiſd. 6. 7.

make the times ſeeme ſo differing and diſpleaſing: eſpecially the quality of mans nature being alſo ſuch, as it adoreth and extolleth the paſſages of the former, and condemneth the preſent ſtate how juſt ſoever: *Fit humanæ malignitatis vitio, ut ſemper vetera in laude, præſentia in faſtidio ſint*; *It comes to paſſe* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *by the vice of our malignity, that we alwayes extoll the time paſt, and hold the preſent faſtidious*: For it is one of the errours of wayward Age: *Quod ſint laudatores temporis acti*; *That they are praiſers of fore-paſſed times*, forgetting this advice of *Salomon*: *Say not then, Why is it that the former dayes were better then theſe? for thou doeſt not inquire wiſely of this thing*: to which purpoſe *Seneca*; *Majores noſtri queſti ſunt, & nos querimur poſteri querentur, everſos eſſe mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum & in omne nefas labi*: *Our Anceſters have complained, we doe complaine, our children will complaine, that good manners are gone, that wickedneſſe doth reigne, and all things grow worſe and worſe, and fall into all evill.* Theſe are uſuall the diſcourſes of Age and Misfortune. But hereof what can we adde to this of *Arnobius*? *Nova res quandoq; vetus fiet, & vetus temporibus: quibus cœpit nova fuit & repentina*: *Whatſoever is new, in time ſhall be made old: and the ancienteſt things when they tooke beginning were alſo new and ſodaine.* Wherefore not to ſtand in much admiration of theſe firſt times, which the diſcontentment of preſent times have made Golden, this we may ſet downe for certaine, That as it was the vertue of the firſt Kings, which (after God) gave them Crowns; ſo the love of their people thereby purchaſed, held the ſame Crownes on their heads. And as God gave the obedience of Subjects to Princes: ſo (relatively) he gave the care and juſtice of Kings to the Subjects; having reſpect, not onely to the Kings themſelves, but even to the meaneſt of his Creatures: *Nunquam particulari bono ſervit omne bonum*; *The infinite goodneſſe of God doth not attend any one onely*: for he that made the ſmall and great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which Kings have of all theirs, which makes them beloved of all theirs; and by a generall love it is, that Princes hold a generall obedience: For, *Poteſtas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum*: *All humane power is rooted in the will or diſpoſitions of men.*

### §. IV.

### *Of the beginning of Nobility: and of the vaine vaunt thereof without vertue.*

Verus nobilis non naſcitur ſed fit.

AND with this Supreme Rule and Kingly authority began alſo other degrees and differences among Subjects. For Princes made election of others by the ſame Rule, by which themſelves were choſen; unto whom they gave place, truſt, and power. From which imployments and Offices ſprung thoſe Titles, and thoſe degrees of Honour, which have continued from Age to Age to theſe dayes. But this Nobility, or difference from the Vulgar, was not in the beginning given to the Succeſſion of Bloud, but to Succeſſion of Vertue, as hereafter may be proved. Though at length it was ſufficient for thoſe whoſe Parents were advanced, to be knowne for the Sonnes of ſuch Fathers: and ſo there needed then no endevour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excell, upon whom glory or worldly Nobility neceſſarily deſcended. Yet hereof had Nobility denomination in the beginning, That ſuch as excelled others in vertue, were ſo called: *Hinc dictus Nobilis, quaſi virtute præ aliis notabilis.* But after ſuch time as the deſerved Honour of the Father was given in reward to his Poſterity, Saint *Hierome* judged of the Succeſſion in this manner: *Nihil aliud video in Nobilitate appetendum, niſi quod Nobiles quadam neceſſitate conſtringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent*; *I ſee no other thing to be affected in Nobility, than that Noblemen are by a kinde of neceſſity bound, not to degenerate from the vertue of their Anceſtors* For if Nobility be *Virtus & antiquæ divitiæ*; *Vertue and ancient riches*, then to exceed in all thoſe things which are *extra hominem*, as riches, power, glory, and the like, doe no otherwiſe define Nobility, than the word (*animal*) alone doth define a reaſonable man. Or if honour (according to *L. Vives*) bee a witneſſe of vertue and well-doing: and Nobility (after *Plutarch*) the continuance of vertue in a Race or Linage: then are thoſe in whom Vertue is extinguiſhed, but like unto painted and printed Papers, which ignorant men worſhip inſtead of *Chriſt*, our *Lady*, and other *Saints*: men in whom there remaine but the dregs and vices of ancient Vertue: Flowers, and Herbes, which by change of ſoile and want of manuring are turned to Weedes. For what is found praiſe-worthy in thoſe waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountaines, if in all the reſt of their courſe they run foule, filthy, and defiled? *Ex terra fertili producitur aliquando Cicuta venenoſa, & ex terra ſterili pretioſum aurum; Out of fruitfull ground ariſeth ſometimes poyſoning Henbane, and out of barren ſoyle precious Gold.* For as all things conſiſt of matter and forme, ſo doth *Charron* (in his Chapter of Nobilitie) call the Race and Linage but the matter of Nobilitie: the forme (which gives life and perfect being) he maketh to be Vertue, and Qualitie, profitable to the common-weale. For he is truely and entirely Noble, who maketh a ſingular profeſſion of publike Vertue, ſerving his Prince and Countrie, and being deſcended of Parents and Anceſtors that have done the like. And although that Nobilitie, which the ſame Authour calleth perſonall, (the ſame which our ſelves acquire by our Vertue and well deſervings) cannot be ballanced with that which is both naturall by Deſcent, and alſo perſonall; yet if Vertue be wanting to the naturall, then is the perſonall and acquired Nobilitie by many degrees to be preferred: For (ſaith *Charron*) this Honour (to wit) by Deſcent, may light upon ſuch a one, as in his owne nature is a true Villaine. There is alſo a third Nobilitie which he calleth Nobilitie in Parchment, bought with Silver or Favour: and theſe be indeed but Honours of affection, which Kings with the change of their fancies wiſh they knew wel how to wipe off againe. But ſurely if we had as much ſenſe of our degenerating in worthineſſe, as we have of vanitie in deriving our ſelves of ſuch and ſuch Parents, we ſhould rather know ſuch Nobilitie (without Vertue) to be ſhame and diſhonour, than Nobleneſſe and glory to vaunt thereof. *What calamitie is wanting* (ſaith *Bernard*) *to him that is borne in ſinne, of a Potſhare body and barren minde?* for (according to the ſame Father) *Dele fucum fugacis honoris hujus, & male coronatæ nitorem gloriæ, &c. Wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of the ill-crowned glory, that then thou maieſt conſider thy ſelfe nakedly: for thou cameſt naked out of thy Mothers wombe. Cameſt thou thence with thy Mytre, or gliſtering with Jewels, or garniſhed with Silkes, or adorned with Feathers, or ſtuffed with Gold? If thou ſcatter and blow away all theſe by thy conſideration as certain morning clouds, which doe or will ſoone paſſe over, thou ſhalt meet with a naked, and poore, and wretched and miſerable man, and bluſhing, becauſe he is naked, and weeping, becauſe he is borne, and repining, becauſe he is borne to labour, and not to honour.*

Pint. in Ezech.

Bernar. l. 2. de Conſider. ad Eugen. Pap.

For, as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference betweene it and duſt: which if *thou doſt not beleeve* (ſaith S. Chryſoſtome) *looke into the Sepulchres & Monuments of thy Anceſtors, and they ſhall eaſily perſwade thee by their owne example, that thou art duſt and dirt: ſo that if man ſeem more Noble and beautifull than duſt, this proceedeth not from the diverſitie of his Nature, but from the cunning of his Creatour.*

Chryſ. hom. 2. l. de incompoſita Dei natura. con. 5.

For true Nobilitie ſtandeth in the Trade
Of vertuous life; not in the fleſhly Line:
For bloud is brute, but Gentry is Divine.

Phaer.

And howſoever the cuſtome of the World have made it good, that Honours be caſt by birth upon unworthy Iſſues: yet *Solomon* (as wiſe as any King) reprehendeth the ſame in his Felllow-Princes: *There is an evill* (ſaith he) *that I have ſeene under the Sun, as an errour that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth: Folly is ſet in great excellencie.*

Eccleſ. 10.

# CHAP. X.

## Of Nimrod, Belus, *and* Ninus: *and of memorable things about thoſe times.*

### §. I.

*That* Nimrod *was the firſt after the Floud that reigned like a Soveraigne Lord: and that his beginning ſeemeth to have beene of juſt authoritie.*

THe firſt of all that reigned as Soveraigne Lord after the Floud was *Nimrod*, the Sonne of *Chuſh*, diſtinguiſhed by *Moſes* from the reſt (according to Saint *Auguſtine*) in one of theſe two reſpects: either for his eminencie, and becauſe hee was the firſt of fame, and that tooke on him to command others: or elſe in that hee was begotten by *Chuſh*, after his other children were alſo become Fathers; and of a later time than ſome of his Grand-children and Nephewes. Howſoever, ſeeing *Moſes* in expreſſe words calleth *Nimrod* the Sonne of *Chuſh*, other mens conjectures to the contrary ought to have no reſpect.

This Empirie of *Nimrod*, both the Fathers and many later Writers call tyrannical: the ſame beginning in *Babel*, (which is) confuſion. But it ſeemeth to me that *Melanchton* conceived not amiſſe hereof: the ſame expoſition being alſo made by the Author of that worke called *Onomaſticum Theologicum*, who affirmes that *Nimrod* was therefore called *Amarus Dominator*, *A bitter or ſevere Governour*, becauſe his forme of rule ſeemed at firſt farre more terrible than Paternall authority. And therefore is he in this reſpect alſo called *a mightie Hunter*: becauſe he tooke and deſtroyed both Beaſts & Theeves. But Saint *Auguſtine* underſtands it otherwiſe, and converts the word (*ante*) by (*contra*) affirming therein, that *Nimrod* was a mightie Hunter againſt God: *Sic ergo intelligendus eſt Gigas ille, Venator contra Dominum*; *So is that Giant to be underſtood*, *a Hunter againſt the Lord.*

But howſoever this word (*a mightie Hunter*) be underſtood; yet it rather appeareth, that as *Nimrod* had the command of all thoſe, which went with him from the Eaſt into *Shinaar*: ſo, this charge was rather given him, than by him uſurped. For it no where is found, that *Noah* himſelfe, or any of the Sonnes of his owne body came with this troup into *Babylon*: no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the yeeres of his life excepted) in the ſucceeding Story of the *Hebrewes*; nor that *Sem* was in this diſobedient troup or among the builders of *Babel.*

The ſame is alſo confirmed by divers ancient Hiſtorians, that *Nimrod*, *Suphne*, and *Joctan* were the Captaines and Leaders of all thoſe which came from the Eaſt. And though *Sem* came not himſelfe ſo farre Weſt as *Shinaar* (his lot being caſt on the Eaſt parts) yet from his Sonnes Nephew *Heber*, the name and Nation of the *Hebrewes* (according to the generall opinion) tooke beginning, who inhabited the Southermoſt parts of *Chaldæa*, about the Citie of *Ur*; from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charran*, and thence into *Canaan.*

And becauſe thoſe of the Race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldæa*, were no partners in the unbeleeving worke of the Tower: therefore (as many of the Fathers conjecture) did they retaine the firſt and moſt ancient language, which the Fathers of the firſt Age had left to *Noah*; and *Noah* to *Sem* and his Iſſues: *In familia* Heber *remanſit hæc lingua*; *In the Family of* Heber *this Language remained* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine* out of *Epiphanius*;) and this Language *Abraham* uſed; yea, it was anciently and before the Floud the generall ſpeech: and therefore firſt called (ſaith *Cæleſtinus*) *lingua humana*: *the humane tongue.*

We know that *Goropius Becanus* following *Theodoret*, *Rabbi Moſes*, *Ægyptius*, *Vergara*, and others, is of another opinion; but howſoever we determine of this point, we may with good probability reſolve, that none of the godly ſeed of *Sem* were the chiefe Leaders of this preſumptuous multitude. And ſeeing it is not likely but that ſome one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by juſt authoritie, than violence of uſurpation.

## §. II.

### *That* Nimrod, Belus, *and* Ninus *were three diſtinct perſons.*

BENZO, and out of him *Nauclerus*, with others, make many *Nimrods*, *Euſebius* confounds him with *Belus*, and ſo doth Saint *Hierome* upon *Oſe*; and theſe words of S. *Auguſtine* ſeeme to make him of the ſame opinion: *Ibi autem* Ninus *regnabat poſt mortem patris ſui* Beli, *qui primus illic regnaverat 65. annos*; *There did* Ninus *reigne after the death of his Father* Belus, *who firſt governed in Babylon ſixtie five yeeres.* But it could not be unknowne to Saint *Auguſtine*, that *Nimrod* was the eſtabliſher of that Empire: *Moſes* being plaine and direct therein. *For the beginning of* Nimrods *Kingdome* (ſaith he) *was Babel, Erec, Accad, and Chalne, in the Land of Shinaar*; wherefore *Nimrod* was the firſt King of *Babel*. And certainly it beſt agreeth with reaſon, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) ſuppoſed: for in *Ninus* time the World was marvellouſly repleniſhed. And if S. *Auguſtine* had undoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would have given him the name which the Scriptures give him, rather than have borrowed any thing out of prophane Authors. And for thoſe words of S. *Auguſtine* (*qui primus illic regnaverat*; *Who was the firſt that reigned there*) ſuppoſed to be meant by *Belus*: thoſe words doe not diſprove that *Nimrod* was the Founder of the *Babylonian* Empire. For although *Julius Cæſar* overthrew the liberty of the *Romane* commonwealth, making himſelfe perpetuall *Dictator*, yet *Auguſtus* was the firſt eſtabliſhed Emperor: and the firſt that reigned abſolutely by ſoveraigne authority over the *Romans*, as an Emperour.

The like may be ſaid of *Nimrod*, that he firſt brake the rule of Elderſhip and Paternity, laying the foundation of ſoveraigne Rule, as *Cæſar* did; and yet *Belus* was the firſt, who peaceably, and with a generall allowance exerciſed ſuch a power. *Pererius* is of opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the ſame, becauſe many things are ſaid of them both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. yeeres after the floud (as they account) that *Belus* reigned; but ſuch agreement of times proves it not. For ſo *Edward* the third, and his grand-child *Richard* the ſecond, were kings both in one yeere: the one dyed; the other in the ſame yeere was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one) is far more probable than that of *Mercator*; who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the ſame. For it is plaine that the beginning of *Nimrods* Kingdom was *Babel*, and the Towns adjoyning: but the firſt and moſt famous worke of *Ninus* was the City of *Nineve*.

Now whereas *D. Siculus* affirmeth, that *Ninus* overcame and ſuppreſt the *Babylonians*, the ſame rather proveth the contrarie, than that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one perſon. For *Ninus* eſtabliſhed the ſeate of his Empire at *Nineve* in *Aſſyria*, whence the *Babylonians* might (perchance) in diſdaine thereof fall from his obedience, whom hee recovered againe by ſtrong hand; which was eaſie: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis* time.

——*Dicitur altam*
*Coctilibus muris cinxiſſe* Semiramis *Urbem.*

*Semiramis* with wals of bricke the Citie did incloſe.

Further, where it is alledged, that as the Scriptures call *Nimrod* mightie: ſo *Juſtine* hath the ſame of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercators* arguments; It may be anſwered, that ſuch an addition might have beene given to many other Kings aſwell. For if wee may beleeve *Juſtine*; then were *Vexoris* King of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, mighty Kings before *Ninus* was borne. And if we may compare the words of *Moſes* (touching *Nimrod*) with the undertakings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference betweene them.

For whereas *Mercator* conceiveth, that it was too early for any that lived about the time of the confuſion of languages, to have invaded and maſtered thoſe Cities ſo far removed from *Babel*, namely, *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*: which worke he therefore aſcribeth to *Ninus*, as a man of the greateſt undertaking; and conſequently would have *Nimrod* to have beene long after the time, in which we ſuppoſe he flouriſhed; and both thoſe names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one perſon, to wit, to *Ninus*: to theſe things to make ſome anſwer. Firſt, I doe not find that ſuppoſition true, That ever *Nimrod* invaded any of theſe Cities; but that he founded them and built them from the ground, being the firſt after the floud, that conducted the children of *Noah* into thoſe parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

Beſides, whereas theſe Cities in many mens opinions are found to ſtand far away from *Babylon*, I finde no reaſon to bring me to that beleefe. The Citie of *Accad*, which the *Septuagint* cals *Archard*; & *Epiphanius*, *Arphal*; *Junius* takes it to be *Niſibis* in *Meſopotamia*: for the Region thereabout the Coſmographers (ſaith he) call *Accabene* for *Accadene*. Others underſtand *Niſibis* and *Nineve* to be one City: ſo doe *Strabo* and *Stephanus* confound it with *Charran*, but all miſtaken. For *Niſibis*, *Accad*, and *Charran* are diſtinct places. Though I cannot deny *Accedene* to be a Region of *Meſopotamia*, the ſame which *Arias Montanus* out of S. *Hierome* calls *Achad:* and ſo doe the *Hebrewes* alſo call *Niſibis*, which ſeemeth to be the cauſe of this miſtaking. As for the City of *Erec*, which the *Septuagint* call *Orech*; S. *Auguſtine Oreg*, and *Pagninus*, *Erec*, this place *Junius* underſtands for *Aracca* in *Suſiana*: but there is alſo a City in *Camagena* called *Arace*: and indeed likelihood of name is no certaine proofe, without the aſſiſtance of other circumſtances.

Concerning the third City (called *Chalneh*) ſome take it for *Caliniſis*: of which *Am.* Lib.23. *Marcellinus*. S. *Hierome* takes it for *Seleucia*; *Hieroſolymitanus* for *Cteſiphon*: others doe thinke it to be the *Agrani* upon *Euphrates*, deſtroyed and razed by the *Perſians*. But let *Moſes* be the Moderator and Judge of this diſpute, who teacheth us directly, that theſe Cities are not ſeated in ſo divers and diſtant Regions; for theſe be his words: *And the beginning of his Kingdome* (ſpeaking of *Nimrod*) *was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Chalneh in the Land of Shinaar*: ſo as in the Valley of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldæa* (being all one) we muſt finde them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) thinke with *Viterbienſis*, that theſe foure made but one *Babylon*, than that they were Cities farre removed, and in ſeverall provinces, did not the Prophet *Amos* preciſely diſtinguiſh *Chalne* from *Babylon*. Cap.6.v.2. *Goe you* (ſaith *Amos*) *to Chalne, and from thence goe you to Hamath, and then to Gath of the Philiſtims*. The *Geneva* tranſlation favouring the former opinion, to ſet theſe Cities out of *Shinaar*, hath a marginall note expreſſing that *Shinaar* was here named, not that all theſe Cities were therein ſeated, but to diſtinguiſh *Babylon* of *Chaldæ*, from *Babylon* in *Egypt*: but I find little ſubſtance in that conceit. For ſure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrods* Empire there was no ſuch *Babylon*, nor any City at all to be found in *Egypt*: *Babylon* of *Egypt* being all one with the great City of *Cairo*, which was built long after, not farre from the place where ſtood *Memphis* the ancient City, but not ſo ancient as *Babylon* upon *Euphrates*. Now that *Chalne* is ſituate in the Valley of *Shinaar*, it hath been formerly proved in the Chapter of *Paradiſe*. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote ſituation of theſe three Cities from *Babylon*, we may continue in our opinion, That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, were diſtinct and ſucceſſive Kings.

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## §. III.

### *That* Nimrod, *not* Aſſur, *built Nineve: and that it is probable out of* Eſay 23.13. *that* Aſſur *built Ur of the Chaldees.*

NOw as of *Nimrod*: ſo are the opinions of Writers different touching *Aſſur*, and touching the beginning of that great ſtate of *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*: a controverſie weariſomely diſputed without any direct proofe, concluſion, or certainty. But to me (of whom, where the Scriptures are ſilent, the voyce of Reaſon hath the beſt hearing) the interpretation of *Junius* is moſt agreeable; who beſides all neceſſary conſequence doth not diſ-joyne the ſenſe of the Scriptures therein, nor confuſe the underſtanding thereof. For in this ſort he converteth the *Hebrew* Text: *Erat enim principium regni ejus Babel, & Erech, & Accad, & Chalneh, in terra Shinaaris: è terra hac proceſſit in Aſſyriam, ubi ædificavit Nineven*; (which is) *For the beginning of his Kingdome was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Chalneh, in the land of Shinaar: and hee went forth of this land into Aſſyria, and built Nineve.* So as *Junius* takes *Aſſur* in this place, not for any perſon, but for the Region of *Aſſyria*: the land being ſo called in *Moſes* time, and before it. For certainly, the other conſtruction, (where the word *Aſſur* is taken for *Aſſur* the ſonne of *Sem*) doth not anſwer the order which *Moſes* obſerveth through all the Bookes of *Geneſis*, but is quite contrary unto it. For in the beginning of the tenth Chapter he ſetteth downe the ſonnes of *Noah*, in theſe words: *Now theſe are the Generations of the Sonnes of* Noah: Sem, Ham, *and* Japheth, *unto whom ſonnes were borne after the floud:* then it followeth immediately: *The ſonnes of* Japheth *were* Gomer, *&c.* ſo as *Japheth* is laſt named among *Noahs* ſonnes, be he eldeſt or youngeſt: becauſe he was firſt to be ſpoken of: with whom (having laſt named him) he proceedes and ſets downe his iſſue, and then the iſſue of his ſonnes: firſt, the iſſue of *Gomer*, *Japhets* eldeſt ſonne; and then ſpeakes of *Javan* and his ſonnes: for of the reſt of that Familie he is ſilent. Anon after he numbreth the ſonnes of *Ham*, of which *Chuſh* was the eldeſt: and then the ſons of *Chuſh* and *Mizraim*; and afterward of *Canaan*; leaving *Shem* for the laſt, becauſe he would not diſ-joyne the Storie of the *Hebrewes*. But after he beginneth with *Sem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphaxad*, *Shela*, and *Heber*, unto *Abraham*, and ſo to *Jacob*, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to have brought in one of the ſonnes of *Shem* in the middle of the generations of *Ham*, had beene againſt order; neither would *Moſes* have paſt over ſo ſleightly the erection of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, in one of the ſonnes of *Shem*, if he had had any ſuch meaning: it being the ſtorie of *Shems* ſonnes which he moſt attended. For he nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the reſt of the ſonnes of *Chuſh*, becauſe he founded the *Babylonian* and *Aſſyrian* Empire: and in the eleventh Chapter he returnes to ſpeak of the building of *Babel* in particular, having formerly named it in the tenth Chapter, with thoſe other Cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinaar*. And as he did in the tenth Chapter, ſo alſo in the eleventh hee maketh no report of *Shem*, till ſuch time as he had finiſhed ſo much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then he beginneth with the iſſue of *Shem*, which he continueth to *Abraham* and *Iſrael*. And of *Junius* opinion touching *Aſſur*, was *Calvin*: to which I conceive that *P. Comeſtor, in hiſtoria Scholaſtica*, gave an entrance, who after he had delivered this place in ſome other ſenſe, he uſeth theſe words: *Vel intelligendum non eſt de* Aſſur *filio* Sem, *&c. ſed* Aſſur *(id eſt, Regnum Aſſyriorum) inde egreſſum eſt, quod tempore* Sarug *proavi* Abrahami *factum eſt*; (which is) *Or elſe it is not to be underſtood of* Aſſur *the ſonne of* Sem, *&c. but* Aſſur *(that is, the Kingdome of the Aſſyrians) came from thence (videlicet, from Babylon) or was made out of it: which happened in the time of* Sarug *the great grand-father of* Abraham. After which he reconcileth the difference in this ſort: If you take the ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the firſt Erecter of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, or the firſt Founder thereof, it is true, *Quantum ad initium*; *Reſpecting the beginning*; but others conceive that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is alſo true, *Quantum ad regni ampliationem*; *Regarding the enlargement of the Empire*. To this I may adde the opinion of *Epiphanius*, confirmed by *Cedrenus*, who takes *Aſſur* to be the ſonne of *Nimrod*: and ſo doe doth *Methodius*, and *Viterbienſis*, Saint *Hierome*, and *Cyrillus*, and now laſtly *Torniellus*: who (ſaith he) tooke upon him that name of *Aſſur* after he had beaten the *Aſſyrians*, as *Scipio* did of *Africanus*, after his conqueſt in *Africa*: and that *Aſſur* was a common name to the Kings of *Aſſyria*, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as *Pſalme* 81. *Eſay* 10. *Oſe* 5. *&c.* but to helpe the matter, he makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Shem*, and the ſonne of *Irari*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was Arch-biſhop of *Mentz* in the yeere of *Chriſt* 854. an ancient and learned Writer, underſtands this place with *Commeſtor*, or *Commeſtor* with him, agreeing in ſubſtance with that tranſlation of *Junius*: to which words of *Moſes* he giveth this ſenſe: *De hac terra Aſſyriorum pullulavit imperium, qui ex nomine* Nini, Beli *filii, Ninum condiderunt, urbem magnam, &c. Out of this land grew the Empire of the Aſſyrians, who built Ninus the great Citie, ſo named of* Ninus *the ſonne of* Belus. On the contrarie *Calvin* objecteth this place of *Eſay*: *Behold the land of the Chaldæans, this was no people,* Aſſur *founded it by the inhabitants of the Wilderneſſe*, than which there is no one place in the Scriptures, that hath a greater diverſitie in the tranſlation and underſtanding; inſomuch as *Michael de Palatio* upon *Eſay* (though in all elſe very diligent) paſſeth it over. But *Calvin* ſeemeth hereby to inferre, that becauſe *Aſſur* founded the ſtate of the *Caldæans*, therfore alſo *Aſſur* rather than *Nimrod* eſtabliſhed the *Aſſyrian* Empire, and built *Nineve*: contrary to the former tranſlation of *Junius*, and to his owne opinion. Now out of the *Vulgar* (called *Hieromes* tranſlation) it may be gathered that *Aſſur* both founded and ruined this Eſtate or City of the *Chaldæans*, by *Eſay* remembred: unto which Citie, People, or State, he plainly telleth the *Tyrians* that they cannot truſt, or hope for reliefe thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this Citie of *Chaldæa*, and that Eſtate, an example unto thoſe *Phœnicians*, whom in this place he fore-telleth of their ruine: which Citie of *Chaldæa* being of ſtrength, and carefully defended, was (notwithſtanding) by the *Aſſyrians* utterly waſted and deſtroyed: whereby he giveth them knowledge, and foretelleth them, that their owne Citie of *Tyre* (invincible, as themſelves thought) ſhould alſo ſoone after be over-turned by the ſame *Aſſyrians*: as (indeed) it was by *Nabuchodonoſor*. And theſe be the words after *Hierome*: *Ecce terra Chaldæorum, talis popolus non fuit,* Aſſur *fundavit eam, in captivitatem traduxerunt robuſtos ejus, ſuffoderunt domos ejus, poſuerunt eam in ruinam,* (which is)

*Torniel. Annal. ſacr in Gen. 10.*

23. 13.

*Behold the land of the Chaldæans, ſuch a people there were not* (or, *this was no people*, after the *Geneva*) *Aſſur* (or the *Aſſyrians*) *founded it, they carryed away their ſtrong men captive, they undermined their houſes, and ruined their Citie.* The *Septuagint* expreſſe it but in a part of another Verſe, in theſe words: *Et in terra Chaldæorum, & hæc deſolata eſt ab Aſſyriis, quoniam murus ejus corruit*, making the ſenſe perfect by the preceding Verſe, which all together may be thus underſtood: *If thou goe over to Chittim* (which is *Macedon* or *Greece*) *yet thou ſhalt not reſt* (ſpeaking to the *Tyrians*) *neither in the Land of the Chaldæans, for this is made deſolate by the Aſſyrians, becauſe their wals fell together to the ground. Pagninus* and *Vatablus* convert it thus: *Ecce terra Chaſdiim, iſte populus non erat illic olim; nam* Aſſur *fundavit eam navibus, erexerunt arces illius; contriverunt ædes ejus, poſuit eam in ruinam*: which may be thus Engliſhed: *Behold the Land of the Chaldæans, this people was not once therein inhabiting: for* Aſſur *built it a harbour for ſhips, they erected the Towers thereof; and againe brake downe the houſes thereof, and ruinated it. Junius* in the place of ſhips ſets the word *(pro Barbaris)* that is, *for the Barbarians*: and the *Geneva, by the Barbarians*. But this is undoubted that the Prophet *Eſay* (as may be gathered by all the ſenſe of the Chapter) did therein aſſure the *Tyrians* of their future deſtruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terrour) he maketh choice to note the calamities of thoſe Places, Cities, and Regions, by whoſe Trade the ſtate and greatneſſe of the *Tyrians* was maintained; as by the *Cilicians from Tharſis*; from the *Macedonians*, and other *Grecians* under the name of *Cittim*; alſo by the *Egyptians*, the *Chaldæans*, and the reſt. For *Tyre* was then the Mart Towne of the World moſt renowned. And (as it appeares in our diſcourſe of *Paradiſe*) not the leaſt part of her chiefe merchandize came in by the Citie *Ur* or *Urchoa* in *Chaldæa*, where the body or chiefe ſtreame of *Euphrates* (even that ſtream which runneth through *Babylon* and *Otris*, which now falleth into *Tygris*) had his paſſage into the *Perſian Gulfe*: though now it be ſtopped up. For (as we have heretofore noted) the *Arabians* (that deſcended from *Sheba* and *Raamah*) dwelling on the eaſt bankes of the *Perſian Gulfe*, trading with the *Tyrians* (as thoſe of *Eden, Charran*, and *Chalne* did) tranſported their merchandize by the mouth of *Tygris*, that is, from *Teredon*; & of *Euphrates*, that is, from *Ur* or *Urchoa*: and then by *Babylon*, and thence by River and over Land they conveyed it into *Syria*, and ſo to *Tyre*: as they doe this day to *Aleppo*. So then *Ur* of the *Chaldees* was a Port Towne, and one of thoſe Cities which had Intelligence, Trade, and Exchange with the *Tyrians*: for it ſtood by the great Lakes of *Chaldæa*, through which that part of *Euphrates* ran, which paſſage is now ſtopt up. *Ejus curſum vetuſtas abolevit* (ſaith *Niger*.) And *Plinie: Locus ubi Euphratis oſtium fuit, flumen ſalſum; Time hath worne away the Channell of Euphrates: the place where the mouth thereof was, is a Bay of ſalt water.* Theſe things being thus, certainly (not without good probabilitie) we may expound the Citie of the *Chaldees*, whoſe calamities *Eſay* here noteth for terror of the *Tyrians*, to be the Citie anciently called *Ur*; and (by *Hecatæus*) *Camerina*; by *Ptolomie, Urchoa*: and by the *Greeks, Chaldæopolis, The Citie of Chaldæa*: which the ſonnes of *Shem*, untill *Abrahams* time inhabited. And whereas in all the Tranſlations it is ſaid, that *Aſſur* both founded it and ruined it: it may be underſtood, that *Aſſur* the Founder was the ſonne of *Shem*; and *Aſſur* the deſtroyers were the *Aſſyrians*, by whom thoſe that inhabited *Ur* of *Chaldæa*, were at length oppreſſed and brought to ruine: which thing God foreſeeing, commanded *Abraham* thence to *Carran*, and ſo into *Canaan*. And if the *Hebrew* word by *Vatablus* and *Pagninus* converted (*by ſhips*) doe beare that ſenſe, the ſame may be the better approved; becauſe it was a Port Towne: and the River ſo farre up as this Citie of *Ur* was in ancient time navigable, as both by *Plinie* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word (*for the Barbarians*) or (*by the Barbarians*) be alſo in the *Hebrew* Text, it is no leſſe manifeſt, that the moſt barbarous *Arabians* of the Deſart were and are the confronting, and next people of all other unto it. For *Chaldæa* is now called *Arachaldar*, which ſignifieth deſart Lands, becauſe it joyneth to that part of *Arabia* ſo called: and *Cicero* (calling thoſe *Arabians* by the name of *Ituræans*) addeth, that they are of all other people the moſt ſalvage; calling them, *Homines omnium maxime barbaros*.

So as this place of *Eſay*, which breedeth ſome doubt in *Calvin*, proveth in nothing the contrarie opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former tranſlation of *Junius*, nor the interpretation of *Comeſtor* and *Rabanus*. For though other men have not conceived (for any thing that I have read) that *Aſſur* is in this place diverſly taken (as for the ſonne of *Sem*, when he is ſpoken of as a Builder of *Ur*; and when as a Deſtroyer thereof, then for the *Aſſyrian* Nation) yet certainely the evidence of the truth, and agreement of circumſtances ſeeme to enforce it. And ſo this Founding of the Citie of the *Chaldees* by *Aſſur* (into which the moſt of the poſterity of *Sem* that came into *Shinaar*, and were ſeparate for the Idolatrie of the *Chuſites* and *Nimrodians*, retired themſelves) hath nothing in it to prove that the ſame *Aſſur* built *Nineve*, or that the ſame *Aſſur* was all one with *Ninus*; except we will make *Aſſur*, who was the ſonne of *Shem*, both an Idolater, and the ſonne of *Belus*. For (out of doubt) *Ninus* was the firſt notorious ſacrificer to Idols; and the firſt that ſet up a Statue or Image to be honoured as God. Now if *Aſſur* muſt be of that Race, and not of the Familie of *Sem*, as he muſt be if he founded *Nineve*, then all thoſe which ſeeke to give him the honour thereof, doe him by a thouſand parts more injurie, by taking from him his true Parent and Religion.

Beſides, if this ſuppoſed *Aſſur* whom they make the Founder of *Nineve* (and ſo the ſonne of *Belus*) were any other, and not the ſame with *Ninus*; then what became of him? Certainely he was very unworthy and obſcure, and not like to be the Founder of ſuch an Empire and ſuch a Citie, if no man have vouchſafed to leave to poſterity his expulſion thence, and how he loſt that Empire againe, or quitted it to *Ninus*: whoſe acts and conqueſts are ſo largely written, and (according to my apprehenſion) farre differing from truth. It will therefore be found beſt agreeing to Scripture and to Reaſon, and beſt agreeing with the ſtory of that age written by prophane Authors, that *Nimrod* founded *Babel*, *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalne*, the firſt workes and beginnings of his Empire, according to *Moſes*; and that theſe workes being finiſhed within the Valley of *Shinaar*, he looked farther abroad, and ſet in hand the worke of *Ninus*, lying neere unto the ſame ſtreame that *Babel* and *Chalne* did: which work his grand-child *Ninus* afterward amplified and finiſhed, as *Semiramis* (this *Ninus* his wife) did *Babylon*. Hence it came to paſſe, that as *Semiramis* was counted the Foundreſſe of the Citie which ſhe onely finiſhed: ſo alſo *Ninus* of *Nineve*: *Quam quidem Babylonem potuit inſtaurare*; *She might repaire or renew Babylon*, ſaith *S. Auguſtine*. For ſo did *Nabuchodonoſor* vaunt himſelfe to be the Founder of *Babylon* alſo, becauſe he built up againe ſome part of the wall, over-borne by the furie of the River: which worke of his ſtood till *Alexanders* time, whereupon he vaunted thus: *Is not this great Babel which I have built?* Dan.4.27.

## §. IV.

### *Of the Acts of* Nimrod *and* Belus, *as farre as now they are knowne.*

But to returne to the Storie, it is plaine in *Moſes*, that *Nimrod* (whom *Philo* interpreteth *transfugium*; and *Julius Africanus* ſurnamed *Saturne*) was the eſtabliſher of the *Babylonian Monarchie*, of whom there is no other thing written, than that his Empire in the beginning conſiſted of thoſe 4. Cities before remembred; *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*: and that from hence he propagated his Empire into *Aſſyria*, and in *Aſſyria* built foure more Cities (to wit) *Nineve*, *Rehoboth*, *Celah*, and *Reſen*. And ſeeing that he ſpent much time in building *Babel* it ſelfe and thoſe adjoyning, and that his travailes were many ere he came into *Shinaar*: that worke of *Babel* (ſuch as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large foundation of *Nineve*, and the other Cities of *Aſſyria* which he builded (conſidered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficulty than any thing performed by his Succeſſors in many years after: to whoſe undertakings time had given ſo great an increaſe of people; and the examples and patternes of his beginning ſo great an advancement and encouragement: in whoſe time (ſaith *Glycas*) all theſe Nations were called *Meropes*, *à ſermonis linguarum terraq; diviſione*; *By reaſon that the earth and the ſpeech were then divided.*

*Belus*, or *Bel*, or *Jupiter Belus*, ſucceeded *Nimrod*, after he had reigned 114. yeares; of whoſe acts and undertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he ſpent much of his time in diſ-burdening the low Lands of *Babylon*, and drying and making firme ground of all thoſe great Fens and over-flowne Mariſhes which adjoyned unto it. For any of his Warres or conqueſts there is no report, other than of his begun enterpriſe againſt *Sabatius* King of *Armenia*, and thoſe parts of *Scythia* which *Beroſus* calls *Scythia Saga*, whoſe ſonne and ſucceſſor *Barzanes* became ſubject and Tributarie to *Ninus*, that followed the warre to effect, which was by his Father *Belus* begun.

## §. V.

### *That we are not to marvell how ſo many Kingdomes could be erected about theſe times: and of* Vexoris *of Egypt, and* Tanais *of Scythia.*

THat ſo many Kingdomes were erected in all thoſe Eaſterne parts of the World ſo ſoone after *Nimrod*, (as by the ſtorie of *Ninus* is made manifeſt) the cauſes were threefold (namely) Opportunitie, Example, and Neceſſitie. For opportunitie being a Princeſſe liberall and powerfull, beſtoweth on her firſt Entertainers many times more benefits, than either Fortune can, or Wiſedom ought; by whoſe preſence alone the underſtanding mindes of men receive all thoſe helpes and ſupplies, which they either want or wiſh for: ſo as every Leader of a troupe (after the diviſion of tongues and diſperſion of People) finding theſe faire offers made unto them, held the power which they poſſeſt, and governed by diſcretion all thoſe people, whom they conducted to their diſtined places. For it cannot be conceived, that when the Earth was firſt divided, mankinde ſtraggled abroad like beaſts in a Deſert; but that by agreement they diſpoſed themſelves, & undertooke to inhabite all the knowne parts of the World, and by diſtinct Families and Nations: otherwiſe, thoſe remote Regions from *Babylon* and *Shinaar*, which had Kings, and were peopled in *Ninus* time, would not have beene poſſeſt in many hundreds of yeeres after, as then they were; neither did thoſe that were ſent, and travelled far off (order being the true Parent of proſperous ſucceſſe) undertake ſo difficult enterpriſes without a Conductor or Commander. Secondly, the Example of *Nimrod* with whom it ſucceeded well, ſtrengthened every humor that aſpired. Thirdly, Neceſſitie reſolved all men by the arguments of common miſeries, that without a Commander and Magiſtrate, neither could thoſe that were laborious, and of honeſt diſpoſitions, enjoy the harveſt of their owne Travailes: nor thoſe which were of little ſtrength, ſecure themſelves againſt forcible violence: nor thoſe which ſought after any proportion of greatneſſe, either poſſeſſe the ſame in quiet, or rule and order their owne Miniſters and Attendants.

That theſe cauſes had wrought theſe effects, the undertakings & Conqueſts of *Ninus* (the ſon of *Belus*) made it apparent; for he found every where Kings and Monarchies, what way ſoever his Ambition led him in the Wars.

But *Nimrod* (his Grand-father) had no companion King, to us known, when he firſt tooke on him Soveraigntie and ſole commandement of all thoſe the children of *Noah*, which came from the Eaſt into *Babylonia*: though in his life time others alſo raiſed themſelves to the ſame eſtate; of which hereafter. *Belus* (his ſonne and Succeſſor) found *Sabatius* King of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, ſufficiently powerfull to reſiſt his attempts: which *Sabatius* I take to be the ſame, which *Juſtine* calls *Tanais*; and ſhould conjecture, that *Mizraim* had beene his *Vexoris*, were it not that I vehemently ſuſpect ſome errour, (as *Juſtine* placeth him) in the time of that *Vexoris*, who by many circumſtances ſeemes to me, rightly accounted by the Judicious and Learned *Reineccius*, all one with the great *Seſoſtris*, that lived certaine Ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the ſecond King of *Babylon*, reigned 65. yeeres, according to the common account.

See more of this *l.*2. of this firſt Part. *cap.* 2. §. 6.

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## §. VI.

### *Of the name of* Belus, *and other names affines unto it.*

WHence this ſecond King and Succeſſour of *Nimrod* had the name of *Bel*, or *Belus*, queſtion hath been made: for it ſeemeth rather a name impoſed, or (of addition) given by *Ninus*, than aſſumed by *Belus* himſelfe.

*Cyrillus* againſt *Julian* calls the Father of *Ninus Arbelus*, affirming that he was the firſt of all men that cauſed himſelfe to be called a god: which were it ſo, then might the name of *Belus* be thence derived. But *Bel*, as many Writers have obſerved, ſignifieth the Sun in the *Chaldæan* Tongue; and therefore did *Ninus* and *Semiramis* give that name to their Father, that he might be honoured as the Sun, which the *Babylonians* worſhipped as a god. And as this Title was aſſumed in after-times by divers others of the *Chaldæan* Princes, and *Babylonian Satrapæ*: ſo was it uſed (in imitation) by the chiefe of the *Carthaginians* and other Nations, as ſome Hiſtorians have conceived.

To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertaine (as in affinitie) thoſe voyces of *Baal*, *Baalim*, *Belphegor*, *Beelphagor*, *Belſebub*, and *Beelſephon*. Thoſe that are learned in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldæan*, convert the word *Baal* by the *Latine*, *Princeps militiæ*, *Chiefe in the Warre*; though *Daniel* was ſo called (ſaith *Suidas*) *Ob honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum*; *In honour of his expounding ſecrets*. Saint *Hierome* makes *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, to have the ſame ſignification: Hier.in Oſe.c.2. and ſaith, that the Idoll of *Babylon* was ſo called, which *Ninus* in memorie of his father ſet up to be worſhipped: to which that he might adde the more honour and reverence, he made it a Sanctuarie and refuge for all offenders. Hence (ſaith *Lyranus*) came Idolatrie, and the firſt uſe of Images into the World. Lyr.in Sapien. Salom.c.11. *Iſidore* doth interprete *Bel* by *Vetus*, old or ancient; adding, that as among the *Aſſyrians* it is taken for *Saturne* and the *Sunne*: ſo Iſid.l.8.c.11. in the *Punicke* or *Carthaginian* Language it ſignifieth God: *Glycas* makes it an *Aſſyrian* name properly: and *Joſephus* a *Tyrian*. He alſo affirmeth that the Idoll which the *Moabites* worſhipped (by them erected on the Mountaine *Phegor*, or *Peor*, and called *Baal*) is the ſame which the *Latines* call *Priapus*, the god of Gardens; which alſo was the opinion Hieron.in Oſe. c.4.& 9. of Saint *Hierome*. But that the word *Bel*, or *Beel*, was as much to ſay as God, appeareth by the word *Beelzebub*, the Idoll of *Accaron*. For *Bel*, or *Beel* ſoundeth (God) and *Sebub* (Flies or Hornets:) by which name (notwithſtanding) the *Jewes* expreſſe the Prince of Devils. But the Prophet *Oſe* teacheth us the proper ſignification of this word from the voice of God himſelfe; *And at that day* (*ſaith the Lord*) *thou ſhalt call me* Iſhi, *and ſhalt call me no more* Baalim: *for I will take away the name of* Baalim *out of their mouthes*. For although the name of *Baal* or *Bahal*, be juſtly to be uſed towards God; yet in reſpect that the ſame was given to Idols, God hath hated it, and forbad it. And the uſing of the word *Bel* among the *Chaldæans* for the Sunne, was not becauſe it properly ſignifieth the Sun, but becauſe the Sunne there was worſhipped as a God: as alſo the Fire was, *tanquam Solis particula*. As for the words compounded (before remembred) as *Belphegor*, and *Belſephon*, *Belſephon* is expounded out of *Facius*, *Dominus ſpeculæ vel cuſtodiæ*: *The Lord of the Watch-Tower, or of the Guard*: the other word noteth the Idoll, and the place wherein it was worſhipped. It is alſo written *Belpeor*, or *Baalpeor*: and *Peor* (they ſay) is as much as *Denudavit*; and therefore the word joyned expreſſeth a naked Image. Some there are that call this *Belus* the ſonne of *Saturne*: for it was uſed among the Ancients to name the Father *Saturne*, the ſonne *Jupiter*, and the Grand-childe *Hercules*. *Saturni dicuntur familiarum Nobilium, Regumq; qui urbes condiderunt ſeniſſimi; primogeniti eorum* Auɛto.de æquit. lib.1. Joves *&* Junones; Hercules *verò nepotes eorum fortiſſimi*; *The ancienteſt of Noble Families and Kings which founded Cities, are called* Saturnes; *their firſt-borne*, Jupiters *and* Junoes; *their valiant Nephewes*, Hercules. But this *Belus* (ſaith *L. Vives*) was famous by reaſon of his warlike ſonne *Ninus*, who cauſed his father to be worſhipped as a God by the name of *Jupiter Babylonius*, whom the *Egyptians* (tranſported by the Dreames of their Antiquitie) Diod.l.3. make one of theirs. For *Neptune* (ſay they) upon *Libya* the Daughter of *Epaphus* begat this *Jupiter Belus*, who was father to *Ægyptus*. They adde, that this *Belus*, carrying a Colonie to the River of *Euphrates*, there built a Citie in which he ordained Prieſts after the *Egyptian* manner. But were there any *Belus* the ſonne of *Epaphus* and *Iſis*, or of *Neptune* and *Libya*, or (with *Euſebius*) of *Teglonus*, who after the death of *Apis* married *Iſis*, (*Cecrops* then reigning in *Athens*) the ſame was not this *Babylonian Belus* of whom we ſpeake, but rather ſome other *Belus*, of whom the *Egyptians* ſo much vaunted.

## §. VII.

### *Of the worſhipping of Images begun from* Belus *in Babel.*

As for the *Babylonian Belus*, he was the moſt ancient *Belus*, and the Inventer of *Aſtronomie*, if *Plinie* ſay true: from whence the *Egyptians* might borrow both the name and the Doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his *Statue* or Image was honoured as a God, the ſame Author affirmeth that it did remaine in his time.

Of the Sepulchre of *Belus*, *Strabo* writeth thus: *Over the River* ſaith he) *there are gardens, where they ſay the ruines of* Belus *his Tombe, which* Xerxes *brake up, are yet remaining. It was a ſquare Pyramis made of Bricke, a furlong high, and on every ſide it had a furlong in breadth.* Strabo l.13.c.3. It appears by *Cyril* againſt *Julian*, that he obtained divine worſhip yet L.4.cont.Julian.

living: for ſo he writes of him (calling him *Arbelus*.) *Arbelus, vir ſuperbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur à ſubditis Deitatis nomen accepiſſe: Perſeverârunt igitur Aſſyrii, & finitimæ illis gentes ſacrificantes ei.* Arbelus, *a man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the firſt of all men that was ever honored by their ſubjects with title of Deitie*; (or with the name of God.) *The Aſſyrians therefore, and the bordering nations have perſevered, ſacrificing to him.* Even *Arius* alſo, whom *Suidas* calls *Thuras*, who ſucceeded next after *Ninias*, was made an Idol-god among them, if we credit *Suidas*.

After *Ninus* (that is, after *Ninias*) *Thuras* reigned (ſaith *Suidas*) whom they called after the name of the Planet *Mars*; a man of ſharpe and fierce diſpoſition, who bidding battaile to *Caucaſus* of the ſtocke of *Japheth*, ſlue him. The *Aſſyrians* worſhipped him for their God, and called him *Baal* (that is) *Mars*; thus farre *Suidas*. Neither is it unlikely but that many among Idolatrous nations were Deified in their life-times, or ſoone after: though I denie not but that the moſt of their Images and *Statuæ* were firſt erected without divine worſhip, onely in memorie of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as *Glycas* rightly conceiveth; and ſo afterward the Devill crept into thoſe woodden and brazen carcaſſes, when Poſteritie had loſt the memorie of their firſt invention. Hereof *Iſidore* ſpeaketh in this manner: *Quos autem Pagani Deus aſſerunt, homines fuerunt, & pro uniuſcujuſq; vitæ meritis vel magnificentia, coli apud ſuos poſt mortem cæperunt: ſed (Dæmonibus perſuadentibus) quos illi pro ſua memoria honoraverunt, minores Deos exiſtimârunt: ad iſta verò magis excolenda acceſſerunt Poetarum figmenta*; *They were men* (ſaith he) *whom the Pagans affirmed to be gods: & every one for his merits or magnificence began after his death to be honoured of his owne. But at length (the Devils perſwading) they accounted them leſſer gods, whoſe memories they honoured: and the Fictions of the Poets made the opinions (concerning the honour of the dead) much more ſuperſtitious.*

And that the worſhipping of Images was brought in by the *Pagans*, and *Heathen* Nations, it is not *Iſidore* alone that witneſſeth; but *Gregory*: *Gentilitas* (ſaith he) *inventrix & caput eſt Imaginum*; *Gentiliſme is the inventreſſe and ground of Images*: and *Ambroſe*; *Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei*; *The Gentiles adore wood, as it were the Image of God*. *Euſebius* alſo affirmeth as much, and calleth the worſhiping of Images a cuſtome borrowed of the Heathen. The like hath Saint *Auguſtine* againſt *Adimantus*. *Et verentur* (ſaith *Lactantius*) *ne religio vana ſit, ſi nihil videant quod adorent*; *They feare their Religion would be vaine, ſhould they not ſee that which they worſhip.*

*Greg. Neocæſar.*
*Ambr. in Pſal.* 108.

*Euſeb. l.* 7. *c.* 18.
*Aug. c.* 13.
*Lact. lib.* 2. *c.* 2.

And (out of doubt) the Schoolemen ſhift this fearefull cuſtome very ſtrangely. For ſeeing the very workemanſhip it forbidden, how can the heart of a wiſe Chriſtian ſatiſfie it ſelfe with the diſtinction of *Doulia* and *Hyperdoulia*, which can imply nothing but ſome difference of worſhipping of thoſe Images after they are made? And it is of all things the moſt ſtrange, why religious and learned men ſhould ſtraine their wits to defend the uſe of thoſe things, which the Scriptures have not onely no where warranted, but expreſly in many places forbidden, and curſed the practiſers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the Devill was ſo ſtrongly and ſubtilly rooted, as neither the expreſſe Commandement of God himſelfe, *Thou ſhalt not make any graven Image*, nor all the threatnings of *Moſes* and the Prophets after him, could remove, weed it, or by fear, or by any perſwaſions lead the hearts of men from it. For where ſhall we find words of greater weight, or of plainer inſtruction than theſe? *Take therefore good heed to your ſelves (for yee ſaw no Image in the day that the Lord ſpake unto you in Horeb out of the midſt of the fire) that yee corrupt not your ſelves, and make you a graven Image or repreſentation of any Figure, whether it be the likeneſſe of Male or Female.*

And beſides the expreſſe Commandement, *Thou ſhalt make thee no graven Image*, and the prohibition in many Scriptures, ſo it is written in the Booke of *Wiſedome*, That *the invention of Idols was the beginning of Whoredome: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for they were not from the beginning, neither ſhall they continue for ever.*

And whereas the Schoolemen affirme, that the Prophets ſpake againſt the Worſhipping of the Heathen Idols, it is manifeſt that *Moſes* ſpake of Images of the living God, and not of *Baal* and the reſt of that nature, *For you ſaw no Image* (ſaith *Moſes*) *that day that the Lord ſpake unto you in Horeb.* Surely it was excellently ſaid of *Baſil*; *Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumſcribas eum mente tua*: *Doe not imagine any forme to be in God, leſt thou limit or circumſcribe him in thy minde too.* Now, if the great *Baſil* thought it a preſumption unlawfulll to repreſent a pattern of the infinite God to our own thoughts and mindes, how farre doe thoſe men preſume that put him under the greazie Penſill of a Painter, or the ruſtie Axe or other Inſtrument of a Carpenter or Carver?

For as this diſhonour to the infinite and incomprehenſible God began in *Babel*: ſo did the Devill tranſport and ſpred this invention into all the Regions adjoyning, and into *Egypt* and *Greece*.

The *Romanes* for a while reſiſted the erection of theſe Idols and Images, refuſing to ſet them in their Temples for 170 yeeres; obſerving the Law of *Numa*, who thought it impietie to reſemble things moſt beautifull, by things moſt baſe. But *Tarquinius Priſcus* afterwards prevailing, and following the vanitie of the *Grecians* (a Nation of all others under the Sunne moſt deluded by Satan) ſet up the Images of their gods; which (as S. *Auguſtine* witneſſeth) that Learned *Varro* both bewailed, and utterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus derideth; *Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis ſupplicant, genu poſito illa adorant; & cùm hæc ſuſpiciant, fabros qui illa fecere contemnunt*; *The Images of the gods are worſhipped, thoſe they pray unto, with bended knees thoſe they adore; and while they ſo greatly admire them, they contemne the Handi-craftſmen that made them*: which alſo *Sedulius* the *Poet* in this ſort ſcoffed at:

*Aug. de Civit. l. 4. c. 31.*

*Heu miſeri qui vana colunt, qui corde ſiniſtro*
*Relligioſa ſibi ſculpunt ſimulachra, ſuumq;*
*Factorem fugiunt, & quæ fecere verentur.*
*Quis furor eſt? quæ tanta animos dementia ludit?*
*Ut volucrem, turpemq; bovem, torvumq; Draconem,*
*Semi-hominemq;-canem ſupplex homo pronus adoret:*

Ah wretched they that worſhip vanities,
And conſecrate dumb Idols in their heart,
Who their owne Maker (God on high) deſpiſe,
And feare the worke of their owne hands and art.
What furie? what great madneſſe doth beguile
Mens mindes? that man ſhould ugly ſhapes adore
Of Birds, or Buls, or Dragons, or the vile
Halfe-dogge-halfe-man on knees for aide implore:

And though this device was barbarous, and firſt, and many yeeres practiſed by Heathen Nations only, till the *Jewes* were corrupted in *Egypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to ſcorne the ignorant ſtupiditie of his Nation: but *Juſtin Martyr* remembreth how the *Sybils* inveighed againſt Images: and *Hoſpinian*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the ſoules of men to erect and adore thoſe Babels. *Strabo* and *Herodotus* witneſſe, that the *Perſians* did not erect or ſet up any *Statue* of their Gods. *Lycurgus* never taught it the *Lacedæmonians*, but thought it impietie to repreſent immortall natures by mortall Figures. *Euſebius* alſo witneſſeth in his ſixt Booke *de præparatione Evangelica*, that it was forbidden by a Law in *Serica*, or among the *Brachmans* in *India*, that Images ſhould be worſhipped. The ſame doe *Tacitus* and *Crinitus* report of the ancient *Germans*. Many other Authors might be remembred that witneſſe the diſdaine which the Heathen themſelves had of this childiſh Idolatrie: of which *Hoſpinian* hath written at large in his Tract, *de origine Imaginum*. And it was truely ſaid, *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta ſunt*, *All ill examples have ſprung from good beginnings*. The Heathen at firſt made theſe *Statuæ* and Images, but in memorie of ſuch remarkeable men, as had deſerved beſt of their Countries & common-wealths: *Effigies hominum* (ſaith *Pliny*) *non ſolebant exprimi, niſi aliqua illuſtri cauſa perpetuitatem merentium*: *Men were not wont to make Pictures, but of men which merited for ſome notable cauſe to bee perpetually remembred.* And though of the more ancient *Papiſts*, ſome have borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appears in *Lactantius*) that defence for Images: That *Simulachra* are *pro elementis literarum, ut per ea diſcerent homines Deum inviſibilem cognoſcere*: *Images* ſay they, (& ſo before them the Heathen ſaid) *are in ſtead of Letters, whereby men might learne to know the inviſible God*: in which underſtanding perhaps they no otherwiſe eſteemed them than pictures indeed; yet as that of *Baal* or *Bel* ſet up in memory of *Belus* the *Babylonian*, became afterward the moſt reverenced Idoll of the World, by which ſo many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himſelfe) were miſled and caſt away: ſo thoſe very ſtocks and ſtones, and painted canvaſes (called the pictures of *Chriſt*, our *Ladie*, & others) were by thouſands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but eſteemed to have life, motion, & underſtanding. *On theſe ſtocks we call* (ſaith the Book of *Wiſedome*) *when we paſſe through the raging waves, on theſe ſtocks more rotten than the Ship that carrieth us.*

This Heathen invention of Images became ſo fruitfull in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to diſtinguiſh them into degrees and orders; as *Dii conſentes, ſeu majorum gentium, ſelecti, Patritii, inſigniores, dii medii: Counſelling gods, or gods of the mightieſt Nobilitie, ſelect gods, Patrian, gods of marke, and Common gods* (which the *Romanes* called *Medioxum*) *dii infimi*, and terreſtriall *Heroes*, and multitudes of other gods, of which Saint *Auguſtine* hath made large mention in his Booke *de Civitate Dei*. But (ſaith *Lactantius*) among all thoſe miſerable ſoules and rotten bodies, worſhipped by men more like to their Idols, did *Epimenides Cretenſis* (by what good Angell moved I know not) erect in the *Athenian* Fields, Altars to the unknowne God, which ſtood with the ſame title and dedication, even to the times of S. *Paul*: who made them firſt know to whom theſe Altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might diſcerne the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth every man, and the obſcure and ſtinking miſt wherein the Devill had ſo many yeeres led and miſ-led them. And it ſufficed not that the multitude of theſe gods was ſo great in generall, or that every Nation had ſome one which tooke particular and ſingular care of them, as *Jupiter* in *Crete*, *Iſis* in *Egypt*, in *Athens Minerva*, in *Samos Juno*, in *Paphos Venus*, and ſo of all other parts; but every Citie, and almoſt every Family had a god apart. For, as it is written in the ſecond of *Kings*, the men of *Babel* made *Succoth Benoth*, and the men of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the men of *Hamath* made *Aſhima*, and the *Avites* made *Nibhaz* and *Tartak*, and the *Sephervaims* burnt their children in the fire to *Adramelech*. All which how plainly hath the Prophet *Eſay* derided? *Men cut down Trees, rinde them, burne a part of them, make readie their meat, and warme themſelves by the fire thereof, and of the reſidue he maketh a god; an Idoll, and prayeth unto it: but God hath ſhut their eyes from ſight, and their heart from underſtanding.* It is therefore ſafeſt for a Chriſtian to beleeve the Commandements of God ſo direct againſt Idolatrie, to beleeve the Prophets, and to beleeve S. *Paul*: who ſpeaketh thus plainly and feelingly, *My beloved, flye from Idolatrie; I ſpeake as unto them which have underſtanding, judge ye what I ſay.*

*Lib.14.*

*Cap.17.v.18.31.*

*Cap.44.*

## §. VIII.

### *Of the Warres of* Ninus: *and laſtly of his Warre againſt* Zoroaſter.

UNto this *Belus* ſucceeded *Ninus*, the firſt that commanded the exerciſe of Idolatrie, the firſt that injuriouſly invaded his Neighbour Princes, and the firſt that without ſhame or feare committed adulterie in publique. But as of *Belus* there is no certaine memorie (as touching particulars:) ſo of this *Ninus* (whoſe Storie is gathered out of Prophane Authors) I finde nothing ſo warrantable, but that the ſame may be diſputed, and in the greateſt part doubted. For although that piece of *Beroſus* ſet out and commented upon by *Annius*, hath many good things in it, and giveth great light (as *Chrytæus* noteth) to the underſtanding of *Diodorus Siculus, Dion, Halicarnaſſeus*, & others: yet *Lodovicus vives, B. Rhenanus*, and others after them, have laid open the imperfection and defects of the Fragment; proving directly that it cannot be the ſame *Beroſus* which lived in *Alexanders* time, cited by *Athenæus* and *Joſephus*: and whoſe *Statue* the *Athenians* erected, ſaith *Plinie*. Yet it is from him chiefely, that many have gathered the ſucceſſion of the *Babylonian* and *Aſſyrian* Princes, even from *Nimrod* to the eighteenth King *Aſcatades*, & to the times of *Joſua*. For of *Metaſthenes* an Hiſtorian, of the Race of the *Perſian* Prieſts, there are found but certain Papers; or ſome few lines of the *Chaldæan* and *Aſſyrian Monarchies*: but he afterwards in the collection of the *Perſian* Kings is not without his errours.

*Athen.l.14.*
*Joſeph.cont.Appian.l.1.&7.*

*Cteſias* or *Cnidus* (a Citie joyning to *Halicarnaſſeus*) who lived together with *Cyrus* the younger, and with *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, gathered his Hiſtorie out of the *Perſian* Records, and reacheth as far upwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and though in the Storie of *Cyrus* the younger, *Xenophon* approveth him in ſome things, and *Athenæus, Pauſanias* and *Tertullian* cite him; yet ſo baſe and apparent are his flatteries of the times and Princes with whom he lived, and ſo incredible are the numbers which he finds in the Armies of *Ninus*, and eſpecially of *Semiramis*; as whatſoever his reports were, times have conſumed his workes, ſaving ſome very few excerptions lately publiſhed.

And therefore in things uncertaine, ſeeing a long diſcourſe cannot be pleaſing to men of judgement, I will paſſe over the acts of this third *Aſſyrian*, in as few words as I can expreſſe them. S. *Auguſtine* affirmes that *Ninus* maſtered all *Aſia*, *India* excepted. Others ſay that he wanne it all, ſave *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Aricus* of *Arabia* the companion of his Conqueſts, with whom he entred into a ſtraight league of amitie, becauſe he commanded many people, and was his kinſman, and a *Chuſite*, and the neereſt Prince confronting *Babylonia*. His firſt enterprize was upon *Syria*, which he might eaſily ſubdue, both becauſe he invaded it on the ſodaine, and becauſe it lay next him: and alſo becauſe the *Arabians* and their king *Aricus* (which bordered *Syria*) aſſiſted him in the Conqueſt thereof.

The king of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aide him in his Warre againſt *Zoroaſter*: for from *Armenia* he bent himſelfe that way toward the Eaſt; but that ever he commanded the leſſer *Aſia*, I doe not beleeve, for none of his Succeſſors had any poſſeſſion therein.

His third Warre was againſt *Pharnus*, king of the *Medes*, whom it is ſayd that he overthrew, and cruelly murtherd with his ſeven Children, though others affirme, that they all died in one battaile againſt him. Whether he invaded *Zoroaſter* before the building or amplifying of *Nineve*, or after, it is uncertaine. It is ſaid that he made two expeditions into *Bactria*: and that finding little or ill ſucceſſe in the firſt, he returned, and ſet the worke of *Nineve* forward: and then a ſecond time entred *Bactria* with 1700000. Foot, and 200000. Horſe, and 10000. ſixe hundred Chariots: being encountred by *Zoroaſter* with foure hundred thouſand. But *Ninus* prevayling, and *Zoroaſter* being ſlaine, he entred farther into the Countrie, and beſieged the chiefe Citie therof, called *Bactra* or *Bactrion* (ſaith *Stephanus*:) which by a paſſage found, and an aſſault given by *Semiramis* (the wife of *Menon*) he entred and poſſeſt. Upon this occaſion *Ninus* both admiring her judgement and valour, together with her perſon and externall beautie, fancied her ſo ſtrongly, as (neglecting all Princely reſpects) he tooke her from her husband, whoſe eyes he threatned to thruſt out if he refuſed to conſent. He therefore yeelding to the paſſion of love in *Ninus*, and to the paſſion of ſorrow in himſelfe, by the ſtrong perſwaſions of ſhame and diſhonour, caſt himſelfe head-long into the water, and died.

*Aug. de Civit. Dei.*

*Steph. de Urb.*

# CHAP. XI.

## Of ZOROASTER, *ſuppoſed to have beene the chiefe Author of Magick Arts: and of the divers kinds of Magicke.*

### §. I.

### *That* Zoroaſter *was not* Cham, *nor the firſt Inventer of Aſtrologie, or of Magicke: and that there were divers great Magicians of this name.*

Zoroaſter King of the *Bactrians*, *Vincentius* ſuppoſeth to be *Cham* the ſonne of *Noah*: A fancie of little probabilitie. For *Cham* was the Paternall Anceſtor of *Ninus*, the Father of *Chus*, the Grand-father of *Nimrod*, whoſe ſonne was *Belus*, the Father of *Ninus*. It may be that *Vincentius* had heard of that booke which was called *Scripturæ Cham*, deviſed by ſome wicked Knave, and ſo intituled: of which *Sixtus Senenſis* hath made the due mention.

It is reported by *Caſsianus*, that *Serenus Abbas* gave the invention of *Magicke* to *Cham* the ſonne of *Noah*: ſo did *Comeſtor* in his Scholaſticall Hiſtorie: which Art (ſaith he) with the 7. liberall Sciences he writ in 14. Pillers: ſeven of which were made of braſſe, to reſiſt the defacing by the waters of the Floud; and 7. of bricke againſt the injurie of fire. There was alſo another deviſed diſcourſe, which went under

*Caſsian. in Colla. Col. cap. 21.*

the title of *Prophetia Cham.Caſsianus* out of *Serenus* hath ſomewhat like to this of *Comeſtor*. Theſe be *Caſsianus* words: Cham(*filius* Noah) *qui ſuperſtitionibus iſtis & ſasrilegis fuit artibus infectus, ſciens nullum ſe poſſe ſuper his memorialem librum in Arcam prorſus inferre, in qua erat cum patre juſto,&c.* Cham (*the ſonne of* Noah) *who was infected with theſe ſuperſtitions, and ſacrilegious Arts, knowing that he could not bring any booke or memoriall of that nature into the Arke, wherein he was to remaine with his godly Father, cauſed the Precepts and Rules thereof to be graven in metall and hard ſtone.*

S. *Auguſtine* noteth that *Zoroaſter* was ſaid to have laught at his birth, when all other children weepe; which preſaged the great knowledge which afterward he attayned unto: being taken for the Inventer of naturall *Magicke* and other Arts; for the Corrupter, ſaith *Plinie* and *Juſtine*. But I doe not thinke that *Zoroaſter* invented the doctrine of the *Horoſcopes* or *Nativities*: or firſt found out the nature of herbs, ſtones, and mineralls, or their Sympatheticall or Antipatheticall workings; of which, I know not what King of *Chaldæa* is alſo made the Inventer. I rather thinke that theſe knowledges were far more ancient, and left by *Noah* to his ſonnes. For *Abraham* who had not any acquaintance with *Zoroaſter*, (as *Joſephus* reporteth) was no leſſe learned heerein than any other in that age, if he exceeded not all men then living: differing from the wiſedome of after-times in this, that he knew and acknowledged the true cauſe, and giver of life and vertue to Nature and all Naturall things; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, diſperſed, and univerſall power) admired the inſtruments, and did attribute proper ſtrength to the things themſelves, (from which the effects were ſenſible) which belonged to that wiſedome, *Which being one, and remaining in it ſelfe, can doe all things, and reneweth all.*

wiſd.c.7.

Now whether this *Zoroaſter* (over-throwne by *Ninus*) were the ſame which was ſo excellent a Naturaliſt, it is doubted. For *Zoroaſter* the *Magician*, *Cteſias* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Plinie* finds of a later time. And if *Zoroaſter* were taken away by a Spirit (being in the middeſt of his Diſciples) as ſome Authors report, then *Zoroaſter*, ſlaine by *Ninus*, was not the *Magician*: which is alſo the opinion of *Scaliger*.

Scalig.in Euſe.
Joſeph.lib.1.
Antiq.c.4.

Againe *Joſephus* and *Cedrenus* affirme, that *Seth* firſt found out the Planets, or wandring Starres, and other Motions of the Heavens: for if this Art had beene invented by *Zoroaſter*, he could not have attained to any ſuch excellencie therein, in his owne life-time; but being a man (as it ſeemeth) of ſingular judgement, he might adde ſomewhat to this kind of knowledge, and leave it by writing to poſteritie.

But of this *Zoroaſter* there is much diſpute: and no leſſe jangling about the word and art of *Magicke*. *Arnobius* remembreth foure, to whom the name of *Zoroaſter*, or *Zoroaſtres* was given: which by *Hermodorus* and *Dinon* ſeemeth to be but a *cognomen*, or name of art, and was as much to ſay, as *aſtrorum cultor*. The firſt, *Arnobius* calleth the *Bactrian*, which may be the ſame that *Ninus* overthrew: the ſecond, a *Chaldæan*, and the *Aſtronomer* of *Ninus*: the third was *Zoroaſter Pamphylius*, who lived in the time of *Cyrus* and his familiar: the fourth, *Zoroaſter Armenius*, the Nephew of *Hoſtianes*, which followed *Xerxes* into *Greece*: betweene whom and *Cyrus* there paſt threeſcore and eighteene yeares. *Suidas* remembreth a fift, called *Perſomedus ſapiens*: and *Plato* ſpeaketh of *Zoroaſter* the ſon of *Oromaſdes*; which *Picus Mirandula* confirmeth.

Now of what Nation the firſt and chiefe *Zoroaſter* was, it is doubted. *Plinie* and *Laertius* make him a *Perſian*. *Gemiſthius* or *Pletho*, *Ficinus* and *Steuchius*, make him a *Chaldæan*. But by thoſe bookes of one *Zoroaſter*, found by *Picus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainely, that the Author of them was a *Chaldæan* by Nation, though the word (*Chaldæan*) was as often given to the learned Prieſts peculiarly, as for any diſtinguiſhment of Nations. *Porphyrius* makes the *Chaldæi* and *Magi* divers; *Picus* the ſame. But that this *Zoroaſter* was a *Chaldean* both by Nation and Profeſſion, it appeareth by his Bookes, which (ſaith *Picus*) were written in the *Chaldæan* tongue; and the Comment in the ſame language. Now that the *Magi* and they were not differing, it may be judged by the name of thoſe bookes of *Zoroaſter*, which in an Epiſtle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, he ſaith, to be intituled, *Patris* Ezre Zoroaſtris, & Melchior *magorum oracula*.

§.II.

## §. II.

### *Of the name of Magia: and that it was anciently farre divers from Conjuring and Witchcraft.*

NOw for Magick it ſelfe; which Art (ſaith *Mirandula*) *pauci intelligunt, multi reprehendunt; Few underſtand, and many reprehend; Et ſicut Canes ignotos ſemper allatrant; As Dogs barke at thoſe they know not:* ſo they condemne and hate the things they underſtand not: I thinke it not amiſſe (leaving *Ninus* for a while) to ſpeake ſomewhat thereof.

Pic. Mir. fo. 8.

It is true that many men abhorre the very name and word (*Magos*) becauſe of *Simon Magus*, who being indeed, not *Magus*, but *Goes*, (that is) familiar with evill ſpirits, uſurped that title. For Magicke, Conjuring, and Witchery, are far differing Arts, whereof *Plinie* being ignorant ſcoffeth therat. For *Nero* (ſaith *Plinie*) who had the moſt excellent Magicians of the Eaſt ſent him by *Tyridates* King of Armenia, who held that Kingdome by his grace, found the art after long ſtudy and labour altogether ridiculous.

Plin. l. 30. hiſt. Nat.

*Magus* is a Perſian word primitively, whereby is expreſt ſuch a one as is altogether converſant in things divine. And (as *Plato* affirmeth) the Art of Magicke is the Art of worſhipping God. To which effect *Apollonius* in his Epiſtles expounding the Word (μάγος) ſaith, that the Perſians called their gods μάγους: whence he addeth that *Magus* is either ὁ κατὰ φύσιν θεὸς or θεραπευτὴς θεῶν (that is) that *Magus* is a name ſometime of him that is a God by nature; ſometimes of him that is in the ſervice of God: in which latter ſenſe it is taken, *Math. 2. v. 1.* And this is the firſt and higheſt kind: which *Piccolominie* calleth divine Magicke: and theſe did the Latines newly intitle *Sapientes* or *Wiſemen*: *For, the feare & worſhip of God is the beginning of knowledge.* Theſe Wiſemen the Greeks call Philoſophers: the Indians, Brachmans: which name they ſomewhat neerely retaine to this day, calling their Prieſts Bramines; among the Egyptians they were termed Prieſts; with the Hebrewes they were called Cabaliſts, Prophets, Scribes, and Phariſees: amongſt the Babylonians they were differenced by the name of Chaldæans: and among the Perſians, Magicians: of whom *Arnobius* (ſpeaking of *Hoſtanes*, one of the ancient Magicians) uſeth theſe words: *Et verum Deum merita majeſtate proſequitur, & Angelos miniſtros Dei, ſed veri, ejus venerationi novit aſsiſtere. Idem dæmonas prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis inimicos; Soſthenes* (for ſo *M. Fœlix* called him, not *Hoſtanes*) *aſcribeth the due majeſtie to the true God, & acknowledgeth that his Angels are miniſters and meſſengers which attend the worſhip of the true God. He alſo hath delivered that there are Devils earthly and wandering, and enemies to mankinde.*

Porphyr & Apul.
Plato in Alcib.
Piccol. de Defin.
Proverb. 1. 7.
John Hug. Linſchot.
In Octavio Minutii Fœlicis cum Arnobio p. 360.

*His Majeſtie* alſo in his firſt Booke of *Demonologie c. 3.* acknowledgeth, that in the Perſian tongue the word (*Magus*) imports as much as a contemplator of divine and heavenlie ſciences; but unjuſtly ſo called, becauſe the *Chaldæans* were ignorant of the true divinitie. And it is alſo right which *His Majeſtie* avoweth, that under the name of *Magicke* all other unlawfull Arts are comprehended, and yet doth *His Majeſtie* diſtinguiſh it from Necromancie, Witchcraft, and the reſt: of all which he hath written largely and moſt learnedly. For the Magicke which *His Majeſtie* condemneth, is of that kinde whereof the Divell is a partie. *Daniel* in his ſecond chapter nameth foure kindes of thoſe *Wiſemen: Arioli, Magi, Malefici*, and *Chaldæi*. *Arioli* the old *Latine* tranſlation calleth *Sophiſtas*: *Vatablus* and *Pagninus Genethliacos*, or *Phyſicos*, or *Philoſophers*, or (according to the note of *Vatablus*) *Naturaliſts*: *Nempe ſunt Magi apud Barbaros, quod Philoſophi apud Græcos* (*ſcilicet*) *divinarum humanarumq; rerum ſcientiam profitentes; For the Magi are the ſame with the Barbarians, as the Philoſophers are with the Gracians* (that is) *men that profeſſe the knowledge of things both divine and humane.* The Greeke & the Engliſh call them *Inchanters*; *Junius, Magicians*; *Caſtalion, Conjecturers*: in the *Syrian* they are all foure by one name called *Sapientes Babylonis*; *The Wiſemen of Babel.*

Demonolog. l. 1. cap. 1.

The ſecond ſort *Vatablus, Pagnin, Junius*, and our Engliſh, call Aſtrologers; *Hierome* and the *Septuagint*, Magicians.

The third kind are *Malefici*, or *Venefici*; in *Hierom, Pagnin*, and the *Septuagint*, Witches or Poyſoners: in *Junius, Præſtigiatores* of Sorcerers, as in Engliſh.

That Witches are alſo rightly ſo called *Venefici*, or *Poyſoners*; and that indeed there is a kinde of *Malefici*, which without any Art of Magicke or Mecromancie uſe the helpe of the Devill to doe miſchiefe, *His Majeſtie* confirmeth in the firſt Chapter of his ſecond Booke: ſpeaking alſo in the fift Chapter of their practice, to mixe the powder of dead bodies with other things by the Divell prepared; and at other times to make pictures of Waxe, or Clay, or otherwiſe (as it were *Sacramentaliter*) to effect thoſe things, which the Devill by other meanes bringeth to paſſe.

The fourth, all Tranſlators call *Chaldæans*: who tooke upon them to foretell all things to come, as well naturall as humane, and their events: and this they vaunted to performe by the influences of the Starres by them obſerved, and underſtood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which have made odious the very name of *Magicke*, having chiefly ſought (as is the manner of all impoſtures) to counterfeit the higheſt and moſt nobleſt part of it, yet ſo as they have alſo crept into the inferior degrees.

A ſecond kind of *Magicke* was that part of *Aſtrologie*, which had reſpect to ſowing and planting, and all kinds of agriculture and husbandrie: which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the Starres into thoſe lower Elements.

*Philo Judæus* goeth farther, affirming, that by this part of *Magicke* or *Aſtrologie*, together with the motions of the Starres and other heavenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he lived in *Chaldæa*: *Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognovit Creatorem*, (ſaith *Jo. Damaſcen*) *Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature. Joſephus* reporteth of *Abraham*, that *he inſtructed the Egyptians in Arithmeticke and Aſtronomie, who before* Abrahams *comming unto them knew none of theſe ſciences.*

De vit. ſanct.
Glyc. Annal.
fol. 180.

And ſo doth *Archangelus de Burgo*, in defence of *Mirandula* againſt *Garſias*: Alexander *&* Eupolemon *dicunt, quod* Abraham *ſanctitate & ſapientia omnium præſtantiſſimus, Chaldæos primùm, deinde Phœnices, demum Ægyptios ſacerdotes Aſtrologiam & divin docuerit*; Alexander (ſaith he, *meaning* Alexander Polyhiſtor) *and* Eupolemon *affirme, that* Abraham *the holyeſt and wiſeſt of men, did firſt teach the Chaldæans, then the Phœnicians; laſtly, the Egyptian Prieſts, Aſtrologie and divine knowledge.*

The third kind of *Magicke* contayneth the whole Philoſophie of nature; not the brabblings of the *Ariſtotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inmoſt vertues, and draweth them out of Natures hidden boſome to humane uſe: *Virtutes in centro centri latentes*; *Vertues hidden in the center of the center*, according to the *Chymiſts*. Of this ſort were *Albertus*, *Arnoldus de villa nova*, *Raymond*, *Bacon*, and many others: and before theſe in elder times, and who better underſtood the power of Nature, and how to apply things that worke to things that ſuffer, were *Zoroaſter* before ſpoken of: *Apollonius Tyanæus* remembred by S. *Hierome* to *Paulinus*; in ſome mens opinion *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romans*: among the *Indians*, *Theſpian*: among the *Egyptians*, *Hermes*: among the *Babylonians*, *Budda*: the *Thracians* had *Zamolxis*: the *Hyperboreans* (as is ſuppoſed) *Abbaris*: & the *Italians*, *Petrus Aponenſis*. The *Magick* which theſe men profeſt, is thus defined: *Magia eſt connexio à viro ſapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, ſibi congruenter reſpondentibus, ut inde opera prodeant non ſine eorum admiratione qui cauſam ignorant: Magick is the connexion of naturall agents and patients, anſwerable each to other, wrought by a wiſe man, to the bringing forth of ſuch effects, as are wonderfull to thoſe that know not their cauſe.*

See upon his
Comment. in
Aug. de Civit.
Dei. l. 18. c. 2.

In all theſe three kindes, which other men divide into foure, it ſeemeth that *Zoroaſter* was exceedingly learned: eſpecially in the firſt and higheſt. For in his Oracles he confeſſeth God to be the creator of the Univerſall: he beleeveth of the * *Trinity*, which he could not inveſtigate by any naturall knowledge: he ſpeaketh of Angels, and of *Paradiſe*: approveth the immortalitie of the ſoule: teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, & Love, diſcourſing of the Abſtinence and Charitie of the *Magi*: Which Oracles of his, *Pſellus*, *Ficinus*, *Patritius*, and others have gathered and tranſlated.

* *Toto in mundo lucet Trias, cujus Monas eſt princeps. Cuncta namq; perfecit pater, & menti tradidit ſecunda.*
*Pſel. & Ficin.*
*De præp. Evang. lib. 1 cap. 7.*

Of this *Zoroaſter*, *Euſebius* in the *Theologie* of the *Phœnicians*, uſing *Zoroaſters* owne words: *Hæc ad verbum ſcribit* (ſaith *Euſebius*) *Deus primus incorruptibilium, ſempiternus, ingenitus, expers partium, ſibiipſi ſimillimus, bonorum omnium auriga, munera non expectans, optimus, prudentiſſimus, pater juris, ſine doctrina juſtitiam perdoctus, natura perfectus, ſapiens, ſacræ naturæ unicus inventor &c. Thus writeth* Zoroaſter *word for word. God the firſt incorruptible, everlaſting, unbegotten, without parts, moſt like himſelfe, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the beſt, the wiſeſt, the father of right, having learned juſtice without teaching, perfect, wiſe by nature, the only inventer thereof.*

*Sixtus Senenſis* ſpeaking of the wiſedome of the *Chaldæans*, doth diſtinguiſh thoſe wiſe

Lib. 2. fol. 26.

men into five orders,(to wit) *Chaſcedim*, or *Chaldæans* : *Aſaphim*, or *Magicians* : *Chartumim*; (which he tranſlates *Ariolie*, or *Sophiſts* ) *Mechaſphim*, or *Malefici*, or *Venefici*, *Witches*, or *Poyſoners*; and *Gazarim*, *Augures*, or *Aruſpices*, or *Diviners*.

*Chaſcedim* were thoſe which had the name of *Chaldæans*, which were *Aſtronomers* : *Hi cœlorum motus diligentiſsimè ſpectârunt*; *Theſe did moſt diligently contemplate the motions of the heavens* : whom *Philo* in the life of *Abraham* deſcribeth.

*Aſaphim* were in the old *Latine* tranſlation called *Philoſophers* : of the *Septuagint* and of *Hierome*, *Magicians* : *Qui de omnium tam divinarum quàm humanarum rerum cauſis Philoſophati ſunt*; *Who diſcourſed of the cauſes of all things, as well divine as humane* : of whom *Origen* makes *Balaam* ( the ſon of *Beor* ) to be the firſt : but *Laertius* aſcribeth the invention of this art to *Zoroaſtres* the *Perſian*. *Laert.l.1.*

*Chartumim*, or *Inchanters*, the Diſciples ( ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, *Plinie*, and *Juſtine* ) of another *Zoroaſtres* : who corrupted the admirable wiſedome of the *Magi*, which he received from his Anceſters.

*Mechaſphim*, or *Venefici*, or *Witches*, are thoſe which we have ſpoken already out of *His Majeſties* booke of *Dæmonologia*.

*Gazarim*, or *Aruſpices* (after Saint *Hierome* ) which divine from the entrailes of beaſts ſlaine for ſacrifices : or by *Gazarim* others underſtand *Augures*, who divine by the flying, ſinging, or feeding of birds.

By this diſtinction we may perceive the difference betweene thoſe wiſe men which the kings of *Babylon* entertained; and that the name and profeſſion of the *Magi* among the ancient *Perſians* was moſt honeſt. For as *Pencer* truely obſerveth, *Praerant religioni Perſicæ, ut in populo Dei Levitæ, ſtudiiſq; veræ Philoſophiæ dediti erant : nec quiſquam Rex Perſarum poterat eſſe, qui non antea Magorum diſciplinam ſcientiamq; percepiſſet*; *The Magi* (ſaith he) *were the chiefe Miniſters of the Perſian Religion, as the Levites among Gods people, & they were given to the ſtudies of true Philoſophie : neither could any be King of the Perſians, who had not firſt beene exerciſed in the myſteries and knowledge of the Magi*. *Peucr.de Divinat.in c.de mag.fol.135.136.* *Sixtus Senenſis*, in the defence of *Origen* againſt *Polychronius* and *Theophilus*, hath two kinds of *Magicke*, his owne words are theſe : *Et ne quem moveant præmiſſa* Polychronij *&* Theophili *teſtimonia, ſciendum eſt duplicem eſſe Magiam; alteram ubiq; ab* Origine *damnatam, quæ per fœdera cum dæmonibus inita aut verè aut apparenter operatur*; *alteram ab* Origine *laudatam, quæ ad practicen naturalis philoſophiæ pertinet, docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad invicem agentium ac patientium*; *That the teſtimonies of* Theophilus *aud* Polychronius ( *ſaith he* ) *may not move any man, it is to be underſtood that Magicke is of two ſorts, the one every where condemned by* Origen; *which worketh (whether truely or ſeemingly) by covenants made with Devills*; *the other commended by* Origen; *which appertaineth to the practicke part of naturall Philoſophie, teaching to worke admirable things by the mutuall application of naturall vertues, agent and ſuffering reciprocally*. *Bibl.l.6.fol.424.*

This partition *Hierome* doth embrace in the firſt of his Commentaries upon *Daniel* : where conſidering of the difference which *Daniel* makes betweene theſe foure kinds of wiſe Men formerly remembred, he uſeth this diſtinction : *Quos nos hariolos*; *cæteri* ἐπαοιδοὺς (*id eſt* ) *incantatores interpretati ſunt, videntur mihi eſſe qui verbis rem peragunt*; *Magi, qui de ſingulis philoſophantur*; *malefici, qui ſanguine utuntur & victimis, & ſæpe contingunt corpora mortuorum : porro in Chaldæis Genethliacos ſignificari puto, quos vulgo Mathematicos vocant. Conſuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem ſuam, eo quòd ſint Philoſophi Chaldaeorum : & ad artis hujus ſcientiam Reges quoq; & Principes ejuſdem gentis omnia faciunt*; *unde & in nativitate Domini Salvatoris ipſi primùm ortum ejus intellexerunt, & venientes ſanctam Bethlehem adoraverunt puerum, ſtella deſuper oſtendente*; *They whom we call Sorcerers, and others interpret Inchanters, ſeeme to me ſuch as performe things by words*; *Magicians, ſuch as handle every thing philoſophically*; *Witches, that uſe bloud and ſacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead : further, among the Chaldæans I take them to be ſignified by the name of Conjecturers upon nativities, whom the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common cuſtome takes Magicians for Witches, who are otherwiſe reputed in their owne Nation : for they are the Philoſophers of the Chaldæans : yea King and Princes of that Nation doe all that they doe according to the knowledge of this Art : whence at the nativitie of the Lord our Saviour they firſt of all underſtood his birth, and comming unto holy Bethlehem, did worſhip the Childe : the Starre from above ſhewing him unto them.* By this therefore it appeareth that there is, great difference betweene the doctrine of a *Magician*, and the abuſe of the word. For though ſome Writers affirme, that *Magus hodie dicitur, qui ex fædere facto utitur diaboli opera ad rem quamcunq; That he is called a Magician now-adaies, who having entred league with the Divell, uſeth his helpe to any matter*: yet (as our Saviour ſaid of *Divorce*) it was not ſo from the beginning. For the Art of *Magicke* is of the wiſedome of Nature; other Arts which undergoe that title, were invented by the falſhood, ſubtlety, & envie of the Devil. In the latter there is no other doctrine, than the uſe of certaine ceremonies, *Per malã fidem; By an evill faith:* in the former no other ill, than the inveſtigation of thoſe vertues and hidden properties which God hath given to his creatures, and how fitly to apply things that worke, to things that ſuffer. And though by the *Jewes* thoſe excellent *Magicians, Philoſophers*, & *Divines*, which came to worſhip our Saviour *Chriſt*, were termed *Mechaſchephim*, or *Mecaſphim*; yet had they no other reaſon than common cuſtome therein. *Conſuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit; Common cuſtome* (ſaith S. *Hierome*) *underſtandeth Witches under the name of Magicians: And antiquitie* (ſaith *Peter Martyr*) by the word (*Magi*) *underſtood good and wiſe men. Quid igitur expaveſcis Magi nomen formidoloſe, nomen Evangelio gratioſum, quod non maleficum & veneficum, ſed ſapientem ſonat & Sacerdotem? O thou fearefull one* (ſaith *Ficinus*) *why doubteſt thou to uſe the name of Magus, a name gracious in the Goſpell, which doth not ſignifie a Witch or Conjurer, but a wiſe man and a Prieſt?* For what brought this ſlander to that ſtudy and profeſſion, but onely idle ignorance, the Parent of cauſeleſſe admiration? *Cauſa fuit mirificentia quorundam operum, quæ (re vera) opera naturalia ſunt: veruntamen quia procuratione dæmonum, naturas ipſas vel conjungentium, vel commiſcentium, vel aliter ad operandum expedientium facta ſunt, opera dæmonum credebantur ab ignorantibus hæc. De operibus hujuſmodi eſt Magia naturalis, quam Necromantiam multi impropriè vocant: The marvellouſneſſe of ſome workes, which (indeed) are naturall, hath beene the cauſe of this ſlander: but becauſe theſe workes have beene done by procurement of Divels, joyning the natures together or mingling them, or howſoever fitting the natures to their working, they were thought the workes of the Divels by the ignorant. Among theſe workes is naturall Magicke, which men call very improperly Necromancie.*

*Hieron. in Daniel.*
*Pet. Mar. Loc.*
*Mar. Ficin. par. prim. fol. 573.*
*Gul. Pariſien. de Lege, cap. 14.*

*Mirandula* in his Apologie goeth further: *For by underſtanding* (ſaith he) *the uttermoſt activitie of naturall agents we are aſſiſted to know the Divinitie of Chriſt*: for otherwiſe (to uſe his owne words) *ignoratis terminis potentiæ & virtutis rerum naturalium, ſtat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, quæ fecit Chriſtus, poſſe fieri per media naturalia; The termes or limits of naturall power and vertue not underſtood, we muſt needs doubt whether thoſe very workes which Chriſt did, may not be done by naturall meanes*: after which he goeth on in this ſort: *Ideo non hæreticè, non ſuperſtitioſè dixi, ſed veriſsimè & Catholicè per talem Magiam adjuvari nos in cognoſcenda divinitate Chriſti: Therefore I ſayd not heretically, not ſuperſtitiouſly, but moſt truely and Catholikely, that by ſuch Magicke we are furthered in knowing the Divinitie of Chriſt.* And ſeeing the *Jewes* and others, the enemies of Chriſtian Religion, doe impudently and impiouſly object, that thoſe Miracles which *Chriſt* wrought were not above Nature, but by the exquiſite knowledge thereof performed: *Mirandula* a man for his yeares fuller of knowledge than any that this latter Age hath brought forth, might with good reaſon avow, that the uttermoſt of Natures workes being knowne, the workes which Chriſt did, and which (as himſelfe witneſſeth) no man could doe, doe manifeſtly teſtifie of themſelves, that they were performed by that hand which held Nature herein but as a Pencill, and by a power infinitely ſupreme and divine; and thereby thoſe that were faithleſſe, were either converted or put to ſilence.

*Fol. 80.*

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## §.III.

### *That the good knowledge in the ancient Magicke is not to be condemned: though the Divell here, as in other kindes, hath ſought to obtrude evill things, under the name and colour of good things.*

SEeing therefore it is confeſſed by all of underſtanding, that a *Magician* (according to the *Perſian* word) is no other than, *Divinorum cultor & interpres: A ſtudious obſerver & expounder of divine things*: and the Art of it ſelfe (I meane the Art of naturall *Magicke*) no other, *Quàm naturalis Philoſophiæ abſoluta conſummatio; Than the abſolute perfection of naturall Philoſophie*: Certainely then it proceeds from ignorance, and no way ſorteth with wiſe and learned men, *promiſcuè*, and without difference and diſtinction, to confound lawfull and praiſe-worthy knowledge with that impious, and (to uſe S. *Pauls* words) *with thoſe beggerly rudiments*, which the Divell hath ſhuffled in, & by them bewitcheth and befooleth graceleſſe men. For if we condemne naturall *Magicke*, or the wiſedome of Nature, becauſe the Divell (who knoweth more than any man) doth alſo teach Witches and Poyſoners the harmefull parts of Herbes, Drugges, Minerals, & Excrements: then may we by the ſame rule condemne the Phyſician, and the Art of healing. For the Divell alſo in the Oracles of *Amphiaraus*, *Amphilochus*, *Trophonius*, and the like; taught men in Dreames what Herbes and Drugges were proper for ſuch and ſuch diſeaſes. Now no man of judgement is ignorant, that the Divell from the beginning hath ſought to thruſt himſelfe into the ſame imployment among the Miniſters and Servants of God, changing himſelfe for that purpoſe into an Angell of Light. He hath led men to Idolatry as a Doctrine of Religion; he hath thruſt in his Prophets among thoſe of the true God; he hath corrupted the Art of *Aſtrologie*, by giving a divine power to the Starres, teaching men to eſteeme them as gods, and not as inſtruments. And (as *Bunting* obſerveth) it is true, that judiciall *Aſtrologie* is corrupted with many ſuperſtitions: but the abuſe of the thing takes not away the Art; conſidering that heavenly bodies (as even generall experience ſheweth) have and exerciſe their operation upon the inferiour. For the Sunne, and the Starre of *Mars* doe drie; the Moone doth moiſten, and governe the Tides of the Sea. Againe, the Planets, as they have ſeverall and proper names, ſo have they ſeverall and proper vertues: the Starres doe alſo differ in beautie and in magnitude; and to all the Starres hath God given alſo their proper names, which (had they not influences and vertues different) needed not: *He counteth the number of the Starres, and calleth them by their names.* But into the good & profitable knowledge of the celeſtiall influences, the Divell ceaſeth not to ſhuffle in his Superſtitions: and ſo to the knowledge of the ſecret vertues of Nature hath he faſtened his doctrine of *Characters*, Numbers and Incantations; and taught men to beleeve in the ſtrength of Words and Letters: (which without Faith in God are but Inke or common breath) thereby either to equall his own with the All-powerfull Word of God, or to diminiſh the glory of Gods creating Word, by whom are all things.

*Bunt. in chro.*

*Pſal. 147.*

Moreover, he was never ignorant, that both the wiſe and the ſimple obſerve when the Sea-birds forſake the ſhores and fly into the Land, that commonly ſome great ſtorme followeth; that the high flying of the Kite and the Swallow, betoken faire weather; that the crying of Crowes and bating of Ducks, foreſhew raine: for they feele the Ayre moiſtened in their Quils. And it is written in *Hieremie the* Prophet, *Even the Storke in the ayre knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, & the Swallow.* Hereupon, this enemie of Mankinde, working upon theſe as upon the reſt of Gods creatures, long time abuſed the Heathen by teaching them to obſerve the flying of Fowles, and thereby to judge of good or ill ſucceſſe in the War: and (withall) to looke into their entrailes for the ſame, as if God had written the ſecrets of unſearchable providence in the livers & bowels of birds and beaſts. Again, becauſe it pleaſed God ſomtimes by Dreames not onely to warne and teach his Prophets and Apoſtles, but Heathen Princes alſo; as *Abimelech* to reſtore *Sara* to *Abraham*; becauſe he admoniſhed *Joſeph*, and by Dreame informed *Jacob*, *Laban*, *Pharao*, *Salomon*, *Paul*, *Ananias*, the *Magi* of the Eaſt, and others. For at it is remembred in *Job*: *In Dreames and Viſions of the night, when ſleepe falleth upon men, &c. then God openeth the eares, that he might cauſe man to returne from his enterprize*: therefore, I ſay, doth the Divell alſo practiſe his Divinations by Dreames, or (after *Pariſienſis*) *divinitatis imitationes, his mocke-divinitie.* This in the end grew ſo common, as *Ariſtides* compiled an *Ephemerides* of his owne Dreames: *Mithridates* of thoſe of his *Concubines*. Yea the *Romanes* finding the inconvenience hereof, becauſe all dreams (without diſtinction of caſes) were drawne to Divination, forbad the ſame by a Law, as by the words of prohibition (*aut narrandis ſomniis occultam aliquam artem divinandi*) it may appeare. Likewiſe by the Law of God in *Deuteronomie, cap. 13.* ſeducing Dreamers were ordered to be ſlaine. Yet it is to be contemned, not that *Marcus Antonius* was told a remedy in his Dreame for two grievous diſeaſes that oppreſt him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of *Ptolomies* poiſoned wound; nor that which Saint *Auguſtine* reporteth of a *Millanoiſe*, whoſe ſon (the Father dead) being demanded a debt already paid, was told by his Father in a dreame where the Acquittance lay to diſcharge it: not

*Cap. 8. ver. 7.*

*Gen. 12. 17.*

*Job 33. 15.*

*G. Pariſien. de leg. 24. cap.*

*Codex. de malefic. & Mathemat. leg. & ſi accepta.*

*Aug. de cura pro mortuis agenda.*

that of *Aſtyages* of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reaſon of all which, foraſmuch as the cauſe is not in our ſelves, this place denieth diſpute.

## §. IIII.

## *That* Daniels *miſliking* Nabuchodonoſors *condemning of the Magicians, doth not juſtifie all their practices.*

BUt it may be objected, that if ſuch Divinations as the Heathens commonly uſed were to be condemned in them, who tooke on them very many and ſtrange Revelations; how came it to paſſe that *Daniel* both condemned the haſtie ſentence of *Nabuchodonoſor* againſt the *Magicians* of *Chaldæa*, and in a ſort forbad it: eſpecially conſidering that ſuch kind of people God himſelfe commanded to be ſlaine. To this, divers anſwers many be given. Firſt, it ſeemeth that *Daniel* had reſpect to thoſe *Chaldæans*, becauſe they acknowledged that the Dreame of the king, which himſelfe had forgotten, could not be knowne to any man by any Art either Naturall or Diabolicall: *For there is none other* (ſaid the *Chaldæans*) *that can declare it before the king, except the Gods, whoſe dwelling is not with fleſh*: and herein they confeſſed the power of the Ever-living God.

*Deut.13.& 18. Levit.20.*

Secondly, it may be conjectured (and that with good reaſon) that among ſo many learned men, ſome of them did not exerciſe themſelves in any evill or unlawfull Arts, but were meerely *Magicians* and *Naturaliſts*: and therefore when the king commanded to kill all, *Daniel* perſwaded the contrary, and called it a haſty judgement, which proceeded with furie without examination. And that ſome of thoſe mens ſtudies and profeſſions were lawfull, it may be gathered by *Daniels* inſtruction: for himſelfe had bin taught by them, and was called chiefe of the Inchanters: of which ſome were termed *Soothſayers*, others *Aſtrologians*, others *Chaldæans*, others *Magi* or *Wiſe-men*: and therefore of diſtinct profeſſions.

Thirdly, *Daniel* miſliked and forbad the execution of that judgement, becauſe it was unjuſt. For howſoever thoſe men might deſerve puniſhment for the practice of unlawfull Arts (though not unlawfull according to the Law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltleſſe. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the Kings thought, which the Divell himſelfe could not know. So then in *Daniels* diſlike, and hindering of the execution of ſentence of death pronounced againſt the *Magicians*, there is no abſolute juſtifying of their practice and profeſſion.

## §. V.

## *The abuſe of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemne the right uſe of them.*

NOtwithſtanding this mixture every where, of good with evill, of falſ-hood with truth, of corruption with cleanneſſe and purity: The good, The truth, The puritie in every kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worſhipping of God by Sacrifice, there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forebare to offer Sacrifice to the God of all power, becauſe the Divell in the Image of *Baal*, *Aſtaroth*, *Chemoth*, *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and the like was ſo adored.

*Euſt.ex Artapan.& Polybi.*

Neither did the abuſe of *Aſtrologie* terrifie *Abraham* (if we may beleeve the moſt ancient and religious Hiſtorians) from obſerving the motions and natures of heavenly bodies; neither can it dehort wiſe and learned men in theſe dayes from attributing thoſe vertues, influences, and inclinations to the Starres and other lights of Heaven, which God hath given to thoſe his glorious creatures.

The Sympatheticall and Antipatheticall working of Herbes, Plants, Stones, Minerals, with their other utmoſt vertues, ſometimes taught by the Divell, and applyed by his Miniſters to harmefull and uncharitable ends, can never terrifie the honeſt and learned *Phyſician* or *Magician* from the uſing of them to the helpe and comfort of Mankind: neither can the illuſions, whereby the Divell betrayeth ſuch men as are fallen from God, make other men reject the obſervations of Dreames; ſo farre as with a good Faith and a Religious caution they may make uſe of them.

*Deut.18.20.*

Laſtly, the prohibition to marke flying of Fowles (as ſignes of good or evill ſucceſſe) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crowes againſt Raine, or to any obſervation not ſuperſtitious, and whereof a reaſon or cauſe may be given. For if we confound Arts with the abuſe of them, we ſhall not onely condemne all honeſt Trades and enterchange among men (for there are that deceive in all profeſſions) but we ſhall in a ſhort time bury in forgetfulneſſe all excellent knowledge and all learning, or obſcure and cover it over with a moſt ſcornefull and beggarly ignorance: and (as *Plinie* teacheth) we ſhould ſhew our ſelves ***ingratos erga eos, qui labore curaq; lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce: Unthankfull we ſhould ſhew our ſelves towards thoſe, who with paines and care have diſcovered unto us light in this light.***

Indeed not only theſe naturall knowledges are condemned by thoſe that are ignorant; but the Mathematicks alſo and Profeſſers thereof: though thoſe that are excellently learned judge of it in this ſort: ***In ſpeculo Mathematico verum illud, quod in omni ſcibili quaritur, elucet; non modò remota ſimilitudine, ſed fulgida quadam propinquitate; In the Glaſſe of the Mathematickes that Truth doth ſhine, which is ſought in every kind of Knowledge; not in an obſcuring, but in a neere and manifeſt repreſentation.***

Cuſan.Comp. Theolog.c.1.

## §. VI.

## *Of the divers kindes of unlawfull Magicke.*

IT is true that there are many Arts, if we may ſo call them, which are covered with the name of Magicke: and eſteemed abuſively to be as branches of that Tree, on whoſe root they never grew. The firſt of theſe hath the name of Necromancy or Goetia: and of this againe there are diverſe kindes. The one is an Invocation at the graves of the dead, to whom the Divell himſelfe gives anſwer in ſtead of thoſe that ſeeme to appeare. For certaine it is, that the immortall ſoules of men doe not inhabit the duſt and dead bodies, but they give motion and underſtanding to the living: death being nothing elſe but a ſeparation of the body and ſoule: and therefore the ſoule is not to be found in the Graves.

A ſecond practice of thoſe men, who pay Tribute or are in league with Satan, is that of conjuring or of rayſing up Divels, of whom they hope to learne what they liſt. Theſe men are ſo diſtract, as they beleeve that by terrible words they make the Divell to tremble; that being once impaled in a Circle (a Circle which cannot keepe out a Mouſe) they therein (as they ſuppoſe) inſconce themſelves againſt that great Monſter. Doubtleſſe, they forget that the Divell is not terrified from doing ill and all that is contrary to God and goodneſſe, no, not by the fearefull word of the Almighty: and that he feared not to offer to ſit in Gods ſeate, that he made no ſcruple to tempt our Saviour Chriſt, whom himſelfe called the Sonne of God. So, forgetting theſe proud parts of his, an unworthy wretch will yet reſolve himſelfe, that he can draw the Divell out of Hell, and terrifie him with a Phraſe: whereas in very truth, the obedience which the Divels ſeeme to uſe, is but thereby to poſſeſſe themſelves of the bodies and ſoules of thoſe which raiſe them up; as His Majeſtie in his Booke aforenamed hath excellently taught: ***That the Divels obedience is only, ſecundum quid, ſcilicet ex pacto; reſpectivè,*** that is, ***upon bargaine.***

I cannot tell what they can doe upon thoſe ſimple and ignorant Divels, which inhabite *Iamblicus* imagination; but ſure I am the reſt are apt enough to come uncalled: and alwaies attending the cogitations of their ſervants and vaſſals, doe no way need any ſuch inforcement.

*Sunt in mundo genus quoddam poteſtatum valde diviſum, indiſcretum & inconſideratum; & quod neque verum à falſo neque poſſibile diſcernit ab impoſſibili.* L.Vives in cap. 11.lib.10. Aug.de Civit. Dei.lib.10.

Or it may be that theſe Conjurers deale altogether with *Cardans* mortall Divels, following the opinion of *Rabbi Avernathan* and of *Porphirius*, who taught that theſe kinde of Divels lived not above a thouſand yeares: which *Plutarch* in his Treatiſe *de Oraculorum defectu* confirmeth, making example of the great god Pan. For were it true that the Divels were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by them, then would they alwayes feare thoſe words and threats, by which at other times they are willingly maſtered. But the Familiar of *Simon Magus* when he had lifted him up in the Ayre, caſt him headlong out of his clawes, when he was ſure he ſhould periſh with the fall. If this perhaps were done by S. *Peters* Prayers (of which S. *Peter* no where vaunteth) yet the ſame prancke at other times upon his owne accord the Divell played with *Theodotus*: who tranſported (as *Simon Magus* was ſuppoſed to have beene) had the ſame mortall fall that he had. The like ſuceeſſe had *Budas*, a principall pillar of the Manichæan Hereſie, as *Socrates* in his Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory witneſſeth: and for a manifeſt proofe hereof we ſee it

Cuſa.exerc.l.2.

Euſeb.hiſt.Eccl. lib.5.c.16.

Lib.1.c.21.

every

2. Theſſ. 2.

Exercitat. l. 2.

every day, that the Divell leaves all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallowes, for whom at other times he maketh himſelfe a *Pegaſus*, to conveigh them in haſte to places far diſtant, or at leaſt makes them ſo thinke: *For to theſe that received not the truth* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *God ſhall ſend them ſtrong illuſions.* Of theſe their ſuppoſed tranſportations (yet agreeing with their confeſſions) *His Majeſtie* in the ſecond Booke and the fourth Chapter of the *Demonologie*, hath confirmed by unanſwerable reaſons, that they are meerely illuſive. Another ſort there are who take on them to include *Spirits* in Glaſſes & Cryſtals; of whom *Cuſanus*: *Fatui ſunt incantatores, qui in ungue & vitro volunt ſpiritum includere, quia Spiritus non clauditur corpore: They are fooliſh Inchanters, which will ſhut up their ſpirits within their nailes or in Glaſſe: for a Spirit cannot be incloſed by a body.*

There is alſo another Art beſides the afore-mentioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or *White Magick*; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Invocation they draw out of Heaven, and communicate withall. But the adminiſtring Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due unto their Creator; ſo ſeeing they are moſt free Spirits, there is no man ſo abſurd to thinke (except the divell have corrupted his underſtanding) that they can be conſtrained or commanded out of Heaven by threats. Wherefore let the profeſſours thereof cover themſelves how they pleaſe by a profeſſed puritie of life, by the miniſterie of Infants, by faſting and abſtinence in generall; yet all thoſe that tamper with immateriall ſubſtances and abſtract natures, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or Inforcement, are men of evill faith, and in the power of *Satan*. For good Spirits or Angels cannot be conſtrained; and the reſt are Divels, which willingly obey.

Other ſorts there are of wicked Divinations: as by fire, called *Pyromantia*: by water, called *Hydromantia*: by the ayre, called *Mataotechnia*, and the like.

The laſt, and (indeed) the worſt of all other is Faſcination or Witchcraft: the Practiſers whereof are no leſſe envious and cruell, revengefull and bloudy, than the Divell himſelfe. And theſe accurſed creatures having ſold their ſoules to the Divell, worke two wayes; either by the Divell immediately, or by the art of poyſoning. The difference betweene *Necromancers* and *Witches*, *His Majeſtie* hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a ſort) command; the other obey the Divell.

Ælian. l. 6. nat. hiſtor.

There is another kind of pettie Witchery (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of Beaſts and Birds, of which *Pythagoras* was accuſed, becauſe an Eagle lighted on his ſhoulder in the *Olympian* fields. But if the ſame exceeded the Art of Falconrie, yet was it no more to be admired then *Mahomets* Dove, which he had uſed to feed with Wheate out of his eare: which Dove, when it was hungrie, lighted on *Mahomets* ſhoulder, and thruſt his Bill therein to finde his breake-faſt: *Mahomet* perſwading the rude and ſimple *Arabians*, that it was the Holy Ghoſt that gave him advice. And certainly if *Banks* had lived in elder times, he would have ſhamed all the Inchanters of the World: for whoſoever was moſt famous among them, could never maſter or inſtruct any beaſt as he did his Horſe.

Lucian Satyr.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their Dens, or killing of them in the holes by Inchantments (which the *Marſians* a people of *Italie* practiſed: *Colubros diſrumpit Marſi cantu: inchanting Marſia makes the ſnakes to burſt.*) That it hath beene uſed it appeares, *Pſalme* 58.6. though I doubt not, but that many Impoſtures may be in this kinde, and even by naturall cauſes it may be done. For there are many Fumes that will either draw them out or deſtroy them; as womens haire burnt, and the like. So many things may be layed in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I find no other *Magicke* or Inchantments than to draw out a Mouſe with a piece of toſted Cheeſe.

## §. VII.

### *Of divers wayes by which the Divell ſeemeth to worke his wonders.*

But to the end that we may not dote with the *Manichees*, who make two powers of gods: that we doe not give to the Divell any other dominion than he hath (not to ſpeake of his abilitie, when he is the Miniſter of Gods vengeance; as when *Egypt*, according to *David*, was deſtroyed by evill Angels) he otherwiſe worketh but three wayes. The firſt is by moving the cogitation and affections of men: The ſecond by the exquiſite knowledge of Nature: and the third by deceit, illuſion, and falſe ſemblance. And that they cannot worke what they would, *G. Pariſienſis* giveth three cauſes: the firſt, a naturall impotency: the ſecond, their own reaſon diſſwading them from daring overmuch, or indeed (and that which is the only certaine cauſe) the great mercy of the Creator, *Tenens eos ligatas* (ſaith the ſame Author) *velut immaniſſimas belluas.* S. *Auguſtine* was of opinion that the Frogges which *Pharaohs* Sorcerers produced were not naturall, but that the Divell (by betraying of their ſenſes that looked on) made them appeare to be ſuch. For as *Varius* obſerveth, thoſe Frogges of the Inchanters were not found corrupted as thoſe of *Moſes* were, which might argue that they were not creatures indeed. Hereof ſaith Saint Auguſtine: *Nec ſanè Dæmones naturas creant, ſed quæ à Deo creata ſunt commutant, ut videantur eſſe quod non ſunt: The Divels create not any natures, but ſo change thoſe that are created by God, as they ſeeme to be that which they be not:* of which in the 83. queſtion he giveth the reaſon. *Dæmon quibuſdam nebulis implet omnes meatus intelligentiæ, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis ſolet,* (that is) *The Divell fils with certaine clouds all paſſages of the underſtanding, by which the beame of the minde is wont to open the light of reaſon.*

*Sin.pariſ.de univerſo.p.2.c. 70.*

And as *Tertullian* in his Booke *de anima* rightly conceiveth, if the Divell can poſſeſſe himſelfe of the eyes of our mindes and blinde them, it is not hard for him to dazell thoſe of the body. For (out of doubt) by the ſame way that God paſſeth out, the Divell entreth in, beginning with the fantaſie, by which he doth more eaſily betray the other faculties of the ſoule: for the fantaſie is moſt apt to be abuſed by vaine apprehenſions.

*Maxima vis eſt phantaſiæ ad errores.*

*Aquinas* on the contrary held that thoſe Frogges were not imaginarie, but ſuch indeed as they ſeemed: not made *Magicæ artis ludibrio*, which indeed agreeth not with the Art, but (according to Thomas) *Per aptam & idoneam agentium & patientium applicationem: By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients.* And this I take to be more probable. For *Moſes* could not be deceived by that ſleight of falſe ſemblance; and Saint *Auguſtine* in another caſe like unto this (to wit of the turning of *Diomedes* his companions into Birds, *per activa cum paſſivis*, inclineth rather to this opinion: though I am not perſwaded that Saint *Auguſtine* beleeved that of *Diomedes*. And this opinion of *Thomas*, *G. Pariſienſis* a man very learned alſo confirmeth. For ſpeaking of naturall *Magick* he uſeth theſe words; *De hujuſmodi autem operibus eſt ſubita generatio ranarum, & pediculorum, & vermium, aliorumq; animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus ſola natura operatur, verùm adhibitis adjutoriis, quæ ipſa ſemina naturæ confortant & accuunt, ita ut opus generationis tantum accelerent, ut eis qui hoc neſciunt non opus naturæ videatur (quæ tardius talia efficere conſuevit) ſed potentia Dæmonum, &c.* to which he addeth: *Qui autem in his docti ſunt, talia non mirantur, ſed ſolum Creatorem in his glorificant: In ſuch workes* (ſaith he) *the ſodaine generation of Frogges and Lice, and Wormes, and ſome other creatures is: in all which Nature alone worketh; but by means ſtrengthening the Seeds of Nature, & quickning them; in ſuch wiſe that they ſo haſten the worke of generation, that it ſeemeth to the ignorant not to be the worke of Nature, which uſually worketh more leiſurely, but they think it is done by the powers of Divels. But they who are learned in theſe Arts, marvaile not at ſuch working, but glorifie the Creator.* Now by theſe two wayes the Divels doe muſt frequently worke, (to wit) by knowing the uttermoſt of nature; and by illuſion: for their is no incomprehenſible or unſearchable power, but of God onely.

*De leg c.24.fol. 6.7.*

For ſhall we ſay, he cauſeth ſometimes thunders, lightnings, and tempeſts; and can infect the ayre, as well as move it or compreſſe it; who knowes not that theſe things are alſo naturall? Or may it be objected that he fore-telleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illuſion. It is true, that he ſometimes doth it; but how? In elder ages he ſtole his knowledge out of the predictions of the Prophets: and he foretold the death of *Saul*, at ſuch time as he was in his own poſſeſſion and power to diſpoſe of. And he that hath lived from the infancie of the world to this day, and obſerved the ſucceſſe of every counſaile: he that by reaſon of his ſwift motions can informe himſelfe of all places, and preparations: he that is of counſaile with all thoſe that ſtudie & practiſe ſubverſion and deſtruction: he that is Prince of the ayre, and can thence better judge, than thoſe that inhabite the earth: if he ſhould not ſometimes, yea if he ſhould not very oftentimes gheſſe rightly of things to come (where God pleaſeth not to give impediment) it were very ſtrange. For we ſee that wiſe and learned men doe

*Ephe.2.2.& 6. 12.*

*Diabolus magnum habet rerum uſum: quæ res multum habet momenti in quovis negotio. Aug. de Anima c.26.27.&c.*

oftentimes by comparing like cauſes conceive rightly of like effects, before they happen: and yet where the Divell doubteth, and would willingly keepe his credit, he evermore anſwereth by Riddles: as

Crœſus *Halym penetrans magnam ſubvertit opum vim:*

If *Cræſus* over Halys goe,
Great Kingdomes he ſhall overthrow.

Which anſwer may be taken either way: either for the overthrow of his own Kingdome, or of his Enemies. And thus far we grant the Divell may proceed in predictions, which (otherwiſe) belong to God onely, as it is in Eſay: *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods; ſhew us at all times and certainly what is to come. Solius enim divinæ intelligentiæ ac ſapientiæ eſt, occulta noſſe & revelare; It is onely proper to Gods underſtanding and wiſedome, to know and reveale hidden things.*

*Gui. Pariſienſis de legib. c. 24.*

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## §. VIII.

### *That none was ever raiſed from the dead by the power of the Divell: and that it was not the true* Samuel *which appeared to* Saul.

*Juſt. Martyr in colloq. cum Tryphone in reſp. ad Ortho. quæſt. 52. Ambr. in Luc. l. 1. c. 1. Lyra in Reg. 1. Aug. ad Simpl. l. 2. q. 3. De Civit. Dei, l. 13. c. 8.*

TO conclude, it may be objected that the Divell hath raiſed from the dead: and that others by his power have done the like, as in the example given of *Samuel* raiſed by the Witch of *Endor*: which were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed, that ſome of the Divels acts exceeded all the powers of nature, falſe ſemblance, and other illuſions. *Juſtine Martyr* was ſometime of the opinion, that it was *Samul* indeede; and ſo was *Ambroſe*, *Lyra*, and *Burgenſis*; from which authorities thoſe men borrow ſtrength which ſo beleeve. But *Martyr* changed his opinion; and ſo did S. *Auguſtine*, who at firſt ſeemed to be indifferent: For in his queſtions upon the Old and New Teſtament, he accounteth it deteſtable to think that it was *Samuel* which appeared: and theſe be his words elſewhere to the ſame effect: *In requie ſunt animæ piorum à corpore ſeparatæ, impiorum autem pœnas luunt, donec iſtarum ad vitam æternam, illarum verò ad æternam mortem quæ ſecunda dicitur, corpora reviviſcant; The ſoules of the godly ſeparated from their bodies are at reſt, but thoſe of the wicked ſuffer puniſhment, till the bodies of the juſt riſe to eternall life, and of the wicked to an eternall and ſecond death.*

*Aug. de ver. Apoſt. 18. Juſt. Mart. ad Orthodox. q. 75. Hilar. Pſal. 2. in fine. Tert. de anima in fin. Athanaſ. q. 13. Chryſ. hom. 19. in Evang. Mat.*

And (beſides S. *Auguſtine*) *Juſtine Martyr*, *Helarius*, *Tertullian*, *Athanaſius*, *Chryſoſtome*, and others, beleeved firmely, and taught it: that the ſoules of men being once ſeparate from their bodies, did not wander on the earth at all: *Credere debemus* (ſaith Cyrill) *quum à corporibus ſanctorum animæ abierint, tanquam in manus chariſſimi patris Bonitati divinæ commendari; We muſt beleeve when the ſoules of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the divine Goodneſſe, as into the hands of a moſt deare Father.* If then they be in Heaven, the power of the Divell cannot ſtretch ſo high: if in Hell, *Ab inferno nulla eſt redemptio; From hell there is no redemption.* For there are but two habitations after death: *Unum* (ſaith Auguſtine) *in igne æterno; alterum in regno æterno; The one in eternall fire; the other in Gods eternall Kingdome.* And though it be written in *Jure Pontificio*, that many there are who beleeve that the dead have againe appeared to the living; yet the *Gloſſe* upon the ſame Text findes it ridiculous: *Credunt, & malè, quia ſunt Phantaſmata* (ſaith the Gloſſe) *They beleeve, and they beleeve amiſſe, becauſe they be but Phantaſmes* or *Apparitions*. For whereas any ſuch voyce hath beene heard, ſaying, I am the Soule of ſuch a one: *Hæc oratio à fraude atq; deceptione diabolica eſt; That ſpeech is framed by the fraud and deception of the Divell*, ſaith *Chryſoſtome*. Likewiſe of the ſame, ſaith Tertullian: *Abſit ut animam cujuſlibet ſancti, nedum Prophetæ, à dæmonio credamus extractam; God forbid that we ſhould thinke that the ſoule of any holy man, much leſſe of a Prophet, ſhould be drawn up againe by a Divell.*

*26. q. 5. Epiſcopi.*

It is true that the Scriptures call that apparition, *Samuel*; ſo doe they the wooden images, *Cherubins*: and falſe brazen gods are gods, and the like. And whereas theſe of the contrary opinion build upon that place of the 26. of *Eccleſiaſticus* (a booke not numbred among the *Canonicall* Scriptures, as S. *Auguſtine* himſelfe in this Treatiſe, if it be his, *De cura pro mortuis agenda*, confeſſeth) yet *Siracides*, following the literall ſenſe and phraſe of the Scriptures, proveth nothing at all: For though the Divell would willingly perſwade,that the ſoules(yea even of juſt men) were in his power; yet ſo farre is it from the promiſes of the Scriptures,and from Gods juſt and mercifull nature, and ſo contrary to all divine reaſon, as Saint *Auguſtine* (or whoſoever wrote that booke before cited)might rightly terme it a deteſtable opinion ſo to thinke. For if God had ſo abſolutely forſaken *Saul*, that he refuſed to anſwer him either by *Dreames*, by *Urim*, or by his *Prophets*: it were ſottiſh to conceive, that he would permit the Divell, or a wicked Witch, to raiſe a Prophet from the dead in *Sauls* reſpect: it being alſo contrary to his own divine Law to aske counſell of the dead; as in *Deuteronomy* 18. and elſewhere. Therefore it was the Divell, and not the ſoule of a dead body, that gave anſwer and advice.

But becauſe *Helias* and *Helizeus* had raiſed ſome from the dead by the power of God; thoſe Divels which S. *Auguſtine* calleth *Ludificatores animantium ſibi ſubjectorum*; *Mockers of their owne vaſſals*, caſting before their eyes a ſemblance of humane bodies,and framing ſounds to their eares like the voyces of men, doe alſo perſwade their graceleſſe and accurſed attendants,that themſelves both poſſeſſe,& have power over the ſoules of men. *Eludit Diabolus aciem tum ſpectantium, tum etiam cogitantium*, ſaith L. Vives; *The Divell beguileth the ſenſe both of the beholders, & of thoſe that ſo imagine*. Theſe then are the bounds of the Divels power, whom if we will not feare, we muſt feare to ſinne. For when he is not the inſtrument of Gods vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himſelfe his voluntary vaſſall: *Poteſt ad malum invitare, non poteſt trahere*, ſaith S. Auguſtine; *he can allure, but he cannot enforce to evill*. Such as thinke otherwiſe, may goe into the number remembred by *Lucretius*:

1 *Kin*.17.22.
2 *Kings*.4.34.
*Nullus enim magus aut dæmon mortuum verè unquam excitavit. Wier. de faſcin.*

*Nam veluti pueri trepidant,atq; omnia cæcis*
*In tenebris metuunt: ſic nos in luce timemus.*

We feare by light,as children in the darke.

# CHAP. XII.

## *Of the memorable buildings of* Ninus, *and of his Wife* Semiramis, *and of other of her Acts.*

### §. I.

### *Of the magnificent building of Nineve by* Ninus: *and of Babylon by* Semiramis.

BUt to come backe to *Ninus* the amplifier and finiſher of *Nineve*: whether he performed it before or after the overthrow of *Zoroaſter*, it is uncertain. As for the City it ſelf,it is agreed by all prophane Writers, and confirmed by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and anſwerable magnificence. For it had in compaſſe 440. *ſtadia*, or furlongs; the wals whereof were an hundred foot upright, and had ſuch a breadth as three Charriots might paſſe on the Rampire in front: theſe wals were garniſhed with 1500. Towers, which gave exceeding beauty to the reſt, and ſtrength, no leſſe admirable for the nature of thoſe times.

*Juſtin.l.2.*
*Diod.l.2.*
*Sabel.l.1.c.1.3*

But this City (built in the Plaines of *Aſſyria*, and on the bankes of *Tygris*, and in the region of *Eden*) was founded long before *Ninus* time; and (as ancient Hiſtorians report, and more lately *Nauclerus*) had the name of *Campſor*, at ſuch time as *Ninus* amplified the ſame, and gave it a wall, and called it after his owne name.

For theſe workes of *Babylon* and *Nineve* begun by *Nimrod* in *Chaldæa*, and in *Aſſyria*, *Ninus* and *Semiramis* made perfect. *Ninus* finiſhed *Nineve*, *Semiramis Babylon*: wherein ſhe ſought to exceed her husband by far. Indeed in the firſt Age when Princes were moderate, they neither thought how to invade others, nor feared to be invaded: labouring to build Towns and Villages for the uſe of themſelves and their people, without either Wals or Towers; and how they might diſcharge the earth of Woods, Bryars, Buſhments, and Waters, to make it more habitable and fertile. But *Semiramis* living in that Age, when Ambition was in ſtrong youth: and purpoſing to follow the con-

*Herod.l.1.*
*Juſtin.l.1.*
*Diod.l.2.& 3.*

queſt which her husband had under-taken, gave that beauty and ſtrength to *Babylon* which it had.

## §. II.
### *Of the end of* Ninus: *and beginning of* Semiramis *reigne.*

THis ſhe did after the death of her husband *Ninus:* who after he had maſtered *Bactria*, and ſubjected unto his Empire all thoſe Regions betweene it and the *Mediterran Sea*, and *Helleſpont* (*Aſia* the leſſe excepted) and finiſhed the worke of *Nineve*, he left the World in the yeare thereof 2019. after he had reigned 52. yeares. *Plutarch* reporteth that *Semiramis* deſired her husband *Ninus*, that he would grant unto her the abſolute ſoveraigne power for one day. *Diod. Siculus* out of *Athenaus*, and others, ſpeakes of five dayes. In which time (moved either with deſire of rule, or licentious liberty, or with the memory of her husband *Menon*, who periſhed for her) ſhe cauſed *Ninus* her husband to be ſlaine. But this ſeemeth rather a ſcandall caſt on her by the *Greekes*, than that it had any truth.

Howſoever *Ninus* came to his end, *Semiramis* took on her after his death the ſole rule of the *Aſſyrian* Empire: of which, *Ninus* was ſaid to be the firſt *Monarch*, becauſe he changed his ſeat from *Babylonia* in *Chaldaa*, to *Nineve* in *Aſſyria*. *Juſtin* reports that *Semiramis* (the better to inveſt her ſelf, and in her beginning without murmure or offence to take on her ſo great a charge) preſented her ſelfe to the people in the perſon of her ſonne *Ninias* or *Zameis*, who bare her externall forme and proportion without any ſenſible difference.

*AElian li.7.ex Dione.*

This report I take alſo to be fained, for which many arguments might be made. But as ſhe ruled long, ſo ſhe performed all thoſe memorable acts which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and ſubſcribed that letter which ſhe ſent to the King of *India* (her laſt challenge and undertaken conqueſt) by her owne name. And were it true that her ſonne *Ninias* had ſuch a ſtature at his Fathers death, as that *Semiramis* (who was very perſonable) could be taken for him; yet it is very unlikely that ſhe could have held the Empire from him 42. yeares after by any ſuch ſubtilty: (for ſo long ſhe reigned after the death of her husband:) but it may be true that *Ninias* or *Zameis* (being wholly given to his pleaſures, as it is written of him) was well pleaſed with his Mothers proſperous government and undertakings.

## §. III.
### *Of* Semiramis *parentage and education, and Metamorphoſis of her Mother.*

SOme Writers (of which *Plutarch* is one) make this famous woman to have beene of baſe parentage, calling her after the name of her Country, a *Syrian*. *Beroſus* cals her after the name of her City wherein ſhe was borne, *Semiramis Aſcalonitis*, of *Aſcalon*, the ancient City and *Metropolis* of the *Philiſtims*. Others report her be the daughter of *Derceta*, a *Curtizan* of *Aſcalon*, exceeding beautifull. Others ſay that this *Derceta* or *Dercetis*, the mother of *Semiramis*, was ſometimes a Recluſe, and had profeſt a holy and a religious life; to whom there was a Temple dedicated, ſeated on the banke of a Lake adjoyning to *Aſcalon*; and afterward falling in love with a godly young man, ſhe was by him made with childe, which (for feare of extreme puniſhment) ſhe conveyed away, and cauſed the ſame to be hidden among the high reedes which grew on the bankes of the Lake: in which (while the childe was left to the mercy of wilde beaſts) the ſame was fed by certaine birds, which uſed to feed upon or neere thoſe waters. But I take this tale to be like that of *Lupa* the Harlot that foſtered *Romulus*. For ſome one or other adjoyning to this Lake, had the charge and foſteridge of this childe, who being perchance but ſome baſe and obſcure creature, the mother might thereby hope the better to cover her diſhonor and breach of vow; notwithſtanding which ſhe was caſt from the top of her Temple into the Lake adjoyning, and (as the Poets have fained) changed by *Venus* into a Fiſh, all but her face, which ſtil held the ſame beauty & humane ſhape. It is thought that from this *Derceta* the invention of that Idoll of the *Philiſtims* (called *Dagon*) was taken: for it is true, that *Dagon* had a mans face, and a fiſhes body: into whoſe Temple when the *Arke* of God was brought, the Idoll fell twice to the ground: and at the ſecond fall there remained onely the Trunke of *Dagon*, the head being broken off: For ſo S. *Hierome* hath converted that place. *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Junius*, write it by *Dagon* only, which ſignifieth a fiſh, and ſo it onely appeared: the head thereof by the ſecond fall being ſundred from the body.

For my ſelfe I rather think, that this *Dagon* of the *Philiſtims* was an Idoll repreſenting *Triton*, one of thoſe imaginary Sea-gods under *Neptune*. For this City being maritimate (as all thoſe of the *Philiſtims* were, and ſo were the beſt of *Phœnicia*) uſed all their devotions to *Neptune*, and the reſt of the petty goods which attended him.

## §. IV.

### *Of her Expedition into India, and death after diſcomfiture: with a note of the improbability of her vices.*

BUt for her Pedigree, I leave it to the *Aſſyrian Heralds*: and for her vicious life, I aſcribe the report thereof to the envious and lying *Grecians*. For delicacy and eaſe doe more often accompany licentiouſneſſe in men and women, than labour and hazzard doe. And if the one halfe be true which is reported of this Lady, then there never lived any Prince or Princeſſe more worthy of fame than *Semiramis* was; both for the workes ſhe did at *Babylon* and elſewhere, and for the warres ſhe made with glorious ſucceſſe: all but her laſt enterpriſe of *India*, from whence both *Strabo* and *Arianus* report that ſhe never returned: and that of all her moſt powerfull Army there ſurvived but onely twenty perſons: the reſt being either drowned in the River of *Indus*, dead of the famine, or ſlaine by the ſword of *Staurobates*. But as the multitude which went out are more than reaſon hath numbred: ſo were thoſe that returned leſſe than could have eſcaped of ſuch an Army, as conſiſted of foure millions and upwards. For theſe numbers which ſhe levied by her Lievtenant *Dercetæus*, (ſaith *Suidas*) did conſiſt of Foot-men three millions; of Horſe-men one million; of Chariots armed with hookes on each ſide, one hundred thouſand; of thoſe which fought upon Camels as many; of Camels for burden two hundred thouſand; of raw Hides for all uſes three hundred thouſand; of Gallies with brazen heads three thouſand, by which ſhe might tranſport over *Indus* at once three hundred thouſand Souldiers: which Gallies were furniſhed with *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Cilicians*, and men of *Cyprus*. Theſe incredible and impoſſible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nouriſh (had every man and beaſt but fed upon graſſe) are taken from the authority of *Cteſias* whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many frivolous reports: ſo *Diodorus* himſelfe hath nothing of certainty, but from *Xerxes* expedition into *Greece* and afterwards: whoſe Army (though the ſame was farre inferiour to that of *Semiramis*) yet it had weight enough to overload the beliefe of any reaſonable man. For all Authors conſent, that *Xerxes* tranſported into *Greece* an Armie of 1700000. and gathered together (therein to paſſe the *Helleſpont*) three thouſand Gallies, as *Herodotus* out of the ſeverall Provinces whence thoſe Gallies were taken hath collected the number.

*Suid. f. 8. 45. lit. S.*

But of what multitude ſoever the Army of *Semiramis* conſiſted, the ſame being broken and overthrowne by *Staurobates* upon the bankes of *Indus*, *canticum cantavit extremum*; *ſhe ſang her laſt ſong*; and (as Antiquity hath fained) was changed by the gods into a Dove (the bird of *Venus*) whence it came that the *Babylonians* gave a Dove in their enſignes.

## §. V.

### *Of the Temple of* Belus *built by* Semiramis: *and of the Pyramides of Egypt.*

AMong all her other memorable & more than magnificent works (beſides the wall of the City of *Babylon*) was the Temple of *Bel*, erected in the middle of this City, invironed with a wall carryed foureſquare of great heighth and beauty, having on each ſquare certaine Brazen Gates curiouſly engraven. In the *Core* of the ſquare ſhe raiſed a Tower of a furlong high, which is halfe a quarter of a mile; and upon it againe (taking a *Baſis* of a leſſe circuit) ſhe ſet a ſecond Tower; and ſo eight in all, one above another, upon the top whereof the *Chaldæan* Prieſts made the obſervation of the ſtars; becauſe this Tower over-topped the ordinary clouds.

By beholding the ruines of this Tower have many Travailers beene deceived; who ſuppoſe that they have ſeene a part of *Nimrods* Tower, when it was but the foundation of this Temple of *Bel*: (except this of *Bel* were founded on that of *Nimrod*.) There were burnt in this Temple one hundred thouſand talents of frankincenſe every yeare (ſaith *Herodotus*.) This Temple did *Nabuchodonoſor* adorne with the ſpoiles of *Hieruſalem*, and of the Temple of *Salomon*: all which veſſels and ornaments *Cyrus* re-delivered. This Temple *Xerxes* evened with the ſoile; which *Alexander* is ſaid to have repaired, by the perſwaſions of the *Chaldæans*. I deny not that it might have beene in his deſire ſo to doe; but he enjoyed but a few yeares after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not performe any ſuch worke. The *Egyptians* (ſaith *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and levell ground, and given to the ſame ſuperſtition of the Stars that the *Chaldæans* were, erected in imitation, and for the ſame ſervice and uſe, the *Pyramides* by *Memphis*, which were *conſpicuæ undiq; navigantibus*, ſaith *Pliny*. Of theſe *Pyramides*, *Bellonius* a carefull obſerver of rarities (who being in *Egypt*, mounted by ſteps to the top of the higheſt) maketh this report: *Le meilleur archer qui ſeroit a ſa ſommite, & tirant une fleche in l'air, a peine pouroit l'envoyer hors de ſa baſe qu'elle ne ſe tombaſt ſur les degrez; The beſt Archer ſtanding on the top of one of theſe Pyramides, and ſhooting an Arrow from thence into the ayre as farre as hee can, with great difficulty ſhall be able ſo to force the ſame, but that it will fall upon ſome of the degrees or ſteps.*

*Procl. in Timæo lib. 1.*

*Bellon. l. 2.*

*Finis Libri primi.*

# THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

## INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM the birth of Abraham to the deſtruction of the *Temple of* Salomon.

## THE SECOND BOOKE.

## Chap. I.

### *Of the time of the birth of* Abraham: *and of the uſe of this queſtion, for the ordering of the Story of the Aſſyrian Empire.*

### §. I.

### *Of ſome of the ſucceſſors of* Semiramis: *with a briefe tranſition to the queſtion, about the time of the birth of* Abraham.

AFter the death of *Semiramis*, *Ninias* or *Zameis* ſucceeded her in the Empire, on whom *Beroſus Annianus* beſtowes the conqueſt of *Bactria*, and the overthrow of *Zoroaſter*; contrary to *Diodorus*, *Juſtine*, *Oroſius*, and all other approved Writers. For *Ninias* being eſteemed no man of warre at all, but altogether feminine, and ſubjected to eaſe and delicacy, there is no probability in that opinion. Now becauſe there was nothing performed by this *Ninias* of any moment, other than that out of jealouſie hee every yeare changed his Provinciall Governours, and built Colledges for the *Chaldæan* Prieſts, his Aſtronomers: nor by *Arius* his ſucceſſor, whom *Suidas* calleth *Thuras*; but that he reduced againe the *Bactrians* & *Caſpians*, revolted (as it ſeemeth) in *Ninias* his time: nor of *Aralius*, the ſucceſſor of *Arius*; but that he added ſumptuoſity, invented jewels of gold and ſtone, and ſome engins for the warre: I will for this preſent paſſe them over, and a while follow *Abraham*, whoſe wayes are warrantable, (till we meete theſe *Aſſyrians* againe in this ſtory) by whom and by whoſe iſſues we ſhall beſt give date to the Kings of *Babylon*: *Abraham* living at once with *Ninus*, *Ninias*, *Semiramis*, *Arius*, *Aralius*, & *Xerxes* or *Balanius*. For otherwiſe if we ſeek to prove things certain by the uncertaine, and judge of thoſe times, which the Scriptures ſet us downe without errour, by the reignes of the *Aſſyrian* Princes: we ſhall but patch up the ſtory at adventure, and leave it in the ſame confuſion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where the Scriptures doe not helpe us, *Mirum non eſt in rebus antiquis Hiſtoriam non conſtare*; *No* Plut. in Theſe
*marvaile if then in things very ancient, Hiſtory want aſſurance.*

The better therefore to finde out, in what age of the World, and how long theſe *Aſſyrian* kings reigned, as alſo for other good cauſes, we muſt firſt aſſure the time of *Abrahams* birth, and in what yeare the ſame hapned after the floud. Now ſince all agree, that the fortieth three yeare of *Ninus* was the birth-year of *Abraham*; by proving directly out of the Scriptures, in what yeare after the floud the birth of *Abraham* hapned, we ſhall thereby ſet all the reſt in ſquare and order. But of this time there is much jangling betweene thoſe *Chronologers*, which follow the Hebrew account, and others: the moſt part making 292. or 293. yeares; others 352. yeares betweene *Abrahams* birth and the floud: a matter often diſputed, but never concluded.

*Archilochus de temporibus* (as we finde him in *Anneus*) makes but 250. yeares from the floud to *Ninus*: then ſeeing that *Abraham* was borne in the fortieth three yeere of *Ninus*, according to *Euſebius* and S. *Auguſtine*, it followeth by the addition of thoſe two numbers, that the yeare of *Abrahams* birth was in the yeer after the floud 293. or, as the moſt part of all *Chronologers* gather, the yeare 292.

Now, ſince I doe here enter into that never reſolved queſtion, and *Labyrinth* of times, it behoveth me to give reaſon for my owne opinion: and with ſo much the greater care and circumſpection, becauſe I walk aſide, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather chooſe to endure the wounds of thoſe darts, which Envie caſteth at novelty, than to goe on ſafely and ſleepily in the eaſie wayes of ancient miſtakings: ſeeing to be learned in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diverſity.

## §. II.

### *A propoſall of reaſons or arguments, that are brought to prove* Abraham *was borne in the yeare 292. after the Floud, and not in the yeare 352.*

THoſe which ſeeke to prove this account of 292. yeares, betweene the generall floud and *Abrahams* birth, ground themſelves, firſt on theſe words of the Scripture: *So* Terah *lived* 70 *yeares, and begot* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: ſecondly, upon the opinion of *Joſephus*, S. *Auguſtine*, *Beda*, *Iſidore*, & many of the ancient Hebrews before them: authorities (while they are ſlightly lookt over) ſeeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture laſt remembred, the later *Chronologers* gather theſe arguments. Firſt out of the words as they lie; That Terah *at* 70. *yeares begot* Abraham, Nahor *and* Haran: and that *Abraham* being the firſt named, *Abraham* being the worthieſt, *Abraham* being the ſon of the promiſe, ought in this reſpect to be accounted the eldeſt ſonne of *Terah*, and ſo neceſſarily borne in the ſeventieth yeare of his life. Secondly, it was of *Abraham* that *Moſes* had reſpect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heire of the bleſſing; and not of *Nahor* and *Haran*: for the ſcope of this Chapter was to ſet downe the Genealogy of *Chriſt*, from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nahor* and *Haran*.

It is thirdly objected, that if *Abraham* were not the eldeſt ſonne, then there can be no certainty of his age, and ſo are all future times made doubtfull. For it cannot then bee proved, that *Abraham* was borne more aſſuredly in the 130. year of *Terah* his age, than in the 131. 132. &c. *Moſes* having no where ſet downe preciſely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very yeare, in which his Father died.

Fourthly, it is thought improbable, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. years: ſeeing *Abraham* himſelfe thought it a wonder to be made a Father at 100. yeares.

## §. III.

### *The anſwer to one of the objections propoſed, ſhewing that* Abraham *made but one journey out of Meſopotamia into Canaan: and it, after his Fathers death.*

TO anſwer all which objections, it is very eaſie, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned Divines long ſince, and to which I will adde ſomewhat of mine owne, according to the ſmall talent which God hath given me. Now foraſmuch as the ſtate of the queſtion cannot well be ſcanned, unleſſe the time of *Abrahams* journey into *Canaan* be firſt conſidered of; before I deſcend unto the particular examination of theſe arguments, I will make bold with order and method ſo farre, as to ſearch into a ſtrange tradition concerning his travailes, that ſerveth as a ground for this opinion & a bulwarke againſt all that can be ſaid to the contrary.

But it is conceived that *Abraham* made two journies into *Canaan*; the latter after his

Fathers death; the former preſently upon his calling; which he performed without delay, not ſtaying for his fathers death at *Haran*: a conjecture, drawn from a place in the *Epiſtle to the Hebrewes*, where it is written, *By faith Abraham (when he was called) obeyed God* Heb.11.8. *to goe out into a place which he ſhould afterward receive for inheritance: and he went out, not knowing whither he went*. This ſuppoſition (if it be granted) ſerves very well to uphold the opinion, that can ill ſtand without it. Let us therefore ſee whether we may give credit to the ſuppoſition it ſelfe.

Surely, that *Abraham* firſt departed *Charran* or *Haran* after the death of *Terah* his Father, the ſame is proved, without the admiſſion of any diſtinction, by theſe words of St. *Stephen: And after his Father was dead, God brought him into this Land, where ye now dwell*; Acts 7.4. that was, out of *Haran* into *Canaan*. Againſt which place ſo direct and plaine, what force hath any mans fancy or ſuppoſition, perſwading, that *Abraham* made two journies into *Canaan*; one before *Terahs* death, and another after: no ſuch thing being found in Scriptures, nor any circumſtance, probability; or reaſon to induce it? For if any man out of this place before alledged can picke any argument, proving, or affoording any ſtrong preſumption, that *Abraham* paſt into *Canaan*, and then returned unto *Haran*, from Heb.11.8. whence he departed a ſecond time: then I thinke it reaſon, that he be beleeved in the reſt. But that he performed the commandement of God after his Fathers death, leaving *Ur* and *Haran* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the Scriptures themſelves are true. *For after his Father was dead*, (ſaith Martyr *Stephen*) *God brought him into this Land*. And, as *Beza* noteth, if *Abraham* made a double journey into *Canaan*, then muſt it be inferred, that *Moſes* omitted the one, and *Stephen* afterwards remembred the other: and whence had *Stephen*, ſaith *Beza*, the knowledge of *Abrahams* comming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moſes*? For if *Stephen* had ſpoken any thing of thoſe times, differing from *Moſes*, he had offered the *Jewes*, his adverſaries, too great an occaſion both of ſcandalizing himſelfe, and the Goſpell of *Chriſt*. Indeed we ſhall finde ſmall reaſon to make us think that *Abraham* paſſed and repaſſed thoſe wayes, more often than he was enforced ſo to doe, if we conſider, that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and weariſome journey, than the ſtrength of his faith in Gods promiſe: in which if any thing would have brought him to deſpaire, he had more cauſe than ever man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of ſtrong and ſtubborne nations: a nation of valiant and reſolved Idolaters. He was beſieged with famine at his firſt arrivall, and driven to flie into *Egypt* for reliefe. His wife was old, and he had no ſonne to inherit the promiſe. And when God had given him *Iſaac*, he commanded him to offer him up to himſelfe for ſacrifice: all which diſcomforts he patiently and conſtantly underwent.

Secondly, let us conſider the wayes themſelves, which *Abraham* had to paſſe over; the length whereof was 300. Engliſh miles; and through Countries of which he had no manner of experience. He was to tranſport himſelfe over the great river of *Euphrates*, to travell through the dangerous and barren Deſarts of *Palmyrena*, and to climbe over the great and high mountaines of *Libanus*, *Hermon* or *Gilead*: and whether theſe were eaſie walkes for *Abraham* to march twice over, containing, as aforeſaid, 300. miles in length, let every reaſonable man judge. For if he travelled it twice; then was his journey in all 1800. miles from *Ur* to *Haran*: and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to diſprove this fancy; the manner of *Abrahams* departing from *Haran* hath more proofe (that he had not *animum revertendi*, *not any thought of looking backeward*) than any mans bare conjecture, be he of what antiquity or authority ſoever. For thus it is written of him, *Then* Abraham *tooke* Sara *his wife, and* Lot *his brothers ſon, and* Gen.12.5. *all their ſubſtance that they poſſeſt, and the ſoules that they had gotten in Haran: & they departed to go to the land of Canaan, & to the land of Canaan they came*. Now if *Abraham* brought all with him that was deare unto him; his wife, and kinſmen, and his, and their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walke it backe againe for his pleaſure, in ſo warme, dangerous, and barren a Country as that was: or if he could have beene thereto moved, it is more likely that he would have then returned, when he was yet unſettled, and preſt with extreme famine at his firſt arrivall. For had his Father beene then alive, he might have hoped from him to receive more aſſured comfort and reliefe, than among the *Egyptians*, to whom he was a meere ſtranger both in religion and Nation.

What the cauſe might bee of *Abrahams* returne to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures have ſent him backe thither, about the time of his fathers death: ſo they perhaps, if they were urged, could ſay little elſe, than that without ſuch a ſecond voyage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reaſon they ſhould doe well to make plaine, if it be not over-troubleſome. They ſay that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his Fathers death, or ſome time after, being then by their account 135. yeares old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite undone the buſineſſe, which, as we reade, was within foure or five yeares after that Gen.24. time his greateſt, or (as may ſeeme) his onely care? Did not he binde with a very ſolemne oath his principall ſervant, in whom he repoſed moſt confidence, to travaile into thoſe parts, and ſeeke out a Wife for *Iſaac* his ſonne? and doth it not appeare by all circumſtances, that neither he nor his ſervant were ſo well acquainted in *Meſopotamia*, that they could particularly deſigne any one woman, as a fit match for *Iſaac*? Surely if *Abraham* had beene there in perſon ſo lately, as within foure or five yeares before, he would not have forgotten a matter of ſuch importance; but would have truſted his own judgement, in chooſing a woman, fit for her piety, vertue, and other deſireable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his onely ſonne, who was then five and thirty yeares old; before which age moſt of the Patriarchs after the Floud had begotten children: rather than have left all at randome to the conſideration of a ſervant, that neither knew any, nor was knowne of any in that Country. But let it be ſuppoſed (if it may be beleeved) that either *Abraham* forgot his buſineſſe when he was there, or that ſomewhat hapned which Gen.24.35. 36.&c. no man can deviſe; What might be the reaſon, that *Abrahams* man, in doing his Maſters errand, was faine to lay open the whole ſtory of his maſters proſperity, telling it as newes, that *Sarah* had borne to him a ſon in her old age? If *Abraham* himſelfe, a more certaine Author, had ſo lately beene among them, would not all this have beene an idle tale? It were needleſſe to ſtand long upon a thing ſo evident. Whether it were lawfull for *Abraham* to have returned backe to *Haran*, would perhaps be a queſtion hardly anſwerable: conſidering how averſe he was from permitting his ſonne to be carryed thi- Gen.24.6.& 8. ther, even though a wife of his owne kinred could not have beene obtained without his perſonall preſence. *Jacob* indeed was ſent thither by his Parents, to take a Wife of his Gen.28. owne linage; not without Gods eſpeciall approbation, by whoſe bleſſing he proſpered in that journey; yet he lived there as a ſervant; ſuffered many injuries; and finally was driven to convey himſelfe away from thence by flight. For although it be not a ſentence written, yet out of all written examples it may be obſerved, that God alloweth not in his ſervants any deſire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken, and tranſplanted them. That briefe ſaying, *Remember Lots wife*, containes much matter. Let us conſider *Meſopatamia*, from whence *Abraham* was taken, and *Egypt*, out of which the whole Nation of the *Iſraelites* were delivered: we ſhall find, that no bleſſing iſſued from either of them, to the poſterity of the *Hebrewes*. When *Ezechias* was viſi- 2 Kin.20. ted with an honourable Embaſſie from *Babel*, it ſeemes that he conceived great pleaſure in his minde, and thought it a piece of his proſperity; but the propheſie which thereupon he heard by *Eſay*, made him to know, that the counſell of God was not agreeable to ſuch thoughts: which more plainely appeared in a following generation, when Pſal 137. by the waters of *Babylon* they ſate downe and wept. Concerning *Egypt* we reade, that 1 Kin.14.25. & 2 Kin.23. v.29. *Seſac* and *Neco* Kings of *Egypt* brought calamity upon *Iſrael*: alſo that their confidence in the *Egyptian* ſuccours was the cauſe of their deſtruction. Where they were forbidden to returne into *Egypt* I doe not remember, nor can readily finde; but it is found in De.17.v.16. *Deuteronomy*, that God had ſaid, *They ſhould no more returne that way*; which is given, as the reaſon, why their King might not cauſe the people to returne to *Egypt*, for the multiplying of his Horſes. Whether the Lord had laid any ſuch injunction upon *Abraham* of not returning to *Meſopotamia*, I cannot ſay; many things doe argue it probably: That he never returned, all circumſtances doe (to my underſtanding) both ſtrongly and neceſſarily conclude.

But becauſe this double paſſage of *Abraham* is but an imagination; and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can perſwade thoſe of judgement or underſtanding: I take it ſufficient, that S. *Stephen* hath directly taught us, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his father being dead. And for the reſt, when they ſhew any one Scripture to prove it, I will beleeve as they doe. For all the travailes of *Abraham* are preciſely ſet downe in the Scriptures: as firſt from *Ur* or *Camerina* in *Chaldæa* to *Haran* or *Charran*: and then from *Haran* (after his Fathers death) to *Sichem*; from *Sichem* he removed to a mountaine betweene *Bethel* and *Haie*: thence into *Egypt*; from *Egypt* he returned thither againe, where *Lot* and he parted, becauſe their flockes and heards of Cattell were more than could be fed in that part: from thence the ſecond time hee removed to *Mamre*, neere *Hebron*: and thence having purſued *Amraphel*, and reſcued *Lot*, he after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumæa* under *Abimelec*: and after neere unto it at *Berſabe*, at which time he was ready to offer up his ſonne *Iſaac* on the mountaine *Moriah*. But this fiction of his retrait to *Haran* or *Charran*, appeareth not in any one ſtory, either divine or humane. Now, if it may be ſuppoſed, that *Abraham* had made any former journey into *Canaan*, as *Levita* his *Cabala* hath fained, it ſhould in reaſon be therewithall beleeved, that he would in thoſe his firſt travailes have provided himſelf of ſome certaine ſeate, or place of abiding: and not have come a ſecond time, with his wife, kinſmen, family, goods and Cattel, not knowing whereon to reſt himſelfe. But *Abraham* when he came from *Charran*, paſt through the North part of *Canaan*, thence to *Sichem*, and the Plaine of *Moriah*: where finding no place to inhabite, he departed thence to *Bethel*, and *Haie*: and ſo from Nation to Nation, to diſcover and find out ſome fit habitation: from whence againe, as it is written in *Geneſis* the eleventh, *He went forth, going and journying towards the South*: and alwayes unſettled. By occaſion of which wandring to and fro, ſome ſay, the *Egyptians* gave him and his the name of *Hebræi*. *Gen. 12.6.*

Further, to prove that he had not formerly beene in the Countrey, we may note, that ere he came unto *Bethel* and *Haie*, and at his firſt entrance into *Canaan*, God appeared unto him, ſaying, *Unto thy ſeed will I give this Land*, ſhewing it him as unto a ſtranger therein, and as a Land to him unknowne. For *Abraham* without any other provident care for himſelfe, beleeved in the Word of the living God: neither ſending before, nor comming firſt to diſcover it; but being arrived, he received a ſecond promiſe from God, that he would give thoſe Countries unto him and his ſeed to inhabite and inherite. *Mont. in Calend.*

Laſtly, what ſhould move any man to thinke, that *Moſes* would have omitted any ſuch double journey of *Abrahams*, ſeeing he ſetteth downe all his paſſages elſe-where long and ſhort: as when he moved from *Sichem*, and ſeated betweene *Haie* and *Bethel*, the diſtance being but 20. miles: and when he moved thence to the valley of *Mamre*, being but 24. miles: and when he left *Mamre*, and ſate downe at *Gerar*, being leſſe than ſixe miles; No, *Moſes* paſt over all the times of the firſt age with the greater brevity, to haſten him to the ſtory of *Abraham*: ſhutting up all betweene the Creation and the Floud in ſixe chapters; which age laſted 1656. yeeres: but he beſtoweth on the ſtory of *Abraham*, fourteene chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleventh, and ending with his death in the five and twentieth; and this time endured but 175. years. It hath therefore no face of truth, that *Moſes* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abrahams* travels, or other actions: or that he would ſet downe thoſe ſmall removes of five miles, and omit thoſe of three hundred. For ſuch a journey in going and comming would have miniſtred ſome variety of matter, or accident, worthy the inſerting and adding to *Abrahams* ſtorie.

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## §. IIII.

### *The anſwer to another of the objections propoſed, ſhewing that it was not unlikely, that* Terah *ſhould beget Abraham in his hundred and thirtieth yeere.*

Now touching the objection, where it is ſaid, that it was very unlikely that *Terah* ſhould beget *Abraham* in his 130. yeere, ſeeing *Abraham* himſelfe thought it a wonder to have a ſon at an hundred: this is hardly worth the anſwering. This wonder is indeed miſ-caſt, and miſtaken: *Abraham* having reſpect onely to *Sarah* his wife, when he ſpake of their many yeares. For when the Angel ſaid unto *Abraham* in his Tent doore at *Mamre*, *Loe Sarah thy wife ſhall have a Son*, it followeth in the next verſe, *Now Abraham and Sarah were old and ſtricken in age, and it ceaſed to be with Sarah after the manner of women: therefore Sarah laughed, &c.*

So then in that it is ſaid, *it ceaſed to be with Sarah after the manner of women*, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, and not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his ſecond wife *Keturah* had many ſonnes after *Sarahs* death, as *Zimron*, *Jockſhan*, *Medan*, *Midian*, *Iſhbak*, and *Shuah*: and the eldeſt of theſe was borne 37. yeares after *Iſaac*; and the youngeſt forty yeeres after. What ſtrangeneſſe then, that *Terah* being 130. yeeres old ſhould beget *Abraham*, will they ſay, may be gathered from this ſuppoſed deſpaire of *Abraham* at one hundred yeeres? For *Sarah* died in the yeere of the world 2145. and *Iſaac* was borne in the yeare 2109. and *Abraham* did not marry *Keturah* till *Sarah* was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109. out of 2145. there remaineth 36. And therefore if *Abraham* begat 5. ſons 36. years after this ſuppoſed wonder, & when *Abraham* was 137. yeares old: it is not ſtrange that his father *Terah* ſhould beget *Abraham* at 130. And if *Booz*, *Obed*, and *Jeſſe*, who lived ſo many yeares and ages after *Abraham*, begat ſonnes at 100. yeares, or neere it, it cannot be marvailed at, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. and *Abraham* others at the ſame age and ſeven yeeres after.

*Origen.hom.11. in Gen. Aug. de Civit. dei.l.16.c.34. Cajet. & Perer. in Gen.*

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## §. V.

*The anſwer to two more of the objections: ſhewing that we may have certainty of* Abrahams *age from the Scripture, though we make not* Abraham *the eldeſt Sonne: and that there was great cauſe, why in the ſtory of* Abraham *his two brethren ſhould be reſpected.*

IT followeth now to ſpeake ſomething to the objection, which brings *Abrahams* age altogether in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldeſt ſon of *Terah*, and borne when *Terah* was 70. years old. For *Abrahams* age being made uncertaine, all ſucceeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this propoſition, That we cannot be certaine of *Abrahams* age, unleſſe we make him the eldeſt ſonne, is falſe. For it is plaine in the Scriptures, that when *Terah* was 205. which was the yeare of his death: then was *Abraham* 75. And if you aske, how I can judge of times, either preceding or ſucceeding, by knowing that *Abraham* departed *Haran* at that age: I anſwer, That Saint *Stephen* hath told us, that *Abrahams* departure followed the death of his Father *Terah*: and *Terah* died at 205. ſo as the 75. yeare of *Abraham* was the 205. yeare of *Terah*: which knowne, there can be no errour in the account of times ſucceeding. Now to come to the objection, where it is ſaid, That *Moſes* had no reſpect unto *Nachor* and *Haran*, becauſe they were out of the Church, but to *Abraham* onely, with whom God eſtabliſhed the Covenant, and of whom *Chriſt* deſcended according to the fleſh, &c. I anſwer, that *Moſes* for many great and neceſſary cauſes had reſpect of *Nachor* and *Haran*. For the ſucceſſion of Gods Church is not witneſſed by *Abraham* alone, but by the iſſues of *Nahor* and *Haran*, were they Idolaters or otherwiſe. For *Nahor* was the Father of *Bethuel*, & *Bethuel* of *Rebecca*, the mother of *Iſrael*: and *Haran* was the Parent of *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*: and *Sarah* was mother to *Iſaac*, and grandmother to *Jacob*: *Milcah* alſo the wife of *Nahor*, and mother of *Bethuel*, was *Jacobs* great grandmother: and the age of *Sarah* the daughter of *Haran* is eſpecially noted, in that it pleaſed God to give her a ſon at 90. years, and when by nature ſhe could not have conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themſelves, yet becauſe both *Nahor* and *Abraham* married the daughters of their brother *Haran*; and becauſe *Iſaac* married *Rebecca* the grand-childe of *Nahor*; and *Jacob*, *Lea*, and *Rachel*, the daughters of *Laban*, the grand-childe alſo of *Nahor*: it was not ſuperfluous in *Moſes* to give light of theſe mens times and ages. And though ſometime they worſhipped ſtrange gods, as *it is Joſ.24.2.* yet I ſee no cauſe to thinke, that they ſtill continued Idolaters. For they beleeved and obeyed the calling of *Abraham*, leaving their naturall Countrey, and City of *Ur* in *Chaldæa*, as *Abraham* did, and removed thence all, except *Haran*, who died before his Father *Terah*, ere they left *Chaldæa*; but *Lot*, his ſonne, followed *Abraham* into *Canaan*; and *Sarah*, the ſiſter of *Lot*, *Abraham* married. *Nahor* alſo, who remained at *Charran*, gave his ſonnes daughters to *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, his owne kinſ-men: he himſelfe having alſo married in his owne Family; not thinking it pleaſing unto God to mixe themſelves with ſtrangers and Idolaters. And that theſe men at length beleeved in the God of *Abraham*, it can no way be doubted. For when *Laban* had ſeene the ſervant of *Abraham* ſtanding at the Wel beſide *Charran*, he invited him to his Fathers houſe in this manner: *Come in, thou bleſſed of* Jehovah, *&c.* And when this ſervant of *Abrahams* demanded an anſwer as touching *Rebecca*, then anſwered *Laban* and *Bethuel*, and ſaid; *This thing is proceeded of* Jehovah: meaning, that it was the will of the true God it ſhould be ſo; wherin he acknowledged Gods providence. Likewiſe in the following verſe it is written; *Take, goe, that ſhe may be thy Maſters ſons wife, even as* Jehovah *hath ſaid.* This their often uſing

*Gen.24.31.*

*Gen.24.50.*

of the name of *Jehovah*, which is the proper name of the true God, it is a ſigne that they had the knowledge of him.

Now although it be the opinion of S.*Chryſoſtome*, and ſome later Writers, as *Cajetan*, *Oleaſter*, *Muſculus*, *Calvin*, *Mercer*, and others, that *Laban* was an Idolater, becauſe hee retained certaine Idols, or houſehold Gods, which *Rachel* ſtole from him; yet that he beleeved in the true God it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the God of *Abraham* and of *Nahor*, and he called *Abrahams* ſervant, bleſſed of JEHOVAH, as aforeſaid. So as for my ſelf I dare not avow, that theſe men were out of the Church, who, ſure I am, were not out of the faith.

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## §. VI.

### *That the naming of* Abraham *firſt of the three brethren,* Gen. 11. v. 26. *doth not prove that he was the eldeſt: together with divers reaſons proving that* Abraham *was not the eldeſt ſon of* Terah.

TO the maine objection; which I anſwer laſt, becauſe it ſeemeth of moſt ſtrength, by which, thoſe that ſtrive to ſhorten the times, endeavour to prove that *Abraham* was the eldeſt ſonne of *Terah*, and borne in the 70. yeare of *Terahs* life; grounding themſelves firſt and chiefly on this place of the Scripture; *And* Terah *lived 70. yeeres, and begot* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: To this I ſay, that although *Abraham* in this verſe be firſt named, yet the ſame is no proofe at all that he was the eldeſt and firſt-borne ſonne of *Terah*. For it is no neceſſary conſequence, that the firſt named in Scriptures was therefore eldeſt in bloud and birth, neither doth it appeare, that it pleaſed God to make eſpeciall choice of the firſt ſonnes in nature and time: for *Seth* was not the firſt-borne of *Adam*; nor *Iſaac* of *Abraham*; nor *Jacob* of *Iſaac*; no *Juda* and *Joſeph* of *Jacob*; nor *David* the eldeſt of *Jeſſe*; nor *Solomon* of *David*: as is formerly remembred.

Gen.11.26.

But it is written of *Noah*: *Noah was 500. yeeres old, and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japhet*: ſhewing that at the 500. yeare of his age he began to beget the firſt of thoſe three Sonnes. For according to S. *Auguſtine*, ſpeaking generally, *Nec attendendus eſt in his ordo nativitatis, ſed ſignificatio futuræ dignitatis: in qua excelluit Abraham: The order of nativitie is not here to be reſpected, but the ſignification of the future dignitie: in which Abraham as preferred.* And therefore as in the order of the ſonnnes of *Noah*: ſo is it here; where t is ſaid, *that Terah lived 70. yeares, and begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran*: For it was ate ere *Terah* began to beget Sonnes, himſelfe being begotten by his Father *Nachor* at 9. as other his Anceſtors were at 30. The like alſo happened to *Noah*: for whereas *Adam* begat *Seth* at 133. *Enoſh Kenan* at 90. *Kenan Mahalaleel* at 70. *Mahalaleel Jared* at 0. *Noah* was yet 500. yeares old when he began to beget the firſt of his three ſonnes, s aforeſaid. And S. *Auguſtine*, in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion hat *Abraham* was the youngeſt of *Terahs* ſonnes, than otherwiſe: though for his excelency he was worthily named firſt. His owne words are theſe: *Fieri enim potuit ut poſterior ſit generatus Abraham: ſed merito excellentiæ, qua in Scripturis valde commendatur, rior fuerit nominatus. It might be*, ſaith he, *that Abraham was begotten later: but was firſt amed in regard of his excellency, for which in Scripture hee is much commended.* So as the naming firſt or laſt proveth nothing who was firſt or laſt borne: either in thoſe iſſues of *Noah*, or in theſe of *Terah*: Neither hath God any reſpect of the eldeſt in nature, as touching his election or ſpirituall bleſſing; for *Moſes* nameth firſt the children of the promiſe, & the eldeſt and firſt in Gods favour. *Pietas ergo, vel ipſa potius electio divina, quæ comitem ſecum trahit pietatem, & Dei timorem, primas partes dat Semo in liberis Noa, & Arahamo in liberis Thare: Piety*, ſaith he, *or rather divine election, which doth evermore draw with it or after it, piety and the feare of God, gave place and precedency to Sem among the children of Noah, and to Abraham among thoſe of Thare.*

Aug. quæſt. ſuper Gen. 25.

For the reſt it is manifeſt, that *Abraham* entred *Canaan* in the 75. yeare of his age. And t was in *Canaan* that *Hagar* bare him Iſmael, when *Abraham* had lived 86. yeares. It was t *Gerar* (the South border of *Canaan*) that *Sarah* bare *Iſaac*, when *Abraham* had conſuned 100. yeares. It was from the valley of *Mamre* in *Canaan* that *Abraham* roſe out, hen he reſcued *Lot* and overthrew *Amraphel*: and he had then but the age of 83. yeares: nd it is as manifeſt, that he parted from *Haran* after his Father *Terah* was dead. But if *Terah*

Gen.12.4.

Gen.16.16.

Acts 7.4.

Gen. 14. *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 70. yeare old, then muſt *Abraham* have been 135. yeares when he firſt ſet his foot in *Canaan*, ſeeing *Terah* muſt be dead ere he parted, and ſo 70. added to 135. make 205. the true age of *Terah*: which is contrary to all thoſe places of Scripture before remembred. For he entred at 75. he reſcued *Lot* at 83. he had *Iſmael* at 86. he at *Iſaac* at 100. proved by the former places.

Moreover, if *Abraham* were the eldeſt ſonne of *Terah*, and borne in the 70. yeare of his age: then had *Terah* lived till *Iſaac* had beene 35. yeares old, and *Iſmael*, 49. both which muſt then have beene borne in *Meſopotamia*, and therein foſtered to that age: unleſſe we ſhould either deny credit to S. *Stephen*, who ſaith that *Abraham* departed from *Meſopotamia* after his Fathers death: or elſe beleeve the interpretation of *Daniel Angelocrator*, who in his *Chronologia antoptica*, ſaith it was about his Fathers death: becauſe the Greek word μετα may be tranſported by the Latine *ſub*, aſwell as by *poſt*: which though elſewhere it may be, yet cannot it be ſo in this place. For it were moſt improperly ſpoken, to ſay that thoſe things were done about *Terahs* death, which were 60. yeares before. Wherefore ſuppoſing *Abraham* to have been borne in the ſeventy year of *Terah*; we muſt give thoſe times and places of birth to *Abrahams* children, which no authority will warrant; For *Abraham* had no children in *Ur* of *Chaldæa*, nor in *Haran*, nor in ten yeares after his arrivall into *Canaan*. For the yeare of *Terahs* death, in which *Abraham* left *Haran*, was the yeare of the World 2083. and the yeare of *Iſmaels* birth was the Worlds yeare 2094. which maketh 10. yeares difference. And that *Iſaac* was borne in *Canaan*, and was to be offered upon the mountaine *Moriah* therein, 39. miles from *Berſabe*, where *Abraham* then inhabited: and that three *Angels* firſt of all appeared to *Abraham* in the valley of *Mamre*, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be that any of *Abrahams* ſonnes were borne in *Meſopotamia*; nor while *Terah* lived; nor in leſſe than ten yeares after *Terahs* death: and then conſequently was not *Abraham* the eldeſt ſonne of *Terah*, nor borne in the 70. yeare of *Terahs* age.

Gen. 12. Thirdly, whereas *Abraham* came into *Canaan* at 75. if *Terah* had begotten him at 70. then had *Terah* lived but 145. for 70. and 75. make 145. which muſt alſo have beene the full age of *Terah*: but *Terah* lived 205. yeares; and therefore was not *Abraham* borne in the 70. yeare of *Terah*.

Fourthly, the ages of *Lot* and *Sarah* make it manifeſt, that *Haran* was the elder, if not the eldeſt brother of *Abraham*; for *Sarah* or *Iſcah* wanted but ten yeares of *Abrahams* age: *Iſaac* being borne when *Abraham* was 100. and *Sarah* 90. yeares old.

It followeth then, that if *Abraham* had been the elder brother of *Haran*, *Haran* muſt have begotten *Sarah* at nine yeares old: for granting that *Haran* was borne but one yeare after *Abraham*, and *Sarah* within ten yeares as old as *Abraham*, then of neceſſity muſt *Haran* beget her, when he had lived but nine yeares; which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that *Iſcah* was *Sarah*, *Rab. Solomon* affirmeth; both names, ſaith he, bearing the ſame ſignification; and names of principality. Againe, to what end was the word *Iſcah* or *Jiſhcah* inſerted in this place, if *Sarah* were not meant thereby? For, to ſpeake of any thing ſuperfluous, it is not uſed in Gods Booke: and if *Iſcah* had not belonged to the ſtory, it had beene but an idle name to no purpoſe remembred.

Now if it had beene true (as thoſe of the contrary opinion affirme) that *Moſes* had no reſpect of *Nahor* and *Haran*, who were notwithſtanding the Parents of *Bethuel* and *Rebecca*, the mother of *Iſrael*, and of *Chriſt*: what regard then had *Moſes* of *Iſcah* in this place, were ſhe not *Sarah*, but otherwiſe an idle name of whom there is nothing elſe firſt or laſt?

The age alſo of *Lot* diſproveth the elderſhip of *Abraham*: for *Lot* was called an old man when *Abraham* was but 83. years old: And if *Lot* were of a greater age than *Abraham*, and *Haran* were Father to *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*; *Abraham* marrying one of *Harans* daughters, and *Nahor* the other, *Sarah* alſo being within ten yeares as old as *Abraham*: it may appeare to every reaſonable man (not obſtinate and prejudicate) that *Haran* was the eldeſt ſonne of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: who alſo died firſt, and before his Father left *Ur* in *Chaldæa*. Alſo *Lyra* reaſoneth againſt the opinion of *Abrahams* elderſhip, upon the ſame place of *Geneſis*: drawing argument from the age of *Sarah*, who was but ten yeares younger than *Abraham* himſelfe. *Lyra* his words are theſe: *Si igitur* Haran *fuit junior ipſo*

Abraham, *ſequitur quòd non habebat decem annos quando genuit* Saram *: imò nec octo, &c.* and afterward, *& ideò melius videtur dicendum, quòd* Abraham *fuit ultimò natus de tribus filiis* Thare, *tamen nominatur primò, propter ejus dignitatem : & quia ponendus erat caput ſtirpis & generationis ſequentis : & quia primò facta eſt ei repromiſſio expreſſa de* Chriſto, *ſicut ſupra dictum eſt de* Sem, *&c. If therefore (ſaith* Lyra *)* Haran *was younger than* Abraham *himſelfe, it followeth that he was not ten yeeres old when he begat* Sarah *: And therfore it ſeemeth better to be ſaid, that* Abraham *was the laſt borne of the three ſonnes of* Thare, *nevertheleſſe he is named firſt for his dignitie, both becauſe hee was to be ordained head of the ſtocke and generation following, and becauſe the promiſe of* Chriſt *was firſt made unto him, as before it is ſaid of* Sem.

## §. VII.

### *A concluſion of this diſpute, noting the Authors on both ſides : with an admonition, that they which ſhorten the times make all ancient ſtories the more unprobable.*

IT therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and Reaſon, that *Haran* was the eldeſt ſonne of *Terah*, and not *Abraham* : and that *Abraham* was borne in the 130. yeare of *Terahs* life, and not in the 70. yeere. For *Abraham* departing *Charran* after *Terah* died, according to S. *Stephen*, and that journey by *Abraham* performed when he was 75. yeares old ; theſe two numbers added make 205. yeers the full age of *Terah* : ſeeing that when *Terah* died, then *Abraham* entred *Canaan*. For my ſelfe, I have no other end herein than to manifeſt the truth of the Worlds Story. I reverence the judgements of the Fathers : but I know they were miſtaken in particulars. Saint *Auguſtine* was doubtfull, and could not determine this controverſie. For whatſoever is borrowed from him out of his ſixteenth Booke *de Civitate Dei, cap.* 15. the ſame may be anſwered out of himſelfe in his five and twentieth queſtion upon *Gen*. But Saint *Auguſtine* herein followed *Joſephus* and *Iſidor* : and *Beda* followed S. *Auguſtine*. And it was out of a fooliſh pride and vanitie, that the *Hebrewes* and *Joſephus* ſought to make *Abraham* the firſt borne : as if God had had reſpect to the eldeſt in nature. So did *Joſephus* together with *Nicholas Damaſcenus* (thinking thereby to glorifie the *Jewiſh Nation*) make *Abraham* a king, entitling *Sarah* by the name of *Queene Sarah* : and ſaid that *Abraham* was followed with 318. Captaines, of which every one had an infinite multitude under him; *trecentos & octodecim præfectos habuit : quorum ſingulis infinita multitudo parebat.* And that *Pharao* invading him with a great Armie, tooke from him his Wiſe *Sarah* : Such fables argue that *Joſephus* is not to be beleeved, but with diſcreete reſervations.

Acts 7.4.

Gen.12.4.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292. yeares from the Floud to *Abraham*, is upheld by many of the *Hebrewes*. But how ſhould we value the opinion of ſuch *Chronologers*, as take *Amraphel* for *Nimrod?* Surely, if their judgement in ſuch matters were worthy to be regarded, it would have appeared in ſetting downe the ſucceſſion of the *Perſian Kings* under whom they lived, whoſe Hiſtorie was not ſo farre remote in time, as theſe antiquites, nor wanting the light of many good writers. Yet groſſely have they erred therein, and ſo familiar are their miſtakings in all things of like nature, that we ſeldome find their opinion rehearſed without the confutation treading on the heeles of it. They of the *Romane* religion are alſo generally on the ſame ſide : it being a thing uſuall among them, to maintaine whatſoever they have beene formerly knowne to hold and beleeve. Contrariwiſe, of the more ancient, *Theodoret*, and ſome following him : of later times, *Beroaldus*, *Codoman*, *Peucer*, *Calvin*, *Junius*, *Beza*, *Broughton*, *Doct. Gibbons*, and *Moore*, with divers of the *Proteſtants*, hold *Abraham* to have beene borne in the 130. yeare of his Father *Terah*. From theſe ( as in a caſe not concerning any point in Religion ) divers of the ſame Religion, and thoſe nevertheleſſe good Authors, as *Bucholcerus*, *Chitraus*, *Functius* and others, are very averſe herein, eſpecially *Joſephus Scaliger* with his *Sethus Calviſius*, proclaiming *Beroaldus* an Arch-heretike in *Chronologie*, and condemning this opinion of his as poyſonous. Contrariwiſe, *Auguſtinus Torniellus* a Prieſt of the Congregation of Saint *Paul*, a judicious, diligent, and free writer, whoſe *Annales* are newly ſet forth, very earneſtly defends the opinion, which I have already delivered ; not alledging *Beroaldus*, nor any *Proteſtant* writer, as being perhaps unwilling to owe thankes to heretikes. For my ſelfe I doe neither miſlike the contrary opinion, becauſe commonly thoſe of the *Romiſh* Religion labour to uphold it; nor favour this larger account of times, becauſe many notable men of the *Proteſtant* writers have approved it; but for the truth it ſelfe. To ſtrengthen which, after all theſe former reaſons, and teſtimonies of Scripture, I will adde thus much more to the reſt. Firſt, it is apperant to all men of judgement, that the beſt approved Hiſtorians, Divine and Prophane, labour to inveſtigate the truth of times, thereby to approve the ſtories, and forepaſt actions of the world: and not the truth of hiſtories to approve the times by. Let us then make judgement to our ſelves, which of thoſe two accounts give the beſt reputation to the ſtory of the Scriptures; teaching the Worlds new plantation, and the continuance of Gods Church: either that of *Joſephus*, and thoſe which follow him; who makes but 292. yeares, or thereabouts, between the floud and birth of *Abraham*: or this other account, which makes 352. yeares betweene the one and the other: the one taking *Abraham* to be the firſt borne of *Thare*, in the 70. yeare of his life: the other a younger ſonne of *Thare*, & borne when he had lived 130. yeares. And if we looke over all, and do not haſtily ſatisfie our underſtanding with the firſt things offered, and thereby being ſatiated doe ſlothfully and drowſily ſit downe; we ſhall find it more agreeable rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to ſome editions, make it above 1072. yeares betweene the Floud and *Abrahams* birth: than to take away any part of thoſe 352. yeares given. For if we adviſedly conſider the ſtate and continuance of the world, ſuch as it was in *Abrahams* time, yea before *Abraham* was borne, we ſhall finde that it were very ill done of us by following opinion without the guide of reaſon, to pare the times over-deepely betweene *Abraham* and the Floud: becauſe in cutting them too neere the quicke, the reputation of the whole ſtorie might perchance bleede thereby, were not the teſtimonie of the Scriptures ſupreme, ſo as no objection can approach it: and that we did not follow withall this precept of S. *Auguſtine*, That whereſoever any one place in the Scriptures may be conceived diſagreeing to the whole, the ſame is by ignorance of interpretation miſ-underſtood. For in *Abrahams* time all the then knowne parts of the World were peopled: all Regions and Countries had their Kings. *Egypt* had many magnificent Cities: and ſo had *Palæſtina*, and all the bordering Countries, yea, all that part of the World beſides, as farre as *India*: and thoſe not built with ſtickes, but of hewne ſtones, and defended with walls and rampiers: which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquitie, than thoſe other men have ſuppoſed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plaineſt and beſt agreeing with reaſon and nature, to what end ſhould we labour to beget doubts and ſcruples, or draw all things into wonders and marvailes? giving alſo ſtrength thereby to common cavillers, and to thoſe mens apiſh braines, who only bend their wits to find impoſſibilities, and monſters in the ſtory of the World and Mankinde.

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## §. VIII.

### *A computation of the times of the Aſſyrians, and others, grounded upon the times noted in the ſtorie of Abraham.*

*An.mundi 2008 dil.352.natus Abraham, Euſ. Aug.de Civit. Dei.l.16.c.17.*

IN this ſort therefore for the reaſons before alledged, I conclude, that from the generall Floud, to the birth of *Abraham*, 352. yeares were conſumed: and taking the *Aſſyrian* Hiſtory with us, the ſame number of yeares were ſpent from the Floud to the 43. yeare of *Ninus*: in which 43. yeare of *Ninus Abraham* was borne: which happened in the yeare of the world, 2009.

*Aug.de Civit. Dei.*

Now of this time of 352. yeares, we muſt give one part aswell to the increaſe of thoſe people which came into *Shinaar*, as to thoſe that ſtayed in the Eaſt, to wit, 30. yeares to *Chus*, ere he begat *Seba*: of which, though the Scriptures are ſilent, yet becauſe thoſe of the ſame time had that age when they begat their firſt ſonnes, we may the more ſafely give the like allowance to theſe. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34. *Peleg Regu* at 30. *Regu Serug* at 32. Now after *Seba*, *Chus* begat *Havila*, *Sabta*, *Raama* and *Sabtecha*: and *Raama* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, before *Nimrod* was borne, as it appeareth *Gen.* 10. which S. *Auguſtine* approveth. Giving then 30. yeares more to *Raama* ere he begat *Sheba*, and five yeares to the five elder brothers of *Nimrod*, it may be gathered that 65. yeares were conſumed ere *Nimrod* himſelfe was borne: and that *Raamah* had that age before any of his ſonnes were begotten, it may be gathered, by example and compariſon: for *Peleg* the fourth from *Noah*, as *Raamah* was, begat *Reu* in the ſame yeare of his life.

Gen.11.18.

Let us then allow 60. yeares more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other generations to be brought forth, or elſe we ſhall hardly finde people to build *Babel*: for ſure we are, that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: becauſe it diſpleaſed God. Theſe two numbers of 65. and 60. make 125. The reſt of the time of 131. (in which yeare they arrived in *Shinaar*, whereof there are 6. yeares remaining) we may give them for their travels from the Eaſt: becauſe they were peſtered with women, children and Cattell: and, as ſome ancient writers have conceived, and *Becanus* of later times, they kept alwaies the mountaine ſides, for feare of a ſecond Floud. Now, if we take this number of 131. out of 352. there remaines 221. of which number *Beroſus* beſtoweth 65. on *Belus*, and 42. on *Ninus* before *Abraham* borne: both which S. *Auguſtine* approveth: which two numbers taken againe out of 221. there remaineth 114. yeares of the 352. from the Floud to *Abrahams* birth: which number of 114. neceſſitie beſtoweth on *Nimrod*.

*An à ſalute humani generis ab aquis centeſimo primo cœpit regnum Babylonicum ſub noſtro Saturno patre Jovis Beli, qui imperavit annis 65. Beroſus.*

And if it be objected that this time given to *Nimrod*, is over-long: ſure if we compare the age of *Nimrod* with the reſt of the ſame deſcent from *Noah*, it will rather appeare over-ſhort. For *Nimrod*, by this accompt, lived in all but one hundred ſeventy nine yeares: whereof he reigned one hundred and twelve: whereas *Sale*, who was the ſonne of *Arphaxad*, the ſonne of *Sem*, lived foure hundred three yeares: and of the ſame age of the World was *Nimrod* the ſonne of *Chus*, the ſonne of *Cham*.

Now after *Abraham* was borne,

*Ninus* reigned 9. yeares: which added to 43. make——————52.

*Ninus* dieth, and leaveth *Semiramis* his Succeſſor.

*Semiramis* governed the *Empire* of *Babylonia* and *Aſſyria* 42. yeares, and died in the 52. yeare compleat of *Abrahams* life.

*Ninias* or *Zameis* ſucceded *Semiramis*, and ruled 38. yeares, in the ſecond yeare of whoſe reigne *Abraham* left *Meſopotamia*.

Of the World 2017.
Of the Floud 761.

When *Abraham* was 85. yeares old, he reſcued his nephew *Lot*, and overthrew by ſurpriſe *Amraphel* King of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*. *Ninias* reigned 38. yeares, and *Abraham* came into *Canaan* but 23. yeares after *Semiramis* died: which was the 75. yeare of his age: ſo that *Amraphel* may ſeeme to have bin this *Ninias* the ſonne of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, whoſe 23. yeares, as aforeſaide, being the 75. yeare of *Abraham*, he and his fellow-kings might have received this overthrow in the 85. yeare of *Abraham*, and the 33. yeare of his owne reigne: after which he reigned five yeares: which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reaſons to the contrary, urging that this *Amraphel* could not be *Ninias*, are not eaſily anſwered. Howbeit for the times of the *Aſſyrian* Kings, that they are to be ordered as we have ſet downe, according to the times noted by *Moſes*, in the ſtorie of *Abraham*, it is moſt certaine; unleſſe we will either derogate from the truth of *Moſes* his computation, which were impietie, or account the whole Hiſtorie of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but a fiction; which were to condemne all ancient Hiſtorians for fablers.

2059. *mundi*.
403. *a dil.*
2083.
427.
2093.
437.

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## §. IX.

## *That* Amraphel, *one of the foure Kings whom* Abraham *overthrew*, Gen. 14. *may probably be thought to have beene* Ninias *the ſonne of* Ninus.

AND now touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moſes* makes King of *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*, in the 85. yeere of *Abrahams* life, that is, in the 33. yeere of the raigne of *Ninias Zameis* the king of the *Aſſyrians*, the ſonne of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, it is hard to affirme what he was, and how he could be at this time King of *Babylonia*: *Ninias Zameis* then reigning there. To this doubt the anſwer which firſt offereth it ſelfe as moſt propable, is that which hath beene alreadie noted, that this *Ninias* or *Zameis*, was no other than our *Amraphel*: who invaded *Traconitis* or *Baſan*, and overthrew thoſe five kings of *Pentapolis*, or the valley of *Siddim*. For the Scriptures tell us, that *Amraphel* was King of *Shinaar*, which is *Babylonia*: and the times before accounted make him to be the ſucceſſour of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and it falleth out with the 85. yeare of *Abrahams* life: wherein he reſcued *Lot*, ſlew *Chedorlaomer*, and overthrew the reſt. True it is, that this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greateſt *Monarke*: for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in chiefe, though *Amraphel* be firſt named by *Moſes* in the firſt verſe of the 14. Chapter of *Geneſis*. For the Kings of the valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis*, or the five Citties, were the vaſſalls of *Chedorlaomer*, and not of *Amraphel*: as it is written, *Twelve yeeres were* Gen.14.4. *they ſubject to* Chedorlaomer, *but in the 13. yeere they rebelled, and in the 14. yeere came* Chedorlaomer *and the Kings that were with him*: and therefore was *Chedorlaomer* the principall in this enterpriſe, who was then King of *Elam*, which is *Perſia*: Now *Perſia* being ſeated over *Tygris*, and to the Eaſt of *Amraphels* Countrie; and the other two kings, which were companions with *Amraphel*, being ſeated to the Weſt of *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*: *Amraphel*, who held *Babylonia* it ſelfe, ſeemeth at this time to have had no great ſcope or large dominion. For had *Amraphel* beene ſo great a Prince as prophane Hiſtorians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis* whom he ſucceeded, he ſhould not have needed the aſſiſtance of three other Kings for this expedition. But though *Chedorlaomer* were the firſt and greateſt of thoſe foure Kings, (as it is manifeſt that he was: For theſe little kings of *Sodome*, *Gomorra*, *&c.* were his vaſſals, and not *Amraphels*,) yet this makes not the conjecture leſſe probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Ninias*. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of *Aſſyria*, had now (as we ſhall ſhew more plainely in that which followeth) received a downe-right fall, at the time of this warre: though not long before it commanded all the Kingdomes betweene *India* and the *Phœnician* Sea: to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*.

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## §.X.

### Of Arioch *another of the foure kings, and that* Ellas, *whereof he is ſaid to have beene King, lies betweene* Cœloſyria *and* Arabia Petræa.

NOw the two other kings joyned with *Amraphel* and *Chedorlaomer*, were *Arioch* and *Tydal*; the one king of *Ellaſſar*, the other of the Nations. For *Ellaſſar*, *Aquila* and *Hierome* write *Pontus*: ſo *Toſtatus* thinketh that it ſhould be *Helleſpont*: which opinion *Pererius* favoureth. But this is onely to defend the Latine tranſlation. For as *Pontus*, ſo is *Helleſpont* farre diſtant, and out of the way to ſend any Armies into *Arabia Petræa*, or into *Idumæa*; which Countries theſe foure kings chiefly invaded: Beſides that, it is certaine, that the *Aſſyrians* (when they were greateſt) had never any dominion in *Aſia* the leſſe. For at ſuch time as the *Aſſyrians* feared the invaſion of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, they ſent not into *Aſia* the leſſe as commanders: but uſed all the Art Xenophon. they had to invite *Cræſus* to their aſſiſtance: perſwading him that nothing could be more dangerous for himſelfe, and the other Kings of thoſe parts, than the ſucceſſe of the *Medes* againſt the *Aſſyrians*. But examine the enterpriſe what it was. *Theſe Kings* (ſaith Gen.14. the Text) *made warre with* Bera, *King of Sodome*, Birſha *King of Gomorrha*, Shinab *king of Admath, and* Shemebar *king of Zeboim, and the king of* Bela *which is Zoar*. All which five Kings had not ſo much ground as *Middleſex*: being ſuch a kinde of *Reguli*, as *Joſua* found in the land long after: namely, Lords of Cities and ſmall territories adjoyning; of which *Canaan* had three and thirtie, all ſlaine or hanged by *Joſua*. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are ſaid alſo to have invaded, be imagined to have beene at that time of any great power: and therefore to call in Kings from *Pontus* or *Helleſpont*, had manifeſted a great impotence and weakeneſſe in the Kings of *Babylon* and *Perſia*.

And though it be alledged for an example, that divers Kings farre off, came to aſſiſt *Pompey* againſt *Cæſar*: yet theſe ſame examples without like occaſions and circumſtances, doe neither leade nor teach. For there was no cauſe to feare the greatneſſe of theſe pettie Kings, or of the other Countries: But the eyes of the world were fixed on *Cæſar*; and his undertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no leſſe doubtfull than fearefull: But the whole Countrie by theſe foure Kings maſtered in their paſſage, was afterward given to the halfe tribe of *Manaſſe*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*: a narrow valley of ground lying betweene *Jordan* and the mountaines of *Seir*: incloſed by the River of *Arnon* on the Southſide, and by *Lybanus* on the North, conſiſting of the two ſmall Provinces of *Traconitis* or *Baſan*, & the Region of the *Moabites*: a conqueſt farre unvaluable, and little anſwering to the power of the *Aſſyrian Empire*, if the ſame had remained in any comparable eſtate with the times of *Ninus* & *Semiramis*, who ſubjected all the great kings of that part of the World, without the aſſiſtance of any of the Kings of *Helleſpont*, or any other part of *Aſia* the leſſe. But as the vulgar and *Aquila* convert *Ellaſſar* by *Pontus*: ſo *Symmachus* makes *Arioch* a King of the *Scythians*, a King indeed, as farre fetched to joyne with the *Aſſyrians* in this Warre, as the World had any at that time.

The *Septuagint* doe not change the word of *Ellaſſar* at all, but as they keepe the word *Ararat*, on the mountaines whereof the Arke did reſt; ſo doe they in this place retaine the *Hebrew* word *Ellaſſar*, being doubtfull to give it a wrong interpretation. And *Pererius* himſelfe remembreth other opinions farre more probable than this of *Pontus* or *Helleſpont*: yet he dares not avow his liking of them, becauſe the Latin Tranſlation hath it otherwiſe. For *Stephanus de Urbibus*, a *Gracian Coſmographer*, findeth the Citie of *Ellas* in the border of *Cœloſyria*: and S. *Hierome* calleth *Ellas* the Citie of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now although the ſame be ſeated by *Stephanus* in *Cœloſyria*, yet it ſtandeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was king: who formerly joyned with *Ninus* in all his conqueſts, being of the ſame familie, and deſcended from *Cham* and *Chus*: after whom the name of *Arius* was by the *Hebrew* written *Arioch*: and afterward againe *Aretas*; as in the *Machabees*: the kings of *Arabia* holding that name even to the time of S. *Paul*, who was ſought to be betrayed by the *Lievtenant* of *Aretas* commanding in *Damaſcus*. They were Princes for the moſt part confederate and depending upon the *Aſſyrian Empire*. It is true that we find in *Daniel*, that in the time of *Nabuchodonoſor*, one *Arioch* was Generall of his armie, and the principall Commander under him, who was a King of Kings: which makes it plaine, that *Arioch* here ſpoken of, the ſonne of that *Arioch*, *Confederate* of *Ninus*, was no king of *Pontus*, nor of *Scythia*: regions farre removed from the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name alſo of *Arioch* who commanded under *Nabuchodonoſor* is mentioned in *Judith*, by the name of *King of the Elymeans*: who are a Nation of *Perſians* bordering *Aſſyria*, according to *Stephanus*: though *Plinie* ſets it betweene the Seacoaſt, and *Media*: and if any brother of the *Arabian Kings* or other of that houſe (known by the name of *Arius*, *Arioch*, *Areta*, or *Aretas*) had the government of that *Perſian Province* called *Elymais* (as it ſeemeth they had by the places of *Daniel* and *Judith*) yet the ſame was in *Nabuchodonoſors* time. But this *Arioch* heere ſpoken of may with more reaſon be taken for the King of *Arabia*, the ſonne of *Arius*, the *Confederate* of *Ninus*: whoſe ſonnes held league, as their Fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that ſide towards the Weſt unto *Babylonia*, and *Chaldæa*: and in amitie with them from the beginning, and of their owne houſe, and bloud: which *Diod. Siculus* alſo confirmeth.

*Mac.2.c.5.v.2.*
*Cor.2.11.*
*Dan.2.*
*Dio.Sic.l.2.c.1.*

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### §. XI.

### *Of* Tidal *another of the foure Kings.*

THe fourth King by *Abraham* overthrown was *Tidal*, King of the Nations. The *Hebrew* writes it *Gojim*, which *Vatablus* takes to be a proper name: *Lyra* of mixt people: *Calvin* of runnagates without habitation. *Pererius* out of *Strabo*, findes that *Galilæa* was inhabited by divers Nations, which were a mixt people: namely, of *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phœnicians*. *Nam tales ſunt qui Galilæam habitant*; *Such are the inhabitants of Galile*, ſaith *Strabo*: and therefore was *Tidal* called King of theſe Nations, as they ſuppoſe. And it may be ſo: but the authoritie of *Strabo* is nothing in this queſtion. For *Galilæa* was not peopled at this time, as it was in the time of *Strabo*. For when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Canaanite* was then in the Land, howſoever they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not. But there are many petty kingdomes adjoyning to *Phœnicia*, and *Palaſtina*; as *Palmyrena*, *Batanea*, *Laodicene*, *Apamena*, *Chalcidice*, *Caſsiotis*, *Chalibonitis*, and all theſe doe alſo joyne themſelves to *Meſopotamia*, on the North, and to *Arabia*, on the Eaſt. And that theſe Nations gathered themſelves together under *Tidal*, I take to be the probableſt conjecture.

*Strab.l.16.fol. 523.*
*Gen.12.6.*

## §.XII.

### That Chedorlaomer *the chiefe of the foure Kings was not of Aſſyria, but of Perſia: and that the Aſſyrian Empire at this time was much impayred.*

LAſtly, whereas it is conceived that *Chedorlaomer* was the *Aſſyrian Emperor*, and that *Amraphel* was but a *Satrape, Viceroy*, or *Provinciall* governour of *Babylonia*, and that the other Kings named were ſuch alſo, I cannot agree with *Pererius* in this. For *Moſes* was too well acquainted with the names of *Aſſur* and *Shinaar*, to call the *Aſſyrian* a king of *Elam*: thoſe kings being in the Scriptures evermore called by the name of *Chaldæa, Shinaar, Babylonia*, or *Aſſyria*: but never by *Elam*; and *Chedorlaomer* or *Kedarlaomer* was ſo called of *Kidor*, from *Cidarim*, which in the *Hebrew* ſignifieth *Regale*: for ſo *Q. Curtius* calleth the garment which the *Perſian* Kings ware on their heads.

Neither doe I beleeve that the *Aſſyrian* or *Babylonian Empire* ſtood in any greatneſſe at the time of this invaſion; and my reaſons are theſe: Firſt, example and experience teach us, that thoſe things which are ſet up haſtily, or forced violently, doe not long laſt. *Alexander* became Lord of all *Aſia*, on this ſide of *Indus*, in a time of ſo ſhort a life, as it laſted not to over-looke what it ſelfe had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetuall. For his Empire died at once with himſelfe: all whoſe chiefe Commanders became kings after him. *Tamberlaine* conquered *Aſia* and *India* with a ſtorme-like and terrible ſucceſſe: but to prevalent furie God hath adjoyned a ſhort life: and whatſoever things Nature her ſelfe worketh in haſte, ſhe taketh the leaſt care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories periſhed with him, if not before.

*Ninus* being the firſt whom the madneſſe of boundleſſe dominion tranſported, invaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious over them: a man violent, inſolent and cruell. *Semiramis* taking the opportunitie, and being more proud, adventurous, and ambitious, than her *Paramour*: enlarged the *Babyloinan Empire*, and beautified many places therein with buildings unexampled. But her ſonne having changed Nature and Condition with his Mother, proved no leſſe feminine than ſhe was maſculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continuall ſmart, put the Patient in minde how to cure the one, & revenge the other: ſo thoſe Kings adjoyning (whoſe ſubjection, and calamities incident were but new, and therefore the more grievous) could not ſleepe, when the advantage was offered by ſuch a ſucceſſour. For, *in regno Babylonico hic parùm reſplenduit, this King ſhined little* (ſaith *Nauclerus* of *Ninias*) *in the Babylonian Kingdome*. And likely it is that the neckes of mortall men having beene never before galled with the yoake of forraine dominion, nor having ever had experience of that moſt miſerable and deteſted condition of living in ſlaverie: no long deſcent having as yet inveſted the *Aſſyrian* with a right: nor any other title being for him pretended than a ſtrong hand; the fooliſh and effeminate ſonne of a tyrannous and hated Father, could very ill hold ſo many great Princes and Nations his vaſſals, with a powerleſſe maſtering, and a minde leſſe induſtrious than his Father and Mother had uſed before him. And he that was ſo much given over to licentious idleneſſe, as to ſuffer his Mother to reigne 42. yeares, and thereof the greateſt part after he came to mans eſtate: witneſſed thereby to the World, that he ſo much preferred eaſe before honour, and bodily pleaſures before greatneſſe, as he neither indevoured to gaine what he could not governe, nor to keepe what he could not without contentious perill enjoy.

Theſe Conſiderations being joyned to the ſtorie of *Amraphel*, delivered by *Moſes*, by which we find that *Amraphel* King of *Shinaar* was rather an inferiour to the King of *Perſia*, than either his ſuperiour, or equall; make it ſeeme probable, that the Empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken a ſunder, and reſtrained againe to *Babylonia*.

For concluſion I will adde theſe two arguments confirming the former: Firſt, that at ſuch time as it pleaſed God to impoſe that great travaile upon *Abraham*, form *Ur* in *Chaldæa* to *Charran*, and then to *Canaan*, a paſſage of 700. miles, or little leſſe, with women, chlidren, and carriages: the Countries through which he wandred were then ſetled, and in peace. For it was in the 23. yeare of *Ninias*, when *Abraham*, obeying the voyce of God, tooke this great journey in hand: in which time of 23. yeares after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbour Princes had recovered their libertie and former eſtates. For *Semiramis* Armie of foure millions, with her ſelfe, utterly conſumed in *India*, and all her armies

*Strab.l.15.*

and engins of warre, at the ſame time loſt, gave an occaſion and opportunitie even to the pooreſt ſoules and weakeſt hearted creatures of the World, to repurchaſe their former libertie.

Secondly, it is affirmed by the beſt and ancienteſt Hiſtorians, that *Arius* the ſonne of *Ninias*, or *Amraphel*, invaded the *Bactrians* and *Caſpians*, and againe ſubjected them: which needed not if they had not beene revolted from *Ninias*, after *Ninus* death. And as *Arioch* recovered one part, ſo did *Baleus* or *Balaneus*, otherwiſe *Xerxes*, reduce the reſt revolted, to their former obedience. Of whom it ſaid that he conquered from *Egypt* to *India*: and therefore was called *Xerxes, id eſt, Victor & triumphator, a conquerour and triumpher*; which undertakings had beene no other than the effects of madneſſe, had not thoſe Countries freed themſelves from the *Babylonian* ſubjection. Now if we ſhall make any doubt hereof, that is, of the reconqueſt of *Arius* and *Xerxes*, both which lived after *Ninus* and *Ninias*, we may as well thinke the reſt of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but fained: but if we grant this reconqueſt, then is it true that while *Ninias* or *Amraphel* ruled, the *Aſſyrian Empire* was torne aſunder, according to that which hath beene gathered out of *Moſes*, as before remembred.

## §. XIII.

*That it is not unprobable that the foure Kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had elſe-where with their colonies planted themſelves: and ſo retained the names of the Countries whence they came: which if it be ſo, we neede not ſay that* Amraphel *was* Ninias, *nor trouble our ſelves with many other difficulties.*

THe conſent of all writers, whoſe workes have come to my peruſall, agreeing as they doe, that theſe foure Kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinaar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, & thoſe fellowes, were Lords of thoſe Regions, whereunto they are or ſeeme intituled: doth almoſt inforce us to thinke that the hiſtory muſt ſo be underſtood, as I have delivered. But if in this place, as often elſe-where in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be ſet for people of thoſe lands, or if (as *Hierome* hath it) *Chedorlaomer* was king of the *Elamites*, as *Tidal* was ſaid to be of the Nations, that is, of people either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of ſundry regions: then may we otherwiſe conceive of this Hiſtorie: removing thereby ſome difficulties, which men perhaps have beene unwilling to find, becauſe they could not find how to reſolve them. For as it had beene a ſtrange conjecture to thinke that *Arioch* was drawne to aſſiſt the *Perſian*, againſt the *Sodomite*, as far as from *Pontus*, where it is very unlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was knowne, and almoſt impoſſible that the vale of *Siddim* ſhould have beene once named: ſo in true eſtimation it is a thing of great improbabilitie, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were King of *Perſia* alone, ſhould paſſe through ſo great a part of the World, as the Countries of *Aſſyria*, *Chaldæa*, *Meſopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*, & *Canaan*, to ſubdue thoſe five Townes, whoſe very names how they ſhould come to his eare, being diſ-joyned by ſo many great nations of different languages, a wiſe man could hardly conjecture. And if all the Countries bordering *Perſia* together with the *Babylonian* himſelfe, yea the kingdome of *Ellaſar* and that of *Tidal*, ſo far off removed, were become his dependants; what reaſon can we find that might have induced him to hearken after *Sodome* and *Gomorrah*? and when he ſhould have ſought the eſtabliſhment of his new gotten *Empire*, by rooting out the poſterity of *Ninus* (as *Ninus* had dealt by *Pharnus* of *Media*, and *Zoroaſter* of *Bactria*) then to imploy the forces of *Amraphel*, and thoſe other Kings, againſt five pettie Townes, leaving *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, and the great Citie of *Damaſco*, with many other places of much importance, and far neerer unto him, unſubdued? Now as theſe doubts which may be alledged againſt the firſt conqueſt of the vale of *Siddim*, are exceeding vehement: ſo are the objections to be made againſt his reconqueſt of theſe five Cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea and more, as being grounded partly upon the Text it ſelfe. For firſt, what madneſſe had it beene in that ſmall *Province* to rebell againſt ſo powerfull a *Monarch*? Or if it were ſo that they dwelling farre from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, than that he ſhould come or ſend to reclaime them: was it not more than madneſſe in them, when his terrible armie approached, ſtill to entertaine hope of evaſion: yea to make reſiſtance (being themſelves a diſſolute and therefore unwarlike people) againſt the power of all the Nations betweene *Euphrates*, yea betweene themſelves and the river of

*Indus*: Likewiſe on the part of *Chedorlaomer* we ſhould finde no great wiſedome, if he, knowing the weakeneſſe of this people, had raiſed ſuch a world of men againſt them: whom by any *Lievtenant*, with ſmall forces he might have ſubdued. For the perpetuall inheritance of that little Countrie, was not ſufficient to countervaile one moneths charges of ſo huge an armie. How ſmall then muſt his valour have beene, who with ſo mightie preparations effected no more than the waſting of that *Valley*, wherein he left the Cities ſtanding, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few priſoners, and the pillage of the Countrie, although he had broken their armie in the field: Now the Scriptures doe not of this invaſion (ſuppoſed ſo great) make any fearefull matter: but compoſe the two armies, as equally matcht, ſaying they were foure kings againſt five: yea, if the place be literally expounded, we ſhall find that *Abraham* ſlew all theſe Kings; of which great ſlaughter no Hiſtorie makes mention: Neither will the reigne of *Ninias*, who lived foure or five yeares longer, permit that he ſhould have died ſo ſoone: neither would Hiſtories have forgotten the manner of his death, if he had ſo ſtrangely periſhed in *Syria*. Whereby it appeares, that theſe foure kings were not the ſame that they are commonly thought: nor their forces ſo great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that theſe kings were ſuch as many others, who in that age carried the ſame title: Lords and Commanders every one of his owne company, which he carried forth as a *Colonie*, ſeeking place where to ſettle himſelfe and them, as was the uſuall manner of thoſe times.

Gen. 14. 17.

Neither is it improbable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a troupe of *Perſians*, *Amraphel* ſome people out of *Shinaar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of ſundry places, might conſort together, and make the weakeſt of the Countrie which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Whoſoever will conſider the beginning of the firſt booke of *Thucydides*, with the manner of diſcoveries, conqueſts and plantations, in the infancie of *Greece*; or the manner of the *Saracens* invading *Africa* and *Spaine*, with almoſt as many kings as feverall Armies: or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new diſcoveries, paſſages, and conqueſts in the *Weſt-Indies*: may eaſily perceive, that it was neither unuſuall for the leaders of *Colonies* to receive title from the people whom they conducted: nor to make alliances together, and breake them againe, diſturbing ſometimes one the other, ſometimes helping in purſuit of a conqueſt. That *Amraphel* and his aſſociates were ſuch manner of Commanders, it may ſeeme the more likely, by the ſloathfull qualitie of *Ninias* then reigning in *Aſſyria*: whoſe unmanlike temper was ſuch, as might well give occaſion to ſuch undertaking ſpirits, as wanted the imployments whereunto they were accuſtomed in the reigne of *Semiramis*, rather to ſeeke adventures abroad, than to remaine at home unregarded, whilſt others more unworthy than themſelves, were aduanced. If the conſent of the whole ſtreame of writers upon this place make this conjecture diſagreeable to the Text, to the authoritie whereof all humane reaſon muſt ſubſcribe, then we may hold our ſelves to the former conjecture, that *Amraphel* was *Ninias*: and that the power of his Anceſtors being by his ſloath decayed, he might well be inferiour to the *Perſian* *Chedorlaomer*: or if this doe not ſatisfie, we may ſay that *Amraphel* was an Under-king or *Satrapa* of *Shinaar*, under *Ninias*; who may be ſuppoſed to have had his *Imperiall* ſeat in his Fathers Citie *Nineve*: and to have preferred it before *Shinaar* and *Babylon* the Citie of his Mother, whom he hated as an uſurper of his right. But if it were poſſible that in a caſe not concerning any mans Salvation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great paines, all might erre: then can I thinke that the opinion, That thoſe foure Kings were leaders of *Colonies*, ſent out of the Countries named in the Text, and not Kings of the Countries themſelves, is moſt conſonant both to the condition of thoſe times, and to the Scripture. And hereto adde that *Chedorlaomer* ſeemes rather called a *Perſian* king, than King of *Perſia*: and that *Arioch* (whoſe kingdome undoubtedly was betweene *Syria* and *Arabia*) having beene a man of action, or being a worthy mans ſonne, was very well pleaſed, to give paſſage and aſſiſtance, to theſe Captaines or pettie Kings. Theſe and ſuch like things here to urge, were but with circumſtances to adorne a ſuppoſition, which either may ſtand without them, or if it muſt fall, is unworthy to have coſt beſtowed upon it: eſpecially conſidering, that it is not my intent to imploy any more time in making it good, but to leave it wholly to the Readers pleaſure to follow any of theſe opinions, or any other, if he find any that ſhall ſeeme better than theſe. But of what Countries or people ſoever theſe foure were Kings, this expedition is the onely publique action that we know of performed by **Abraham.** And as for other things belonging to his Storie, and of his ſonnes, and of his Nephews *Eſau* and *Jacob*, as they are regiſtred by *Moſes*, becauſe it is not our purpoſe, either to ſtand upon things generally known to all *Chriſtians*, nor to repeate what hath beene elſewhere already ſpoken, nor to prevent our ſelves in things that may hereafter in due place be remembred, we paſſe them here in ſilence. And becauſe in this Storie of *Abraham* and his poſteritie, there is much mention of *Egypt*: by which it appeares that even in the time of *Abraham*, it was a ſetled & flouriſhingkingdom; it will not be amiſſe in the next place to ſpeake ſomewhat of the antiquities and firſt kings thereof.

# CHAP. II.

## *Of the Kings of Ægypt from the firſt peopling of it after the Floud, to the time of the deliverie of the Iſraelites from thence.*

### §. I.

### *A briefe of the names and times of the firſt Kings of Ægypt: with a note of the cauſes of difficulty in reſolving of the truth in theſe points.*

Soone after the confuſion at *Babel* (as it ſeemes) *Cham* with many of his iſſue and followers (having doubtleſſe knowne the fertilitie of *Egypt* before the Floud) came thither and tooke poſſeſſion of the Countrie; in which they built many Cities: and began the kingdome one hundred nintie one yeares after the deluge. The ancient Governours of this Kingdome till ſuch time as *Iſrael* departed *Egypt*, are ſhewne in the *Table* following.

| *An. Mundi.* | *An. dil.* | |
|---|---|---|
| 1847. | 191. | *Cham.* |
| 2008. | 352. | *Oſiris.* |
| 2269. | 613. | *Typhon*<br>*Hercules.* |
| 2276. | 620. | *Orus.* |
| 2391. | 735. | *Seſoſtris* the great. |
| 2424. | 768. | *Seſoſtris* the blinde. |
| 2438. | 782. | *Buſiris* or *Oſiris* the ſecond. |
| 2476. | 820. | *Acenchere* or *Thermutis*, or *Meris*. |
| 2488. | 832. | *Rathoris* or *Athoris*. |
| 2497. | 841. | *Chencres* drowned in the red Sea. |

The Table, and eſpecially the *Chronologie*, is to be confirmed by probabilities & conjectures, becauſe in ſuch obſcurity, manifeſt and reſtleſſe truth cannot be found. For Saint *Auguſtine*, a man of exceeding great judgement, and incomparable diligence, who had ſought into all antiquities, and had read the bookes of *Varro*, which now are loſt, yet omitted the ſucceſſion of the *Egyptian* Kings: which he would not have done, if they had not beene more uncertaine than the *Sicyonians*, whom he remembreth, than whom doubtleſſe they were more glorious. One great occaſion of this obſcurity in the *Egyptian* Story, was the ambition of the Prieſts: who, to magnifie their Antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with many leaſings, and recounted unto ſtrangers the names of many Kings, that never reigned. What ground they had for theſe reports of ſuppoſed Kings, it ſhall appeare anon. Sure it is, that the magnificent workes and royall buildings in *Egypt,* ſuch as are never found but in States that have greatly flouriſhed, witneſſe that their Princes were of marvellous greatneſſe, and that the reports of the Prieſts were not altogether falſe. A ſecond cauſe of our ignorance in the *Egyptian* Hiſtory, was the too much credulity of ſome good Authors, who beleeving the manifold and contrary reports of ſundry *Egyptians*, and publiſhing in their owne name ſuch as pleaſed them beſt; have confirmed them, and as it were inforced them upon us by their authority. A third and generall cauſe of more than *Egyptian* darkeneſſe in all ancient Hiſtories, is the edition of many Authors by *John Annius*, of whom ( if to the cenſures of ſundry very learned, I may adde mine ) I thinke thus; that *Annius* having ſeene ſome fragments of thoſe writers, and added unto them what he would, may be credited, as an avoucher of true Hiſtories, where approved writers confirme him: but otherwiſe is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it commeth to paſſe that the account of Authors, either in the *Chronologie* or *Genealogie* of the *Egyptian* Kings, runnes three altogether different wayes. The Chriſtian writers, ſuch as are ancient, for the moſt part follow *Euſebius*: Many late writers follow the edition of *Annius* his Authors: The prophane Hiſtories follow *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and ſuch others.

## §. II.

### *That by the account of the Egyptian Dynaſties, and otherwiſe, it appeares that* Chams *reigne in Egypt began in the yeere after the Floud.* 191.

TO reconcile theſe, or gather out of them the times of the ancient Kings, about whom is moſt controverſie, the beſt meane is by helpe of the *Dynaſties*: of whoſe continuance there is little or no diſagreement. The account of the *Dynaſties* ( beſides the authority of approved Authors ) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the moſt part, if not altogether, with the Hiſtories of the *Aſſyrians*, *Trojans*, *Italians* &c. and others. The beginning of the 16. *Dyn.* is joyned by generall conſent, with the 43. yeare of *Ninus*: in which *Abraham* was borne. The twelve firſt *Dynaſties* laſted each of them ſeven yeares, under the twelve, which were called the greater gods: ſo that all the yeares of their continuance were 84. The thirteenth *Dynaſtie* endured foureteene yeares: the fourteenth 26. the fifteenth 37. Theſe three laſt are ſaid to have bin under the three younger gods. So the fifteene firſt *Dynaſties* laſted one hundred ſixty one yeares. As I doe not therefore beleeve that the continuance of theſe *Dyn.* was ſuch as hath bin mentioned, becauſe *Annius* in ſuch wiſe limits out their time: ſo I cannot reject the account upon this onely reaſon, that *Annius* hath it ſo: conſidering that both hitherto it hath paſſed as currant, and is greatly ſtrengthened by many good reaſons. For, whereas *Euſebius* placeth the beginning of the ſixteenth *Dynaſtie*, in the yeare of *Abrahams* birth, as aforeſaid: the reckoning is eaſily caſt; by which the ſumme of 161. yeares, which according to our account were ſpent in the fifteene former, being ſubducted out of the ſumme of 352. yeares, which were betweene the Floud and *Abrahams* birth, ſhew that the beginning of the firſt *Dynaſtie*, which was the beginning of *Chams* reigne in *Egypt*, was in the yeare 191. As alſo by other probabilities the ſame may appeare. For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of mankinde which came into *Shinaar*, arrived at *Babel*, *Anno à diluvio* 131. In building the Tower were conſumed fourtie yeares, as *Glycas* recordeth: whoſe report I have elſewhere confirmed with divers probabilities. That *Cham* was long in paſſing with his company, their Wives, Children, Cattell, and ſubſtance through all *Syria* then deſolate, and full of Bogges, Forreſts and Bryers ( which the Deluge and want of culture in one hundred ſeventie one yeeres had brought upon it ) no reaſonable man will doubt. To this his paſſage therefore, and the ſeating of himſelfe in *Egypt*, we allow twenty yeeres: and theſe ſummes being added together, to wit, one hundred thirty one yeeres after the Floud, before they arrive at *Babel*, 40. yeeres for their ſtay there, and 20. for *Chams* paſſage into *Egypt*, and ſetling there, make up the ſumme of 191. yeeres; at which time we ſaid that *Cham* began his reigne in *Egypt*, in the beginning of the firſt *Dynaſtie*. And to this ſumme of 191. yeeres if wee adde the 161. yeeres of the 15. firſt *Dynaſties*, as they are numbred in common account, we ſhall fall right with the yeere of *Abrahams* birth which was *An. Dil.* 352. And hereto omitting many other reaſons, which might be brought to prove that theſe firſt *Dynaſties* muſt needes have beene very ſhort, and not containing in the whole ſumme of their ſeverall times above 161. yeares: Let it ſuffice that had they laſted longer, then either muſt Æ*gypt* have beene peopled as ſoone as *Babel* after the Floud, or the *Dynaſties* (as *Mercator* thinkes) muſt have beene before the floud. That the arrivall at *Babel* was many yeares before the plantation of *Egypt*, after the floud, enough hath beene ſaid to prove: and that the *Dynaſties* were not before the floud, the number of the long-lived generations betweene *Adam* and the floud, which was leſſe than the number of the *Dynaſties*, may ſufficiently witneſſe. Or if we will thinke, that one life might (perhaps) be divided into many *Dynaſties*, then may this have beene as well after the floud, as before: conſidering that the ſonnes of *Noah* did not in every Countrie erect ſuch forme of Policie, as had bin uſed in the ſame ere the Deluge: but ſuch, as the diſpoſition of the people, the authoritie and power of the Conducter, together with many other circumſtances, did induce or inforce them to.

## §. III.

### *That theſe Dynaſties were not divers families of Kings, but rather ſucceſsions of Regents, oft times many under one King.*

THe ſhort continuance of the *Dynaſties*, doth ſhew that they were not ſeverall races of Kings, as the vaunting *Egyptians* were wont to ſtile them. What they were it cannot certainly be warranted. For in reſtitutions of decayed antiquities, it is more eaſie to denie than to affirme. But this may be ſaid, partly upon good circumſtance, partly upon the ſureſt proofe, That it was the manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, to put the government of the Countrie into the hands of ſome truſtie Counſellor, onely reſerving the Soveraignty to themſelves, as the old Kings of *France* were wont to the Maſters of the Palace, and as the Turke doth to the chiefe *Viſier*. This is confirmed, firſt by the number of the *Dynaſties*, whereof many are under *Cham*, and more than one under *Oſiris* or *Mizraim*; and muſt therefore have bin ſucceſſions, not of Kings, but rather of Counſailors and Regents. Secondly, by cuſtome of ſuch Princes borderers to *Egypt*, as are mentioned in the Scriptures, of whom *Abimelech* the *Philiſtim* in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Iſaac* about confederation, did nothing without *Phicol* Captaine of his Hoſte: though in taking *Abrahams* wiſe, and in his private carriage, he followed his owne pleaſure. Likewiſe of *Abimelech* the ſonne of *Gideon* it was ſaid: *Is not he the ſonne of* Jerubbaal? *and* Zebul *is his officer?* Alſo *Iſhboſheth* the ſonne of *Saul*, feared *Abner* the Captaine of the Hoſte. Yea, *David* himſelfe hating *Joab* for his crueltie, did not puniſh him in regard of his greatneſſe, which was ſuch, as was feared even of *Hadad* the *Edomite* living then in *Egypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and diſpoſition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appeares by the Scriptures: therefore likely both for his own idleneſſe and pleaſure, to have laid the burden of govenment upon others; and upon jealouſie, the companion of unworthineſſe, to have changed his Lievtenants often. Above all other proofes is the advancement of *Joſeph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* ſaid to Joſeph; *Only in the Kings throne will I be above thee: behold, I have ſet thee over all the Land of* Egypt. *William Archbiſhop of Tyre*, who flouriſhed about the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand one hundred eightie, aſſirmes that the like or very ſame forme of government by *Viceroys*, was in his time practiſed in *Egypt*, having there beene in uſe (as he beleeved) ever ſince the time of *Joſeph*. He plainely ſhewes, that the *Soldans* of *Egypt* were not Lords of the Countrie, how ever they have beene ſo deemed: but that they acknowledged and humbly performed the dutie of ſubjects unto the *Calpihe*: who reſiding in a moſt magnificent Palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not onely of civill government, but the power of making warre and peace, with the whole office and authority royall, into the *Soldans* hands. He that ſhall reade in *William* of *Tyre*, the ſtate of the *Caliphe*, or *Mulene Elhadech*, with the forme of his Court, ſhall plainly behold the image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, ruling by a Lievtenant, as great in authority as *Joſeph* was, though farre inferiour in wiſedome.

*Will. Tyr. de bell. Sacro. l. 19. c. 17. 18. 19. & 20.*

*Lib. 19. c. 20.*

To thinke that many names of ſuch *Regents* or Lievtenants as *Joſeph* was, have crept into the Liſt of the *Egyptian* Kings, were no ſtrange imagination. For *Joſephs* brethren call him, *The man that is Lord of the Land, and the Lord of the Countrie*: beſides, it is not unlikely that the vain-glorious *Egyptian* Prieſts would as eaſily report him a King to poſterity, as ignorant men and ſtrangers deeme him ſuch, under whoſe hand all diſpatches of

*Gen. 42. 30. & 33.*

of importance, and royall managing of the State had paſſed, whileſt that the King himſelfe intending his quiet, had given his office to another. How ſtrangers have miſtaken in this kinde, the example already cited of *Joſephs* brethren, doth ſufficiently witneſſe. The reports of Prieſts doe appeare in *Diodorus*, and *Herodotus*: each of whom, citing their relations, as good authority, ſay; *Diodorus*, that *Seſoſtris* was the nineteenth King after *Menas*; *Herodotus*, that he was the 332. after *Menas*: which could not have beene, if *Menas* had beene *Adam*. Therefore we may well conclude, That the *Dynaſties* were not ſo many races of Kings, but ſucceſſions of *Regents*, appointed by the kings of ſo many ſundry linages or ſorts of men. Now by whatſoever meanes a *Dynaſtie* or *Regencie* continued: whether in one familie, as being made an hereditary office: or in one order of men, as held by faction: ſure it is that was the Kings gift and free choyce, that gave the office. But the Crowne royall alwayes paſſed by deſcent, and not by election: which (beſides conſent of *Authors*) the Scriptures alſo prove. For whereas *Joſeph* bought all the land of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh*, if the Crowne had paſſed by election, then ſhould *Pharaoh's* children hereby either have beene inthralled amongſt the reſt of the people, to the next ſucceſſor: or injoying their Fathers land, though not his eſtate, have bin more mighty than the king: as Land-lords of all *Egypt*, and the king himſelfe their Tenant. Likewiſe we finde in *Exod.* 12. that *God ſmote the firſt borne of* Pharaoh, *that was to ſit on his Throne.* And in *Eſay* it is ſaid of Pharaoh: *I am the ſonne of the ancient King.*

*Eſay* 19.

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## §.IIII.

### *Of* Cham, *and his ſonne* Mizraim, *or* Oſiris.

*Pſal.* 78.51. 105.23. 27. 106.22.

*Diod.Sic.l.*1.

THat the ſucceſſion of Kings began, and continued in ſuch wiſe as the Table hath ſhewed from *Cham* to *Chencres*, now it followeth to ſhew. *Egypt* is called in the Scripture *the land of* Ham. That this name is not given to it, becauſe the poſterity of *Cham* did reigne there, but for that himſelfe did firſt plant it, we may gather by many circumſtances. For I thinke it is no where found, that the Countries of *Cuſh*, *Put*, or *Canaan*, as well as *Egypt*, were called the Land of *Ham*. Further, it is found in *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Oſiris* calleth himſelfe the eldeſt ſonne of *Cham*, ſaying; *Mihi pater Saturnus deorum omnium junior*: alſo, *Sum Saturni filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro & generoſo ortum*: which muſt needes be underſtood of *Cham*: for this *Saturnus Egyptius* was *Cham*: as it is ſaid, that on the monument of *Ninus* was an inſcription, wherein *Cham* was called *Saturnus Ægyptius*. Likewiſe the Temple of *Hammon*, not farre from *Egypt*, doth teſtifie, that *Ham* reſided in thoſe parts: And S. *Hierome in quæſtionibus Hebraicis*, ſaith, that the *Egyptians* themſelves did in his dayes call their Countrie *Ham*: as in foure ſeverall places in the *Pſalmes* this Countrie is called the land of *Cham*. And *Ortelius*, noting out of *Plutarch* in *Oſiride*, that in the ſacrifices of the *Egyptians* this Countrie of *Egypt* was called *Chemia*, expounds it for *Chamia*, *ut puto* (ſaith he) *à Chamo Noes filio*, to which alſo he addeth out of *Iſidore*, *Ægyptum uſq; hodie Ægyptiorum lingua* Kam *vocari: that Egypt unto this day in the tongue of the Egyptians is called* Kam. For the beginning and continuance of *Chams* reigne, the ſame reaſons may ſuffice to be alledged, which I have already given in proofe of the time ſpent in the 15. firſt *Dynaſties*: Neither is it ſtrange that the reigne of *Cham* ſhould laſt ſo long as 161. yeares: conſidering that *Sem* lived 600: *Arphachſhad* and *Shelah* each above 400. But ſtrange it had beene, if one *Saltis* created by *Manetho*, had in thoſe long-lived generations reigned there 19. yeares, and with *Baon*, *Apachnas*, *Apochis*, and others of the ſame brood, obſcured the fame and glory of *Oſiris*, *Orus*, and *Seſoſtris*. *Reineccius in hiſtor. Julia*, placeth *Mizraim* next, otherwiſe called *Oſiris*, according to *Diodorus*: who, ſaith he, was the ſonne of *Hammon*: *Krentzhemius* ſaith that *Mizraim* and *Oſiris* are words of neere affinitie and ſound in the *Hebrew* tongue. Howſoever it be, we know that *Mizraim* the ſonne of *Cham*, was Lord of *Egypt*, and *Reineccius*, citing good authoritie in this caſe, affirmeth that *Egypt* is now called by the naturals in their owne language, *Mezre*. Neither doe I ſee cauſe of doubt whether *Oſiris* were the ſame with *Mizraim*. It is more neceſſary, and hard to ſhew manifeſtly, how long *Mizraim* or *Oſiris* reigned. For whereas the yeare of his death is no where preciſely ſet downe, we muſt be faine to follow probabilities. That he is not vainly ſaid by *Annius* his *Beroſus*, to have begun his reigne at the birth of *Abraham*, when the *Dynaſtie* of the *Thebai* began, it appeareth, firſt, by the authoritie of *Euſebius*: who avoucheth as much; next by *Diodorus*, who ſaith that he inhabited *Thebes*: which habitation of *Oſiris* there, that it might be cauſe of that *Dynaſty*, I can well beleeve; aſſenting ſo far to *Reineccius*, who thinkes the *Dynaſties* were named only, according to the ſeverall ſeats of the kings.

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## §. V.

### *Of the time when* Oſiris *reigne ended: and that* Jacob *came into Egypt in the time of* Orus *the ſonne of* Oſiris.

THe death of *Oſiris*, when it was, none can certainly affirme. The only conjecture that I know is made thus: *Lehabim* the ſon of *Mizraim*, called *Hercules Lybius*, made war in *Italy*, to revenge his Fathers death, on the aſſociates of *Typhon*, in the 41. yeare of *Baleus* King of *Aſſyria*: before which yeare he had made many great wars in *Egypt, Phœnicia, Phrygia, Crete, Lybia*, and *Spaine*: and having ended his *Egyptian* wars, left the Kingdome to *Orus*. Thus far *Beroſus*, or Authors following *Beroſus*. That *Orus* laſt of all the gods (as they were ſtiled) held the Kingdome of *Iſis*, *Diodorus Siculus* plainly ſaith: and *Plutarch* as much; to which all Hiſtories agree. *Krentzhemius* hereupon infers, that ſixe years may be allowed to the wars, which *Hercules* made in ſo many Countries, after the *Egyptian* wars were ended: ſo ſhould the death of *Oſiris* have been the 34. of *Baleus*, when himſelfe had reigned 297. yeares. I think that *Krentzhemius* was a greater Scholler than Souldier. For ſurely in thoſe dayes when commerce was not ſuch as now, but all Navigation made by coaſting, a far longer time would have been required, to the ſubduing of ſo many Countries. An allowance of more time though it would alter his computation, yet would it well agree with his intent: which was (doubtleſſe) to find the truth. If according to his account the death of *Oſiris* had beene the 34. of *Baleus*, then muſt *Iſrael* have come into *Egypt* but ſeven years before the death of *Oſiris*: and have lived there in the reigne of *Typhon*. A thing not eaſily beleeved. For it was the ſame king who advanced *Joſeph*, bade him ſend for his Father, and gave him leave to go into *Canaan*, to the performance of his Fathers Funerall: as may eaſily be gathered out of the book of *Geneſis*. Whereas therefore the reign of *Oſiris* cannot be extended by any poſſible allowance in account of times, beyond the ſeventh yeare of *Iſraels* comming into *Egypt*: we muſt needs cut off 23. years from that number, which *Krentzhemius* conjectures his reign to have continued: namely, ſeven which he ſhould have lived after *Jacobs* comming into *Egypt*; nine in which *Joſeph* had there flouriſhed, ere his fathers comming: and other ſeven in which *Typhon* & *Hercules* had reigned after the death of *Oſiris*, yet before *Joſephs* advancement.

Diod. Sic. l. 2. c. 1. Plut. l. de Iſid. & Oſid.

Neither will this diſagree with the time of *Hercules Lybius* his wars. For the war which *Hercules* made in *Italy*, is ſaid to have indured 10. years: After which proportion we may well give not only ſix years, as *Krentzhemius* doth, but 23. more to ſo many wars, in ſo many and ſo far diſtant Countries, as are named before: yea, by this proportion we may attribute unto *Orus* the 13. years, which paſſed between the time of *Joſephs* being ſold into *Egypt*, unto his advancement, conſidering that *Potiphar* who bought him, and whoſe daughter he may ſeeme to have married, continued all that while chiefe Steward unto *Pharaoh*; a thing not likely to have been, if ſo violent alterations had hapned the whileſt in *Egypt*, as the tyrannous uſurpation of *Typhon* muſt needs have brought in. If citing ſome fragment of a loſt old Author, I ſhould confidently ſay, that *Potiphar* for his faithfulneſſe to *Orus*, the ſon of *Oſiris*, was by him in the beginning of his reigne made his chiefe Steward: at which time buying *Joſeph*, and finding him a juſt man, and one under whoſe hand all things did proſper, he rather committed his eſtate into *Joſephs* hands, than unto any of his *Egyptian* followers (many of whom he had found either falſ-harted, or weak and unlucky in the troubleſome dayes of *Typhon*) I know not what could be objected againſt this. Perhaps I might proceed further, and ſay, That when the ſaying of *Joſeph* pleaſed *Pharaoh*, and all his ſervants, then *Potiphar* Prieſt of *On*, being chiefe Officer to *Pharaoh*, did acknowledge in *Joſeph*, the ancient graces of God, and his injurious impriſonment: whereupon he gave him his daughter to wife, and being old, reſigned his office of chiefe Steward unto him; who afterward in regard of *Potiphar*, did favour the Prieſts, when he bought the lands of all other *Egyptians*. This might appeare to ſome a tale not unlike to the Friarly book of *Aſenath, Potiphars* daughter: but unto ſuch as conſider that God workes uſually by meanes; and that *Potiphar* was the Steward of that King, under whom *Jacob* died: it would ſeeme a matter not probable, had it an Author of ſufficient credit to avouch it. Concerning the warres of *Hercules*, in which by this reckoning he ſhould have ſpent 42. yeares after he left *Egypt*, ere he began in *Italy*, it is a circumſtance which (the length of his *Italian* wars conſidered, and his former enterpriſes and atchievements proportioned to them) doth not make againſt us, but for us: or if it were againſt us, yet could it not ſo weaken our ſuppoſition, as theſe probabilities collected out of the undiſputable truth of Scripture doe confirm it. Nevertheleſſe I freely grant that all theſe proofes are no other, than ſuch as may be gathered out of Authors, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in ſuch obſcurity, otherwiſe than by likelihoods, anſwerable to the holy Text.

## §. VI.

### *Of* Typhon, Hercules, Ægyptus, Orus, *and the two* Seſoſtres, *ſucceſsively reigning after* Mizraim: *and of divers errours about the former* Seſoſtres.

Concerning the reigne of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I find none that preciſely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angelocrator* giveth three yeares to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is ſo peremptory without proofe, as if his own word were ſufficient authority, in many points very queſtionable; alledging no witneſſe, but as it were ſaying, *Teſte me ipſo:* yet herein we may thinke him to ſpeake probably, foraſmuch as the learned *Krentzhemius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did very ſoone undertake his Fathers revenge; and was not long in performing it: and that leaving *Egypt* to his brother, he followed other wars, in the ſame quarrell, as hath beene ſhewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as *Krentzhemius* doth) out of *Beroſus*, that *Hercules* reigned after *Typhon*: yet ſeeing *Aventinus* a follower of *Beroſus* hath it ſo, I will alſo beleeve it. That in the reigne of *Typhon* and *Hercules*, ſeven years were ſpent, howſoever divided betweene them, I gather out of *Krentzhemius* only, who placeth the beginning of *Orus* ſeven yeares after the death of *Oſiris*: forgetting to ſet downe his reaſons, which in a matter ſo probable I thinke he wanted not. Now whereas he alloweth 90. years of the eighteenth *Dynaſtie* to *Oſiris, Typhon, Hercules*, and *Orus*: it ſeemes that the reigne of *Orus* laſted 115. yeares. From the death of *Orus* to the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, there paſſed 122. yeares by our account: who (according to *Beroaldus* and others) thinke that *Abraham* was borne in the 130. yeare of *Terah*, and thereupon reckon thus.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| From the end of the Floud to the birth of *Abraham* | | 352 |
| From that time to the | vocation of *Abraham* | 75 |
| | departure out of *Egypt* | 430 |
| | *Summa* | 857 |

which ſumme divers other wayes may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of *Egypt*, there doe remaine (as is aforeſaid) onely 122. yeares from the death of *Orus*; we are now to conſider how many of them are to be allowed unto *Seſoſtris* or *Seſonchoſis*: who is placed next unto *Orus*, by authority of the *Scholiaſtes Apollonii*: not without good probability. For this great King or Conquerour, is by many Hiſtories recorded to have over-run a great part of *Aſia*: to have built a fleet of ſhips on the red Sea: and ſo to have entred into *India*: likewiſe with another fleet on the middle earth Seas, to have paſſed into *Europe*, and ſubdued many Nations. This is he (as *Reineccius* judgeth) whom *Juſtine* erring in account of his time calleth *Vexoris*: For *Juſtine* placeth *Vexoris* in ages before *Ninus*: whereby it would follow that *Seſoſtris*, if he were *Vexoris*, was more ancient than was *Oſiris* (otherwiſe *Mizraim*) a thing altogether unlikely. Certaine it is that after the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, no one *Pharaoh* came into the land of *Canaan* (which lieth in the way from *Egypt* into *Aſia*) till the Father in law of *Salomon*, *Pharaoh Vaphres*, tooke *Gerar*, and gave it to his daughter: (as we may reade more at large in the holy Hiſtory of the Bible) after which time *Seſac* oppreſſed *Reboboam*, and *Necho* ſought paſſage through the land of *Iſrael*, when he made his expedition againſt the *Chaldæans*. Of King *Vaphres* and *Neco* it is out of queſtion, that neither of them was the great King *Seſoſtris*. Of *Seſac* it is doubted by ſome, for as much as he came into *Judæa* with a great armie. *Reineccius* propounding the doubt, leaveth it undecided; unleſſe it be ſufficient proofe of his owne opinion, that he himſelfe placeth *Seſoſtris* next to *Orus*: following the *Scoliaſtes Apolionii*. But further anſwer may be made to ſhew that they were not one. For, as *Juſtine* witneſſeth, *Seſoſtris*, otherwiſe *Vexoris*, made war on people farre removed, abſtaining from his neighbours. *Seſac* came up purpoſely againſt *Hieruſalem*. *Seſoſtris*, as *Diodorus* witneſſeth, had but 24000. horſe, *Seſac* had 60000. *Seſoſtris* had 8020. charriots, *Seſac* but 1200. *Seſoſtris* made his expedition for no private purpoſe, but to get a great name: *Seſac*, as moſt agree, had no other purpoſe than to ſuccour *Jeroboam*, and give him countenance in his new reigne; whom he had favoured even againſt *Salomon*: therefore *Seſoſtris* muſt needs have reigned whileſt *Iſrael* abode in *Egypt*.

Whereas *Krentzhemius* collecteth out of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, that one *Menas*, or *Menis*, was next to *Orus*: becauſe thoſe Hiſtorians affirme that he reigned next after the gods; it moveth me nothing. For *Oſiris* did ſucceede thoſe fifteene gods, namely, the twelve greater, and three leſſer: himſelfe alſo (as the learned *Reineccius* noteth) being called *Menas*. Which name, as alſo *Menaus*, and *Menis*, were titles of dignity: though miſtaken by ſome as proper names. *Krentzhemius* doth very probably gather, that *Menas* was *Mercurius Ter-maximus*; the Hebrew word *Meni* ſignifying an *Arithmetician*, which name *Ter-maximus* might well be attributed to *Oſiris*, who was a great Conquerour, Philoſopher, and Benefactor to mankind, by giving good Lawes, and teaching profitable Arts. In proweſſe and great undertakings *Seſoſtris* was no whit inferiour to *Oſiris*. For he ſought victory not for gaine, but for honour onely: and being well contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and ſubmitted themſelves to his will and royall diſpoſition, leaving them in a manner to their liberty, returned into *Egypt*. Soone upon his returne he was endangered by a great Treaſon, the houſe in which he was being by his owne brother purpoſely fired: which nevertheleſſe he is ſaid to have eſcaped, and to have reigned in all thirty three yeares: after which time he choſe rather to die than to live; becauſe he fell blinde. Both *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, affirme that *Seſoſtris* left a ſonne, whoſe name was *Pheron* or *Pherones*: who afterwards tooke the name of *Seſoſtris*; but was nothing like to his Father in glory: for he ſhortly fell blind. The cauſe of his blindneſſe *Herodotus* attributes to his aſſaulting the River *Nilus* with a javeline: which tale *Diodorus* having likewiſe heard, yet reports as a fable, ſaying that perhaps he tooke the diſeaſe naturally from his Father. How long this man reigned it is no where expreſſed: yet foraſmuch as *Orus* the ſecond, (otherwiſe *Buſiris*) who ſucceeded him, began 14. yeares after that this *Seſoſtris* had beene king, it muſt needs be that this reigned 14. yeares at leaſt. That *Buſiris* began not untill theſe 14. yeares at leaſt were expired, the very account of time from the firſt of *Buſiris*, to the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, plainely ſhewes, being almoſt generally agreed upon, to have beene 75. yeares. That none came betweene *Seſoſtris* the ſecond, and *Buſiris* or *Orus* the ſecond, it ſtands onely upon probabilities: which are theſe. After *Seſoſtris* had reigned ſome while, he fell blinde; after certaine yeares he recovered his ſight, as is ſaid: which may have beene true, but is more like to have beene a fable: ſurely the manner of his recovery, as it is ſet downe, is very fabulous: namely, that by looking upon a woman, or waſhing his eyes with her water, who had onely knowne her owne huſband, he got his ſight againe. As the time of his reigne, before his blindneſſe, and when he was well again (if ever he were) may have taken up a good part of 14. yeares: ſo his workes which were great, doe much more ſtrongly argue, that his reigne was not very ſhort. His works are largely ſet downe by *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*: a part of which may ſeeme to have beene the finiſhing of that which his Father had begun, about the channels and ſluces of *Nilus*: whom I think he rather frighted, (as his Father had done) with ſpades, and ſhovels, than with darts, and javelins; and by his diligent overſight of that worke, was like enough to loſe both his eye-ſight and his peoples love; whom his Father had very buſily employed in exceſſive labour about it.

## §. VII.

### Of Buſiris *the firſt oppreſſor of the Iſraelites; and of his ſucceſſor Queen* Thermutis *that tooke up* Moſes out of the *water.*

AND herein (if I may preſume to conjecture) *Buſiris*, who was afterwards king, is like to have dealt with him, as *Jeroboam* did with the ſonne of *Salomon*. For that *Buſiris* himſelfe was much addicted to magnificent workes, it well appeared by the drudgery wherewith he wearied the children of *Iſrael* in his buildings: If therefore he were employed by the great *Seſoſtris*, as *Jeroboam* was by *Salomon*, in the overſight of thoſe buſineſſes, he had good opportunity to worke his greatneſſe with the king by induſtry; and afterward with the people by incenſing them againſt their new king, as *Jeroboam* did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at anothers: unleſſe he have either an equall ſpirit, or a ſurer foundation. If moreover he ſought to derive all the paine and labour of publique workes from the *Egyptians*, to the *Iſraelites*: he ſurely did that which to his owne people was very plauſible: who (as appeares in *Exodus*) were nothing ſlack in fulfilling the kings cruelty. Now that *Orus* the ſecond, or *Buſiris*, was the king that firſt oppreſſed *Iſrael*, and made the *Edict* of drowning the *Hebrew* children, which (ſaith *Cedrenus*) laſted ten moneths: it is a common opinion of many great and moſt learned writers; who alſo thinke that hereupon grew the fable of *Buſiris* ſacrificing ſtrangers. It is alſo a common interpretation of that place, *Exod.*1. that the King who knew not *Joſeph*, was a king of a new family. That *Buſiris* was of a new family, *Retneccius* doth ſhew; who alſo thinkes him Author of the bloudy Edict. Neverthеleſſe, true it is, that *Buſiris*, according to all mens computation, began his reigne five yeares after the birth of *Moſes*; before whoſe birth it is moſt manifeſt, that the law was made, and much more that the perſecution began; which *Bunting* thinkes to have laſted 87. yeares, ere the departure out of *Egypt*. Let us therefore conſider, beſides the blindneſſe of *Seſoſtris* the ſecond, how great the power of the *Regents* or *Vice-Royes* in *Egypt* was; and how great confidence the kings did put in them, ſeeing *Joſeph* ruled with ſuch full power, that he bought all *Egypt*, and all the *Egyptians* for bread; giving at the ſame time the beſt of the land to his own father and brethren, for nothing: ſeeing alſo that when the *Egyptians* cried out upon *Pharaoh*, for bread; *Pharaoh* ſaid to all the *Egyptians*, *Go to Joſeph; what he ſaith to you, do ye.* If to a ſtranger born, lately fetcht out of priſon, a king well able to have governed himſelfe, would give ſuch truſt, & ſovereign authority; it is not unlikely that a blind Prince ſhould doe it to a man of eſpeciall reputation. For God often proſpers, not only the good (ſuch as *Joſeph* was) but wicked men alſo, as his inſtruments againſt the day of wrath. Therefore perhaps the king did (as many have done) reſigne his kingdome to him, though his reigne was not accounted to have begun, till the death of *Seſoſtris*. But whether *Buſiris* did uſurpe the kingdome, or protection of the land by violence: or whether the blind king reſigned it, keeping the title; or whether *Buſiris* were only *Regent*, whilſt the king lived, & afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) king himſelfe: it might well be ſaid that *Pharaohs* daughter tooke up *Moſes*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Iſrael*; ſeeing he both at that time was king in effect, and ſhortly after king indeed and title both. It were not abſurd for us to ſay that the blind king *Seſoſtris* the ſecond oppreſſed *Iſrael*: but foraſmuch as it may ſeeme that the wicked *Tyrant* ſhewed his evill nature even when he firſt aroſe: I thinke it more likely, that *Buſiris* did it, uſing at firſt the power of a king, and ſhortly after the ſtile. Thus of the 122. yeares which paſſed betweene the beginning of *Seſoſtris* his reigne, & the departure of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, 47. being ſpent; the 75. which remain, are to be accounted to *Buſiris* or *Orus* the ſecond, and his children. *Buſiris* himſelfe reigned 30. yeares, according to *Euſebius*: whom very many judicious authors herein approve. After him his daughter, who tooke *Moſes* out of the water, is ſaid by all that I have read, to have reigned 12. years. Her name was *Thermutis Pharis*, or *Muthis* according to *Cedrenus*: *Euſeb.* calls her *Acencris*; and out of *Artabanus* his Hiſtory *Meris*: *Joſeph* calls her both *Acenchere*, & *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius in Panario* ſaith that ſhe was honoured afterward of the *Egyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis* the daughter of *Amenoph*, the ſon of *Pharaoh*. Of this laſt title, queſtion might be made, and much ſpoken: for the Scriptures call her not *Pharaohs* ſons daughter, but *Pharaohs* daughter. *Amenophis* indeed is ſet next before *Buſiris* or *Orus* the ſecond by *Euſebins* & others:

Exod.1.

but whether he were a King or onely a *Regent*, I cannot conjecture. For *Herodotus Diodorus*, and the ancient Hiſtorians name the ſonne of *Seſoſtris, Pheron*. Perhaps his name was *Pharaoh Amenophis*: and his daughter by the *Egyptians* called rather the Neece or Grand-child, than the daughter of *Pharaoh*; becauſe of the glory of *Seſoſtris*, & the diſ-reputation of his ſon. If ſo, and if that *Buſiris* or *Orus* the ſecond marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our conjecture ſtrengthened; and then was ſhe both daughter, grand-childe, and wife unto *Pharaoh*: and ſurviving him, Queene of the land, 12. yeares. But if ſhe were daughter of *Orus* the ſecond; and ſiſter of *Athoris*, or *Rathoris*, as many thinke, to whoſe conjecture I will not oppoſe mine, then may it ſeeme, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her Father died.

## §. VIII.

### *Of the two brethren of Queene* Thermutis: *and what king it was, under whom* Moſes *was borne: and who it was that periſhed in the red Sea.*

SHe had two brethren: the one was *Rathoris*, or *Athoris*, who ſucceeded her; the other *Telegonus*, who is onely named by *Euſebius*; but his linage and off-ſpring deſcribed by *Reineccius*. *Rathoris* after his ſiſters death reigned nine yeares: after whom *Chencres*, thought to be his ſonne, reigned ten yeares, and then periſhed in the red Sea. During the reigne of *Chencres*, *Euſebius* ſaith, that *Telegonus* begat *Epaphus* upon *Io*: of which Hiſtory elſewhere he reporteth otherwiſe. After the death of *Chencres* (whom ſome call *Acencheres*: but all or moſt doe ſtile θεόμαχος, a fighter againſt God) *Acherres* reigned 8. yeares; and then *Cherres* 15. This deſcent ſeems from Father to Sonne. In the 11. yeare of *Cherres* it is ſaid by *Euſebius*, that *Epaphus* reigning in the lower part of *Egypt*, built *Memphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwiſe was not unlikely: *viz.* That *Egypt* was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had layd upon it, and the deſtruction of her king and army in the red Sea: elſe could it not have had two reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, or his poſterity, ſeemes to have taken all from *Cherres* the grand-childe of *Chencres*. For whereas *Armais* is ſaid to have reigned foure yeares after *Cherres*: and *Armeſis* one after *Armais*: theſe two Kings are by *Euſebius* and others accounted as one, and his reigne ſaid to have beene five years. His name is called *Armeus*, otherwiſe *Danaus*: and his pedigree thus deſcribed by *Reineccius* in *Hiſtoria Julia*.

*Telegonus*:
*Epaphus*:
*Lybia*, who had
*Agenor*, *Belus*, and *Buſiris*,

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ægyptus* or *Rameſſes* who gave name to the Countrey, having expelled his brother *Danaus*, reigned, and begat *Lynceus*, married to *Hypermneſtra*. | *Danaus* or *Armeus* expelled by his brother *Ægyptus*, after hee had reigned five years, became king of *Argos* in *Greece*: was Father to *Hypermneſtra*. |

How it might come to paſſe that the Nephewes ſons of *Epaphus* ſhould have occupied the kingdome after *Cherres*, it is hard to ſay: conſidering that *Epaphus* himſelf is reported by *Euſebius* to have beene borne in the time of *Chencres*. But foraſmuch as the Hiſtory of *Epaphus* his birth, is diverſly related by *Euſebius*, it may ſuffice, that *Belus* the father of *Danaus* & *Ægyptus*, otherwiſe called *Armeus* and *Rameſſes*, was equally diſtant from *Buſiris* or *Orus* the ſecond, with *Cherres* the grand-childe of *Chencres*. And that the poſterity of *Telegonus* did marry very yong, it appears by the Hiſtory of theſe two brethren, *Danaus*

Exod.4.19.

and *Ægyptus*: of whom the former had 50. daughters, the latter 50. ſonnes: perhaps, or rather queſtionleſſe, by divers Women: yet ſurely they began to beget children in their firſt youth: Howſoever it were, the generall conſent of writers is, that *Armeus* or *Danaus* did ſucceed *Cherres*: and (according to *Euſebius* and good Authors approving him) reigned five yeares. *Rameſſes* followed, who reigned 68. yeares. This *Rameſſes* or *Ægyptus* is that *Armeſeſmiamum* or *Armeſeſmiamus*, under whom, in the opinion of *Mercator*, and of *Bunting* that followes *Mercator*, *Moſes* was borne: and the cruell *Edict* made of drowning the *Hebrew* children. The length of his reigne ſeemes to me the chiefe, if not the onely ground of *Mercators* opinion. For whereas the Lord ſaid to *Moſes*, *Goe, returne to Egypt, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee*: *Mercator* hereupon conceives, that it was one and the ſame king under whom *Moſes* was born, and under whom he ſlew the *Egyptian* at the 40. yeare of his age: and fled into the wilderneſſe, and there abode for feare: all which circumſtances could agree with none, but this *Rameſſes*, who reigned ſo long: wherefore deſirous rather to hold a true Paradox, than a common errour, he placeth one *Alisfragmuthoſis* (whoſe name is found in the liſt of *Egyptian* kings, but the time uncertaine wherein he reigned) in an age 112. or 113. yeares more ancient than others left him in: and ſo continuing the Catalogue of his ſucceſſors from *Themoſis* (whom *Euſebius* calls *Amaſis*) downewards, with no other variation of the length of each mans reigne, than is the difference betweene *Manetho* and *Euſebius*, he findes *Moſes* borne under *Armeſeſmiamum*, and *Iſrael* delivered in the dayes of his ſonne *Amenophis*. The very name of *Alisfragmuthoſis* ſeems to him with little alteration to ſound like *Phararates*, of which name one was thought to have flouriſhed either as a king, or a wiſe man, about the time of *Iſaac*. For (ſaith he) from *Alisfragmuthoſis* to *Phragmuthoſis*, *Pharmuthoſis*, or *Pharatates*, the change is not great. *Mercator* was a man of excellent learning and induſtry: and one to whom the world is bound for his many notable workes: yet my aſſent herein is with-held from him, by theſe reaſons. Firſt, I ſee all other writers agree, that *Chencres* was king, who was drowned in the Red Sea: Secondly, the place, *Exod*.4.*all are dead, &c*. may better be underſtood of *Buſiris* and all his children, than of one King alone: Thirdly, Saint *Cyrill* in his firſt booke againſt *Julian* the *Apoſtata*, ſaith, that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moſes* was 120. yeares old: *Rameſſes*, which was this *Armeſeſmiamum*, being then King of *Egypt*. After *Rameſſes*, *Amenophis* reigned 19. yeares: who is thought by *Mercator*, and peremptorily by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the King that periſhed in the red Sea: of which our opinion being already layed open, I thinke it moſt expedient to referre the kings enſuing to their owne times (which a *Chronologicall Table* ſhall lay open) and here to ſpeake of that great deliverance of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*: which for many great conſiderations depending thereupon, wee may not lightly over-paſſe.

# Chap. III.

## *Of the delivery of Iſrael out of Egypt.*

### §. I.

### *Of the time of* Moſes *birth, and how long the Iſraelites were oppreſſed in Egypt.*

TRue it is that the Hiſtory it ſelfe is generally and well knowne: yet concerning the time of *Moſes* his birth, who was the excellent and famous inſtrument of this and other great workes of the *Higheſt*, the different opinions are very neere as many, as the men that have written of that *Argument*.

*L. Vives* in his annotations upon S. *Auguſtine* citeth very many of their conjectures: as that of *Porphyrie* out of *Sanchoniato*, that *Moſes* lived in the time of *Semiramis:* But if he did meane the firſt *Semiramis*, it was but a fond conceit: for beſides that the ſame is contrary to all Stories Divine and humane; while that *Semiramis* lived, ſhe commanded *Syria*, and all the parts thereof abſolutely: neither were the *Ammonites*, or *Moabites*, or *Edomites*, while ſhe ruled, *in rerum natura*.

A ſecond opinion he remembreth of *Appion*, taken from *Ptolomy* a Prieſt of *Mendes*, who ſaith that *Moſes* was borne while *Inachus* did rule the *Argives*, and *Ameſis* in *Egypt*.

The third opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his *Greeke* Hiſtory, the firſt Booke: that *Moſes* was borne while *Apis* the third King ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus Aſſyrius*, who though he cite ſome authorities, that *Moſes* lived after the *Trojan* war, is himſelfe of opinion, that *Moſes* was farre more ancient, proving it by many arguments.

Fiftly, he ſetteth downe the teſtimony of *Numenius* the Philoſopher, who tooke *Muſæus* and *Moſes* to be one: confirming the ſame out of *Artapanas*, who confeſſeth that *Moſes* was called *Muſæus*, by the *Grecians:* and who farther delivereth that he was adopted by *Chenephis*, or *Thermutis*, the daughter of *Egypt:* the ſame which *Eupolemus* calleth *Meris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus*) *Thermothes*. *Euſebius* alſo affirmeth, that by *Eupolemus* in his firſt booke *de bono*, *Moſes*, *vir Deo conjunctiſſimus*, is called *Muſæus Judæorum*. *Euſebius* in his Chronology, findes that *Moſes* was borne while *Amenophis* ruled *Egypt*. The ancient *Manethon* calls that *Pharao*, which lived at *Moſes* birth, *Thumoſis* or *Thmoſis:* the ſame perchance which *Appion* the *Grammarian* will have to be *Amoſis*, and elſewhere *Amenophis* the Father of *Sethoſis:* to whom *Lyſimachus* and *Cornelius Tacitus* gave the name of *Bocchoris*. To me it ſeemes moſt probable, that while *Saphrus*, called alſo *Spherus* or *Iphereus*, governed *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sicyonia*; and *Criaſus* the *Argives*; that then (*Seſoſtris* the ſecond ruling in *Egypt*) *Moſes* was borne. For if we beleeve S. *Auguſtine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops* time, that *Moſes* led *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*. *Eduxit* Moſes *ex Ægypto populum Dei noviſſimo tempore* Cecropis *Athenienſium Regis*; Moſes (ſaith he) *led the people of God out of Egypt, about the end of* Cecrops *time, King of the Athenians*. In this ſort therefore is the time of *Moſes* birth, and of his departure out of *Egypt* beſt proved. S. *Auguſtine* affirmes (as before remembred) that *Moſes* was borne, *Saphrus* governing *Aſſyria*; and that he left *Egypt* about the end of *Cecrops* time. Now *Saphrus* ruled 20. yeares; his ſucceſſor *Mamelus* 30. yeares; *Sparetus* after him 40. yeares: in whoſe fourth yeare *Cecrops* began to governe in *Attica:* *Aſcatades* followed *Sparetus*, and held the Empire 41. So as *Moſes* being borne while *Saphrus* ruled *Aſſyria*; *Orthopolis Sicyonia*; and *Criaſus Argos* (for theſe three Kings lived at once at his birth, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Egypt*) it will follow that the birth of *Moſes* was in the nineteenth year of the *Aſſyrian Saphrus:* for take one yeare remaining of 20. (for ſo long *Saphrus* reigned) to which adde the thirty yeares of *Mamelus*,

Euſeb. de præp. Evang. l.3.c.3.

Aug. l.18. c.11. de civit. Dei.

2514

*melus*, and the 40. years of *Sparetus*, theſe make 71. with which there were waſted three years of *Cecrops* his 50. years: then take nine yeares out of the reigne of *Aſcatades*, who was *Sparetus* ſucceſſour, thoſe nine yeares added to 71. make 80. at which age *Moſes* left *Egypt*: and adde theſe nine yeares to the three yeares of *Cecrops* formerly ſpent, there will remaine but foure yeares of *Cecrops* his 50. and ſo it falleth right with S. *Auguſtines* words, affirming that towards the end of *Cecrops* his time, *Moſes* led the people of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*.

Now the time in which the *Hebrewes* were oppreſt in *Egypt*, ſeemeth to have had beginning ſome eight or nine years before the birth of *Moſes*, & 54. yeares, or rather more after *Joſeph*: betweene whoſe death and the birth of *Moſes*, there were conſumed 64. yeares: ſome of which time, and 80. yeares after, they lived in great ſervitude and miſery. Exod.1. For as it is written in *Exodus*: *They ſet taske-maſters over them, to keepe them under with burdens: and they built the Cities, Pithom and Ramaſes, &c. And by cruelty they cauſed the children of Iſrael to ſerve; and made them weary of their lives, by ſore labour in clay and bricke, and in all worke of the field, with all manner of bondage.* All which laid upon them by a maſtering power and ſtrong hand, they endured to the time by the wiſedome of God appointed: even from 54. yeares, or not much more after the death of Jo- 2370. *ſeph*, who left the World when it had laſted 2370. yeares, to the eightieth yeare of *Moſes*, and untill he wrought his miracles in the field of *Zoan*, which he performed in the 2514. Worlds age 2514. towards the end thereof, according to *Codoman*, or after our account, 2513. And becauſe thoſe things which we deliver of *Egypt*, may the better be underſtood, I thinke it neceſſary to ſpeak a few words of the principall places therein named, in this diſcourſe.

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## §. II.

### *Of divers Cities and places in Egypt, mentioned in this Story, or elſewhere in the Scripture.*

Numb.33.
Ezechiel 30.
Hierem.2.43.
44.46.
Joſeph.l.1.c.9.
Tyr.de Bel.ſac.
l.19.c.23.

THis City which the *Hebrewes* call *Zoan*, was built ſeven yeares after *Hebron*. *Ezechiel* calleth it *Taphnes*; and ſo doth *Hieremy*; the *Septuagint*, *Tanis*; *Joſephus*, *Protaidis*, after the name of an *Egyptian* Queene; *Antonius* gives it the name of *Thanis*; *Hegeſippus*, *Thamna*; and *William Tyrius*, *Tapius*. It adjoyneth to the land of *Goſen*, and is the ſame, wherein *Hieremy* the Prophet was ſtoned to death, for preaching againſt the *Egyptian* and *Jewiſh* Idolatry.

*Zoan* or *Taphnes* was in *Moſes* time the *Metropolis* of the lower *Egypt*, in which their *Pharaohs* then commonly reſided; and not unlikely to be the ſame City, where *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Euſebius* out of *Artapanus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* did reade Aſtronomy in *Heliopolis*, or *On*, to *Pharetates* King of *Egypt*. *Alex. Polyhiſtor*, out of *Eupolemus* hath it otherwiſe, ſaying, that *Abraham* inſtructed the *Egyptian* Prieſts, and not Euſeb.de prep. Evang.l.9.c.4. Gen.12.15. Eſay 19.11. the King; both which authorities *Euſebius* citeth. The *Septuagint*, and the Vulgar edition, for *Zoan* write *Heliopolis*. *Pagnin*, *Vatablus*, *Junius*, and our *Engliſh* call it *On*; and *Ptolomy*, *Onium*. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower *Egypt*, towards the South; the other ſomewhat lower on the Eaſter-moſt branch of *Nilus* falling into the Sea at *Peluſium*. And it may be that *Heliopolis* to the South of the river *Trajan*, was the ſame which *Vatablus* & our *Engliſh* call *Aven*. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certaine knowledge: the ſame which *Pomp. Mela*, and *Pliny* call *Solis oppidum*; *Tyrius* in the *Holy Warre*, *Malbec*; the *Arabians*, *Bahalbeth*; and *Simeon Sethi*, *Fons Solis*. Of this *Heliopolis*, or *On*, was *Potiphar* Prieſt, or Prince, whoſe daughter *Joſeph* married. In the Territory adjoyning *Jacob* inhabited, while he lived in *Egypt*. In the confines of this City, *Onias*, the high Prieſt of the *Jewes*, built a Temple, dedicated to the eternall God; not much inferiour to that of *Hieruſalem* (*Ptolomy Philopater* then governing in *Egypt*) which ſtood in the time of *Veſpaſian*, 333. yeares after the foundation by *Onias*, whom *Joſephus* falſly reporteth herein to have fulfilled a prophecy of *Eſay* c.19. *In die illa erit Altare Domini in medio terra Ægypti*; *In that day ſhall the Altar of the Lord be in the middeſt of the Land of Egypt*. *Antiochus Epiphanes* at that time of the building tyrannizing over the *Jewes*, gave the occaſion for the erecting of this Temple in *Egypt*. Laſtly, there it was that our Saviour *Chriſt Jeſus* remained, while *Joſeph* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod*: neere which (ſaith *Brochard*) the fountaine

taine is ſtill found, called *Jeſus well*, whoſe ſtreames doe afterward water the Gardens of *Balſamum*, no where elſe found in *Egypt*. And hereof ſee more in *Brochard*, in his deſcription of *Egypt*.

There is alſo the City of *Noph*, remembred by *Eſay* and *Ezechiel*, the ſame which *Hoſea* the Prophet calleth *Moph*: which latter name it tooke from a Mountaine adjoyning, ſo called; which Mountaine *Herodotus* remembreth. And this is that great City, which was called *Memphis*; and ſo the *Septuagint* write it. It is knowne to the *Arabians* by the name of *Mazar*. The *Chaldæans* name it *Alchabyr*; and *Tudalenſis Mizraim*.

*Eſa.19.13.*
*Ezech.34.*
*Hoſea 9.6.*
*Lib.2.*

*Peluſium*, which *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Junius*, and our *Engliſh* write *Sin*; the *Septuagint* call *Sais*; and *Montanus*, *Lebna*; is not the ſame with *Damiata* as *Gul. Tyrius* witneſſeth. In the time of *Baldwin* the third, *Peluſium* was called *Belbeis*. *Belbeis* (ſaith *Tyrius*) *quæ olim dicta eſt Peluſium*; *Belbeis, that in times paſt was called Peluſium.*

*G.Tyr.l.20.c.17.*
*lib.2.c.5.*

The City of *No*, the *Septuagint* call *Dioſpolis*. Of which name there are two or three in *Egypt*. *Hierome* converts it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, becauſe it was ſo called in the future.

*Ezec.30.15,16.*

*Bubaſtus*, (for ſo *Hierome* and *Zeigler* doe write it) is the ſame which the *Hebrewes* call *Pibeſeth*.

*Ezech.30.17.*

To make the ſtory the more perceiveable, I have added a deſcription of the land of *Goſen*, in which the *Iſraelites* inhabited; with thoſe Cities and places ſo often remembred in the Scripture: as of *Taphnes* or *Zoan*, *Heliopolis* or *Bethſemes*, *Balſephon*, *Succoth*, and the reſt; together with *Moſes* paſſage through the Deſarts of *Arabia the Stony*. For all ſtory without the knowledge of the places wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleaſure; ſo it no way enricheth the knowledge and underſtanding of the reader; neither doth any thing ſerve to retaine, what we reade, in our memories, ſo well as theſe pictures and deſcriptions doe. In which reſpect I am driven to digreſſe in many places, and to interpoſe ſome ſuch diſcourſe, otherwiſe ſeeming impertinent: taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned man, *Arias Montanus*; who in his Preface to the Story of the Holy Land, hath theſe words: *Si enim abſque locorum obſervatione res geſtæ narrentur, aut ſine Topographiæ cognitione hiſtoriæ legantur, adeo confuſa atq; perturbata erunt omnia, ut ex iis nihil non obſcurum, nihil non difficile elici poſſit*; *If narration* (ſaith he) *be made of thoſe things which are performed, without the obſervation of the places, wherein they were done: or if Hiſtories be read without Topographicall knowledge; all things will appeare ſo intricate and confuſed, as we ſhall thereby underſtand nothing but obſcurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greateſt difficulty.*

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## §. III.

### *Of the cruelty againſt the Iſraelites young children in Egypt: and of* Moſes *his preſervation and education.*

BUt to returne to the ſtory it ſelfe. It appeareth that notwithſtanding the labour and ſlavery, which the *Iſraelites* endured, yet they decreaſed not in numbers: inſomuch as *Pharaoh* conſidering the danger of diſcontented poverty, and the able bodies of an oppreſſed multitude, how perillous they might be to his eſtate, by ſuggeſtion of the Divell, reſolved to ſlaughter all the male children of the *Hebrewes*, as ſoon as they ſhould be borne. To which end he ſent for *Sephora* and *Thura*, women the moſt famous and expert amongſt them, *quæ præerant* (ſaith *Comeſtor*) *multitudinis obſtetricum*, *who had command given them over all mid-wives*; by whom (as it ſeemeth) he gave order to all the reſt for the execution of his Edict. For to have called all the Mid-wives of *Egypt* together, had beene a ſtrange Parliament. Now whether theſe two (before named) were of the *Hebrewes*, or of the *Egyptians*, it is diverſly diſputed. S. *Auguſtine* calls them *Hebrewes*, becauſe it is written *Exodus* the firſt, *The King of Egypt commanded the Mid-wives of the Hebrew women, &c.* But *Joſephus*, *Abulenſis*, and *Pererius* beleeve them to be *Egyptians*. Whoſoever they were, when it pleaſed God to fruſtrate the execution of that ſecret murder, to the end the world might witneſſe both the wickedneſſe of the *Egptians*, and the juſt cauſe, thereby made manifeſt, of his future indignation and revenge: *Pharaoh* finding theſe women filled with piety, and the feare of God, commanded

*Ver.16.*
*Joſeph.ant.l.2. c.5.*
*Abul.& Perer. in exod.*

commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publikely, or howſoever, to deſtroy all the male *Hebrew* children borne within his dominions.

Now beſides the doubts, which *Pharaoh* had of the multitudes of the *Hebrewes*, the greateſt part of whom he might have aſſured, by affoording them the juſtice which every King oweth to his vaſſals, and the reſt he might have imployed or ſent away at his pleaſure; *Joſ.ant.l.2.c.5.* *Joſephus* giveth another cauſe of his rage againſt them, namely, That it was prophetically delivered him by an *Egyptian* Prieſt, that among the *Hebrews* there ſhould be borne a childe, who growing to mans eſtate, ſhould become a plague and terrour to his whole Nation. To prevent which, (and preſuming that he could reſiſt the ordinance of God, by a meane, contrary to the lawes of heaven and of nature) he ſtretched out his bloudy and mercileſſe hand to the execution of his former intent. The ſame prevention *Herod* long after practiſed, when fearing the ſpirituall Kingdome of *Chriſt*, as if it ſhould have beene temporall, he cauſed all the male children at that time borne, to be ſlaughtered. And that *Pharaoh* had ſome kinde of foreknowledge of the future ſucceſſe, it may be gathered by theſe his owne words, in the tenth verſe of the fift of *Exodus*: *Come, let us* *Exod.5.10.* *worke wiſely with them, leſt they multiply; and it come to paſſe, that if there be war, they joyn themſelves alſo unto our enemies, and fight againſt us, and get them out of the Land.* But we ſee, and time hath told it us from the beginning, how God derideth the wiſedome of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they rely on the inventions of their owne moſt feeble, and altogether darkened underſtanding. For even by the hands of the dearely beloved daughter of this tyrant, was that great Prophet and Miniſter of Gods marvellous workes taken out of *Nilus*, being thereinto turned off, in an Arke of reedes, a ſucking and powerleſſe infant. And this Princeſſe having beheld the childe his forme and beauty, though but yet in the blouth, ſo pierced her compaſſion, as ſhe did not onely preſerve it, and cauſe it to be foſtered; but commanded that it ſhould be eſteemed as her owne, and with equall care to the ſonne of a King nouriſhed. And for memory that it was her deed, ſhe called the child *Moſes*, as it were, *extractus* or *ereptus*, *taken out*, to wit, out of the water: or after *Joſephus* and *Glycas*, *Moy*, a voyce expreſſing water, and *Hiſes*, as much *Strom.l.1.* to ſay, as that which is drawn out of water, or thence taken. *Clemens Alexandrinus* was of opinion, that *Moſes* was circumciſed before he was put into the Arke of Reedes, and that *Amram* his father had named him *Joachim*. In his youth he was carefully bred, by the care, and at the charge of *Pharaohs* daughter, & by men of the moſt underſtanding, taught and inſtructed: *quem regio more educavit, præfeſtis ei ſapientibus Ægyptiorum Magiſtris, à quibus erudiretur*, ſaith *Baſil*; *unto whom ſhe gave princely education, appointing over him wiſe maſters of the Egyptians for his inſtructers.* Thereby (ſay *Joſephus* and *Philo*) he became *Phil.de vita Moyſi.* excellently learned in all the doctrine of the *Egyptians*; which alſo the Martyr *Stephen* in the ſeventh of the *Acts* confirmeth; And *Moſes was learned in all the wiſdome of the Egyptians.* Which wiſdom or ſapience, ſuch as it was, or at leaſt ſo much thereof as *Six.Senenſis* hath gathered, we have added, between the death of *Moſes*, and the reigne of *Joſua*.

## §. IV.

*Of* Moſes *his flying out of Egypt; and the opinions of certaine ancient Hiſtorians of his war in Æthiopia; and of his marriage there:* Philo *his judgement of his Paſtorall life: and that of* Pererius *of the Bookes of* Geneſis *and* Job.

WHen *Moſes* was grown to mans eſtate, *Joſephus* and *Euſebius* out of *Artapanus*, tell us of ten years war that he made againſt the *Æthiopians*: of the beſieging of *Saba*, afterward by *Cambyſes*, called *Meroe*; and how he recovered that City by the favour of *Tharbis*, a daughter of *Æthiopia*, whom he took to wife. So hath *Comeſtor* a pretty tale of *Moſes*, How after the end of that war, *Tharbis* reſiſting his returne into *Egypt*, *Moſes* moſt skilfull in *Aſtronomy*, cauſed two Images to be ingraven in two precious ſtones, whereof the one increaſed memory; the other cauſed forgetfulneſſe. Theſe he ſet in two rings; whereof he gave the one, to wit, that of oblivion, to his wife *Tharbis*, reſerving the other of memory for himſelfe: which ring of forgetfulneſſe, after ſhe had a while worne, ſhe began to neglect the love ſhe bare her husband: and ſo *Moſes* without danger returned into *Egypt*. But leaving theſe fancies to the Authors of them: It is true, that about the 40. yeare of *Moſes* age, when he beheld an

*Ægptian*

*Egyptian* offering violence to one of the oppreſſed *Hebrewes*, moved by compaſſion, in reſpect of his brother, and ſtirred up by diſdaine againſt the other, in the contention he ſlew the *Egyptian*. Soone after which fact, finding a diſpoſition in ſome of his own Nation to accuſe him, for whoſe defence he had thus greatly endangered his owne life: by the ordinance and advice of God, whoſe choſen ſervant he was, he fled into *Arabia Petræa*, the next bordering Country to *Egypt*; where wandring all alone, as a man left and forſaken, in a place unknowne unto him, as among a Nation of barbarous ſtrangers; and who in future times were the irreconcileable enemies of the *Hebrewes*: it pleaſed God (working the greateſt things by the weakeſt worldly meanes) to make the watering of a few ſheep, & the aſſiſting of the Daughters of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, an occaſion whereby to provide him a wife of one of thoſe, and a father in law, that fed him, and ſuſtained him in a Country neareſt *Egypt*, fitteſt to returne from; neceſſary to be knowne, becauſe interjacent betweene *Egypt* and *Judæa*, through which he was to leade the *Iſraelites*; and wherein God held him, till the occaſion which God preſented, beſt ſerved. And laſtly, where the glory of the world ſhined leaſt, amidſt mountainous Deſarts, there the glory of God, which ſhineth moſt, covered him over, and appeared unto him, not finding him as a Kings ſonne, or an adopted child of great *Pharaohs* daughter, but as a meeke and humble ſhepheard, ſitting at a mountains foot, a keeper and commander of thoſe poore beaſts only.

In that part of *Arabia* neere *Madian*, he conſumed 40. yeares. And though (as *Philo* in the ſtory of *Moſes* life obſerveth) he did not neglect the care of thoſe flocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Paſtorall knowledge; yet in that ſolitary Deſart he enjoyed himſelfe: and being ſeparate from the preaſſe of the world, and the troubleſome affaires thereof, he gave himſelfe to contemplation, and to make perfect in himſelfe all thoſe knowledges, whereof his younger yeares had gathered the grounds and principles: the ſame Author alſo judging that his Paſtorall life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principality, which he afterward obtained. *Eſt enim* (ſaith *Philo*) *ars Paſtoralis, quaſi præludium ad regnum, hoc eſt, ad regimen hominum, gregis manſuetiſſimi. Quemadmodum bellicoſa ingenia praexercent ſe in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod poſtea in militia & bello perfectura ſunt; brutis præbentibus materiam exercitii, tam belli quàm pacis tempore. At vero præfectura manſueti pecoris, habet quiddam ſimile cum regno in ſubditis; ideoq; Reges cognominantur Paſtores populorum, non contumelia ſed honoris gratia; The art of keeping ſheep is, as it were, an introductory exerciſe unto a Kingdome, namely, the rule over men, the moſt gentle flock: Even as warlike natures do beforehand exerciſe themſelves in hunting, practiſing on wilde beaſts thoſe things, which after they will accompliſh in warfare: thoſe brute beaſts affoording matter, wherein to traine themſelves, both in time of warre and of peace. But the government of gentle cattell, hath a kinde of reſemblance unto a Kingly rule over ſubjects; therefore Kings are ſtiled ſhepheards of the people, not in way of reproach, but for their honour.*

That *Moſes*, in this time of his abode at *Madian*, wrote the Booke of *Job*, as *Pererius* ſuppoſeth, I cannot judge of it, becauſe it is thought, that *Job* was at that time living. Neither dare I ſubſcribe to *Pererius* opinion, That *Moſes* while he lived in that part of *Arabia*, wrote the Booke of *Geneſis*; although I cannot deny the reaſon of *Pererius* conjecture, That by the example of *Jobs* patience he might ſtrengthen the oppreſſed *Hebrewes*: and by the promiſes of God to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, put them in aſſurance of their delivery from the *Egyptian* ſlavery, and of the Land of reſt, and plentie promiſed.

Perer. in 3. Exod.

Of this calling backe into *Egypt* by the Angell of God, and the marvailes and wonders which he performed, thereby to perſwade *Pharaoh*, that he was the meſſenger of the moſt High; the particulars are written in the firſt fourteene Chapters of *Exodus*; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needleſſe. But for the firſt, it is to be noted, that when *Moſes* deſired to be taught by God, by what name he ſhould make him knowne, and by whom he was ſent; he received from God ſo much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and ever-being nature. Out of which he delivered him in the firſt part of his anſwer, a name to be conſidered of by the wiſeſt: and in his ſecond, to be underſtood by all. For there is nothing that is, or hath being of it ſelfe, but the Eternall: which truely is; which is above all; which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed every moment: their ſubſtance waſteth, and is repaired by nutri-

Exod. c. 3. v. 13. 14. and 15.

ment; never continuing at one ſtay, nor being the ſame ſo long as while one may ſay, Now. Likewiſe, whatſoever is conſumed in the longeſt continuance of time, the ſame in every ſhorteſt piece of time ſuffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one ſtate. *Una eſt Dei & ſola natura qua verè eſt: id enim quod ſubſiſtit, non habet aliundè, ſed ſuum eſt. Catera qua creata ſunt, etiamſi videntur eſſe, non ſunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, & poteſt rurſum non eſſe, quod non fuit; It is the one and onely nature of God, which truly is: for he hath his being of himſelfe, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, although they ſeeme to be, yet they are not; for ſometimes they were not: and that which hath not beene, may againe want being.* And with this, in reſpect of the divine nature, the ſaying of *Zeno Eleates* excellently agreeth: *Tota rerum natura umbra eſt, aut inanis, aut fallax; The whole nature of things is but a ſhadow, either empty or deceitfull:* in compariſon of whom (ſaith *Eſay*) all Nations are as nothing, leſſe than nothing, and meere vanity.

Hier. ad Dã.

C.40.v.13.

Of the tenne plagues wherewith the *Egyptians* were ſtrucken, the firſt was by changing the Rivers into bloud: God puniſhing them by thoſe waters, into which their Forefathers had throwne, and in which they had drowned the innocent children of the *Hebrews*. To which this place of the Revelation may be fitly applyed: *And I heard the Angel of the water ſay, Lord, thou art juſt, which art, and which waſt; and holy, becauſe thou haſt judged theſe things; for they ſhed the bloud of thy Saints and Prophets, and therefore haſt thou given them bloud to drinke.*

C.16.v.5.

The reſt of the plagues by Frogges, Lice, Flyes, or ſtinging Waſpes; by the death of their Cattaile; by leprous Scabbes; by Haile and Fire; by Graſhoppers; by Darkneſſe; after which *Pharaoh* forbad *Moſes* his preſence: moved the hardned heart of the unbeleeving King, no longer, than the paine and perill laſted; till ſuch time as his own firſt-born, and the firſt-borne of all his Nation periſhed. He then, while he feared his owne life, (a time wherein we remember God perforce) ſtood upon no condition: whereas before, he firſt yeelded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women, and children, reſerving their beſtiall; but he was now content for the preſent, that the *Iſraelites* ſhould not only depart with all their own, but with a part of the Silver, Gold, and Jewels, of his own people: of which (the feare being paſt) he ſuddenly repented him, as his purſuit after them proved. For when every one of the *Hebrewes* had (according to direction from *Moſes* received) ſlaine a Lambe, without ſpot or blemiſh, for the *Paſſeover*, (a *Sacrament* of the moſt clean and unſpotted Saviour,) and with the bloud thereof coloured the poſts and linterne of the doores; the Angel of God in the night ſmote every firſt-borne of *Egypt*, from the ſon of the King, to that of the Beggar and Slave: the children of the *Iſraelites* excepted. At which terrible judgement of God, *Pharaoh* being more than ever amazed, yeelded, as before is ſaid, to their departure. The *Egyptians* (ſaith *Epiphanius*) did in after-times imitate this colouring with bloud, which the *Iſraelites* uſed after the *Paſſeover*; aſcribing an exceeding vertue to the Red Colour: and therefore they did not onely marke their Sheep and Cattell, but their Trees bearing Fruit, to preſerve them from lightning and other harmes.

Epiphan. l.1. cont. Hæreſ.

### §. V.

### *Of* Pharaohs *purſuit of the Iſraelites: and of their paſſage towards the Red Sea, ſo farre as Succoth.*

NOw, when the people were removed, and on their way, (his heart being hardned by God) he bethought him as well of the honour loſt, as of the ſhame remaining after ſo many Calamities and Plagues, in ſuffering them to depart with the ſpoiles of his people, and in deſpight of himſelfe. And having before this time great Companies of Souldiers in readineſſe, he conſulted with himſelfe, what way the *Iſraelites* were like to take. He knew that the ſhorteſt and faireſt paſſage was through the Countrey of the *Philiſtims*. But becauſe theſe people were very ſtrong, and a warlike Nation, and in all probabilty of his Allies, he ſuſpected that *Moſes* meant to finde ſome other out-let, to wit, through the Deſart of *Etham*; and there, becauſe the Countrey was exceeding mountanous, and of hard acceſſe, and that *Moſes* was peſtered with multitudes of Women, Children and Cattell, he thought it impoſſible for the *Iſraelites* to eſcape him that way. In the meane while having gathered to gather all the Chariots of *Egypt*, and 600. of his owne, and Captaines over them; he determined to ſet upon them in the plaines of *Goſen*, which way ſoever they turned themſelves. For it was the ancient manner to fight in thoſe Chariots, armed with broad and ſharpe Hooks on both ſides, in faſhion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kinde of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the *Brittaines* uſed againſt the *Romanes*, while they made the Warre for the Conqueſt of this Land. Of this Army of *Pharaoh*, *Joſephus* affirmeth, that it conſiſted of 50000. Horſe, and 20000. Foot; which, were it true, then it cannot be doubted but that *Pharaoh* intended long before to aſſaile the *Hebrewes* at their departure, or to deſtroy them in *Goſen*; and refuſed them paſſage, till ſuch time as he had prepared an Army, to ſet on them. For, as it is written in the firſt of *Exodus*, he doubted two things, either that the *Hebrewes* might joyne themſelves to his enemies within the Land; or being ſo multiplied, as they were, might leave his ſervice, and get themſelves thence at their pleaſure. But the plagues which God grieved him withall, enforc't him at this time to give an aſſent to their departure: perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwiſe; and *Joſephus* partiall in this affaire, yet by the words of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of *Egypt*, which could not be done in haſte. For *Moſes* made but three dayes march, ere *Pharaoh* was at his heeles; and yet the laſt day he went on ſixteene miles: which, in ſo hot a Countrey, and to drive their Cattell and Sheepe with them, peſtered with a world of Women and Children, was a march witneſſing the dread of a powerfull Enemy at hand. Now, as *Moſes* well knew that he went out with a mighty hand, and that God guided his underſtanding in all his Enterprizes: ſo he lay not ſtill in the ditch crying for helpe, but uſing the underſtanding which God had given him, he left nothing unperformed becomming a Wiſe man, and a valiant and ſkilfull Conducter; as by all his actions and counſailes from this day to his death, well appeared.

*Exod.14.7.*

*Joſ.ant.l.2.c.6.*

*Exod.14.7.*

When *Moſes* perceived that *Pharaoh* was enraged againſt him, and commanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his preſence: after that he had warned *Iſrael* of the *Paſſeover*, he appointed a general Aſſembly or *Rende-vous* of all the *Hebrews* at *Ramaſes* in the Territory of *Goſen*; a City ſtanding indifferent to receive from all parts of the Country the diſperſed *Hebrewes*: and gave commandement, that every Family ſhould bring with them ſuch ſtore as they had of Dow, and Paſte, not ſtaying to make it into bread: knowing then that *Pharaoh* was on foote, and on his way towards them. Which done, and having conſidered the great ſtrength of *Paraohs* Horſe-men and Chariots, of which kind of defence *Moſes* was utterly unprovided (though, as it is written, the *Iſraelities* went up armed) he marched from *Ramaſes* Eaſt-ward, towards the Deſarts of *Etham*, and incamped at *Succoth*; which he performed on the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Abib*: which Moneth from that time forward they were commanded to account as the firſt Moneth of the yeare. Whether in former times they had beene accuſtomed to begin their yeare in ſome other Moneth, following the manner of the *Egyptians*, and were now recalled by *Moſes* to the rule of their Fore-fathers, it is uncertain. Certaine it is, that they had, and retained, another beginning of their politicke yeare, which was not now abrogated, but rather by ſome ſolemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and ſtill continued in uſe. Wherefore in referring things done, or haping among them, unto the beginning, middeſt, or ending of the yeare; that diſtinction of the Sacred, and the Politike yeare is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of dayes in every Moneth, and the whole forme of their yeare, like enough it is that *Moſes* himſelfe in forty yeares ſpace, did ſufficiently inſtruct the Prieſts, to whoſe care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was given in truſt: but that any rule of framing their Kalandar, was made publike, before the captivity of *Babylon*, I do not finde. Now becauſe time and motion begin together, it will not, I thinke, be any great breach of order, to ſhew here at their firſt ſetting forth, what was the forme of the *Hebrew* yeare: with the difference betweene them and other Nations in ordering the accompt of time.

The territory of *Goſen* was afterward called *Ramaſes*, after the name of this City, as appeareth in *Gen.47.* & *Num.33.*

*Exod.13.*

*Exod.23.16.& 34.22.*

## §.VI.

### *Of the Solary and Lunary yeeres; and how they are reconciled: with the forme of the Hebrew yeere, and their manner of intercalation.*

The *Hebrew* Moneths are thus named.

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|---|---|
| The firſt Moneth, *Niſan*, or *Abib.* | 1. *March.* |
| The ſecond, *Jar*, or *Tiar*, *Zio*, or *Zin.* | 2. *Aprill.* |
| The third, *Sivan*, or *Sinan*, or *Siban.* | 3. *Maie.* |
| The fourth, *Tamuz.* | 4. *June.* |
| The fifth, *Ab.* | 5. *Julie.* |
| The ſixth, *Ebul.* | 6. *Auguſt.* |
| The ſeventh, *Tiſri*, or *Ethavin*, or *Ethanim.* | 7. *September.* |
| Ant.l.1.c.4. The eighth, *Marcheſuan*, or *Mechaſuan*, or *Bul*, or with *Joſephus*, *Marſonane.* | 8. *October.* |
| The ninth, *Chiſleu*, or *Caſleu.* | 9. *November.* |
| The tenth, *Tebeth*, or *Thobeth.* | 10. *December.* |
| The eleventh, *Sebeth*, or *Sabath.* | 11. *Januarie.* |
| The twelfth, *Adar*, and *Ve Adar.* | 12. *February.* |

VE *Adar* was an intercalory Moneth, added, ſome yeares, unto the other twelve, to make the Solarie and Lunary yeare agree; which (beſides the generall inconvenience that would otherwiſe have riſen, by caſting the Moneths of Summer into the Winter ſeaſon, to the great confuſion of all account) was more neceſſarily to Deut.16. be regarded of the *Hebrewes*, becauſe of the divine Precept. For God appointed eſpeciall Feaſts to be celebrated preciſely in ſuch a Moneth of the yeare, and withall on a ſet day, both of the Moone and of the Moneth; as the Feaſt of the firſt fruits; the new Moones, and the like: which could not have ſo bin kept, if either the day of the Moone had fallen in ſome other part of the Moneth, or the Moneth it ſelfe bin found farre diſtant from his place in the ſeaſon of the yeare.

Other Nations, the better to obſerve their Solemnities in the due time, and to aſcertaine all reckonings and remembrances, (which is the principall commodity of time, that is the meaſure of endurance) were driven in like manner to make their yeares unequall, by adding ſometimes, and ſometimes abating one or more dayes, as the error committed in foregoing yeares required. The error grew at firſt, by not knowing what number of daies made up a compleat yeare. For though by the continuall courſe of the Sun, cauſing Summer and Winter duly to ſucceed each other, it is plaine enough, even to the moſt ſavage of all people, when a yeare hath paſſed over them; yet the neceſſity of ordinary occurrences, that are to be numbred by a ſhorter Tally, makes this long meaſure of whole yeares inſufficient for the ſmaller ſort of more daily affairs. Therefore men obſerved the Monethly conſpicuous revolution of the Moone, by which they divided the yeare into twelve parts, ſubdividing the Moneth into 29. dayes and nights, and thoſe again 30.& 29. into their quarters and houres. But as the markes of time are ſenſible and eaſily diſcerned: ſo the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the underſtanding. Twelve revolutions of the Moone, containing leſſe time by 11. dayes or thereabout, than the yearely courſe of the Sunne, through the Zodiacke, in the ſpace of ſixteene yeares, every moneth was found in the quite contrary part of the yeare, to that wherein it was placed at the firſt. This cauſed them to adde ſome daies to the yeare, making it to conſiſt of twelve Moneths, and as many dayes more, as they thought would make the courſes of the Sunne and Moone to agree. But herein were committed many new errors. For neither did the Sunne determine his yearely revolution by any ſet number of whole dayes; neither did the Moone change alwayes at one houre; but the very minutes and leſſer fractions were to be obſerved by him, that would ſeeke to reduce their motions (which motions alſo were not ſtill alike) into any certaine rule.

Here lay much Wiſedome and deepe Art, which could not ſoone be brought to perfection. Yet as making an eſtimate at randome, the *Athenians* held the yeare to containe three hundred and ſixty dayes, wherein moſt of the *Greekes* concurred with them. That 360. dayes filled up the *Grecian* yeare (beſides many collaterall proofes) it is manifeſt Plin.l.34.c.6. by that which *Pliny* directly affirmeth, telling of the *Statues*, erected in honour of

*Demetrius Phalereus*, which were (ſaith he) 360. whileſt as yet the yeare exceeded not that number of dayes. By this account neither did any certaine age of the Moone begin or end their Moneths; neither could their Moneths continue many yeares, in their owne places: but muſt needs be ſhifted by little and little from Winter to Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as the dayes forgotten to be inſerted into the Almanacke by men, but not forgotten by the ſuperiour bodies in their courſes, ſhould occupy their owne roomes in their due turnes. Now, becauſe the ſolemnity of the *Olympian* games was to be held at the full Moone, and withall on the 15. day of the Moneth *Hecatombæon* (which anſwereth in a manner to our *June*) they were carefull to take order, that this Moneth might ever begin with the new Moone; which they effected by adding ſome two daies to the laſt Moneth of every yeare; thoſe Games being held once in foure yeares. This intercalation ſufficed not to make the matter even; which cauſed them ſomtimes to omit one day in the fourth yeare, which was the ſecond of the Moneth *Bædromion*; (agreeing nearly with our *Auguſt*) ſometimes not to omit it, or (which is all one) to inſert another for it in their fourth Lunary yeare, accounting by the Moone, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithſtanding, their Moneth of *June* would every yeare have growne colder and colder, had they not ſought to keepe all upright, by intercalating in each other *Olympiad*, that is, each eighth yeare, one whole Moneth, which they called the ſecond *Poſideon* or *December*; which was the device of *Harpalus*, who alſo taught them to make one Moneth of 29. dayes, another of 30. dayes, & ſo ſucceſſively through the whole yeare. Thus with much labour they kept their yeare as neare as they could, unto the high way of the *Planets*; but theſe markes which they obſerved, were found at length to be deceitfull Guides. For it was not poſſible ſo to faſhion this eighth yeares intercalation, that it ſhould not deceive them in 11. houres and 18. minutes at the leaſt, or ſome waies in 34. houres and 10. minutes, or 36. and 41. minutes; which differences would, in few Ages, have bred much confuſion. The firſt that introduced a good method, likely to continue, was *Meton* the *Athenian*, who not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth yeares intercalation, deviſed a *Cycle* of 19. yeares, wherein the Moone having 235. times runne out her circuit, met with the Sunne in the ſame place, and on the ſame day of the yeare, as in the 19. yeare before paſt ſhe had done. This invention of *Meton* was entertained with great applauſe, and paſſing from *Greece* to *Rome*, was there inſerted into the Kalendar in Golden Letters, being called the Golden Number, which name it retaineth unto this day. Hereby were avoyded the great and uncertaine intercalations that formerly had bin uſed; for by the intercalation of 7. moneths in the 19. yeares, all was ſo even, that no ſenſible difference could be found. Yet that errour which in one yeare could not be perceived, was very apparent in a few of thoſe *Cycles*; the new Moones anticipating in one *Cycle* 7. houres, and ſome minutes of the preciſe rule. Therefore *Calippus* deviſed a new *Cycle* containing foure of *Metons*, that is to ſay, 76. yeares; and afterwards *Hipparchus*, a Noble *Aſtrologer*, framed another, containing foure of *Calippus* his Periods, each of them finding ſome error in the former obſervations, which they diligently corrected. The laſt reformation of the Kalendar was that which *Julius Caſar* made, who by advice of the beſt *Mathematicians*, then to be found, examining the courſes of thoſe heavenly bodies, reduced the yeare unto the forme which is now in uſe with us, containing 365. dayes and ſix houres, which houres in foure yeares make up one whole day, that is intercalated every fourth yeare, the 24. of *February*. The correction of the *Julian* yeare by *Pope Gregory* the 13. *Anno Domini* 1582. is not as yet entertained by generall conſent; it was indeed, but as a note added unto the worke of *Caſar*: yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was obſerved, that the Sunne, which at the time of the *Nicene Councell*, *Anno Dom.* 324. entred the *Æquinoctiall* on the 21. day of *March*, was in the yeare 1582. ten dayes ſooner found, in that time *Pope Gregorie* ſtrooke out of the Kalendar ten daies, following the fourth of *October*, ſo that in ſtead of the fifth day was written the fifteenth; by which meanes the moveable Feaſts depending on the Suns entrance into *Aries*, were againe celebrated in ſuch time, as at the *Nicen Councell* they had bin. And the better to prevent the like alterations, it was by the *Councell of Trent* ordained, that from thence forward in every hundreth yeare, the Leape day ſhould be omitted, excepting ſtill the fourth hundred: becauſe the Sunne doth not in his yearely courſe take up full ſixe houres above the 365. dayes; but faileth ſo many minutes, as in 400. yeares make about three whole dayes.

But the *Cycle* of 29. yeares, which the ***Hebrewes*** uſed, was ſuch as neither did need any nice curioſity of houres, minutes, and other leſſer Fractions to helpe it; neither did in ſumming up the dayes of the whole yeare, neglect the dayes of the Moone, confounding one Moneth with another. For with them it fell out ſo, that alwayes the ***Kalends*** or firſt day of the Moneth was at the new Moone; and becauſe that day was feſtivall, they were very carefull as well to obſerve the ſhort yeare of the Moone, paſſing through all the 12. Signes in one Moneth, as that longer of the Sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. Firſt, therefore they gave it to ***Niſan*** their firſt Moneth, which is about our ***March*** or ***Aprill***, 30. dayes; to ***Jar*** their ſecond Moneth 29. dayes; and ſo ſucceſſively 30. to one, 29. to another. Hereby it came to paſſe, that every two Moneths of theirs contained ſomewhat evenly two revolutions of the Moone, allowing 29. dayes, 12. houres, and odde minutes, from change to change. The ſpare minutes were beſtowed among the ſuperfluous or Epact dayes; which made up 7. Moneths in 19. yeares; to 6. of which 7. were commonly given 30. dayes; to one of them 29. dayes, or otherwiſe as was found requiſite. Their common yeare (as appeareth by the ſeverall dayes of each Moneth) contained 354. dayes, which faile of the yeare, wherein the Sun finiſheth his courſe, 11. whole dayes, with ſome fractions of time. But theſe dayes, and other broken pieces, howſoever they were neglected in one yeare, yet in the *Cycle* of 19. yeares were ſo diſpoſed of by convenient intercalations, that ſtill at the end of that *Cycle*, both the Sun and Moone were found on the ſame day of the yeare, moneth & weeke, yea commonly on the ſame houre of the day, where they had beene at the beginning of it 19. yeares before.

*Sig. de rep. Heb. lib. 3. c. 1.*

*Geneb. Chron. lib. 2.*

Divers have diverſly ſet downe the forme of the ***Hebrew*** yeare, with the manner of their Intercalations. ***Sigonius*** tells us, that every ſecond yeare they did adde a Moneth of 22. dayes; every fourth yeare a Moneth of 23. in the regard of 11. dayes and a halfe wanting in 12. Moones to fulfill a yeare of the Sun. But herein ***Sigonius*** was very much deceived. For the Moone doth never finiſh her courſe in 22. or 23. dayes: and therefore to have added ſo many dayes to the end of the yeare, had bin the way to change the faſhion of all the Moneths in the yeares following, which could not have begun, as they ought, with the new Moone. ***Genebrard*** ſaith, that every third yeare, or ſecond yeare, as neede required, they did intercalate one Moneth, adding it at the yeares end unto the other 12. This I beleeve to have bin true; but in which of the yeares the intercalation was (if it be worthy of conſideration) me thinks they doe not probably deliver, who keepe all far from evenneſſe untill the very laſt of the 19. yeares. For (to omit ſuch as erre groſſely) ſome there are who ſay, that after three yeares, when beſides the dayes ſpent in 36. courſes of the Moone. 33. dayes are left remaining, that is, 11. dayes of each yeare; then did the ***Hebrewes*** adde a Moneth of 30. dayes; keeping three dayes, as it were, in pluſſage unto the next account. The like, ſay they, was done at the end of the ſixt yeare; at which time, beſides the Intercalary Moneth, remained ſix dayes, namely, three ſurmounting that Moneth, and the Epact of three yeares, beſides the three formely reſerved. Thus they goe on to the 18. yeare; at which time they have 18. dayes in hand: all which with the Epact of the 19. yeare, make up a moneth of 29. dayes, that being intercalated at the end of the *Cycle*, makes all even.

Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirme nor deny; yet ſurely it muſt needs have bred a great confuſion, if in the 18. yeare every Moneth were removed from his owne place by the diſtance of 48. dayes, that is, halfe a quarter of the yeare and more; which inconvenience by ſuch a reckoning was unavoidable. Wherefore, I preferre the common opinion, which preventeth ſuch diſlocation of the Moneths, by ſetting downe a more convenient way of Intercalation in the 8. yeare. For the 6. dayes remaining after the two former Intercalations made in the third and ſixt yeares, added unto the 22. dayes, ariſing out of the Epacts of the 7. and 8. yeares, doe fitly ſerve to make up a Moneth, with the borrowing of one day or two from the yeare following; and this borrowing of two dayes is ſo far from cauſing any diſorder, that indeed it helpes to make the yeares enſuing vary the leſſe from the proper ſeaſon of every Moneth. This may ſuffice to be ſpoken of the ***Hebrew*** Moneths and yeares, by which they guided their accounts.

## §.VII.

## *Of the paſſage of Iſrael from* Succoth *towards the* Red Sea: *and of the divers wayes leading out of* Egypt.

FRom *Succoth* in the morning following, *Moſes* led the *Iſraelites* towards the Deſart of *Etham*, to recover the Mountaine foot, by the edge of that Wilderneſſe, though he intended nothing leſſe than to goe out of that way, of all other the neareſt. But being aſſured of the multitude of Horſemen and armed Chariots that followed him, he kept himſelfe from being incompaſſed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At *Etham* he reſted but one night, and then he reflected backe from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the diſtance betweene it and *Succoth* being about eight miles. That he forbare to enter *Arabia* being then in ſight thereof, it ſeemeth to proceede from three reſpects; the firſt two naturall; the third divine. For *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and having received intelligence of the way which *Moſes* tooke, perſwaded himſelfe, that the numbers which *Moſes* led, conſiſting of above a Million, if not two Millions of ſoules, (for as it is written, *Exod.* the 12. *Great multitudes of ſundry ſorts of people went out with them*) could not poſſibly paſſe over thoſe deſart and high Mountaines with ſo great multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattell, but that at the very entrance of that faſtneſſe he ſhould have overtaken them, and deſtroyed the greateſt numbers of them. For theſe his owne words: *They are tangled in the Land, the Wilderneſſe hath ſhut them in*; doe ſhew his hopes and intents; which *Moſes*, by turning another way, did fruſtrate. Secondly, *Moſes* by offering to enter *Arabia* that way, drew *Pharaoh* toward the Eaſt-ſide of the Land of *Goſen*, or *Rameſes*: from whence (miſſing *Moſes* there) his purſuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reaſon of the roughneſſe of the way; and howſoever, yet while the *Hebrewes* kept the Mountaine foot on the left hand, they were better ſecured from the over-bearing violence both of the Horſe and Chariots. Thirdly, *Moſes* confidence in the All-powerfull God was ſuch, by whoſe ſpirit, onely wiſe, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leave the glory of his deliverance and victory to Almighty God, than either by an eſcape the next way, or by the ſtrength of his multitude, conſiſting of 600000. men, to caſt the ſucceſſe upon his owne underſtanding, wiſe conduction, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from *Etham* towards the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, 16. miles diſtant; and ſate down between two ledges of Mountaines adjoyning to the *Red Sea*, to wit, the Mountaines of *Etham* on the North, & *Baal Zephon* towards the South; the ſame which *Oroſius* calleth *Climax*: on the top whereof there ſtood a Temple dedicated to *Baal*. And, as *Phagius* noteth, the word ſo compounded, is as much to ſay, as, *Dominus ſpeculæ, ſive cuſtodiæ*; *Lord of the watch tower*. For the *Egyptians* beleeved, or at leaſt made their ſlaves beleeve, that if any of them offered to eſcape that way into *Arabia*, this Idoll would both arreſt them, and force them to returne to their Lords and Maſters. For the *Egyptians* had gods for all turnes. *Ægyptii diis fœcundi*; *The Egyptians were fruitfull in gods*, ſaith Saint *Hierome*. But *Moſes*, who encamped at the foot of this Mountaine with a million of ſoules, or as other conceive, with two millions, found this Lord of the watch-tower aſleepe, or out of countenance.

It is probable that all thoſe *Egyptians* and others brought by the *Hebrewes* to the knowledge of the true God, followed *Moſes* at his departure.

*Climax* is rather ſo called in reſpect of a paſſage up and downe, than that it is any proper name.

Now theſe two paſſages leading out of *Egypt* into *Arabia* upon the firme land, *Moſes* refuſed, as well that of *Peluſium* and *Caſiotis*, the faireſt and ſhorteſt of all other, in reſpect of *Judæa*, as the other by *Etham*, from which he reflected, for the reaſons before remembred, and tooke the way by the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, betweene the Mountaines, which made a ſtreight entrance towards the Sea. After whom *Pharao* made ſo great ſpeed with his Horſe-men and Chariots, as he gave the *Hebrewes* no time at all to reſt them after ſo long a march; but gate ſight of them, and they of him, even at the very brinke and waſh of the Sea: inſomuch as the *Hebrewes* being terrified with *Pharaohs* ſudden approach, began to deſpaire, and to mutine, at that time when it behoved them moſt to have taken courage for their owne defence; laying it to *Moſes* charge, that themſelves foreſaw thoſe perils in which they were wrapped. And feare, *Which*, ſaith the booke of *Wiſedome*, *is the betraying of thoſe ſuccours which reaſon offereth*, made them both deſpaire in Gods former promiſes, and to be forgetfull of their owne ſtrength and multitudes.

*Exod.* 13. 17.

*Cap.* 17. 11.

## §. VIII.

### *Of their paſſage over the Red Sea: and of the Red Sea it ſelfe.*

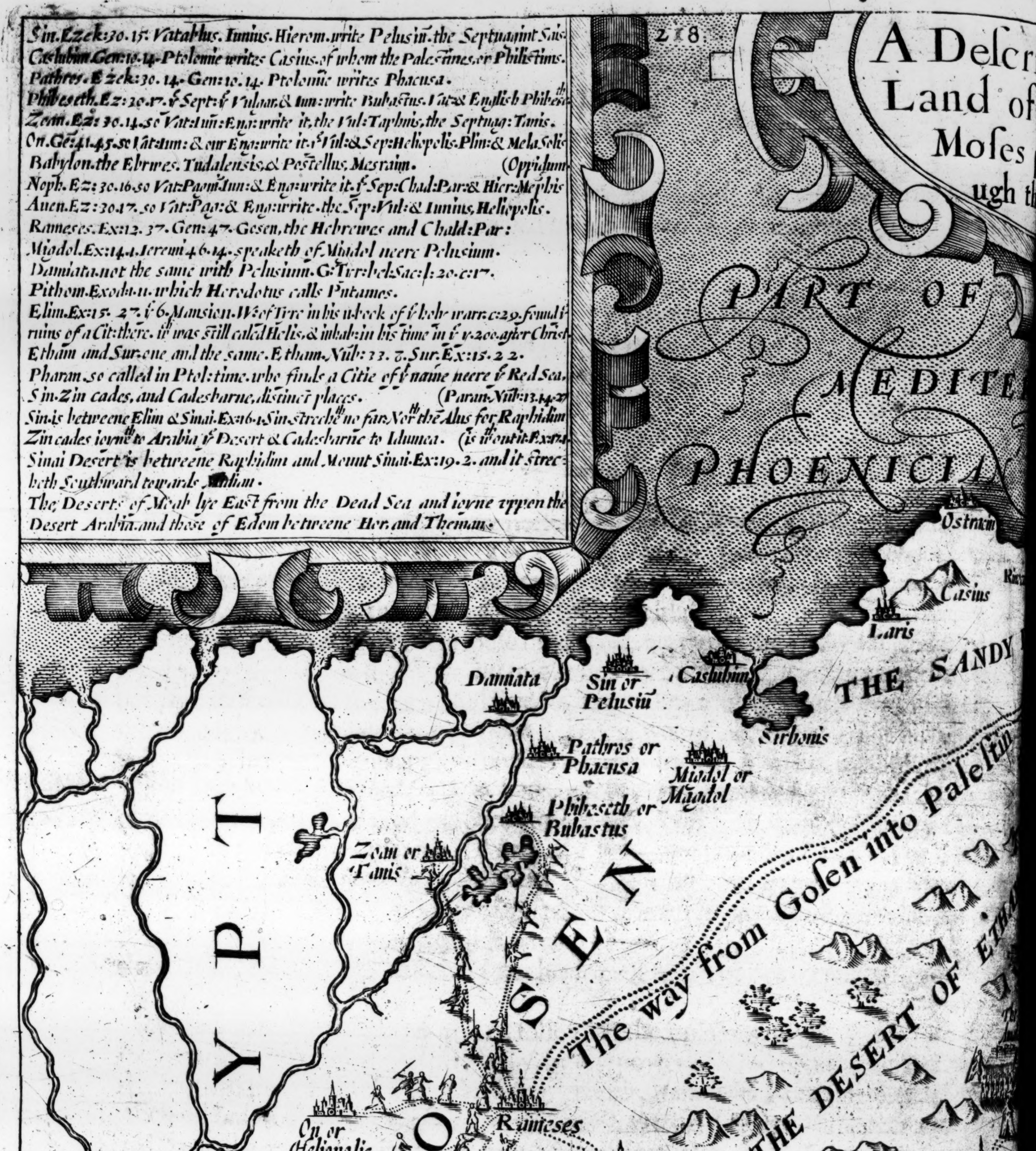
BUt *Moſes* who feared nothing but God himſelfe, perſwaded them to be confident in his goodneſſe, who hath never abandoned thoſe, that aſſuredly truſt in him; Exod.14.13. uſing this comfortable and reſolved ſpeech: ***Feare not, &c. for the Egyptians whom ye have ſeene this day, ye ſhall never ſee them againe. The Lord ſhall fight for you.*** After which *Moſes* called on God for ſuccour, received encouragement, and commandement to go on Exod.14.16. in theſe words: ***Wherefore cryeſt thou unto me? Speake unto the children of Iſrael that they goe forward; and lift thou up thy rod, and ſtretch out thy band upon the Sea, and divide it, and let the children of Iſrael goe on dry ground through the middeſt of the Sea.*** *Moſes* obeying the voyce of God, in the darke of the night finding the ſands uncovered, paſt on towards the other ſide and coaſt of ***Arabia***: two parts of the night being ſpent ere he entred the Foord, which it pleaſed God by a forcible Eaſterne winde, and by *Moſes* rod to prepare.

***Pharaoh*** followed him even at the heeles, finding the ſame dry ground which *Moſes* trod on. Therefore, as it is written: ***The Angel of God which went before the Hoſt of Iſrael, removed, and went behinde them; alſo the pillar of the cloud went from before them, and ſtood behinde them***; which is, that it pleaſed God therein either by his immediate power, or by the miniſtery of his Angel, to interpoſe his defence betweene the ***Hebrewes*** and their Ioſua.24.7. Enemies; to the end that the ***Egyptians*** might hereby be blinded, it ſuch ſort, as they could not purſue ***Iſrael*** with any harmefull ſpeede. But in the morning watch ***Moſes*** ſeized the other banke of ***Arabia*** ſide: and ***Pharaoh*** (as the dawne of day began to illighten the obſcure aire) finding a beginning of the Seas returne, haſted himſelfe towards his owne Exod.14.27. Coaſt: ***But*** Moſes ***ſtretched forth his hand, and the Sea returned to his force***, that is, the Sea moved by the power of God, ran backe towards the land with unreſiſtable fury & ſwiftneſſe, and overwhelmed the whole Army of ***Pharaoh***, ſo as not one eſcaped. For it is written, that ***God tooke off their Chariot wheeles***, that is, when the waters began to cover the ſands, the ***Egyptians*** being ſtrucken with feare of death, ran one athwart another, and miſſing the path by which they had paſt on after the ***Hebrewes***, their wheeles ſtucke faſt in the mud and quick-ſands, and could not be drawne out: the Sea comming againſt them with ſupernaturall violence.

***Lyranus*** upon ***Exod.*** 14. and others, following the opinions or old Traditions of the ***Hebrewes***, conceived, that after ***Moſes*** had by the power of God divided the ***Red Sea***, and that the children of ***Iſrael*** were fearefull to enter it, ***Aminadab*** Prince or Leader of the ***Tribe*** of ***Juda*** firſt made the adventure; and that therefore was that ***Tribe*** ever after honored above the reſt, according to the prophecy of ***Jacob, Gen.*** 49.8. ***Thy fathers ſonnes ſhall bow downe unto thee.*** But ***Hierome*** upon the 11. of ***Hoſea*** condemnes this opinion. And though it be true, that ***Juda*** had the firſt place in all their marches in the Deſart, and, as we now call it, led the Vantgard, (whereupon it may be inferred, that he alſo led the way through the ***Red Sea***) yet that ***Moſes*** himſelfe was the Conducter of ***Iſrael*** at that time, it is generally received. For, as it is written in the 77. ***Pſalme: Thou didſt leade thy people like ſheepe by the hand of*** Moſes ***and*** Aaron.

The ***Hebrewes*** have alſo another fancy, that the ***Red Sea*** was divided into twelve parts, and that every ***Tribe*** paſt over in a path apart, becauſe it is written in the 135. ***Pſalme***, according to the vulgar: ***Diviſit mare rubrum in diviſiones; He divided the Red Sea in diviſions.*** Alſo that the bottome of the Sea became as a greene Field or Paſture. But ***Origen, Epiphanius, Abulenſis***, and ***Genebrard***, favouring this conceit, had forgotten to conſider, that there were not twelve Pillars, nor twelve Armies of the ***Egyptians***. It is written ***Pſalme*** 77.***v.***16. ***Thy way is in the Sea***; not ***thy wayes***: and in the laſt booke of ***Wiſedome***, ***verſ.***7. ***In the Red Sea there was a way.***

Now this Sea, through which ***Moſes*** paſt, and in which ***Pharaoh***, otherwiſe called ***Chencres***, periſhed in the 16. yeare of his reigne, is commonly knowne by the name of the ***Red Sea***, though the ſame differ nothing at all in naturall colour from other waters. But as ***Philoſtratus*** in his third booke noteth, and our ſelves know by experience, it is of a bluiſh colour, as other Seas are. It entreth at a narrow ſtrait betweene ***Arabia*** the ***Happy*** and ***Æthiopia***, or the land of the ***Abyſſins***: the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which ***Ptolomy*** calleth ***Poſſodium***, to the other Land of ***Æthiopia***, hath not above ſixe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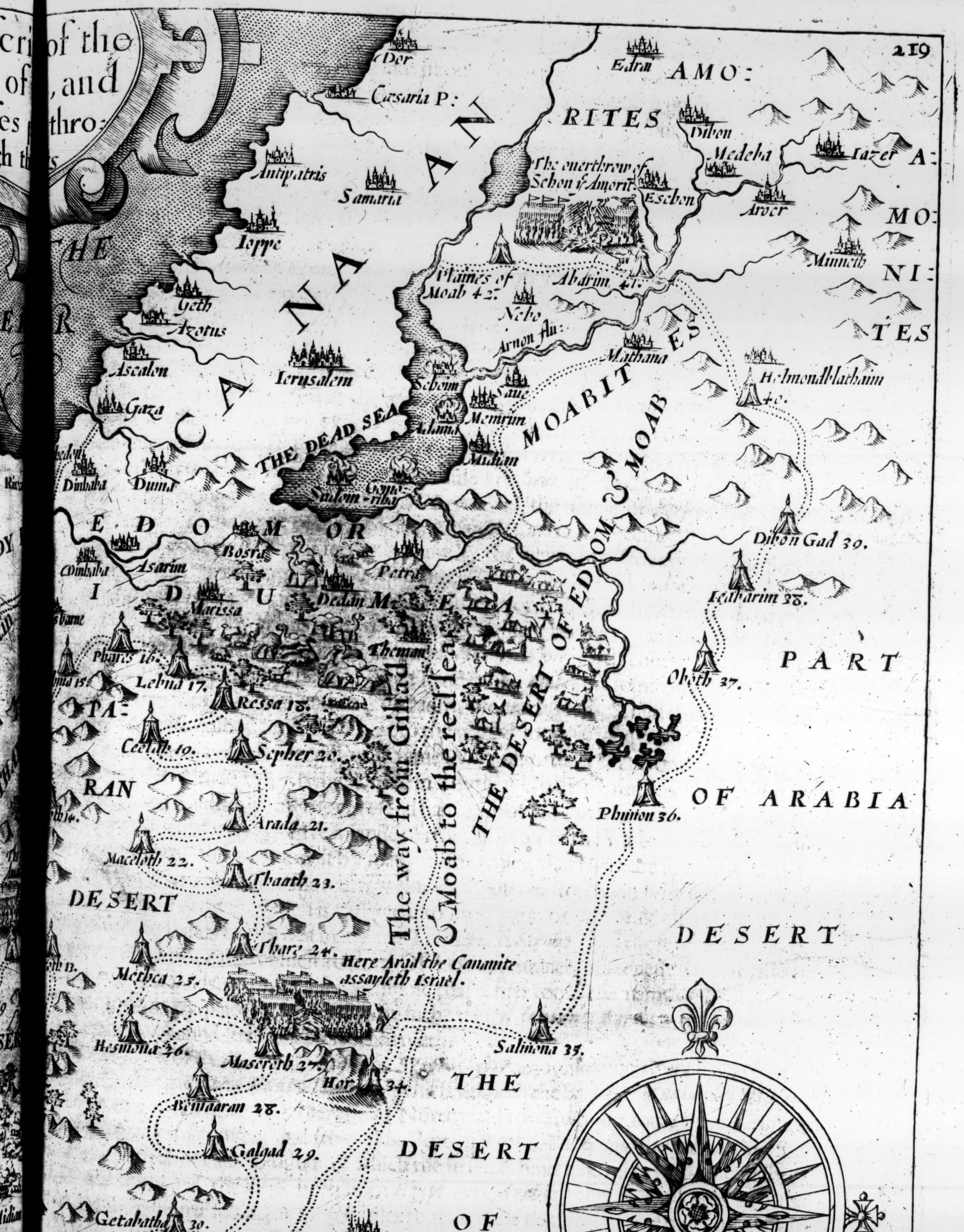
Sin.Ezek:30.15: Vatablus. Iunius. Hierom. write Pelusiũ. the Septuagint Sais.
Caslubim.Gen:10.14.Ptolemie writes Casius.of whom the Palestines.or Philistims.
Pathros.Ezek:30.14.Gen:10.14. Ptolomie writes Phacusa.
Phibeseth.Ez:30.17.ye Sept:ye Vulgar.& Iun:write Bubastus.Vat:& English Phibeseth
Zoan.Ez:30.14.so Vat:Iun:Eng:write it,the Vul:Taphnis,the Septuag:Tanis.
On.Ge:41.45.so Vat:Iun:& our Eng:write it.ye Vul:&Sep:Heliopolis.Plin:& Mela Solis
Babylon.the Ebrwes. Tudalensis,& Postellus, Mesraim. (Oppidum
Noph.Ez:30.16.so Vat:Pagn:Iun:& Eng:write it.ye Sep:Chad:Par:& Hier:Mephis
Auen.Ez:30.17.so Vat:Pag:& Eng:write.the Sep:Vul:& Iunius, Heliopolis.
Rameses.Ex:12.37.Gen:47.Gosen,the Hebrewes and Chald:Par:
Migdol.Ex:14.1.Jeremi 46.14.speaketh of Migdol neere Pelusium.
Damiata.not the same with Pelusium.G:Tyr:bel:Sac:l:20.c:17.
Pithom.Exod:1.11.which Herodotus calls Putames.
Elim.Ex:15.27.ye 6.Mansion.W:of Tyre in his 11.book of ye holy warr.c:29.found ye
ruins of a Cit:there.it was still called Helis,& inhab:in his time in ye y.200.after Christ
Etham and Sur.one and the same.Etham.Nub:33.8.Sur.Ex:15.22.
Pharan.so called in Ptol:time.who finds a Citie of ye name neere ye Red Sea.
Sin.Zin cades,and Cadesbarne,distinct places. (Paran.Nub:13.14.27
Sin.is betweene Elim & Sinai.Ex:16.1.Sin strecheth no far.Nor the Alus for Raphidim
Zin cades ioyneth to Arabia ye Desert & Cadesbarne to Idumea. (is without it.Ex:17.1
Sinai Desert is betweene Raphidim and Mount Sinai.Ex:19.2.and it strec-
heth Southward towards Midian.
The Deserts of Moab lye East from the Dead Sea and ioyne vppon the
Desert Arabia.and those of Edom betweene Hor.and Theman.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MOABITES
THE DEAD SEA
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Duma
Sodom
Gomorrha
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Bosra
Petra
Dibon Gad 39.
Asarim
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Marissa
Dedan
Ieabarim 38.
Theman
THE DESERT OF EDOM
PART OF ARABIA
Phares 16.
Lebna 17.
Oboth 37.
Ressa 18.
PARAN DESERT
Ceelah 19.
Sepher 20.
The way from Gilead & Moab to the red sea
Phinon 36.
Arada 21.
Maceloth 22.
Thaath 23.
DESERT
Thare 24.
Here Arad the Canaanite assayleth Israel.
Methca 25.
Hesmona 26.
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Benaaran 28.
THE DESERT OF ZIN CADES
Galgad 29.
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Eloth
PART OF THE HAPPI ARABIA

ſixe leagues in breadth,and the ſame alſo filled every where with Ilands, but afterwards it extendeth it ſelfe 58. Leagues from Coaſt to Coaſt,and it runneth up between *Arabia* the *Happy*, and *Arabia Petræa*,on one ſide,and *Æthiopia* and *Egypt* on the other, as far as *Sues*, the uttermoſt end and indraught of that Sea : where the *Turke* now keepeth his fleet of Gallies. The Coſmographers commonly give it the name of the *Arabian Gulfe :* but the North part towards *Sues*,and where *Moſes* paſt,is called *Heropolites* of the City *Hero* ; ſometime *Troy*,and of later times *Sues*. *Plinie* cals it *Cambiſu*, by which name it was knowne, ſaith he,before it was called *Hero* many yeares. The *Arabians* call this Sea towards the North *Apocopa*,*Eccant*,& *Eant*. *Artemidorus* writes it *Æleniticum*: King *Juba Laniticum*, others more properly *Elaniticum*,of the Port & Citie *Elana:* which the *Septuagint* call *Elath*:*Ptolomy*,*Elana*:*Pliny*,*Lana*: *Joſephus*,*Ilana*: and *Marius Niger*, *Aila* : there is alſo *Ilalah* in *Aſſyria*,to which *Salmanaſſar* carryed the *Iſraelites* captive,2.*Kings* c.8.v.11. which *Ilalah* in *Aſſyria*, the *Septuagint* call *Elæa* : and in the firſt of *Chro*. the 5. *Ala*. But as for this Red Sea or the parts thereof, thus diverſly named, the *Moores* and *Arabians* ( Vaſſals to the *Turk* ) know it by no other appellation,than the Gulfe of *Meca*, after the name of *Mahomets* Towne *Mecca*. The *Greekes* write it the Sea *Erythræum*, of a King called *Erythras*, or *Erythræus :* and becauſe *Erythros* in the *Greeke* ſignifieth Red : hence it is,that being denominated of this *Erythraus*, the ſonne of *Perſeus* and *Andromeda*, yet it tooke the name of the Red Sea, as *Quin. Curtius* conjectureth : which *Arianus* and *Srabo* confirme. But it ſeemeth to me by the view of a diſcovery of that Sea in the yeare 1544. performed by *Stephen Gama*, *Viceroy* of the Eaſt *India* for the King of *Portugall*,that this Sea was ſo called from a reflection of redneſſe, both from the banks, clifts, and ſands of many Ilands, and part of the Continent bordering it. For I finde by the report of *Caſtro*,a principall Commander under *Gama* ( which diſcourſe I gave Maſter *Richard Hacluit* to publiſh) that there is an Iland called *Dalaqua*, ſome time *Leques*, containing in length 25. Leagues,and 12. in breadth; the earth,ſands,& clifts,of which Iland, being of a reddiſh colour,ſerve for a foile to the waters about it : and make it ſeeme altogether of the ſame colour. Secondly,the ſame *Caſtro* reporteth, that from 24. degrees of *Septentrionall* Latitude,to 27.(which make in length of Coaſt 180.miles, lying as it doth Northerly and Southerly) all the clifts and banks are of red earth or ſtone, which by reflection of the Sun-beames, give a kinde of reddiſh luſter to the waters. Thirdly, thoſe *Portugals* report, and we know it by many teſtimonies, that there are found in the bottome of this Sea towards the ſhore,great abundance of red ſtones, on which the greateſt ſtore of Corrall growes, which is carryed into moſt parts of *Europe*,& elſewhere. There are alſo on the Ilands of this Sea many red Trees,ſaith *Strabo*, and thoſe growing under water may alſo be a cauſe of ſuch a colour. Of theſe appearances of redneſſe by the ſhadows of theſe ſtones, ſands,earth,& clifts,I ſuppoſe that it firſt tooke the name of the Red Sea, becauſe in ſo many places it ſeemeth to be ſuch : which *Johannes Barros* in his ſecond *Decade*,eight Booke and firſt Chapter,confirmeth.

Plin.l.6.c.29.

2 Kings 9.
Joſ.Ant.8.c.2.

Arian.de geſt.
Alex.Mag.l.8.
Strabo.l.6.

The breadth of this Sea from *Elana* or *Ezion-Gaber* adjoyning,now *Toro*,called by the ancient Coſmographers *Sinus Elaniticus*,which waſheth the banks of *Madian* or *Midian*, is for 16.or 17. Leagues together,along Northward towards *Sues*,ſome three Leagues or nine *Engliſh* miles over, and from this Port of *Toro* to *Sues*, and the end of this Sea it is in length about 28. Leagues,of which the firſt 26. have nine miles breadth,as aforeſaid, and afterward the lands both from *Egypt* and *Arabia*, thruſt themſelves into the Sea,and ſtreighten it ſo faſt, as for ſix miles together it is not above three miles over;from thence upward the land on *Egypt* ſide,falleth away,and makes a kinde of *Bay* or *Cove* for ſome ten miles together, after which the land growes upon the Sea againe, and ſo binds it into the very end thereof,at foure miles breadth or thereabout, in which tract it was that *Moſes* paſt it over, though others would have it to be over-againſt *Elana* or *Toro*, but without judgement : for from *Ramaſes* to *Pihacheroth* and *Baalzephon*, there is not above 30.miles interjacent,or 35.miles at moſt,which *Moſes* paſt over in three dayes : and betweene the land of *Egypt* oppoſite to *Elana* or *Toro*,the diſtance is above 80.miles. For *Ramaſes*, to which City *Moſes* came (being the *Metropolis* of *Goſen* ) when he left *Pharao* at *Zoan*, and tooke his laſt leave, ſtandeth in 30. degrees five minutes of *Septentrionall* Latitude ; and *Migdol*,or the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, at the foot of the Mountaine *Climax*,or *Baalzephon*, in nine and twenty and a halfe, which made a difference of five and thirty *Engliſh* miles,the way lying in effect North and South.

## §. IX.

### *That the paſſage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not a low Ebbe.*

THe *Egyptians*, and of them the *Memphites*, and other *Heathen* Writers, who in hatred of the *Hebrewes* have objected that *Moſes* paſt over the Red Sea at a low ebbe, upon a great ſpring-tyde, and that *Pharaoh*, conducted more by fury than diſcretion, purſued him ſo farre, as before he could recover the coaſt of *Egypt*, he was over-taken by the floud, and therein periſhed; did not well conſider the nature of this place with other circumſtances. For, not to borrow ſtrength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plaine, that the Waters were divided, and that God wrought this miracle by an Eaſterly winde, and by the hand and rod of *Moſes* (which authority to men that beleeve not therein, perſwadeth nothing) I ſay, that by the ſame naturall reaſon unto which they faſten themſelves, it is made manifeſt, that had there beene no other working power from above, or aſſiſtance given from God himſelfe to *Moſes* and the children of *Iſrael*, than ordinary and caſuall, then could not *Pharao* and all his Army have periſhed in that purſuit.

For whereſoever there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulfe, or indraught, there doe the waters fall away from the Land, and runne downwards toward the *Ocean*, leaving all that part towards the Land as farre as the Sea can ebbe, or fall off, to be dry Land. Now *Moſes* entring the Sea at *Migdol* under *Baalzephon* (if he had taken the advantage and opportunity of the tyde) muſt have left all that end of the Red Sea towards *Sues*, on his left hand dry and uncovered. For if a paſſage were made by falling away of the water ten or twelve miles farther into the Sea than *Sues*, and betweene it and where *Moſes* paſt, who entred the ſame ſo farre below it, and towards the body of the ſame Sea: it followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleeve or Strait, had bin by the ebbe of a ſpring-tyde diſcovered, when *Pharao* found the floud increaſing, he needed not to have returned by the ſame way toward *Egypt* ſide, but might have gone on in his returne before the tyde, on his right hand: and ſo taken ground againe at the end of that Sea, at *Sues* it ſelfe, or elſewhere. But the Scriptures do truely witneſſe the contrary, that is, That the Sea did not fall away from the Land, as naturally it doth, but that *Moſes* paſt on betweene two Seas, and that the waters were divided. Otherwiſe *Pharao* by any returne of waters could not have periſhed, as he did: and therefore the effects of that great Armies deſtruction, prove the cauſe to have beene a power above nature, and the miraculous worke of God himſelfe. Againe, thoſe words of the Scriptures, that *God cauſed the Sea to runne backe by a ſtrong Eaſt-winde*, doe rather prove the miracle, than that thereby was cauſed an ebbe more than ordinary: for that Sea did not lye Eaſt and Weſt, but in effect North and South. And it muſt have beene a Weſt and North-weſt winde, that muſt have driven thoſe waters away through their proper Channels, and to the South-eaſt into the Sea. But the Eaſt winde blew athwart the Sea, and cut it aſunder: ſo as one part fell backe towards the South and maine body thereof, the other part remained towards *Sues*, and the North. Which being unknowne to *Pharao*: while he was checkt by that Sea which uſed in all times before to ebbe away, the floud preſt him and over-whelmed him. Thirdly, ſeeing *Joſephus* avoweth, that *Moſes* was not onely of excellent judgement generally, but alſo, ſo great a Captaine, as he over-threw the *Æthiopians* in battels, being imployed by *Pharao*, and wanne divers Cities ſeeming impregnable: it were barbarous to condemne him of this groſſeneſſe, and diſtraction: that rather than he would have endured the hardneſſe of a Mountainous paſſage at hand (had not God commanded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honour which he would there winne upon *Pharao*) he would have truſted to the advantage of an ebbing water. For he knew not the contrary, but that *Pharao* might have found him, and preſt him, as well when it flowed as when it ebbed, as it ſeemeth he did. For the people, beholding *Pharaohs* approach, cryed out againſt *Moſes*, and deſpaired altogether of their ſafetie: and when *Moſes* prayed unto God for helpe, he was anſwered by God: *Wherefore cryeſt thou unto me? Speake unto the children of Iſrael that they goe forward, and lift thou up thy rod, and ſtretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it*: which proves, that there was not at the time of *Pharoahs* approach any ebbe at all; but that God did diſperſe and cut through the weight of waters, by a ſtrong Eaſt-winde, whereby the Sands diſcovered themſelves between the Sea on the left hand toward Sues, from whence the waters moved not, and the Sea which was towards the South on the right hand, ***So that the waters were a wall unto them on the right hand, and on the left hand***, that is, the waters *Cap.14.v.22.* ſo defended them on both ſides, as the Egyptians could only follow them in the ſame path, not that the waters ſtood upright as wals doe, as ſome of the Schoole-men have fancied. For had ***Pharaoh*** and the Egyptians perceived any ſuch buildings in the Sea, they would ſoone have quitted the chaſe and purſuit of Iſrael. Furthermore, there is no man of judgement, that can think, that ***Pharaoh*** and the Egyptians, who then excelled all Nations in the obſervations of heavenly Motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes & refluxes of the Sea, in his owne Country, on his own Coaſt, and in his own moſt traded and frequented Ports and Havens; and wherein, his people having had ſo many hundreds of years experience of the tydes, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any foreknown or naturall accident, but by Gods powerfull hand onely; which then falleth moſt heavily on all men, when looking through no other ſpectacle but their own proſperity, they leaſt diſcerne it comming, and leaſt feare it. Laſtly, if the Army of the Egyptians had been overtaken by the ordinary returne of the floud before they could recover their own Coaſt; their bodies drowned would have been carried with the floud which runneth up to Sues, and to the end of that Sea, and not have been caſt aſhore on that Coaſt of Arabia where ***Moſes*** landed, to wit, upon the Sea-bank over againſt Baalzephon, on Arabia ſide: where it was that the ***Iſraelites*** ſaw their dead bodies, and not at the end of the Red Sea, to which place the ordinary floud would have carried them: Which floud doth not any where croſſe the Channell, and run athwart it, as it muſt have done from Egypt ſide to Arabia, to have caſt the bodies there; but it keeps the naturall courſe towards the end of that Sea: and to which their carkaſſes ſhould have been carried, if the worke had not beene ſupernaturall and miraculous. ***Apollonius*** in the lives of the Fathers affirmeth, that thoſe of the Egyptians which ſtayed in the country, and did not follow ***Pharaoh*** in the purſuit of Iſrael, did ever after honour thoſe Beaſts, Birds, Plants, or other Creatures, about which they were buſied at the time of ***Pharaohs*** deſtruction: as he that was then labouring in his garden, made a god of that Plant or Root, about which he was occupied: and ſo of the reſt. But how thoſe multitudes of gods were erected among them, a more probable reaſon ſhall be given elſewhere. ***Oroſius***, in his firſt Booke and tenth Chapter againſt the Pagans, tels us, that in his time, who lived ſome 400. years after Chriſt, the prints of ***Pharaohs*** Chariot wheels were to be ſeen at a low water on the Egyptian ſands: and though they were ſometime defaced by wind and weather, yet ſoon after they appeared again. But hereof I leave every man to his own beliefe.

# Chap. IV.

## *Of the journying of the Iſraelites from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was given them: with a diſcourſe of Lawes.*

### §. I.

***A tranſition, by way of recapitulation of ſome things touching Chronologie: with a continuance of the ſtory, untill the Amalekites met with the Iſraelites.***

But to goe on with the ſtory of Iſrael, in this ſort I collect the times. ***Moſes*** was borne in the yeare of the World 2434. ***Saphrus*** then governing Aſſyria; ***Orthopolis*** Sycionia, or Peloponneſus; ***Crioſus*** the Argives; ***Orus*** Egypt, *Acts 7.3* and ***Deucalion*** Theſſalie. He fled into Midian when he had lived 40. yeares, *Joſua 14.* in the yeare of the World 2474. and two yeares after was ***Caleb*** borne. *2474* He returned by the commandement and ordinance of God into Egypt, and wrought

2514. his miracles in the fields of Zoan, in the year 2514. the laſt moneth of that yeare. On the
14. day of the firſt Hebrew moneth Abib, or the 15. of that moneth, beginning the day
*Pag.*254. (as they) at Sun ſetting, in the yeare of the world 2514. was the celebration of the Paſſeover:
and in the dead of the night of the ſame day were all the firſt-borne ſlaine through
Egypt, or in all thoſe parts where the Hebrewes inhabited not. The 15. day of the firſt
*Exod.*12. moneth of the Hebrewes called Abib, being about the beginning of the yeare of the
*Num.*33. World 2514. *Moſes* with the children of Iſrael removed from the generall aſſembly at
Rameſes, and marched to Succoth.

*Exod.*13. And departing thence, they made their third Station at Etham: and journying from Etham,
*Num.*33. they encamped in the Valley of Pihacheroth, or Migdol, under the Mountain Baal-zephon;
*Exod.*14. *Num.*33. and in the ſame night after mid-night, they paſt the Red Sea: *Pharaoh* and his
Army periſhing in their returne, about the firſt dawne of the day. *Moſes* having recovered
*Exod.*14. the bankes of Arabia, gave thankes unto God, for the delivery of Iſrael; and making
no ſtay on that coaſt, entred the Deſarts of Arabia Petræa, called Sur. But finding no
*Num.*33. water in that paſſage, he incamped at Marah, in the Deſart of Etham, which in *Exod.*15.
*v.*22. is alſo called Sur, 25. miles from the Sea: where the children of Iſrael, preſt with
*Exod.*15. extreme thirſt, murmured againſt *Moſes* the ſecond time; firſt at *Pharaohs* approach in
*Num.*33. Pihacheroth, and now in Arabia. But *Moſes* taking the branches of a tree, growing neere
a Lake of bitter water, and caſting the ſame thereinto, made the ſame ſweet: a plain Type
and Figure of our Saviour; who upon the tree of the Croſſe changed the bitterneſſe of
everlaſting death into the ſweetneſſe of eternall life. *Plinie* remembers theſe bitter Fountaines
in his ſixth Book and 29. Chapter. From whence to *Delta* in Egypt, *Seſoſtris* firſt,
*Darius* after him, and laſtly, *Ptolomie* the ſecond, began to cut an artificiall River, thereby
by Boats and ſmall Shipping to trade & navigate the Red Sea, from the great Cities upon
*Exod.*15. Nilus. From Marah he removed to Elim, the ſixth Manſion, a march of eight miles:
*Num.*33. where finding twelve Fountaines of ſweet water, and threeſcore and ten Palme trees, he
reſted divers dayes.

Whether this Helim were the name of a Towne or City in *Moſes* time, I cannot affirme.
And yet the ſcarcity of waters in that Region was ſuch, as Helim, which had
twelve Fountaines, could hardly be left unpeopled. *William*, Archbiſhop of Tyre, in his
Hiſtory of the *Holy Warre*, found at *Helim* the ruines of a great and ancient City. And
*Will.Tyr.l.*11. *cap.*16. at ſuch time as *Baldwine* the firſt paſt that way into Egypt. *Ingreſſus* (ſaith he) *Helim Civitatem
antiquiſsimam, populo Iſraelitico aliquando familiarem; ad quam cum perveniſſe,
loci illius incolæ, Regis adventu præcognito, naviculam ingredientes, in mare vicinum ſecontulerunt:
Entring Helim a very ancient City, well known ſometime to the people of Iſrael; whither,
when he came the inhabitants, forewarned of the Kings approach, took Boate, and ſhifted
themſelves into the Sea, lying neere them.* From Elim he returned again towards the South,
and ſate downe by the banks of the Red Sea: the ſeventh manſion. For it ſeemeth that
he had knowledge of *Amalech*, who repaired to reſiſt his paſſage through that part of Arabia.
And *Moſes*, who had not as yet trained thoſe of the Hebrewes, appointed to beare
armes: nor aſſured the mindes of the reſt, who encountring with the leaſt miſery, were
more apt to returne to their quiet ſlavery, than either to endure the wants and perils
which every where accompanied them in that paſſage, or at this time to undertake or
ſuſtaine ſo dangerous an enemie: he therefore made ſtay at this Manſion untill the fifteenth
*Exod.*16. of this ſecond Moneth called Zim, or Jiar: and made the eight Manſion in the
Deſart of Zin; where the children of Iſrael mutined againſt *Moſes* the third time, having
want of food. In the ſixteenth chapter of *Exodus*, *Moſes* omitteth this retrait from Elim
to the red Sea, but in the collection of every ſeverall incamping, in the 33. of *Numbers*, it
is ſet downe.

Here it pleaſed God to ſend ſo many flights of Quailes, as all the Country about their
incamping was covered with them. The morning following it alſo rained Manna, being
the ſixteenth of their Moneth, which ſerved them in ſtead of bread. For now was the
*Exod* 16. ſtore conſumed which the people carried with them out of Egypt. And though they
had great numbers of cattell and ſheepe among them, yet it ſeemeth that they durſt not
feed themſelves with many of thoſe: but reſerved them, both for the milke to releeve
the children withall, and for breed to ſtore themſelves when they came to the Land
promiſed.

From hence towards Raphidim they made two removes of twenty miles: the one to *Daphca*, the other to *Alus*, diſtant from *Raphidim* ſixe miles. Here being againe preſt with want of water, they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from *Egypt*, where they rather contented themſelves to be fed and beaten after the manner of beaſts, than to ſuffer a caſuall and ſometime neceſſary want, and to undergoe the hazzards and travailes which every manly minde ſeeketh after, for the love of God, and their own freedomes. But *Moſes* with the ſame rod which he divided the Sea withall, in the ſight of the *Elders* of *Iſrael*, brought waters out of the rocke, wherewith the whole multitude were ſatisfied. *Exod.17.*

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## §. II.

### *Of the Amalekites, Madianites, and Kenites, upon occaſion of the battel with the Amalekites; and* Jethroes *comming: who being a Kenite, was Prieſt of Madian.*

AND while *Moſes* incamped in this place, the *Amalekites* who had knowledge of his approach, and gheſſed that he meant to leade the children of *Iſrael* through their Country (which being barren of it ſelfe, would be utterly waſted by ſo great a multitude of people and cattell) thought it moſt for their advantage to ſet upon them at *Raphidim*: where the want of water, and all other things needfull for the life of man, infeebled them. On the other ſide, *Moſes* perceiving their reſolutions, gave charge to *Joſua* to draw out a ſufficient number of the ableſt *Hebrewes*, to incounter *Amalech*. *Exod.17.* Between whom and *Iſrael*, the victory remained doubtfull, for the moſt part of the day: the *Hebrewes* and *Amalekites* contending with equall hopes and repulſes for many hours. And had not the ſtrength of *Moſes* prayers to God been of far greater force, and more prevalent, than all reſiſtance and attempt made by the bodies of men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly endangered the whole enterpriſe. For thoſe bodies which are unacquainted with ſcarcity of food, and thoſe mindes whom a ſervile education hath dulled, being beaten, & deſpaired in their firſt attempts, will hardly, or never be brought again to hazzard themſelves.

After this victory, *Jethro* repaired to *Moſes*, bringing with him *Moſes* his wife, and his two Sons, which either *Jethro* forbare to conduct, or *Moſes* to receive, till he had by this overthrow of *Amalech* the better aſſured himſelfe of that part of *Arabia*. For it is written in the 18. of *Exod.v.1.* *When* Jethro *the Prieſt of Madian,* Moſes *Father in Law, heard all that God had done for* Moſes, *&c.* of which, the laſt deed, to wit, the overthrow of *Amalech*, gave *Jethro* courage and aſſurance, he then repaired to his ſon in law *Moſes*, at *Sinai*; where amongſt other things, he adviſed *Moſes* to appoint *Judges*, and other *Officers*, over *Iſrael*; being himſelfe unable to give order in all cauſes and controverſies, among ſo many thouſands of people, full of diſcontentment and private controverſie.

This *Jethro*, although he dwelt amongſt the *Madianites*, yet he was by Nation a *Kenite*, as in the fourth of *Judges v.11.* & 17. it is manifeſt: where it is written; *Now* Heber *the Kenite, which was of the children of* Hobab, *to wit, the ſonne of* Jethro, *the father in law of* Moſes, *was departed from the Kenites, and pitched his Tents untill the Plaine of Zaanaim, which is by Kedeſh.* *C.15.v.18.* Likewiſe in the firſt of *Samuel*, *Saul* commanded the *Kenites* to depart from among the *Amalekites*, leſt he ſhould deſtroy them with the *Amalekites*. For the *Kenites* inhabited the mountains of *Sin Kadeſh*: and the *Amalekites* dwelt in the Plains, *Num.24.v.28.* *1 Sam.c.15.* according to the ſaying of *Balaam*, ſpeaking of the *Kenites*; *Strong is thy dwelling place, and thou haſt put thy neſt in the Rocke.* And that *Saul* ſpared this Nation, he giveth for cauſe, that they ſhewed mercy to all the children of *Iſrael*, when they came up from *Egypt*. *Gen.15.* For theſe *Kenites* were a Nation of the *Madianites*, and the *Madianites* were of the iſſues of *Madian*, one of the ſixe ſonnes which *Abraham* begat on *Kethura*: and might alſo take that name of *Kenites* from *Kethura*, of whom they deſcended by the Mother, who (as it ſeemeth) kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they received from their Parent *Abraham*. For *Moſes*, when he fled out of *Egypt* into *Madian*, and married the daughter of *Jethro*, would not (had he found them Idolaters) have made *Jethroes* daughter the Mother of his children. And although the *Kenites* are named amongſt thoſe Nations, which God promiſed, that the ſeed of *Abraham* ſhould root out, and inherite their lands; yet it cannot be meant by theſe, who are deſcended from *Abraham* himſelfe: but by ſome other Nation, bearing the ſame name; and in all likelihood of the race of ***Chus***. For in the fifteenth of *Geneſis*, *verſe* nineteene, theſe ***Kenites*** or ***Chuſites*** are liſted with the ***Hittites*** & ***Perizzites***, with Gen.15. the ***Amorites***, ***Canaanites***, ***Gergeſites***, and ***Jebuſites***, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But theſe ***Kenites***, deſcended from ***Abraham***, had ſeparated themſelves from among the reſt, which were altogether idolatrous. For, as it is before remembred, ***Heber*** the ***Kenite***, Jud.4. which was of the children of ***Hobab***, was departed from the ***Kenites***; that is to ſay, from thoſe ***Kenites*** of ***Canaan***, and inhabited in ***Zaanaim***, which is by ***Kedeſh*** or ***Cadeſh***. Again, ***Moſes*** nameth that Nation of the ***Kenites***, before ***Midian***, or any of ***Abrahams*** other ſonnes were borne; which he did (referring my ſelfe to better judgement) rather, becauſe they were more ancient, than by anticipation.

Gen.25.4. And as of the ***Kenites***, ſo we may conſider of the ***Madianites***, parted by ***Moſes*** into five Tribes. For ſome of them were corrupted, and heathens; as thoſe of ***Madian*** by the River ***Zared***, afterwards deſtroyed by ***Moſes***. But the ***Madianites*** neer the banks of the ***Red Sea***, where ***Moſes*** married his wife ***Zippora***, and with whom he left her & his children, till after the overthrow of ***Amalech***, ſeeme likewiſe not to have been corrupted. For theſe ***Madianites*** with the ***Kenites***, aſſiſted ***Iſrael***, and guided them in the Deſarts. But the ***Madianites*** in ***Moab***, and to the North of the ***Metropolis*** of ***Arabia***, called *Petraa*, were by ***Iſrael*** rooted out, when thoſe adjoyning to the ***Red Sea*** were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether thoſe of ***Madian***, of whom ***Jethro*** was Prieſt, and the other Cities in ***Moab*** were the ſame, yet the contrary is more probable. For ***Moſes*** would not have ſent 12000. ***Iſraelites***, as far backe as the ***Red Sea***, from the Plains of ***Moab***, to have deſtroyed that ***Madian***, where his wives kindred inhabited; ſeeing himſelfe comming with 600000. able men, was encountred by ***Amalech***, in that paſſage. Neither could ***Moſes*** forget the length of the way through thoſe diſcomfortable Deſarts, wherin himſelfe and ***Iſrael*** had wandred 40. yeares.

That ***Jethro***, or ***Jothor***, ***Raguel*** or ***Revel***, and ***Hobab***, were but one perſon, the Scriptures teach us. For the ***Vulgar*** & ***Septuagint***, which call him ***Raguel***, and our ***Engliſh Revel***, ***Exodus*** 2.18. cals him ***Jethro***, or ***Jothor***, ***Exod.***3.& *v.*1.*c.*4.*v.*18.& *c.*18.1.& 6.9.10.& 12. and in ***Num.c.***10.*v.*29.***Hobab***. Others take ***Jethro*** & ***Hobab*** to be the ſame, but not *Raguel*.

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## §. III.

### *Of the time when the Law was given; with divers commendations of the invention of Lawes.*

THe reſt of the moneths of this yeare 2515. were ſpent in the Deſart of *Sinai*, neere the mountaine of ***Sinai*** or ***Horeb***, the twelfth Manſion. ***Euſebius*** thought that ***Sinai*** & ***Horeb*** were diſtinct mountaines: ***Hierome***, to be but one, of a double name. And ſo it appeareth by many Scriptures. For, in ***Exod.***3.*v.*1. it is called ***Horeb***: and in ***Exod.***24.*v.*19. it is written ***Sinai***. In the 106. ***Pſalme*** *v.*19. ***Horeb***: in ***Exod.*** 19.11. ***Sinai***. And ſo is it called, ***Galatians*** 4.24. and againe, ***Deut.***4.10.& 15.& ***Deut.*** 5.2.***Horeb***. And ſo is it in the firſt of ***Kin.***8.6. and the ſecond of ***Chron.***5.10. and in ***Malachy*** 4.4. Finally, in ***Eccleſiaſticus*** the 48.7. they are named as one. ***Which heardeſt*** (ſaith ***Eccleſiaſticus***) ***the rebuke of the Lord in Sinai, and in Horeb the judgement of the vengeance.*** Somewhat they are diſ-joyned at the top by the report of ***Peter Belonius***; who in the yeare 1588. paſt out of ***Egypt*** into ***Arabia***, with ***Monſieur de Fumet***, of ***France***, and travailed to the top both of ***Sinai*** and ***Horeb***: ***Sinai*** being by far the higher hill. From the ſide of ***Horeb*** (ſaith he) there falleth a very faire ſpring of water into the Valley adjoyning: where he found two ***Monaſteries*** of ***Chriſtian Marronites***, containing ſome 100. Religious perſons of divers Nations, who had pleaſant gardens, delicate fruits, and excellent Pet.Bel.l.2.c.62. wine. Theſe (ſaith the ſame Author) give entertainment to all ſtrangers, which paſſe that way.

Now that there was ſome ſuch Torrent of water neere ***Sinai*** in ***Moſes*** time, it is very probable: Firſt, becauſe he encamped thereabout almoſt a yeare, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: ſecondly, becauſe it is written, ***Exod.***32.20. that when ***Moſes*** had broken the golden Calfe to powder, which ***Aaron*** ſet up in his abſence, he caſt the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of ***Iſrael*** to drinke thereof.

On this mountaine, the Law by the Angel of God was given to ***Moſes***, where he ſtaied a whole yeare, wanting ſome ten or twelve daies: for he removed not till the 20. day of the ſecond moneth of the ſecond yeare; and he arrived about the 45. day after the egreſsion: the Law being given the 50. day.

At this Manſion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that booke; all in *Leviticus*; and all in *Numbers*, to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (becauſe there is no ſtorie nor other paſſage) I will omit the repitition, and in place thereof ſpeake ſomewhat of the Law, and the kindes and uſe thereof: whereby, if the Reader finde the ſtory any way diſ-joyned, he may turne over a few leaves, and, omitting this, finde the continuation thereof. We muſt firſt conſider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, levell, and ſquare of Lawes: ſo it pleaſed God to give thereby unto *Moſes* the powerfulleſt mean (his miraculous grace excepted) to governe that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their paſſage, and to eſtabliſh them aſſuredly in their conqueſt. For as the North ſtarre is the moſt fixed directour of the Seaman to his deſired Port: ſo is the Law of God the guide and conducter of all in generall, to the haven of eternall life: the Law of nature, from God his eternall law deduced, the rule of all his creatures: the Law humane, depending on both theſe, the guard of Kings, Magiſtrates, and vertuous men; yea, the very ſpirit, and the very ſinewes of every Eſtate in the world, by which they live and move: the Law, to wit, a juſt law, being reſembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eye without luſt, and to a Minde without paſſion; a Treaſurer, which keepeth for every man what he hath, and diſtributeth to every man what he ought to have. This benefit the *Ancient*, though barbarous, eſteemed ſo highly, that among them, thoſe which were taken for the firſt makers of Lawes, were honoured as gods, or as the ſons of gods: and the reſt, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all poſteritie for men of no leſſe vertue, and no leſſe liberally beneficiall to their Countries, than the greateſt and moſt proſperous Conquerours that ever governed them. The *Iſraelites*, the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Athenians*, received their Lawes from one: as the *Iſraelites*, from *Moſes*; the *Lacedæmonians* from *Lycurgus*; the *Athenians* from *Solon*; the *Romanes* ſometime from their firſt Kings, from their *Decemviri*, from their *Senatours*, from their *Lawyers*, and from the people themſelves: other from the Prince, Nobilitie, and People; as in *England*, *France*, and in other *Chriſtian Monarchies* and *Eſtates*.

## §. IV.

### *Of the name and meaning of the words, Law, and Right.*

THe word *Lex*, or *Law*, is not alwayes taken alike, but is diverſly, and in an indifferent ſenſe uſed. For if we conſider it at large, it may be underſtood for any rule preſcribing a neceſſary meane, order, and methode, for the attaining of an end. And ſo the rules of *Grammar*, or other Arts, are called Lawes. Or it is taken for any private ordinance of Superiours to Inferiours: for the commandements of Tyrants, which they cauſe to be obſerved by force, for their decrees doe alſo uſurp that title, according to the generall acceptation of the word *Law*: of which *Eſay*, *Woe unto them that decree wicked decrees, and write grievous things.* Likewiſe, the word is uſed for the tumultuary reſolutions of the people. For ſuch conſtitutions doth *Ariſtotle* alſo call Lawes, though evill and unſufficient: *Mala lex eſt, quæ tumultuariè poſita eſt*; *It is an evill law that is made tumultuouſly.* So as all ordinances, either good or evill, are called by the name of Lawes.

*Eſay* 10.

*Ethic.l.4.c.1.*

The word *Law* is alſo taken for the morall habit of our minde, which doth (as it were) command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and faſhioning them according to it ſelfe, as to their patterne and plat-forme. And thus the law of the fleſh which the Divines call *legem fomitis*, is to be underſtood. For every law is a kinde of patterne of that which is done according unto it: in which ſenſe as * elſewhere, this morall habit or diſpoſition of the heart is called the frame or *figmentum* of the heart: ſo in S. *Paul* to the *Romanes* it is called a *Law*: *But I ſee another law in my members, rebelling againſt the Law of my minde, and leading me captive unto the law of ſinne.* Againe, the nature and inclinations of all creatures are ſometime called [a] *lawes*, ſo far as they agree with the reaſon of the law eternall; as the law of a *Lyon*, to be fierce or valiant.

* *Gen.6.5. Item* 8.2.

[a] So *Virgil*, *continuo has leges æternaque fœdera certis impoſuit natura locis*; where alſo it is to be noted that he joynes *leges* and *fœdera* together as in the Scripture the law is oftentimes called the covenant.

Alſo

Ariſt. Ethic. 5. cap. 1.

Plato in Dial. 1. de Leg.

Hieron. 5. 5.

Pſal. 2.

Alſo private contracts among Merchants and other Tradeſ-men, doe often put on the name of lawes. But law commonly and properly, is taken for a right rule, preſcribing a neceſſary meane, for the good of a Common-wealth, or Civill communitie. The reſt, to wit, the commandements of Tyrants, &c. which have not the common good for their end, but being *leges iniquæ*, are by *Thomas* called *violentiæ magis quàm leges*; *rather compulſions than lawes:* And whatſoever is not juſt, S. *Auguſtine* doth not allow for lawes, howſoever eſtabliſhed: for he calls them *iniqua hominum conſtituta, quæ nec jura dicenda, nec putanda ſunt*; *The unjuſt conſtitutions of men which are neither to bee termed nor thought lawes.* For, ſaith *Ariſtotle*, *Legalia juſta ſunt factiva, & conſervativa fœlicitatis*; *Juſt lawes are the workers and preſervers of happineſſe:* becauſe by them we are directed *ad vitam quietam, to a quiet life*, according to *Cicero:* Yea, *to life everlaſting*, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the Law, ſaith *Plato*, is God and his worſhip: *Finis legis Deus & cultus ejus. Lex*, or the Law is ſo called by the *Latines à legendo*, or *à ligando*, of *reading* or *binding*: *Leges quia lectæ & ad populum latæ*, ſaith *Varro*; For after Lawes were written and publiſhed, all men might reade them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other *Etymology*, *à ligando*, is no leſſe agreeable with the nature of a Law: whence in the Scripture it is called alſo a yoke, and a band: as *confregerunt jugum, diruperunt vincula:* they have broken the yoke, they have broken the bands. And in the ſecond *Pſalme*, *Dirumpamus vincula eorum, & projiciamus à nobis funes ipſorum*; *Let us break their bands in ſunder, and caſt away their cords from us.*

The *Covenant* it is called, becauſe of the conditionall promiſes of God; and becauſe of Gods peoples voluntary ſubmiſsion of themſelves unto it: for which word the *Septuagint*, and the *Epiſtle to the Hebrewes*, uſe the word διαθήκη, a *Teſtament* or *laſt Will:* which name it hath, becauſe it is not otherwiſe effectuall for our ſalvation, but in reſpect of the death of the Teſtator; for without the death of the Teſtator, the Teſtament is of no force: as *Heb. 9. 17.* it is ſaid, *Teſtamentum in mortuis ratum eſt.*

The *Hebrewes* call the law *Thorah* of teaching, becauſe every man is thereby taught his dutie, both to God and Men. The *Greekes* call it *Nomos* of diſtributing, becauſe it diſtributeth to every man his owne due; the power of the law is the power of God: Juſtice being an attribute proper unto God himſelfe. *Imperium legis imperium Dei eſt*; *The reigne of the law, is the reigne of God.*

Law in generall is thus defined by the *Philoſophers*: *Lex eſt vitæ regula, præcipiens quæ ſunt ſequenda, & quæ fugienda*; *Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow, and what to ſhun*: or *Lex eſt omnium divinarum & humanarum rerum Regina*; *Law is the Queen or Princeſſe of things both humane and divine.* But this deſcription is grounded upon the opinion of inevitable fate. Law is the very wiſedom of Nature: the reaſon and underſtanding of the prudent: and the rule of right and wrong. For as a right line is called *Index ſui & curvi*, the demonſtrance of it ſelf, and of the crooked: ſo is the law, the judge and meaſure of right and wong.

Iſid. Etym.

M. *Hooker* calls the Law a directive rule to goodneſſe of operation: and though law as touching the ſubſtance and eſſence, conſiſt in underſtanding: *Concludit tamen actum voluntatis*; *Yet it comprehends the act of our will.* The word *Jus* is alſo diverſly taken, as ſomtime for the matter of the law and for common right: ſometime for the law it ſelfe: as *Jus civile*, or *Jus gentium*. *Iſidore* diſtinguiſheth the two generall words *Jus* and *Fas:* whereof *Jus*, ſaith he, hath reference to men, *Fas* to God. *Fas lex divina, Jus lex humana.* To goe over another mans field, is permitted, by Gods law, not by mans; and therefore in a thing out of controverſie, *Virgil* uſed both theſe words: as *Fas & jura ſinunt*, God and men permit.

Deut. 1. 17.
2 Chron. 19. 6.

Exod. 22. 11
1 Reg. 2. 43.

The word *Jus* or Right, is derived or taken from the old ſubſtantive Noune *juſſus*, a bidding or commandement: or perhaps from the *Greeke* Ζεὺς which is the name of *Jupiter*, or of the *Latine* genitive caſe *Jovis*; becauſe as the Scripture ſpeaks, *the judgment is Gods.* For as it is certain that *jus-jurandum* came of *Jovis-jurandum*, (for ſo we find it written in *Nonius* out of the ancient, in which ſenſe the Scripture calls it *juramentum Jehovæ*) ſo alſo we may ſay, that *Jus* came of *Jovis, quia Jovis eſt:* becauſe as God is the Author & Pattern, and Maintainer of right, ſo alſo in his *Vicegerents* the *Magiſtrates*, he is the pronouncer and executor of right. Of this *Jus* the juſt are denominated, *juſtus à jure*, and *juſtitia à juſto*; *The right gives name to the righteous:* and *juſtice takes her name from the juſt.*

§. V.

## §. V.

### *Of the definition of Lawes, and of the Law eternall.*

But becauſe lawes are manifold, and that every kind hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, firſt to divide and diſtinguiſh them. I meane thoſe ſorts of lawes, from whence all other particulars are drawn: leaving the individuals of humane lawes to their infinite and horrible confuſion.

*Lawes are of 3. kindes:*

- *Eternall, or uncreated.*
- *Naturall, Nationall, or Internall.*
- *Law impoſed or of addition, commonly called poſitive.*
  - *Lawes poſitive or impoſed, explicating, and perfecting the Law of Nature, are double:*
    - *1 Divine, which hath two parts.*
      - *Written.*
        - *The written is alſo double.*
          - *The law of Moſes.*
          - *The Goſpel.*
      - *Unwritten.*
        - *As the Doctrine & Religion of the Patriarkes before the written law of Moſes, which ſome call Cabala.*
    - *2 Humane, which is alſo twofold.*
      - *Written*
        - *Which Cicero in his ſecond booke of invention calleth* Jus legitimum, *divided into the*
          - *Eccleſiſticall,*
          - *and*
          - *Secular.*
      - *Unwritten.*
        - *As the lawes of Cuſtome and Uſe.*

P.2.q.2 art.1.

Th.q.36 art.1.

The law eternall is thus defined by *Thomas*. *Lex æterna eſt æternus divinæ ſapientiæ conceptus, ſecundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipſo præcognitarum; The eternal law is the eternall conceit of Gods wiſedome as it is referred to the government of things foreknowne by himſelfe.* Or, *Lex æterna eſt ſumma atque æterna ratio divinæ ſapientiæ: quatenus res omnes ad deſtinatos fines ita dirigit, ut illis juxta conditionem ipſarum modum aliquem neceſſitatis adferat; It is the high & eternal reaſon of divine ſapience: as it directeth all things in ſuch ſort to their proper ends, impoſing a kinde of neceſſity according to their ſeverall natures*, or conditions. Now the difference lieth in this: That as the ſame divine underſtanding directs all theſe to their proper ends; ſo it is called providence: but as it impoſeth a neceſſity according to the nature of all things which it directs, ſo is it called a law.

Of this eternall law *Cicero* took knowledge, when in his booke of Lawes, he wrote in this manner: *Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, & ad recte faciendum impellens & à delicto avocans: quæ non tum incipit lex eſſe cum ſcripta eſt, ſed tum cum orta eſt. Orta autem ſimul eſt cum mente divina: quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & ad vetandum, ratio eſt recta ſummi Jovis; That perfect reaſon and nature of things, incouraging or impelling to rightfull actions, and calling us backe from evill, did not* (ſaith he) *then begin to be a law when it was written, but when it had being. Being and beginning it had together with divine underſtanding, and therefore a true law and a fit Princeſſe to command and forbid, is the right reaſon of the moſt high God.* This eternall law, (if we conſider it in God, or as God) is alwayes one and the ſame; the nature of God being moſt ſimple: but as it is referred to divers objects, ſo the reaſon of man findes it divers and manifold. It alſo ſeemeth one law in reſpect of things neceſſary, as the motions of the heavens, ſtabilitie of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwiſe to things contingent: another law to men, another to other creatures, having life, and to all thoſe that be inanimate.

By this eternall law all things are directed, as by the counſell and providence of God: from this law all lawes are derived, as from the rule univerſall: and thereto referred, as the operation of the ſecond to the firſt.

Tho. & Aug.

The eternall, and the divine Law, differ only in conſideration; the eternall directing more largely: as well every creature, to their proper and naturall ends, as it doth man to his ſupernaturall: but the divine law to a ſupernaturall end only: the naturall law is thence derived, but an effect of the eternall: as it were a ſtreame from this fountaine.

The Law humane or temporall is alſo thence drawn: in that it hath the forme of right reaſon: from which if it differ, it is then *impoſitio iniqua, a wicked impoſition:* and only borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternall law all things are ſubjected, as well Angels and Men, as all other creatures, or things created; whether neceſſary or contingent, naturall or morall, and humane. For the Law eternall runneth through all the univerſall, and therefore it is the law alſo of things which are ſimple, naturall and inanimate.

Pſal.148.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praiſe God their Creator and Directour: as, *Praiſe him all ye his Angels: praiſe him Sunne and Moone, all bright Starres: heavens of heavens, for he hath eſtabliſhed them for ever and ever. He hath made an ordinance which ſhall not paſſe: Praiſe ye the Lord from the earth ye Dragons and all Deeps: Fire and haile, ſnow and vapours, ſtormy winds, which execute his word: mountains & hils, fruitfull trees and all Cedars: Beaſts, and all Cattell, &c.* Now as the reaſonable Creatures are by this eternall law bound, by the glory and felicity propoſed unto them (beatitude being both the attractive, and the end) ſo all other naturall things and creatures, have in themſelves, and in their own natures, an obedience formall to it, without any proper intention, known cauſe, or end propoſed. For beaſts are led by ſenſe, and naturall inſtinct: things without life by their created forme, or formall appetites, as that which is heavie to fall downward: things light to mount upward, &c. and fire to heate whatſoever is appoſed. This kinde of working the Ariſtotelians aſcribe to common nature: others to fate; a difference uſed in termes only; it being no other than Gods generall providence: for as it is truely ſaid of God, that he is *omnia ſuper omnia*: ſo are all things which appeare in themſelves thence derived: there-under ſubjected: thence-from by his eternall law and providence directed, even from the greateſt to the leaſt of his creatures, in heaven and in earth.

The Schoolemen are very curious and ample in the conſideration of theſe lawes: and in diſcourſe of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternall law. But as the profit is manifeſt in the good of all creatures, who have thence-from, either reaſon, ſenſe, vegetation, or appetition, to conduct them: ſo is the object and matter of the law, the whole creature. For according to S. *Auguſtine, Lex æterna eſt, qua juſtum eſt, ut omnia ſint ordinatiſſima; The law eternall is that, whereby it is juſt, that all things ſhould be diſpoſed in the beſt and goodlieſt order.*

L.1.de lib.arb. cap.6.

Laſtly, it is diſputed, whether the eternall law be immutable, yea or no? But the reſolution is, that it changeth not; for which S. *Auguſtine* uſeth a ſufficient argument in his firſt Booke of *Free-will*, the ſixth Chapter. For the law of *Moſes* which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to laſt untill the time of the Pædagogie of Gods people, or introduction to Chriſt ſhould be expired; which time of expiration ſome thinke our Saviour noted to be come, when on the Croſſe he ſaid, *Conſummatum eſt.* But I rather thinke theſe words of our Saviour to have no other ſignification, than that now the prophecie of their giving him Vinegar to drink was fulfilled. For ſo Saint *John* expounds it, when he ſaith *v.28. That Chriſt ſeeing all* (other) *things to be fulfilled, Ut conſummaretur Scriptura, That the Scripture* in this alſo *might be fulfilled*, ſaid, *I thirſt:* though I deny not, but at the ſame time alſo the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremoniall, and of ſo much of the judiciall, as appertained peculiarly to the Jewes, and agreeth not with the law of the new *Teſtament* and Goſpel of Chriſt. For the immutable law of God, though preſcribing things mutable, is not therfore changed in itſelfe; but the things preſcribed, change according to this eternall ordinance, of which the *Wiſedome of Salomon, And being one ſhe can doe all things, and remaining in her ſelfe reneweth all.*

John 18.30.
Pſal 69.22.

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## §. VI.

### *Of the Law of Nature.*

Aug.in Ep.ad Hil.89.& in Evang.Joh. tract.49.
Ulp.de juſtitia & jure. l.1.tit.1.

OF the law of Nature as it is taken in generall, I finde no definition among the Schoole-men: only as it is conſidered in man, it is called *the impreſſion of divine light, and a participation of the eternall law in the reaſonable creature. Lex naturalis eſt impreſſio divini luminis in nobis, & participatio legis æternæ in rationali creatura. Ulpian* defines the *naturall law to be the ſame which nature hath taught all living creatures: Jus naturale eſt quod Natura omnia animalia docuit:* and he afterward addeth, *Jus iſtud non humani generis proprium, ſed omnium animalium quæ terra marique naſcuntur, avium quoque commune eſt; The law of nature is not proper to man alone, but the ſame is common to all living creatures, as well to birds, as to thoſe which the Land and Sea produceth.*

But this definition is not generall, but of the naturall Law in things of life.

The Law of nature in generall, I take to be that diſpoſition, inſtinct, and formall quality, which God in his eternall providence hath given and imprinted in the nature of every creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is *divinum lumen* in Men, inlightning our formall reaſon; ſo is it more than ſenſe in Beaſts; and more than vegetation in plants. For it is not ſenſe alone in Beaſts, which teacheth them at firſt ſight, and without experience or inſtruction, to flie from the enemies of their lives: ſeeing that Bulles and Horſes appeare unto the ſenſe more fearefull and terrible, than the leaſt kinde of Dogges; and yet the Hare and Deere feedeth by the one, & flieth from the other, yea, though by them never ſeene before, and that as ſoone as they fall from their Dammes. Neither is it ſenſe which hath taught other Beaſts to provide for Winter, Birds to build their neſts, high or low, according to the tempeſtuous or quiet ſeaſons: or the Birds of *India* to make their neſts on the ſmalleſt twigges which hang over Rivers, and not on any other part of the tree, or elſe-where: to ſave their egges and young ones from the Monkies, and other Beaſts, whoſe weight ſuch a twigge will not beare: and which would feare to fall into the water. The inſtances in this kinde are exceeding many which may be given. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that ſome trees, as the female of the *Palmitto*, will not beare any fruit except the male grow in ſight. But this they do by that Law, which the infinite and unſearchable wiſdome of God had in all eternity provided for them, and for every nature created. In man this Law is double, corrupt, and incorrupt; corrupt, where the reaſon of man hath made it ſelfe ſubject, and a Vaſſall to paſſions, and affections brutall: and incorrupt, where time and cuſtome hath bred in men a new nature, which alſo, as is aforeſaid, is a kinde of Law. For it was not by the Law of Nature incorrupt, which Saint *Auguſtine* calleth the Law of reaſon, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the *Germans* did anciently allow of theft: and that other Nations were by Law conſtrained to become Idolaters; that by the Lawes of *Lycurgus* it was permitted to men to uſe one anothers Wife, and to the Women to chooſe them others beſides their Husbands, to beget them with childe: which law in thoſe parts hath laſted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

*Supra. §. 4. ex loco ad Rom. 7. 23.*

*Theod. l. 9. de curandis affect. Græcorum.*

The *Scythians*, and the people of both *Indies*, hold it lawfull to bury with them the beſt beloved wives: as alſo they have many other cuſtomes remembred by *G. Valentia*, againſt nature and right reaſon.

*Acoſta.*

And I know not from what authority it is, that theſe Lawes ſome men avow to be naturall: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithleſſe among the faithleſſe: to provide for our ſelves by another mans deſtruction: that injury is not done to him that is willing: to deſtroy thoſe whom we feare, and the like. For taking the definition of naturall Lawes, either out of Saint *Auguſtine* or *Aquinas*, (the one calling it the *impreſſion of divine light*; the other, *the dictate* or ſentence *of practique reaſon*) the ſame can teach us, or incline us to no other thing, than to the exerciſe of Juſtice and uprightneſſe: & not to offer or performe any thing toward others, ſave that which we would be content ſhould be offered or performed toward our ſelves. For ſuch is the Law of nature to the minde, as the eye is to the body; and that which according to *David* ſheweth us good, that is, the obſervation of thoſe things which leade us thereby to our laſt end; which is eternall life: though of themſelves not ſufficient without faith and grace.

*Nemo jure naturæ cum alterius detrimento locupletior fieri debet.*

Pſal. 4.

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of Nature, where the corruption is not taken for the Law, is, as aforeſaid, the impreſſion of Gods divine light in men, & a participation of the Law increated and eternall. For without any Law written, the right reaſon and underſtanding, which God hath given us, are abilities within our ſelves, ſufficient to give us knowledge of the good and evill, which by our gratitude to God, and diſtribution of right to men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchaſe for our ſelves. *For when the Gentiles* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *which have not the Law, do by nature thoſe things contained in the Law: they having not the Law, are a Law unto themſelves.* Now, to love God by whom we are, and to doe the ſame right unto all men, which we deſire ſhould be done unto us, is an effect of the pureſt reaſon: in whoſe higheſt Turrets, the quiet of conſcience hath made her reſting place, and habitation; *In arce altiſsima rationis quies habitat.* Therefore, the *Gentiles* (ſaith S. *Paul*) *which ſhew the effects of the Law written in their hearts, have their conſciences for a witneſſe of thoſe effects: and the reprobate their thoughts to accuſe them.*

Rom. 2. 14.

Rom. 2. 15.

And it is moſt true, that whoſoever is not a law unto himſelfe ( while he hopeth to abuſe the world by the advantage of hypocriſie ) worketh nothing elſe, but the betraying of his owne ſoule, by crafty unrighteouſneſſe, purchaſing eternall perdition. For it helpeth us nor to hide our corrupt hearts from the worlds eye, ſeeing from him, who is an infinite eye, we cannot hide them: ſome Garlands we may gather in this May-game of the world, ***Sed flos ille, dum loquimur, areſcit; Thoſe flowers wither while we diſcourſe of their colours, or are in gathering them.*** That we ſhould therefore inhabite and dwell within our ſelves, and become fearefull witneſſes of our ſecreteſt evils, did that reverend ***Philoſopher Pythagoras*** teach in this golden precept: ***Nil turpe committas, neque coram aliis, neque tecum; maximè omnium verere teipſum; Commit nothing foule or diſhoneſt,*** ſaith he, ***neither to be knowne to others, nor to thine owne heart: but above all men reverence thine owne conſcience.*** And this may be a precept of nature and right reaſon: by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies are inclined to thoſe operations, which are anſwerable to their owne forme; as fire to give heate. Now, as the reaſonable minde is the forme of man, ſo is he aptly moved to thoſe things which his proper forme preſenteth unto him: to wit, to that which right reaſon offereth; and the acts of right reaſon, are the acts of vertue: and in the breach of the rules of this reaſon, is man leaſt excuſable: as being a reaſonable creature. For all elſe, both ſenſitive, growing, and inanimate, obey the Law which God impoſed on them at their firſt creation.

*Gen.1.*

*Job.c.28.*

The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it bringeth forth the bud of the hearbe which ſeedeth ſeede, &c. and the Beaſt, which liveth thereon. He gave a Law to the Seas, and commanded them to keepe their bounds: which they obey. He made a decree for the raine, and a way for the lightning of the thunders. He cauſed the Sunne to move, and to give light, and to ſerve for ſignes and for ſeaſons. Were theſe as rebellious as man, for whoſe ſake they were created, or did they once breake the law of their natures and formes; the whole world would then periſh, and all returne to the firſt ***Chaos***, darkneſſe, and confuſion.

By this naturall Law, or Law of humane reaſon, did ***Cain*** perceive his owne wickedneſſe and offence, in the murther of ***Abel***: for he not onely feared the diſpleaſure of God, but the revenge of men: it being written in his reaſon, that whatſoever he performed towards others, the ſame by others might be done unto him againe. And that this judgement of well and evill doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternall Law, before the Law written, ***Moſes*** in the perſon of God witneſſeth, ***Gen.4. If thou doe well, ſhalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doe not well, ſinne lyeth at thy doore.***

The ***Schoolmen*** are large alſo in this queſtion of the naturall Law: the ſame being opened amply by ***Reinerius, Antonius***, and ***Valentia***. But it is not my purpoſe to write a Volume of this ſubject.

*Tho.q.94.art.2.*

*Ethic.l.1.c.1.*

But this Law which ***Thomas Aquinas*** calleth ***an act of reaſon taken properly***; and not a habite, as it is an evident naturall judgement of practique reaſon: they divide into indemonſtrable, or needing no demonſtration ( as that good is to be followed, and evill eſchewed ) and demonſtrable, which is evidently proved, out of higher and more univerſall propoſitions. Againe, as it anſwereth the naturall appetite, preſcribing things to be deſired as good, or to be avoyded as evill ( as of the firſt, to deſire to live, and to ſatisfie hunger, &c. and of the ſecond, to eſchew paines, ſorrow, and death ) in this conſideration they divide it, according to the divers kindes of appetites that are in us. For in every man there are three ſorts of appetites, which anſwere the three degrees of naturall Law. The firſt is, to be that which we are; in which is comprehended the deſire, both to live, and to preſerve our being and life, alſo the deſire of iſſue, with care to provide for them: for the Father after his death, lives in his children; and therefore the deſire of life comprehends the deſire of children. And to theſe appetites are referred the firſt indemonſtrable lawes of nature, for the moſt part. For it needs no proofe, that all creatures ſhould deſire to be, to live, and to be defended, and to live in their iſſue, when they cannot in themſelves. And as man is a being, ***Ens*** or ***Res***: ſo he doth deſire good, and ſhun evill. For it is common to all things, to deſire things agreeable to their owne natures, which is, to deſire their owne good. And ſo is Good defined by ***Ariſtotle***, to be that which all deſire. Which definition ***Baſil*** upon the 44. ***Pſalme*** approveth: ***Rectè quidem Bonum definierunt, Quod omnia expetunt; Rightly have ſome men defined Good, or Goodneſſe, to be that which all things deſire.***

The ſecond kinde of appetite is of thoſe things which appertaine to us, as we have ſenſe. Whence, by the law of Nature, we deſire the delights of every ſenſe; but with ſuch moderation, as may neither glut us with ſatiety, nor hurt us with exceſſe. For as Senſe it ſelfe is for the preſervation of life and being: ſo is it meete, even by the Law of nature, that the ſenſitive appetite ſhould not carry us to the deſtruction, either of our life or being. And although (ſeeing both theſe kindes of appetites are in beaſts) we may well ſay, that Nature hath given divers Lawes unto them: In which ſenſe the *Civilians* define *Naturall right*, or *Jus naturale*, to be the ſame which Nature hath taught all living creatures; Yet the *Schoolemen* admit not, that the inſtincts of beaſts can be properly called a Law, but only a *Jus*, or *Right*, which is the matter, and aime of every Law. For ſo they diſtinguiſh it; where *Ulpian* affirmeth, that *Jus naturale* is that, which Nature hath taught all living creatures: In this place (ſaith *Valentia*) *Jus* is not to be taken for a Law, but for the matter of the Law. And yet where *Ulpian* alſo diſtinguiſheth the right belonging to living creatures in generall, from the right belonging to men; calling the one *Jus naturæ*, the other *Jus gentium*: the Divines underſtand the law of nature more largely, that is, for all evident dictates, precepts, or biddings of divine reaſon, both in beaſts and men; and reſtraine the law of Nations to a kinde of humane right.

The third appetite is of thoſe things which appertaine properly to man, as he is a living creature reaſonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our ſelves: and the Lawes of this appetite are the Commandements of our Religion.

Now although there are many other branches and diviſions of this law of nature anſwering the diviſion of matter, which it preſcribeth, and as manifold, as the morall actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth: yet is the law of nature but one law, according to *Aquinas*: firſt, becauſe it hath one fountaine or roote in the naturall or motive faculty, which is but one, ſtirring up to good, and declining the contrary; ſecondly, becauſe all is contained in that generall naturall precept, That good is to be followed, and ill avoyded: and thirdly, becauſe all the parts are reduced to one and the ſame laſt end.

That this Law of nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifeſt: and chiefly man; becauſe he is indued with reaſon; in whom as reaſon groweth, ſo this band of obſerving the law of nature increaſeth; *Poſtquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod ſcriptum eſt, Adveniente mandato, peccatum revixit*; *When reaſon grew to perfection, then it came to paſſe, which was written by* S. Paul, *When the Commandement came, ſinne revived.* Neither is it a ſmall warrant for this law of nature, when thoſe which breake the ſame, are ſaid by Saint *Paul*, *To be delivered over into a reprobate ſenſe* (or minde) *to doe thoſe things which are not convenient*: and againe, *that their conſciences beare witneſſe, and their thoughts accuſe them.* For, though this law of nature ſtretch not to every particular; as to command faſting, and the like: yet, it commandeth in generall all good, and whatſoever is agreeable to right and reaſon. And therefore, ſaid *Damaſcene*; *Homines facti ſunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam eſt*; *Men* (ſaith he) *are made evill, by declining unto that which is contrary to nature*: and Saint *Auguſtine*, *Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam eſt*; *Every vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary unto it.*

Baſil.
Rom.1.18.
Rom.2.15.
L.2.Fid.orthod. c.30.

Neither yet are the rules of this law of nature ſo ſtraight, but that they ſuffer exceptions in ſome particulars. For whereas by this law all men are borne Lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to unequall merit: by taking from the evill, and giving to the good: and by permitting and commanding that all men ſhall enjoy the fruits of their labours to themſelves: according to the rules of juſtice and equitie.

And though the Law of nature command, that all things be reſtored which are left in truſt, yet in ſome cauſes, this her law ſhe ſuffereth to be broken: as to deny a mad man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was ſober. But the univerſall principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable: who according to Saint *Paul*, *abideth faithfull, and cannot denie himſelfe.*

2 Tim.2.

## §.VII.

## *Of the written Law of GOD.*

AFter the eternall, and naturall, the law *Poſitive* or impoſed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather explication of the former, hath two kindes: Divine and Humane. Againe, the divine poſitive law is double; the Old and New: The Old was given unto *Moſes* in Mount *Sinai* or *Horeb*, at ſuch time as the world had ſtood 2513. whole yeeres: and in the 67. day of this yeare, when as *Aſcatades* or *Aſcades* governed the *Aſſyrians*, *Marathus* the *Sycionians*, *Triopus* the *Argives*, *Cecrops Attica*, & *Acherres Egypt*: to wit, after the promiſe to *Abraham*, 430. years. And this it ſeemes, was the firſt written law which the world received. For the very word *Nomos*, ſignifying a law, was not then, nor long after invented by the *Gracians*: no not in *Homers* time, who lived after the fall of *Troy* 80. yeares at leaſt: and *Troy* it ſelfe was caſt downe 335. yeares, after *Moſes* led *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*. This Law, it pleaſed God to ingrave in ſtone, that it might remaine a laſting book of his expreſt will in the Church: & that the Prieſts and people might have wherof to meditate, till the comming of Chriſt: & that ſo theſe Children of *Iſrael*, though bred among an Idolatrous people in *Egypt*, might be without excuſe, the ſlight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

Aug. de Civit. Dei. lib. 1.

The reaſon known to us why this Law was not written before, is, that when the people were few, and their lives long, the *Elders* of Families might eaſily, without any written Law, inſtruct their own Children: and yet as they increaſed, ſo doubtleſſe they had, beſides the law of Nature, many precepts from God, before the Law written. But now at length, foraſmuch as the law of Nature did not define all kindes of good, & evill; nor condemne every ſin in particular: nor ſufficiently terrifie the conſciences of offenders: nor ſo expound divine worſhip, as for thoſe after ages was required, who gave every day leſſe authority than other to the naturall Law; In theſe reſpects it was neceſſary, that the Law ſhould be written, & ſet before the eyes of all men: which before, they might, but would not, reade in their own conſciences. The *Schoolemen*, and the Fathers before them, inlarge the cauſes and neceſſity, why the Law was written; whereof theſe are the chiefeſt.

The firſt, for reſtraining of ſin, directly grounded upon this place of *David*, *The law of the Lord is undefiled, converting ſoules: The teſtimonies of the Lord are faithfull, giving wiſedome to children.* For the humane Law, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or puniſhment; ſeeing thereby it might take away ſomething ſeeming neceſſary, and hinder common profit: but the divine law written, forbiddeth every evill, and therefore by *David* it is called undefiled.

Secondly, it ſerveth for the direction of our mindes. For the Lawes of men can onely take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internall motions, or of our diſpoſition and will: and yet it is required, that we be no leſſe cleane in the one, than in the other. And therfore were the words *converting our ſoules*, added by *David*: wherein are all our outward acts firſt generated, according to the *Cabaliſts*. *Actiones hominum nullæ eſſent, niſi prius in mente decerentur*; *The actions of men* (ſay they) *would be none at all, were they not firſt conceived in the minde.*

Thirdly, it leadeth us to the knowledge of truth, which by reaſon of diverſitie of opinion, & difference of peculiar Lawes among ſundrie Nations, we cannot be aſſured of; but the Law of GOD bindeth all men, and is without errour: and therefore alſo ſaid *David*, *That the teſtimony of the Law of God is faithfull: giving Wiſedome to children.*

## §.VIII.

## *Of the unwritten Law of God, given to the Patriakes by Tradition.*

NOw, that in all this long tract of time, between the creation and the written Law, the world & people of God were left altogether to the law of reaſon & nature, it doth not appeare. For the *Patriarkes* of the firſt Age received many *precepts* from God himſelf, & whatſoever was firſt impoſed by *Adam*, the ſame was obſerved by *Seth*, who inſtructed *Enos*: from whom it deſcended to *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, *Joſeph* and *Moſes*. Yea many particular Commandements afterward written, were formerly impoſed and delivered over by Tradition; which kinde of teaching the *Jewes* afteward called *Cabala*, or *Receptio*: precepts received from the mouth of their *Prieſts* and *Elders*: to which the *Jewes* after the law written, added the interpretation of ſecret myſteries, reſerved in the boſomes of their *Prieſts*, and unlawfull to be uttered to the people. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any; as being indeed the divine law revealed to the *Patriarks*, and from them delivered to the poſterity, when as yet it was unwritten. The Commandements which God gave unto *Adam* in the beginning, were, that he ſhould impoſe names to all beaſts, according to their natures; to whoſe perfection of underſtanding they were ſufficiently knowne. For finding the reaſon of his own name *Adam*, or *Adamah*, Earth, or red clay, he gave other names ſignificant, not onely to beaſts, but to his Children and Nephewes, which afterward his iſſues imitated; as the name of *Seth* ſignifieth, as ſome take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the Church, or rather, one given in recompence for *Abel* that was ſlaine: and *Enoſh* ſignifieth man or miſerable, &c. Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the ground, and to live by the labour thereof: God alſo gave him the choice of all fruits, but the forbidden; and in *Adam* alſo was marriage firſt inſtituted: all men thence-after being commanded to co-habit with their Wives, rather than with their Father or Mother.

That murther and cruelty was alſo forbidden, both before the law written, and before the flood it ſelfe, it is manifeſt. God himſelfe making it appeare, that it was one of the greateſt cauſes of the deſtruction of mankinde by the generall flood. For God ſaid unto *Noa, An end of all fleſh is come before me: for the earth is filled with cruelty through them: and behold, I will deſtroy them * from the earth.* That offence therefore, for which all periſhed, could not be unknown to all that periſhed: Gods mercy and juſtice interpoſing betweene the untaught, and revenge. This commandement God repeated to *Noa*, after the waters were dried up from the earth: *Who ſo ſheddeth mans blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed: for in the Image of God hath he made man.*

Alſo the law of honouring and reverencing our Parents, was obſerved among the faithfull, and the contrary puniſhed by the fathers curſe: as, *Curſed be Canaan, a ſervant of ſervants ſhall he be unto his brethren.* Againe, we finde that the unnaturall ſin of the *Sodomites* was puniſhed in the higheſt degree, as with fire from heaven. The ſinne of Adulterie and Raviſhment, was before the law no leſſe deteſted than the reſt, as appeareth by that revenge, taken for *Dina's* forcing: and by the judgement which *Juda* gave againſt *Tamar*, That ſhe ſhould be burnt: and by the repentance of *Pharaoh* & *Abimelech*, againſt whom this ſentence was pronounced, *Thou are but dead, becauſe of the Woman which thou haſt taken: for ſhe is a mans Wife:* To theſe we may adde the ordinance of Sacrifice, of diſtinction of cleane and uncleane beaſts; of Circumſion, of the brother to raiſe up ſeed to his brother that left a widow childleſſe, and divers other conſtitutions, partly Morall & partly Ceremonial, which being delivered before the written law, were after by it confirmed. So that this *Divine Law impoſed*, of which the Law of *Moſes* containeth that which is called *The old Teſtament*, may be ſaid, not only to have bin written in the hearts of men, before it was engraven in ſtone, but alſo in ſubſtance to have bin given in precept to the *Patriarkes*. For as S. *Paul* witneſſeth of himſelfe, *I knew not ſinne, but by the Law*: ſo ever the Law naturally preceded, & went before offences, though written after offences committed. It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by ſome kinde of unwritten law; the *Angels* intuitively; Men by reaſon; Beaſts by ſenſe and inſtinct, without diſcourſe; Plants by their vegetative powers; and things inanimate by their neceſſary motions, without ſenſe or preception.

* The common reading is *cum terra*: but God did not deſtroy the earth: and why may not this præpoſition in this place, have the ſame force, which it hath according to *Junius*? Gen 4. 1. *Item* 44.4. & *Deut* 24.1. eſpecially, ſeeing theſe Words are but a repetition of that which is ſaid, verſe 7. *Delebo hominem de ſuperficie terræ.*

Gen.9.6.

Gen.9.25.

Gen.34.25.

Gen.38.24.

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### §. IX. *Of the Morall, Judiciall, and Ceremoniall Law, with a note prefixed, How the Scripture ſpeaketh not alway in one ſenſe, when it nameth the Law of* Moſes.

NOw as the word (*Law*) in generall, as is aforeſaid, hath divers ſignifications, & is taken for all doctrine which doth preſcribe & reſtrain: ſo the law, called the *Law of Moſes* in particular, is taken by S. *Paul* diverſly; as ſomtime for all the old Teſtament, as, *Now we know whatſoever the law ſaith, it ſaith to them which are under the Law.*

Rom.3.19.

When it is oppoſed, or differenced from the *Prophets* and *Pſalmes*, it is there taken for the five Bookes of *Moſes*. For ſo S. *Luke* hath diſtinguiſhed them; as, *All muſt be fulfilled which are written of me in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the Pſalmes.*

Luc.24.44.

Rom.3.28.

When it is oppoſed to the *Goſpell*, then it is taken for the Law Morall, Ceremoniall, and Judiciall; as, *Therefore we conclude, that a man is juſtified by Faith, without the works of the Law.*

Rom.6 4.
Gal.3.18.

When it is oppoſed to *Grace*, it ſignifieth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the law, and *ſummum jus*: as, *For ye are not under the Law, but under Grace.*

John 1.17.

When it is oppoſed to the Truth, namely, where the Ceremonies or ſignes are taken for the things ſignified; as the *Sacrifice* for *Chriſt*, and the like: then it ſignifieth but ſhadowes & figures; as, *The Law was given by* Moſes, *but grace & truth came by Jeſus Chriſt.*

Gal.3.23.
Luc.16.6.
Heb.7.12.& 10.1.

Laſtly, when it is oppoſed to the time of *Chriſts* comming, it ſignifieth the whole policy of the *Jewes* Common-wealth; as, *Before faith came, we were kept under the Law,* &c. Or the Law of the order & inſtitution of the *Aaronicall Prieſthood*; as, *All the Prophets & the Law*, or the Prieſts *propheſied unto John.* And if the *Prieſthood* be changed, the Law alſo, to wit, of the *Prieſthood*, muſt needs be changed.

Rom.8.2.
Rom.7.23.

The word (*Law*) is ſometime alſo taken by the Figure *Metonymia*, for Intereſt, Authority, and Empire, or for conſtraining force; as, *The Law of the Spirit of life, the law or the force of ſinne and death, the enforcements of concupiſcence,* &c.

James 2.10.

But the *Written Law of Moſes*, or the Law of the Olde Teſtament, of which we now ſpeake, is thus defined. The Law is a doctrine, which was firſt put into the minds of men by God, and afterwards written by *Moſes*, or by him repeated, commanding Holineſſe and Juſtice, promiſing eternall life conditionally, that is, to the obſervers of the law, and threatning death to thoſe which breake the law in the leaſt. For according to S. *James*, *Whoſoever ſhall keepe the whole, & faileth in one point, is guilty of all.* The definition uſed by the *Schoolemen*, in which both the Old & New law are comprehended, is thus given. *Lex divina eſt divinum decretum, hominibus præſcribens modum neceſſarium ut apte pervenire poſſint ad ſupernaturalem beatitudinem, quæ eſt ultimus humanæ vitæ finis*; *The divine Law* (ſay they) *is the decree of God, preſcribing unto men a neceſſary meane, whereby they may aptly attaine ſupernaturall beatitude, which is the laſt end of mans life.*

Rom.7.12.

The law of *Moſes* hath three parts: Morall, Ceremoniall, and Judiciall. The Morall part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that evill to be avoyded, in particular; as alſo it declareth, for whoſe ſake it is to be done; as, *Do this, for I am the Lord*; whereas the law of nature commands it but in generall. Againe, the Morall law entreateth of vertue and goodneſſe; the Ceremoniall of divine ſervice, and of holineſſe; (for externall worſhip, and the order of hallowing our ſelves unto God is called Ceremony) and the Judiciall teacheth the particular government, fit for the Common-wealth of the *Jewes*, and preſcribeth orders for juſtice and equity. And therefore was it ſaid of S. *Paul*, *The Commandement is juſt, holy, and good*: juſt, or juſtice being referred to the Judiciall: holy, or holineſſe to the Ceremoniall; good, or honeſt to the Morall. The Judiciall part is touching the government of the Common-wealth of the *Jewes*, in which many things muſt needs be proper to that eſtate, as ſuch as were inſtituted either in reſpect of place or perſons.

The Ceremoniall is divided into foure parts, according to the foure kindes of things of which it ſpeaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, Holy things, Sacraments, and Obſervances. To Sacrifices belong beaſts, and the fruites of the earth; to Holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Veſſels, Altars and the like; to Sacraments, Circumciſion, the Paſſeover, and ſuch like. For Obſervances, they conſiſted either in prohibition of certaine meates, as not to eate the blood and fat of beaſts: or in ſome other outward things, as in waſhings, purifyings, annoyntings, and attire, as not to weare mixt garments of Linnen and Woollen: as alſo it prohibiteth other unnaturall and unproper commixtions, as, *Thou ſhalt not yoake together in a Plough an Oxe and an Aſſe*, or caſt mingled ſeed in one field. It alſo exhorteth to naturall compaſſion, and forbiddeth crueltie even to beaſts, birds, and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be deſtroyed without any profit to man. For ſo ſome referre theſe precepts, *Thou ſhalt not kill the bird ſitting on her neſt; nor beate downe the firſt buds of the tree, nor muzzell the labouring Oxe*, and the like, to the Ceremoniall Law.

Neither is their any of theſe three parts of the Law of *Moſes*, but it hath as yet in ſome reſpects, the ſame power which it had before the comming of *Chriſt*. For the Morall liveth ſtill, and is not abrogated or taken away: ſaving in the ability of juſtifying or condemning; for therein are we commanded to love and worſhip God: and to uſe charitie one towards another: which for ever ſhall be required at our hands. Therein alſo are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done: which power of directing by ſpeciall rules and precepts of life, it retaineth ſtill. For theſe things alſo are commanded in both Teſtaments to be obſerved: though principally for feare of God in the one, and for the love of God in the other.

The Ceremoniall alſo liveth in the things which it fore-ſignified. For the ſhadow is not deſtroyed, but perfected, when the body it ſelfe is repreſented to us. Beſides, it ſtill liveth, in that it giveth both inſtruction and teſtimony of *Chriſt*, and in that it giveth direction to the Church, for ſome Ceremonies and Types of holy ſignification, which are ſtill expedient; though in a farre fewer number than before *Chriſts* comming, and in a far leſſe degree of neceſſitie.

Laſtly, the Judiciall liveth in ſubſtance, and concerning the end, and the naturall and univerſall equitie thereof.

But the Morall faileth in the point of juſtification, the Ceremoniall as touching the uſe and externall obſervation (becauſe *Chriſt* himſelfe is come, of whom the ceremonies were ſignes and ſhadowes) and the Judiciall is taken away, as farre forth as it was peculiar to the *Jewes* Common-weale and policie.

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### §.X. *A propoſall of nine other points to be conſidered, with a touch of the five firſt.*

AS for that which remaineth in the generall conſideration of the divine written Law, it may in effect be reduced into theſe nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the Law.
2. The Majeſty of the Law-giver.
3. The property and peculiarity of the people receiving it.
4. The conveniency of the time in which it was given.
5. The efficacie and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the old and new Teſtament.
7. The end and uſe of the Law.
8. The ſenſe and underſtanding of the Law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignity of the Law is ſufficiently proved by S. *Paul*, in theſe words: *Wherefore the Law is holy, and the Commandement is holy, and juſt, and good:* which three attributes are referred, as aforeſaid, to the Morall, Ceremoniall, and Judiciall.

2. The Majeſty of the Lawgiver is approved in all his creatures: who as he hath given all things their lives and beings, ſo he onely gave the Law, who could onely give the end & reward promiſed, to wit, the ſalvation of mankind: but he gave it not to *Moſes* immediately, but by the miniſtery of Angels, as it is ſaid: *And the Law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediator:* and in the Acts, *He gave the Law by the ordinance of Angels.* Galath.3.19.

3. The propriety and peculiarity of the people, receiving the Law, is in three reſpects. Firſt, in that they were prepared. Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and diſſevered: Thirdly, in that they were the children of the promiſe made to *Abraham*. Prepared they were, becauſe they had the knowledge of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and ſevered they were, becauſe of Gods choice and election. Children of the promiſe they were, for the promiſe was made by God unto *Abraham* and his ſeed: not unto his ſeedes, as to *Eſau* & *Jacob*, but to his ſeed, as to *Jacob* or *Iſrael* ſingularly, of whom *Chriſt*. *Now to Abraham and his ſeed were the promiſes made: he ſaith not to the ſeeds, as ſpeaking of many, but to thy ſeed, as of one, which is Chriſt.* Gal.3.16.

4. The conveniency of the time, in which it was given, is noted by S. *Auguſtine*: that it was about the middle time, betweene the Law of Nature, and Grace: the Law of Nature continued from *Adam* to *Moſes*: the Law written in the Commandements received by *Moſes* in the worlds yeare 2514. continued to the Baptiſme of *John*: from which time, begun the Law of Grace, which ſhall continue to the worlds end. Other reaſons for the conveniency are formerly given.

5. The fift conſideration is of the efficacie of this Law, the ſame being a diſpoſition to,

or ſigne of our Juſtification: but not by it ſelfe ſufficient, but as a figure of *Chriſt* in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteouſneſſe in morall precepts. For through the paſſion of *Chriſt* were ſinnes forgiven, who taketh away the ſinnes of the world: and therefore S. *Paul* calleth the rudiments of the law *beggerly and weake*; beggerly as containing no grace, weake as not able to forgive and juſtifie. The bloud of Goats and Bulles, and the aſhes of an Heifer could onely cleanſe the body; but they were figures of *Chriſts* blood, which doth cleanſe the inward ſoule. *For if the law could juſtifie, then Chriſt died in vaine.*

Galath.4.
Heb.9.
Gal.2.

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## §. XI. *Of the ſixt point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the Old and New Teſtament.*

THe Old and New Teſtament differ in name, & in the meane & way propoſed for attaining to ſalvation; as the Olde by works, the New by grace: but in the thing it ſelfe, or object & remote end, they agree: which is mans happineſſe & ſalvation.

The Old Teſtament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witneſſe of Gods will, was called the Old, becauſe it preceded the New Teſtament; which is an explication of the Old: from which the New taketh witneſſe. Yet the New is of more excellencie, in that it doth more lively expreſſe, and openly and directly delineate the wayes of our redemption. It is alſo called the Old, to ſhew that in part it was to be abrogated: *In that he ſaith the New Teſtament, he hath abrogated the Old.* For the Old law, though greatly extolled by the *Prophets*, and delivered with wonderfull miracles, yet was it conſtituted in a policy periſhable: but the New was given in a promiſe of an everlaſting Kingdome, and therefore called in the *Apocalyps*, a Teſtament and Goſpel for ever during.

Heb.8.13.

The Old Teſtament is called the Law, becauſe the firſt and chiefe part is the Law of *Moſes*, of which the *Prophets* and *Pſalmes* are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The New Teſtament is called the Goſpell, becauſe the firſt and chiefe part thereof is the glad tidings of our Redemption: the other Bookes, as the Epiſtles, or Letters of the *Apoſtles*, and the Acts or ſtory of the *Apoſtles*, are plentifull interpreters thereof: The word *Evangelion*, ſignifying a joyfull, happy, & proſperous meſſage, or (as *Homer* uſed it) the reward given to the Meſſenger, bringing joyfull newes. It is alſo ſometime taken for a ſacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleaſing ſucceſſe, as by *Xenophon*. In the Scriptures it hath three ſignifications. Firſt, for glad tydings in generall, as in Eſay the 52. verſe 7. concerning peace: Secondly, by an excellencie it is reſtrained, to ſignifie that moſt joyfull meſſage of Salvation, as in *Luc*.2.10. whence alſo by figure it is taken for the Hiſtory of *Chriſt*: and ſo we underſtand the foure Goſpels.

Acts 1.

Laſtly, for the preaching and divulging the doctrine of *Chriſt*, as 1 *Cor*.9.14. & 2 *Cor*. 8.18.

The agreement of both Teſtaments (taken, I thinke, as they are divided in volumes) is by *Danæus* compriſed in theſe foure.

In their Author.
In the ſubſtance of the Covenant, or things promiſed.
In the foundation, to wit, *Chriſt*.
In the effects, that is, in righteouſneſſe and juſtification,

In the Author they agree, becauſe both are of God, and therefore both one Teſtament and will of God in ſubſtance of doctrine. For as there was ever one Church, ſo was there one Covenant, one Adoption, and one Doctrine. As the old law doth point at *Chriſt*, ſo doth the new Law teach *Chriſt*: the olde propoſing him as to come, the new as alreadie come; one and the ſame thing being promiſed in both; both tending to one, and the ſame end, even the ſalvation of our ſoules: which according to S. *Peter*, is the end of our Faith. For although it be ſaid, that *Moſes* did promiſe by obſerving the Law, an earthly Kingdome, a land flowing with milke & hony, the propagation of children, and other worldly bleſſings: yet all theſe were but figures to teach, & pledges to aſſure the Fathers of thoſe ſpirituall bleſſings by *Chriſt*; for by the earthly, he raiſed their minds to the hope of heavenly. And the Fathers notwithſtanding theſe worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themſelves ſtrangers, & pilgrims, expecting the heavenly *Hieruſalem*: according to this place of the *Hebrewes*: *All theſe dyed in faith, and received not the promiſes, but ſaw them a farre off and beleeved them; confeſſing that they were ſtrangers and pilgrimes on the earth.* To which purpoſe alſo Saint *Auguſtine*, *Omnino pauci veterem legem intelligunt, non attenden-*

Cap.11.v.13.
Lib. de Civit. Dei.18.c.15.

*tendentes per promiſſa terrena, æterna promitti: Few* (ſaith he) *do underſtand the old law: not attending that by things earthly, eternall are promiſed.* And S. *Hierome: Noluit Deus paſcere Judæos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibuſque, ut Judæi ſomniant; God would not feed the Jewes as beaſts with corporall gifts and riches, as themſelves dreame.* And this may be gathered out of Gods own words, *Ego ſum Deus tuus; & ero vobis in Deum; I am thy God, and I will be your God.* For the words, *I will be your God,* prove that it was not for the preſent, or for periſhable things, that God gave them this promiſe, but in reſpect of the future: to wit, the ſafety of their ſoules. For as God created both body and ſoule, ſo hath he of his goodneſſe, not left the better part uncared for, which liveth ever.

*In Sophon. cap. 3. v. 9.*

The agreement between the Old and New Teſtament in ſubſtance, inferres alſo the agreement in foundation. For *Chriſt* is called the foundation of the law, laid both by the *Apoſtles* and *Prophets*; in whom all the promiſes of God in the Old and New, are aſſured: the Fathers having eaten the ſame ſpirituall foode, which we eate in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects is, in that the knowledge of our ſin & miſerie, which is taught us by the law, maketh way, and, as it were, ſerveth in ſubordination to the Goſpel, the proper effects whereof are mercy and ſalvation: to which the Law ſerving as an introduction (for to thoſe which acknowledge their ſin & miſery, God ſheweth his mercy & ſalvation) may be ſaid to agree with the Goſpell in the effect. For otherwiſe, if we ſever the Law from ſubordination to the Goſpel, the effects are very different: the one ſheweth the way of righteouſneſſe by workes, the other by faith: the Law woundeth, the Goſpel healeth: the Law terrifieth, the Goſpell allureth: *Moſes* accuſeth, *Chriſt* defendeth: *Moſes* condemneth, *Chriſt* pardoneth. The Old reſtraineth the hand, the New the minde. *Data eſt lex quæ non ſanaret* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) *ſed quæ ægrotantes probaret; The Law was given, not to helpe, but to diſcover ſickneſſe:* and Saint *Chryſoſtome, Data eſt lex, ut ſe homo inveniret, non ut morbus ſanaretur, ſed ut medicus quæreretur: The Law was given that man might finde and know his owne imperfection: not that his diſeaſe was thereby holpen, but that he might then ſeeke out the Phyſician.* For Chriſt came to ſave the world, which the law had condemned. And as *Moſes* was but a ſervant, and *Chriſt* a Son; ſo the greateſt benefit was reſerved to be brought, as by the *worthieſt* perſon, ſaith *Cyril:* for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

*Homil. ad. Rom.*

*Heb. 7.*

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## §. XII.

### *Of the reſt of the points propoſed.*

THe ſeventh conſideration is of the end, and uſe of the law: which is to bring us to *Chriſt*: for finding no righteouſneſſe in our own workes, we muſt ſeeke it in ſome other. But this is the laſt, and remote, and utmoſt end: the next and proper end of the law, is to preſcribe righteouſneſſe, & to exact abſolute and perfect obedience to God. *Curſed is he which continueth not in all the things of this law.*

*Levit. 18. 5.*

The ſecond end of the Law, is to render us inexcuſable before God: who knowing ſo perfect a law, doe not keepe it: the law requiring a perfect and intire, not a broken or halfe obedience: but both inward and outward righteouſneſſe, and performance of duty to God and Men.

The third and chiefe end of the law, is, as hath bin ſaid, to ſend us to *Chriſt*, and his grace, being in our ſelves condemned and loſt. For the law was delivered with thunder, and with a moſt violent and fearefull tempeſt, threatning eternall death.

The fourth end of the law was to deſigne, and preſerve, the place of the Church and true people of God: and to hold them in one Diſcipline, and awe, till the comming of *Chriſt*: after whom the Church was to be diſperſed over the whole world.

Theſe be the ends of the Morall law. The end and uſe of the Ceremoniall law, is to confirme the truth of *Chriſt*, and the new Teſtament. The uſe of the Judiciall, to teach us naturall equity and right, whereto we muſt conforme our ſelves.

The ſenſe and underſtanding of the Law is double, literall and ſpirituall: by the literall we are taught the worſhip and ſervice of God: by the ſpirituall, the figures and myſticall fore-ſpeakings of *Chriſt*.

Laſtly, for the durance or continuance of the * Law, the ſame had being untill the paſſion of *Chriſt*: before which time, and while *Chriſt* taught in the world, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true ſacrifice was offered upon the Altar of the

* Gen. 49. 10. The Scepter ſhall not depart from *Juda*, nor a Lawgiver from betweene his feet, untill *Shilo* come.

Croſſe, then the *Jewiſh* ſacrifices and ceremonies, which were *Types* and figures of *Chriſt* (*Chriſt* being the body of thoſe ſhadowes) ceaſed to binde the conſcience any longer: the myſtery of our redemption being now by *Chriſt* and in him finiſhed. In token whereof, the vaile of the Temple rent aſunder; noting that the ceremoniall vailes and ſhadowes were now to be removed, not that the morall law of the Commandements was hereby aboliſhed, or weakned at all: otherwiſe than that it had not power to condemne according to the *Jewiſh* doctrine, as aforeſaid. For the obſerving of the law was by *Chriſt* himſelfe ſeverely commanded: our love towards God being thereby to be witneſſed. And herein ***David*** ſo much rejoyced, as he preferred the obſervation of the Law, before all that the world could yeeld. *In via teſtimoniorum tuorum delectatus ſum, ſicut in omnibus divitiis; I have bin delighted in thy law, as in all manner of riches:* And again, *The law of thy mouth is good for me above thouſands of gold & ſilver. This is the love of God* (ſaith S. *John*) *that we keep his Commandement.* And that there is no excuſe for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himſelfe in *Deuteronomy* witneſſeth. *This Commandement* (ſaith he) *which I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou ſhouldeſt ſay, Who ſhall go up for us to heaven, and bring it us, and cauſe us to heare it that we may do it? neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou ſhouldeſt ſay, Who ſhall goe over the Sea for us, & bring it us? &c. but the word is very neere unto thee, even in thy mouth, & in thy heart for to do it. Behold* (ſaith *Moſes*) *I have ſet before thee this day life and death, good and evill, in that I command thee this day, to love the Lord thy God, to walke in his waies, and to keepe his Commandements, and his Ordinances, and his Lawes, that thou maiſt live, &c.* Neither is it ſaid in vaine in S. *Matthew*: *Si vis ad vitam ingredi, ſerva mandata; If thou wilt enter into life, keepe the Commandements:* and in S. *John*; *Scio quia mandatum ejus vitæ æterna eſt; I know that his Commandement is life everlaſting.* And if this be the charitie of God, or of Men towards God, as S. *John* hath taught, to wit, that we keepe his Commandements: certainely he is but a lyar, that profeſſeth to love God, and neglecteth to obſerve the word of his will, with all his power. And though I confeſſe it not in mans ability, without the ſpeciall grace of God to fulfill the law (*Chriſt* only as man excepted) yet if we rightly conſider the mercifull care which God had of his people in thoſe his Commandements, we ſhall finde in our ſelves, how we borrow liberty, and rather let ſlip our affections, and voluntarily looſen them from the chaines of obedience, to which the word of God and divine reaſon hath faſtened them, than that we are excuſable by thoſe difficulties and impoſſibilities, which our minde (greedy of libertie) propoſeth to it ſelfe. *For this is the love of God, that we keepe his Commandements, & his Commandements are not grievous.* 1 John 5.12. and if we examine every precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the ballance of our conſciences: it is not hard for any man to judge, by what eaſie perſwaſions, we ſteale away from our owne power, as unwilling to uſe it againſt our pleaſing deſires.

*1 John 5.*

*Deut.* 30.11.12. 13. & 14. *Rom.* 10. v. 6. 7.8.

*Cap.* 9.17. *Cap.* 12.50.

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## §. XIII.

### *Of the ſeverall Commandements of the* Decalogue: *and that the difficulty is not in reſpect of the Commandements, but by our default.*

FOr by the firſt we are commanded to acknowledge, ſerve, and love one God. Now, whereby are we inticed to the breach of this precept? ſeeing every reaſonable man may conceive and know, that infinite power cannot be divided into many infinities: and that it is of neceſſitie, that by this almighty Unitie, all things have bin cauſed, and are continued. And if brute beaſts had this knowledge of their Creator, and how in his providence he hath alſo provided for every of them, *Which giveth to beaſtes their foode; &c.* there is no doubt but that they would alſo ſerve and love him only.

*Pſal* 147.9.

The ſecond precept is the forbidding of Idolatry, and worſhip of Images: the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the invention of an ill intent in the beginning, ſeeing this is generally true: *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta ſunt; All ill examples did ſpring and ariſe from good beginnings.* For their firſt erection was to keepe the memory of men famous for their vertue: untill (ſaith *Lactantius*) the divell crept into them, and (having blotted out the firſt intent) working in weake and ignorant ſoules, changed the nature of the one, and the reaſon of the other, to ſerve himſelfe thereby. For what reaſonable man, if he be not forſaken of God, will call on thoſe blinde, deafe, dumbe, and dead ſtocks, more

*Gloſſa in verb. Calum.*

worthleſſe than the moſt worthleſſe of thoſe, that having life and reaſon, implore their helpe, which have neither: yea, of more vile prize and baſer, than the baſeſt of beaſts, who have ſenſe and eſtimation? For what doe we thereby (ſaith the Wiſedome of *Salomon*) *but call to the weake for helpe, pray to the dead for life, require aide of him that hath no experience, aſſiſtance in our journies of him that cannot goe, and ſucceſſe in our affaires of him that hath no power?* And whether the Idolater, or the blocke, to which he prayeth, be more ſenſeleſſe, *David* maketh a doubt. *For* (ſaith he) *they that make them are like unto them, and ſo are all the reſt that truſt in them.*

*Wiſd.13.v.19.*

*Pſalme 35.18.*

The breach of the third Commandement, is neither perſwaded by worldly pleaſure, nor worldly profit: the two greateſt inchanters of mortall men. No, we are no way allured to this horrible diſdaine of God, unleſſe the hate of good men, and Gods curſe, be accounted an advantage. For as our corrupteſt nature gives us nothing towards it, ſo can it ſatisfie no one appetite, except everlaſting ſorrow, and hell dwell in our deſire. And therefore this ſtrange cuſtome hath the divell brought up among men, without all ſubtletie of argument, or cunning perſwaſion, taking thereby the greateſt and moſt ſcornfull advantage over us. For ſlaughter ſatisfieth hatred, Theft gives ſatisfaction to need, Adultery to luſt, Oppreſſion to covetouſneſſe: but this contemptuous offence of blaſphemy, and the irreverent abuſe of Gods name, as it giveth no helpe to any of our worldly affections, ſo the moſt ſalvage Nations of the world do not uſe it.

The fourth Commandement, to keepe the *Sabbath* day holy, hath neither paine, burthen, nor inconvenience. For it giveth reſt to the labourer, and conſolation to their Maſters. And that this law was impoſed on man for his benefit, *Moſes* teacheth in the reaſon of the law: as in Exod. 23.12. *And in the ſeventh day thou ſhalt reſt, that thine Oxe & thine Aſſe may reſt, and the ſonne of thy maide, and the ſtranger may be refreſhed.*

The firſt of the ſecond Table, to honour our Parents, with whom we are one and the ſame, is a gratitude which nature it ſelfe hath taught us towards them, who after God gave us life and being, have begotten us, and borne us, cheriſhed us in our weake and helpleſſe infancie, and boſtowed on us the harveſt and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in the Temporall and Judiciall ordinances, curſing of Parents, or the offering them violence was made death.

The next is, that thou ſhalt not Murther, that is, thou ſhalt not do the actes following the affections of hatred. For the law of God, and after it our owne lawes, and in effect the law of all Nations, have made difference betweene ſlaughter caſuall, and furious. *Affectio enim tua* (ſaith *Bracton*) *imponit nomen operi tuo; It is the affection and will that makes the worke ſuch as it is.* And certainly, whoſoever cannot forbear to commit murther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any uſe of his owne will.

The third of the ſecond Table, commands us from Adultery. Now if the preſervation of Virginity have beene poſſible for thouſands of Men and women, who in all Ages have maſtered their fleſhly deſires, and have returned chaſte to their grave: It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbear the diſhonour and injurie, which we offer to others by ſuch a violation, ſeeing marriage is permitted by the lawes of God and Men, to all that affect it. And there is no man living, whom the deſire of beauty and forme hath ſo conſtrained, but he might with eaſe forbeare the proſequution of this ill, did not himſelfe give ſucke to this infant, and nouriſh warmth till it grow to ſtrong heat, heat till it turne to fire, and fire to flame.

*Nuptiæ replent terram, Virginitas Paradiſum.*

The fourth of the ſecond Table, is, that we ſhall not ſteale. And if that kinde of violent robbery had beene uſed in *Moſes* time, which many Ruffians practiſe now a-dayes in *England*, and, to the diſhonour of our Nation, more in *England*, than in any Region of the world among *Chriſtians*; out of doubt, he would have cenſured them by death, and not by reſtitution, though quadruple. For I ſpeake not of the poore and miſerable ſoules, whom hunger and extreme neceſſitie inforceth; but of thoſe deteſted Theeves, who to maintaine themſelves Lord-like, aſſault, rob, and wound the Merchant, Artificer, and Labouring man; or breake by violence into other mens houſes, and ſpend in Braverie, Drunkenneſſe, and upon Harlots, in one day, what other men ſometime have laboured for all their lives: impoveriſhing whole Families, and taking the bread and foode from the mouthes of their children. And that this Commandement might eaſily be obſerved, it would ſoone appeare, if Princes would reſolve, but for a few yeares to pardon none. For, it is the hope of life, and the argument of ſparing the firſt offence, that incourageth theſe Hell-hounds. And if every man preſume to be pardoned once, there is no State or Common-wealth, but theſe men would in a ſhort time impoveriſh or deſtroy it.

The fifth Commandement of this ſecond Table, is, the prohibition of falſe witneſſe: from which if men could not forbeare, all ſurety of eſtate and life were taken away. And ſo much did God deteſt a falſe witneſſe, and a falſe accuſer, eſpecially in matters criminall, that the law ordained him to ſuffer the ſame death or puniſhment, which he ſought by falſhood to lay on his brother.

The laſt of the ten Commandements forbiddeth us to covet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wives for concupiſcence, or their goods for deſire of gaine. And this precept ſeemeth the hardeſt for men to obſerve; ſo eſteemed by reaſon of our fraile affections: and yet if we judge hereof rightly, it may be doubted whether it extend to all our inconſiderate fancies and vaine thoughts. For, although it be not eaſie to maſter all our ſudden paſſions, yet we may reſtraine and hinder the growing, and farther increaſe, if we pleaſe to intend our ſtrength, and ſeeke for grace. How the word *Coveting* reacheth to all thoſe, it is to be conſidered. For *Concupiſcentia*, according to ſome, *Eſt effranatus habendi appetitus; An unbridled, or unreſtrained appetite of having:* And as touching ſuch an appetite, we cannot excuſe our ſelves by any our naturall frailty, or unadviſed error; But as I ſuppoſe, the word *Concupiſcence* is more largely taken, either for a determinate and unbridled evill intent, or for ſome urging inclination thereunto. All the queſtion is of the later ſort: which is, *Actus imperfectus, id eſt, non deliberatus ratione, quæ eſt principium proprium actus boni aut vitioſi; Such paſſions, or inclinations are unperfect acts, that is, not deliberated upon by reaſon, which is the proper principle of a good or vicious action.* And ſure, it may ſeeme, that ſo long as we reſiſt ſuch motions, they harme us not: as they ſay, *Quamdiu refragamur, nihil nocent: nocent autem cum ea dominari permittimus; As long as we give no aſſent unto them, it is thought by ſome that they hurt us not; and that then onely they hurt, when we ſuffer them to beare ſway.* But theſe men, as it ſeemes, make nothing forbidden in the tenth precept, but what hath beene forbidden in the other: for in every Commandement, not only the outward act, but alſo the inward aſſent unto evill, though it breake not out into act, is forbidden: therefore, that we may know the difference between this Commandement and the reſt, the diſtinction of deſires is to be held: that ſome are with aſſent, and unbridled; others bridled, and without aſſent. For ſo even the Morall *Philoſopher* can tell us, that the Continent man hath evill deſires, but without aſſent (for they are bridled by the ſtrength of right reaſon) as on the other ſide the Incontinent hath good deſires, but reſtrained and ſuppreſſed by contrary paſſions. The evill deſires, when they are accompained with aſſent are in every Commandement forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefore, if we will have any thing proper to this Commandement, we muſt needs ſay, that the evill deſires of the Continent man (that is, even thoſe which we reſiſt and bridle) are here forbidden. For though he that bridleth his evill deſires, be much better than he that yeeldeth unto them: yet ſuch a man, even according to the Heathen *Philoſopher*, is not worthy the name of a vertuous man. For *Ariſtotle* himſelfe makes *Continentia*, not to be vertue, but onely a degree unto it: confeſſing, that though the Continent man doe well in bridling his evill affections, yet he doth not all, ſeeing he ought not ſo much as to have them at all. Neither is it much more, that true divinity delivereth touching this matter. For, as he ſaith, that in the continent man the having of theſe evill deſires, though he reſiſt them, is the cauſe that he cannot be called a vertuous man: ſo we, that the having of them is a ſinne. Onely in this we excell him here: that we are able out of divinity to give the true reaſon of this doctrine: which is, that every one ſinneth, that doth not love God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth, that the evill deſires of the Continent man; that is, of him which bridleth them, muſt needs be ſinne: ſeeing ſuch deſires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleaſed God, to make us know, that by our faithfull endevours to keepe his commandements, we witneſſe our love toward himſelfe: we may not ſafely give libertie to our vanities, by caſting backe upon God (who is juſtice it ſelfe) that he hath given us precepts altogether beyond our power, and Commandements impoſſible for us to keepe. For, as he is accurſed (ſaith Saint *Hierome*) that avowes that the Law is in all things poſſible to be obſerved: ſo he hath made this addition: *Maledictus*

*qui dicit impoſsibilia Deum præcepiſſe*; *accurſed is he that ſaith that God hath commanded things* (in themſelves, and not through our fault) *impoſsible.* Now, as the places are many which command us to keepe the Law: ſo is our weakeneſſe alſo in the Scriptures laid before us, and therefore it is thus ſafely to be underſtood, that we ſhould without evaſion, or without betraying of our ſelves, doe our faithfull endevours to obſerve them: which if we doe unfainedly, no doubt, but God will accept our deſires therein. For that there is no man juſt, *David* witneſſeth: *Enter not into judgment with thy ſervant, for in thy* Pſal.143.
*ſight no fleſh that liveth ſhall be juſtified.* And in the firſt of *Kings, There is no man that ſin-* Cap.8 v.46.
*neth not*: And againe, *Who can ſay, I have made my heart cleane?* But ſeeing there is no ſin Prov.20.v.9.
grievous without deliberation; let every mans conſcience, judge him, whether he give way willingly, or reſtraine himſelfe in all that he can; yea, or no? For when a King gives to his ſubject a commandement upon paine of loſſe of his love, to performe ſome ſervice: if the ſubject neglecting the ſame, ſeeke to ſatisfie his *Soveraign* with ſhifting excuſes, out of doubt ſuch a Prince will take himſelfe to be derided therein.

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## §. XIIII.

### *If there were not any Religion, nor Judgement to come, yet the* Decalogue *were moſt neceſſary to be obſerved.*

AND if we conſider adviſedly and ſoberly of the Morall Law, or ten Commandements, which God by the hand of *Moſes* gave unto his people, it will appeare that ſuch was his merciful providence in the choice of them, as were there neither pain nor profit adjoyned to the obſerving, or not obſerving of them; were there no divine power at all, nor any Religion among men; yet if we did not for our own ſakes ſtrive to obſerve theſe Lawes, all ſociety of men, and all endevours, all happineſſe and contentment in this life would be taken away: and every State and common-weale in the World fall to the ground and diſſolve. Therefore, theſe Lawes were not impoſed as a burden, but as a bleſſing: to the end that the innocent might be defended, that every man might enjoy the fruits of his owne travaile, that right might be done to all men from all men: that by juſtice, order, and peace, we might live the lives of reaſonable men, and not of beaſts; of free-men, and not of ſlaves; of civill men, and not of ſavages. And hereof making our humane reaſon only Judge, let us ſee the inconveniences in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of theſe Lawes.

As firſt, what would the iſſue be if we acknowledged many Gods? would not a far greater hatred, war, and bloud-ſhed follow, than that which the difference of ceremonies, and diverſity of interpretation, hath already brought into the World, even among thoſe Nations, which acknowledge one God, and one *Chriſt*?

And what could it profit mankinde to pray to Idols, and Images of gold, metall, dead ſtones, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the loſſe of time, and an impoſſibilitie to receive thence-from, either helpe or comfort?

The breach of the third Commandement bringeth therewith this diſadvantage, and ill to man, that whoſoever taketh the name of God in vaine, ſhall not at any time benefit himſelfe by calling God to witneſſe for him, when he may juſtly uſe his holy name.

The obſerving the *Sabbath* holy, giveth reſt to men and beaſts, and nature her ſelfe requireth intermiſſion of labour.

If we deſpiſe our Parents, who have given us being, we thereby teach our owne children to ſcorne and neglect us, when our aged yeares require comfort and help at their hands.

If murther were not forbidden, and ſeverely puniſhed, the race of mankinde would be extinguiſhed: and whoſoever would take the liberty to deſtroy others, giveth liberty to others to deſtroy himſelfe.

If adultery were lawfull and permitted, no man could ſay unto himſelfe; This is my ſonne: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour deſcend to poſterity, no endevour by vertue and undertaking to raiſe Families: murthers and poyſonings betweene man and wife would be daily committed: and every man ſubject to moſt filthy and uncleane diſeaſes.

If ſtealth and violent rapine were ſuffered, all mankinde would ſhortly after periſh, or live as the ſalvages, by rootes and acornes. For no man laboureth but to enjoy the fruits thereof. And ſuch is the miſchiefe of robbery, as where *Moſes* for leſſer crimes appointed reſtitution fourefold, policie of State and neceſſity hath made it death.

To permit falſe witneſſes, is to take all mens lives and eſtates from them by corruption: the wicked would ſweare againſt the vertuous: the waſter againſt the wealthie: the idle beggar and loyterer, againſt the carefull and painfull labourer: all triall of right were taken away, and juſtice thereby baniſhed out of the world.

The coveting of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a diſtraction of minde, with an inward vexation: for while we covet what appertaines to others, we neglect our owne: our appetites are therein fed with vaine and fruitleſſe hopes, to ſo long as we doe but covet; and if we doe attaine to the deſire of the one, or the other, to wit, the wives or goods of our neighbours; we can looke for no other, but that our ſelves ſhall alſo, either by theft or by ſtrong hand, be deprived of our owne.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandements, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the generall and particular good of all living? Surely, for our own good, and not in reſpect of himſelfe, did the moſt mercifull and provident God ordaine them; without the obſervation of which, the vertues of heavenly bodies, the fertility of the earth, with all the bleſſings given us in this life, would be unto us altogether unprofitable, and of no uſe. For we ſhould remaine but in the ſtate of brute beaſts, if not in a far more unhappy condition.

### §. XV. *Of humane Law, written and unwritten.*

HUmane Law, of which now it followeth to ſpeak, is firſt divided into two: (*Viz.*) Written, and Unwritten. The unwritten conſiſts of uſage, approved by time: which *Iſidore* calls *Mores:* & he defines *Mores* to be *Conſuetudines vetuſtate probata*; to be *cuſtomes approved by antiquitie, or unwritten lawes.* Now cuſtome differeth from uſe, as the cauſe from the effect: in that cuſtome is by uſe and continuance eſtabliſhed into a Law: but yet there where the law is defective, ſaith *Iſidore.*

And of cuſtomes there are two generall natures, containing innumerable particulars; the firſt are written cuſtomes, received and exerciſed by Nations, as the cuſtomes of *Burgundy* and *Normandy*, the ancient generall cuſtome of *England*, and the cuſtoms of *Caſtile*, and other *Provinces.*

The ſecond are theſe petty cuſtomes, uſed in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The generall or Nationall cuſtomes are ſome written, others unwritten.

The particular or petty cuſtomes are ſeldome written, but witneſſed by teſtimony of the inhabitants. The Cuſtomes of the *Duchie* of *Cornwall*, comprehending alſo the *Stannary* of *Devon*, as touching *Tin*, and *Tin* cauſes are written in *Devon*, but not in *Cornwall.* *In Reg. Jur. v.2.q.117.art.1.* But howſoever uſe and time hath made theſe cuſtoms as lawes, yet ought every cuſtome to be *rationabilis*, as well as *præſcripta. Non firmatur tractu temporis quod de jure ab initio non ſubſiſtit; That which at firſt was not grounded upon good right, is not made good by continuance of time.* *Vlp. l.29.* And (ſaith *Ulpian*) *quod ab initio vitioſum eſt, non poteſt tractu temporis convaleſcere*; *Courſe of time amends not that which was naught from the firſt beginning.* For theſe two defences are neceſſary in all lawes of cuſtome; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law divine, and naturall: the other, that the cauſe and reaſon be ſtrong, proving a right birth, and neceſſary continuance: it being manifeſt, that every cuſtome which is againſt the law, had his beginning from evill deeds, and therefore not without the former conſiderations to be allowed. And it is true, that all cuſtomes of this nature, were but tolerated for a time, by the Law-makers, though they have beene ſince continued; becauſe poſterity is not bound to examine by what cauſe their Anceſtors were thereto moved. For, *Non ſufficit ſimplex toleratio.* And it is in this ſort over-ruled in the law; *Per populum conſuetudo contra legem induci non poteſt, niſi de voluntate illius, qui novam legem & novam conſtitutionem ſtatuere poteſt, qui ſolus Princeps eſt; The people cannot bring in a new cuſtome againſt law, ſave by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is onely the Prince.*

Humane Law generally taken, to wit, humane law written, is by ſome defined to be the decree or doome of practique reaſon: by which humane actions are ruled and directed. *Papinian* calls the Law a common precept, the adviſement of wiſe men, and the

reſtrain

reſtraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Iſidore* calls the Law a Conſtitution written, agreeing with Religion, fitteſt for Government and common profit: And more largely, ***Omne id quod ratione conſiſtit*; *All that ſtands with reaſon.***

Laſtly, and more preciſely, it is thus defined. Humane Law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the Law natural and eternall: made by the rational diſcourſe of thoſe, that exerciſe publike authority: preſcribing neceſſary obſervances to the ſubject. That every Law ought to be a righteous decree, S. *Auguſtine* teacheth, ſaying: *Mihi lex eſſe non videtur, quæ juſta non fuerit*; *It ſeemes to be no law at all to me, which is not juſt:* and juſt it cannot be, except it agree with the law naturall and eternall. For there is no Law juſt and legitimate, (ſaith S. *Auguſtine*) which the Law-makers have not derived from the eternall. *Nihil juſtum atque legitimum eſt, quod non ab æterna lege ſibi homines derivaverunt.*

*Greg. de Val. ex Tho. q. 91. art. 3. & q. 94. art. 2.*

*L. 1. de lib. arb. cap. 6.*

Secondly, it ought to be conſtituted by diſcourſe of reaſon, whereby it is diſtinguiſhed from the Law naturall, to wit, the naturall, indemonſtrable, or needing no demonſtration, from whence the law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an authoriſed Magiſtracie, it cannot be doubted, be the government of what kinde ſoever. For it falleth otherwiſe under the Title of thoſe decrees called *Violentia*, or *iniquæ conſtitutiones*; *Violences*, or *wicked conſtitutions.*

Of humane Law there are foure properties, eſpecially anſwering theſe foure conditions in the former definition. Firſt, as it is drawne out of the law of nature: ſo every particular of the humane Law may be reſolved into ſome principle or rule of the naturall.

4. *Parts.*

Secondly, it is to be conſidered as it is referred unto, and doth reſpect the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by publike authority.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the Law, it preſcribeth, and directeth all humane actions. And ſo is the law as large and divers, as all humane actions are divers, which may fall under it. For according to *Thomas*, *Alia lex Julia de adulteriis, alia Cornelii de Sicariis*; *The Law of* Julian *againſt Adultery, is one, the* Cornelian *againſt Ruffians, is another.* Now the humane Law, generally taken, is in reſpect of the firſt of theſe conſiderations, divided into the Law of Nations, and the Civill.

The Law of Nations is taken leſſe or more properly; leſſe properly for every Law which is not of it ſelfe, but from other higher principles deduced: and ſo it ſeemeth that *Ulpian* underſtands it: for he defineth *Jus gentium*, or *the Law of Nations*, to be that which is onely common amongſt Men, as Religion, and the worſhip of God: which is not in the very nature of this Law of Nations; but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other divine Revelations. But the Law of Nations properly taken, is that *dictate*, or *ſentence*, which is drawne from a very probable, though not from an evident principle, yet ſo probable, that all Nations doe aſſent unto the concluſion, as that the free paſſage of *Ambaſſadours* be granted betweene enemies, &c. which Nationall Law, according to divers acceptations, and divers conſiderations had of the humane Law, may be ſometime taken for a *Species* of the Naturall, ſometime of the Humane.

*Jus Civile*, or the Civill Law, is not the ſame in all Common-wealths, but in divers eſtates it is alſo divers and peculiar, and this Law is not ſo immediately derived from the Law of Nature, as the Law of Nations is: For it is partly deduced out of ſuch principles as all Nations doe not agree in, or eaſily aſſent unto; becauſe they depend on particular circumſtances, which are divers, and doe not fit all eſtates. Hereof *Ulpian*, *Jus civile, neq; in totum à naturali & gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei ſervit: itaq; cum aliquid addimus vel detrahimus Juri communi, Jus proprium, id eſt, Civile efficimus*; *The Civill Law* (ſaith he) *doth neither wholly differ from the Law of Nature, and Nations, nor yet in all points obey it: therefore when we adde ought to, or take from the Law that is common, we make a Law proper, that is, the Civill Law.*

*In Leg. 6. ia. ff. de Juſtitia jure.*

The Law now commonly called the Civill Law, had its birth in *Rome*: and was firſt written by the *Decem-viri*, 303. yeares after the foundation of the City. It was compounded as well out of the *Athenian*, & other *Grecian* Lawes, as out of the ancient *Roman* cuſtoms & Lawes *Regall*. The Regall Lawes were diviſed by the firſt Kings; & called *Leges Regiæ*, or *Papyriana*, becauſe they were gathered by *Papyrius*, *Tarquin* then reigning. For though ſo many of the former Lawes as maintained Kingly authority, were aboli-

*Dion.Hal.*

*C.Signon.l.1.out of Pomponius.*

ſhed with the name; yet thoſe of *Servius Tullius*, for Commerce and contracts, and all that appertained to Religion, and common utility, were continued, and were a part of the Lawes of the twelve Tables. To theſe Lawes of the twelve Tables were added (as the times gave occaſion) thoſe made by the *Senate*, called *Senatuſ-conſulta:* thoſe of the common people, called *Plebei-ſcita*, thoſe of the Lawyers, called *Reſponſa-prudentum:* and the Edicts of the *Annuall Magiſtrate:* which Edicts being firſt gathered and interpreted by *Julian*, and preſented to *Adrian* the Emperour, they were by him confirmed and made perpetuall Lawes, and the *Volume* ſtiled *Edictum perpetuum*; as thoſe and the like Collections of *Juſtinian* afterward were.

The difference anciently between Lawes and Edicts, which the *French* call *Reglements*, conſiſted in this, that Lawes are the Conſtitutions made or confirmed by ſoveraigne authority (be the ſoveraignty in the people, in a few, or in one) and are withall generall and permanent: but an Edict (which is but *Juſſum Magiſtratus*, unleſſe by authority it be made a Law) hath end with the *Officer*, who made the ſame, ſaith *Varro*. *Qui plurimum Edicto tribuunt, legem annuam eſſe dicunt*; *They who aſcribe the moſt unto an Edict, ſay that it is a Law for one yeere:* Though *Iſidore* doth alſo expreſſe by the word *Conſtitutions* or *Edicts*, thoſe Ordinances called *Acts of Prerogatives*; as *Conſtitutio vel Edictum eſt quod Rex, vel Imperator conſtituit, vel edicit*; *An Ordinance or Edict is that which a King or Emperour doth ordaine or proclaime.*

Laſtly, the *Humane Law* is divided into the *Secular*, and into the *Eccleſiaſticall*, or *Canon*. The *Secular* commanding temporall good, to wit, the peace and tranquility of the Common-weale: the *Eccleſiaſticall* the ſpirituall good, and right Government of the *Eccleſiaſticall Common-wealth*, or *Church: Illud naturæ legem, hoc divinam ſpectat*; *That reſpecteth the Law of Nature, this the Law of God.* And ſo may *Jus Civile* be taken two wayes; firſt, as diſtinguiſhed from the Law of Nations, as in the firſt diviſion: Secondly, as it is the ſame with the *Secular*, and divers from the *Eccleſiaſticall*. But this diviſion of the *Schoolemen* is obſcure. For although the *Civill* be the ſame with the *Secular*, as the *Civill* is a Law, yet the *Secular* is more generall, and comprehendeth both the *Civill*, and all other Lawes not *Eccleſiaſtiall*. For of *Secular* Lawes, in uſe among *Chriſtian* Princes, and in *Chriſtian* Common-weales, there are three kindes; the *Civill*, which hath every where a voyce, and is in all *Chriſtian* eſtates (*England* excepted) moſt powerfull; the Lawes of *England* called Common, and the Lawes of cuſtome or *Provinciall*. In *Spaine* beſides the Law *Civill*, they have the cuſtomes of *Caſtill*, and other Provinces. In *France* beſides the *Civill*, the cuſtomes of *Burgundy*, *Bloys*, *Berri*, *Nivernois*, and *Lodunois*, *&c.*

*Art.3.tit.5. G.Cuſt.*

*Tous lieux ſitues & aſsis en Lodunois, ſeront governez ſelon les coſtumes du dit pays*; *All places lying within the precincts of Loduneis, ſhall be governed according to the cuſtomes of that place.* There are alſo in *France* the cuſtomes of *Normandy*, and theſe of two kinds; Generall, and Locall; and all purged and reformed by divers Acts of the three Eſtates. The *Charters* of confirmation of theſe ancient cuſtomes, before and ſince their reformation have theſe words; *Nos autem, regiſtrum prædictum, uſus laudabiles, & conſuetudines antiquas, &c. laudamus, approbamus, & authoritate Regia confirmamus*; *The Regiſter aforeſaid, laudable uſe, and ancient cuſtomes we praiſe, approve, & by our Kingly authority confirme.* The common Law of *England* is alſo compounded of the ancient cuſtomes of the ſame, and of certaine *Maximes* by thoſe cuſtomes of the Realme approved. Upon which cuſtomes alſo are grounded thoſe Courts of *Record*, of the *Chancery*, *Kings Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, with other ſmall Courts.

Theſe ancient cuſtomes of *England* have bin approved by the Kings thereof from age to age: as that cuſtome by which no man ſhall be taken, impriſoned, diſſeiſed, not otherwiſe deſtroyed, but he muſt firſt be put to anſwer by the Law of the Land, was confirmed by the *Statute* of *Magna Charta*. It is by the ancient cuſtome of *England*, that the eldeſt ſonnes ſhould inherite without partition. In *Germany*, *France*, and elſewhere otherwiſe, and by partition. In *Ireland* it is the cuſtome for all Landes (that have not bin reſigned into the Kings hands) that the eldeſt of the Houſe ſhall enjoy the Inheritance during his owne life: and ſo the ſecond and third eldeſt (if there be ſo many brothers) before the Heire in lineall deſcent: this is called the cuſtome of *Taniſtrie*. For example, if a Lord of Land have foure ſonnes, and the eldeſt of thoſe foure have alſo a Sonne, the three Brothers of the eldeſt Sonne, ſhall, after the death of their Brother, enjoy their Fathers Lands before the Grand-childe: the cuſtome being grounded upon the reaſon of neceſſity. For the *Iriſh* in former times, having alwayes lived in a ſubdivided *Civill* Warre, not only the greateſt againſt the greateſt, but every *Baron* and *Gentleman* one againſt another, were enforc't to leave ſucceſſors of age and ability, to defend their owne Territories. Now as in *Normandy*, *Burgundy*, and other Provinces of *France*, there are certaine peculiar and petty Cuſtomes, beſides the great and generall cuſtome of the Land, ſo are there in *England*, and in every part thereof. But the greateſt bulke of our Lawes, as I take it, are the *Acts of Parliament:* lawes propounded and approved by the three eſtates of the Realm, and confirmed by the King, to the obedience of which all men are therefore bound, becauſe they are *Acts* of choice, and ſelfe-deſire. *Leges nulla alia cauſa nos tenent, quàm quod judicio populi receptæ ſunt; The lawes doe therefore binde the ſubject; becauſe they are received by the judgement of the ſubject. Tum demum humanæ leges habent vim ſuam, cum fuerint non modò inſtitutæ, ſed etiam firmatæ approbatione communitatis; It is then that humane lawes have their ſtrength, when they ſhall not onely be deviſed, but by the approbation of the people confirmed.*

*Ulp ff.de.Leg. Leg.32.*
*Aug. de vera relig.cap.31.*
*Gratian.in dec. diſt.4.Cum in iſtis*

*Iſidore* faſteneth theſe properties to every *Chriſtian* Law, that the ſame be honeſt, that it be poſſible, that it be according to Nature, and according to the cuſtome of the Country; alſo for the time and place, convenient, profitable, and manifeſt, and without reſpect of private profit, that it be written for the generall good. He alſo gives foure effects of the Law, which *Modeſtinus* comprehends in two; to wit, obligation, and inſtigation: the former bindes us by feare, to avoid vice; the latter encourageth with hope, to follow vertue. For according to *Cicero*, *Legem oportet eſſe vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemque virtutum: It behoveth the Law to be a mender of vices, and a commender of vertues.* The part obligatorie or binding us to the obſervation of things commanded or forbidden, is an effect common to all lawes: and it is two-fold; the one conſtraineth us by feare of our conſciences, the other by feare of externall puniſhment. Theſe two effects the law performeth, by the exerciſe of thoſe two powers, to wit, *Coactive* and *Directive*.

The ſecond of theſe two effects remembred by *Modeſtinus*, is *Inſtigation*, or incouragement to vertue, as *Ariſtotle* makes it the end of the law, to make men vertuous. For lawes being ſuch as they ought to be, doe both by preſcribing and forbidding, urge us to well-doing; laying before us the good and the evill, by the one and the other purchaſed. And this power affirmative commanding good, and power negative forbidding evill, are thoſe into which the law is divided, as touching the matter: and in which *David* comprehendeth the whole body and ſubſtance thereof: ſaying, *Declina à malo, & fac bonum, Decline from evill, and doe good.*

Pſalme 37.

## §. XVI.

### *That onely the Prince is exempt from humane Lawes, and in what ſort.*

Now whether the power of the humane Law be without exception of any perſon, it is doubtfully diſputed among thoſe that have written of this ſubject, as wel *Divines* as *Lawyers:* and namely, whether Soveraigne Princes be compellable; yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the law, as aforeſaid; the one *Directive*, the other *Coactive:* to the power *Directive* they ought to be ſubject, but not to that which conſtraineth. For as touching violence or puniſhments, no man is bound to give a prejudiciall judgement againſt himſelf; and if equals have not any power over each other, much leſſe have inferiours over their ſuperiours, from whom they receive their authority and ſtrength.

And ſpeaking of the ſupreme power of lawes, ſimply then is the Prince ſo much above the lawes, as the ſoule and body united, is above a dead and ſenſeleſſe carkaſſe. For the King is truly called, *Jus vivum, & lex animata: An animate & living law.* But this is true, that by giving authority to lawes, Princes both adde greatneſs to themſelves, & conſerve it; and therfore was it ſaid of *Bracton* out of *Juſtinian*; *Meritò debet Rex tribuere legi quod lex attribuit ei: nam lex facit ut ipſe ſit Rex; Rightfully ought the King to attribute that to the law, which the Law firſt attributeth to the King; for it is the Law that doth make Kings.*

*Bract.l.1.*

But whereas *Bracton* aſcribeth this power to the humane law, he is therein miſtaken. For Kings are made by God, and lawes divine; and by humane lawes onely, declared to be Kings. As for the places remembred by the Divines and Lawyers, which inferre a kinde of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conſcience, and profit ariſing from the examples of vertuous Princes, who are to give an account of their actions to God only.

Pſal.50.
ff. de Leg.

*Tibi ſoli peccavi*, ſaith *David*; *Againſt thee only have I ſinned:* therefore, the Prince cannot be ſaid to be ſubject to the Law; *Princeps non ſubjicitur legi.* For ſeeing, according to the *Schoolemen*, the Law humane is but *quoddam organum & inſtrumentum poteſtatis gubernativæ: non videtur poſſe ejus obligatio ad eum ſe extendere, ad quem ipſa vis poteſtatis humanæ non pertinet; ſed vis poteſtatis humanæ non ſe extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa reſidet. Ergo neq; lex condita per talem poteſtatem obligare poteſt ipſum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia activa, eſt principium tranſmutandi aliud; Seeing humane Law* (ſay they) *is but a kind of Organ or Inſtrument of the power that governeth, it ſeems that it cannot extend it ſelf to binde any one whom no humane power can controll, or lay hold of: but the Governour himſelf, in whom the governing power doth reſide, is a perſon that cannot by himſelfe, or by his own power be controlled. And therefore the Law which is made by ſuch a power, cannot binde the law-maker himſelfe: for every active ability, is a cauſe or principle of alteration in another body*, not in the body in which it ſelfe reſides. And ſeeing Princes have power to deliver

Greg. de Valentia de. Leg.

others from the obligation of the Law: *ergo etiam poteſt ipſemet Princeps ſive legiſlator ſua ſe voluntate pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare; Therefore alſo may a Prince or Law-maker at his owne will and pleaſure, deliver himſelfe from the bond of the Law.* Therefore in the rules of the Law it is thus concluded: *Subditi tenentur leges obſervare neceſſitate coactionis, Princeps vero ſola voluntate ſua, & intuitu boni communis; The ſubjects are bound to fulfil the Law by neceſsity of compulſion, but the Prince onely by his own will, and regard of the common good.*

Now concerning the politique Lawes, given by *Moſes* to the Nation of the *Iſraelites*, whether they ought to be a Preſident, from which no civill inſtitutions of other people ſhould preſume to digreſſe, I will not preſume to determine, but leave it as a queſtion for ſuch men to decide, whoſe profeſſions give them greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to affirme, That we ought not to ſeeme wiſer than *God* himſelfe, who hath told us that there are no Lawes ſo righteous, as thoſe which it pleaſed him to give to his Elect people to be governed by. True it is, that all Nations have their ſeverall qualities, wherein they differ, even from their next borderers, no leſſe than in their peculiar languages: which diſagreeable conditions to governe aptly, one and the ſame Law very hardly were able. The *Roman* civill Lawes did indeed containe in order a great part of the then knowne World, without any notable inconvenience, after ſuch time as once it was received and become familiar: yet was not the adminiſtration of it alike in all parts, but yeelded much unto the naturall cuſtomes of the ſundry people, which it governed. For whether it be through a long continued perſwaſion; or (as *Aſtrologers* more willingly grant) ſome influence of the Heavens; or peradventure ſome temper of the ſoile and climate, affoording matter of provocation to vice (as plenty made the *Sybarites* luxurious: want and opportunity to ſteale, makes the *Arabians* to be Theeves) very hard it were to forbid by Law an offence ſo common with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be diſtinguiſhed from juſt and honeſt. By ſuch rigour was the Kingdome of *Congo* unhappily diverted from the Chriſtian Religion, which it willingly at the firſt embraced, but after with great fury rejected, becauſe plurality of Wives was denied unto them, I know not how neceſſarily, but more contentiouſly than ſeaſonably. In ſuch caſes, me thinkes it were not amiſſe to conſider that the high *God* himſelfe permitted ſome things to the *Iſraelites*, rather in regard of their natural diſpoſition (for they were hard-hearted) than becauſe they were conſonant unto the ancient rules of the firſt perfection. So, where even the generall nature of man doth condemne (as many things it doth) for wicked and unjuſt; there may the Law, given by *Moſes*, worthily be deemed the moſt exact reformer of the evill, which forceth man, as neere as may be, to the will and pleaſure of his Maker. But where nature or cuſtome hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habite, with ſo long and ſo publike approbation, that the vertue oppoſing it would ſeem as uncouth, as it were to walk naked in *England*, or to weare the *Engliſh* faſhion of apparell in *Turkie:* there may a wiſe and upright Law-giver, without preſumption, omit ſomewhat that the rigour of *Moſes* Law required; even as the good King *Hezekiah* did, in a matter meerely *Eccleſiaſticall*, and therefore the leſſe capable of diſpenſation, praying for the people; The good Lord be mercifull unto him, that prepareth his whole heart to ſeek the Lord God, the *God of his Fathers*, though he be not cleanſed according to the purification of the Sanctuary: which prayer the Lord heard and granted. 2 Chro 30. 18,19.

To this effect it is well obſerved by Maſter Doctor *Willet*, that the morall Judicials of *Moſes* doe partly binde, and partly are let free. They doe not hold affirmatively that we are tyed to the ſame ſeverity of puniſhment now, which was inflicted then; but negatively they doe hold, that now the puniſhment of death ſhould not be adjudged, where ſentence of death is not given by *Moſes*: Chriſtian Magiſtrates ruling under *Chriſt* the Prince Iſa. 9. of peace, that is, of Clemency and Mercy, may abate of the ſeverity of *Moſes* Law, and mitigate the puniſhment of death, but they cannot adde unto it to make the burden more heavie: for to ſhew more rigour than *Moſes*, becommeth not the *Goſpell*.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath beene the ſubject of many learned diſcourſes, neither will I take upon me, to ſpeak any thing definitively in a caſe which dependeth ſtill in ſome controverſie among worthy Divines. Thus much (as in honour of the Judiciall Law, or rather of him that gave it) I may well and truly ſay, that the defence of it hath alwayes beene very plauſible. And ſurely howſoever they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a generall and onely Law: yet ſhall we hardly find any other ground, whereon the conſcience of a Judge may reſt, with equall ſatisfaction in making interpretation, or giving ſentence upon doubts, ariſing out of any Law beſides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Judge could have beene wittneſſe, of whom *Forteſcue*, that notable Bulwarke of our Lawes, doth ſpeake, complaining of a judgement given againſt a Gentlewoman at *Salisbury*; who being accuſed by her owne Man, without any other proofe, for murdering her Husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to aſhes: the Man who accuſed her, within a year after being convict for the ſame offence, confeſt that his Miſtris was altogether innocēt of that cruel fact, whoſe terrible death he then (though over-late) grievouſly lamented: but this Judge, ſaith the ſame Author, *Sæpius ipſe mihi faſſus eſt, quòd nunquam in vita ſua animum ejus de hoc facto ipſe purgaret; He himſelf often* Cap. 5. *confeſſed unto me, that he ſhould never during his life, be able to cleare his conſcience of that fact.* Wherfore that acknowledgment which other *Sciences* yeeld unto the *Metaphyſiques*, that from thence are drawne propoſitions, able to prove the principles of Sciences, which out of the Sciences themſelves cannot be proved, may juſtly be granted by all other politique inſtitutions, to that of *Moſes*; and ſo much the more juſtly, by how much the ſubject of the *Metaphyſiques*, which is, *Ens quatenus Ens*; *Being as it is being*; is infinitely inferiour to the *Ens Entium*; *The being of beings*, the onely good, the fountaine of truth, whoſe feare is the beginning of wiſedome. To which purpoſe well ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, *Conditur legum temporalium ſi vir bonus eſt & ſapiens, illam ipſam conſulit æternam, de qua nulli anima judicare datum eſt; The Author of temporall Lawes, if he be good and wiſe, doth therin conſult the Law eternall, to determine of which there is no power given to any ſoule.* And as well Prince *Edward*, in *Forteſcue* his diſcourſe, *Nemo poteſt melius aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quàm poſuit Dominus; No man can lay a better, or another foundation than the Lord hath laid.*

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## CHAP. V.

### *The Story of the Iſraelites from the receiving of the Law to the* death of MOSES.

### §. I.

### *Of the numbring and diſpoſing of the Hoſt of Iſrael, for their marches through the Wilderneſſe; with a note of the reverence given to the worſhip of God, in this ordering of their troupes.*

WHen *Moſes* had received the Law from God, and publiſhed it among the people, and finiſhed the Tabernacle of the *Arke* and *Sanctuary*; he muſtred all the Tribes and Families of *Iſrael*: and having ſeene what numbers of Men fit to beare armes, were found in every Tribe, from 20. yeares of age upwards; he appointed unto them, by direction from the Lord, ſuch Princes and Leaders, as in worth and reputation were in every Tribe moſt eminent. The

numbers

number of the whole Army was 603550. able men for the wars, beſides women & children; alſo, beſides the ſtrangers which followed them out of *Egypt*. This great Army was divided by *Moſes* into foure groſſe and mighty Battalions, each of which contained the ſtrength of three whole Tribes.

The firſt of theſe containing 186400. able men, conſiſted of three Regiments, which may well, in reſpect of their numbers, be called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of *Judah*, *Iſſachar* and *Zabulon*. In the Tribe of *Judah* were 74600. fighting men, led by *Naaſſon*: in *Iſſachar* 54400. led by *Nathaniel*: in *Zabulon* 57400. led by *Eliab*. All theſe marched under the Standard of the Tribe of *Judah*, who held the Vaunt-guard, and was the firſt that moved and marched, being lodged and quartered at their general incamping on the Eaſt ſide of the Army, which was held the firſt place, and of greateſt dignity.

The ſecond Battalion or Army, called in the Scriptures the Hoſt of *Reuben*, had joyned unto it *Simeon* and *Gad*, in number 151450. All which marched under the Standard of *Reuben*. In the Tribe of *Reuben* were 46500. under *Elizur*: in *Simeon* 59300. under *Shelumiel*: in *Gad* 45650. under *Eliaſaph*: Theſe had the ſecond place, and incamped on the South-ſide of the Tabernacle.

The third Army marched under the Standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were joyned the Regiments of *Manaſſe* and *Benjamin*; who, joyned together, made in number 108100. able men. Theſe marched in the third place, incamping on the Weſt quarter of the Tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500. under *Eliſhama*: *Manaſſe* 32200. under *Gamliel*: *Benjamin* 35400. under *Abidam*.

The fourth and laſt Army, or Squadron, of the generall Army, containing 157600. able men, marched under the Standard of *Dan*; to whom were joyned the two Tribes of *Nephtali* and *Aſher*. And theſe had the Rere-ward, and moved laſt, incamping on the North-ſide. *Dan* had 62700. under *Ahiezer*: *Aſher* 41500. under *Pagiel*: *Nephtali* 53400. under *Ahira*.

Beſides theſe Princes of the ſeverall Tribes, there were ordained Captains over Thouſands, over Hundreds, over Fifties, and over Tens; as it may appeare by that mutinie and inſurrection againſt *Moſes*; *Num.* 16. v. 1. & 2. For there aroſe up againſt *Moſes* 250. Captains of the *Aſſembly, famous in the Congregation, and men of renowne*: of which number were *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Which three principall Mutiners, with thoſe 250. Captains that followed them, were not any of the 12. Princes of the Tribes or generall Colonels before ſpoken of, as by their names, *Num.* 1. is made manifeſt.

The bleſſing which *Iſrael* gave to his children, tooke place not onely in the diviſion of the Land of promiſe, and other things of more conſequence, long after following; but even in ſorting them under their ſeverall Standards in the wilderneſſe it was obſerved. For *Judah* had the precedency and the greateſt Army, which alſo was wholly compounded of the Sonnes of *Leah*, *Jacobs* wife. *Reuben* having loſt his birth-right, followed in the ſecond place, accompanied with his brother *Simeon*, who had under-gone his Fathers curſe; and with *Gad*, the ſonne of his Mothers Hand-maid. *Joſeph*, who in temporall bleſſings had the prerogative of the firſt borne a double portion, was accounted as two Tribes, and divided into two Regiments: the younger (according to *Jacobs* prophecy) taking place before the elder. He was aſſiſted by *Benjamin*, his beſt beloved brother, the other ſon of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldeſt ſon of *Jacobs* Concubines, was given the leading of the fourth Army, according to *Jacobs* prophecy. He had with him under his Standard none of the Children of *Leah*, or *Rachel*, but onely the ſonnes of the Hand-maides.

In the middle of theſe foure Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, ſur-rounded by the *Levites*. Neere unto which, as the Heathens and Pagans could not approach, by reaſon of theſe foure powerfull Armies which guarded the ſame: ſo was it death for any of the children of *Iſrael* to come neere it, who were not of the *Levites*, to whom the charge was cōmitted. So ſacred was the moveable Temple of God, and with ſuch reverence guarded and tranſported, as 22000. perſons were dedicated to the ſervice and attendance thereof: of which 8580. had the peculiar charge, according to their ſeverall offices and functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the Armies of the people obſerved the former order in their incampings: ſo did the *Levites* quarter themſelves, as in an inner ſquare, on every ſide of the Tabernacle; the *Geſhurites* on the Weſt, within the Armie, and Standard of *Ephraim*, over whom *Eliaſaph* commanded, in number 7500.

The Family of *Cohath* on the South-ſide guided by *Elizaphan*, within the Army of *Reuben*, and betweene him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third company were of the Family of *Merari*, over whom *Zuriel* commanded, in number 6200. and theſe were lodged on the North ſide, within the Army of *Dan*; on the Eaſt-ſide, and next within thoſe Tribes and Forces which *Juda* led, did *Moſes* and *Aaron* lodge, and their children, who were the firſt and immediate Commanders, both of the Ceremonies & of the people; under whom, as the chiefe of all the other *Leviticall* Families, was *Eleazar* the ſon of *Aaron*, his ſucceſſour in the high Prieſt-hood.

This was the order of the Army of *Iſrael*, and of their incamping and marching; the Tabernacle of God being alway ſet in the middle & center therof. The reverend care which *Moſes* the Prophet, and choſen ſervant of God, had in all that belonged even to the outward and leaſt parts of the Tabernacle, *Arke* and *Sanctuary*, witneſſed well the inward and moſt humble zeale born towards God himſelfe. The induſtry uſed in the framing therof, and every, and the leaſt part thereof; the curious workmanſhip thereon beſtowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the proviſions; the dutifull obſervance in the laying up, and preſerving the holy Veſſels; the ſolemne removing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, & the provident defence of the ſame, which all Ages have in ſome degree imitated, is now ſo forgotten and caſt away in this ſuper-fine Age, by thoſe of the *Family*, by the *Anabaptiſt*, *Browniſt*, and other *Sectaries*, as all coſt & care beſtowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be ſerved and worſhipped, is accounted a kinde of *Popery*, and as proceeding from an idolatrous diſpoſition: inſomuch as time would ſoon bring to paſſe (if it were not reſiſted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barnes, & from thence again into the Fields and Mountains, and under the hedges; and the Offices of the *Miniſtery* (robbed of all dignity and reſpect) be as contemptible as thoſe places; all Order, Diſcipline, and Church-government, left to newneſſe of opinion, and mens fancies: yea, and ſoon after, as many kinds of Religions would ſpring up, as there are Pariſh-Churches within *England*: every contentious and ignorant perſon clothing his fancy with the *Spirit of God*, and his imagination with *the gift of Revelation*; inſomuch, as when the *Truth*, which is but one, ſhall appeare to the ſimple multitude, no leſſe variable than contrary to it ſelf, the Faith of Men will ſoone after dye away by degrees, and all Religion be held in ſcorn and contempt. Which diſtraction gave a great Prince of *Germany* cauſe of this anſwer to thoſe that perſwaded him to become a *Lutheran*; *Si me adjungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab aliis: ſi me aliis adjungo, à vobis condemnor; quid fugiam video, ſed quid ſequar, non habeo: If I adjoyn my ſelfe to you, I am condemned by others; If I joyn with others, I am condemned by you: what I ſhould avoide I ſee, but I know not what I ſhould follow.*

## §. II.

### *The offerings of the twelve Princes: the Paſſeover of the ſecond yeere: The departing of* Jethro.

NOw when *Moſes* had taken order for all things neceſſary, provided for the ſervice of God, written the lawes, numbred his Army, & divided them into the battells and troups before remembred, & appointed them Leaders of all ſorts; The twelve Princes or Commanders of the Tribes brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, ſixe covered Chariots, and twelve Oxen to draw them, therein to tranſport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto, the *Sanctuary* excepted, which for reverence was carried upon the ſhoulders of the ſons of *Korah*, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots, in which was conveyed the other parts of the Tabernacles and Veſſels thereto belonging, were delivered to the *Levites* for that ſervice, namely to the Sonnes of *Gerſhan* and *Merari*.

Num. 7.

Beſides theſe Chariots, each of theſe Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offered unto God, and for his ſervice in the Temple, a Charger of fine ſilver, weighing 130. ſheckles; a ſilver Bowle of 70. ſheckles, after the ſheckle of the *Sanctuary*; and an Incenſe-Cup of gold, of ten ſheckles, which they performed at the ſame time when the Altar was dedicated unto God by *Aaron*: and before they marched from *Sinai* towards

The Hebrew *Gerah* weigheth ſixteene graines: ſo a *Gerah* of ſilver is about three halfe-pence ſterling: the *Sicle* of the Sanctuary (as it is expounded, *Exod* 30.13.) containeth 20. Gerahs, ſo a Sanctuary Sicle of Silver is about 7. groats, the common Sicle is but halfe as much, to wit, ten Gerahs: as it is uſually expounded; though *Villalpandus* labours to prove that the common and the Sanctuary Sicle were all one, Num. 9. verſe 5. Num. 10. 11. Exodus *ult.* 34. Numbers 17.

their conqueſt, beſides the beaſts which they offered for ſacrifice, according to the Law Ceremoniall, the weight of all the twelve ſilver Chargers, and twelve ſilver Bowles, amounted unto 2400. ſheckles of ſilver; and the weight of gold in the Incenſe-Cups, to 120. ſheckles of gold; which makes of ſheckles of ſilver 1200. every ſheckle of gold valuing ten of ſilver, ſo that the whole of gold and ſilver which they offered at this time, was about foure hundreth and twenty pound ſterling. This done, *Moſes*, as in all the reſt, by the Spirit of God conducted, gave order for the celebrating of the *Paſſeover*, which they performed on the fourteenth day of the ſecond moneth of the ſecond yeare: and on the twentieth day of the ſame, the cloude was lifted up from above the Tabernacle, as a ſigne of going forward; *Moſes* beginning his march with this invocation to God: *Riſe up Lord, and let thine enemies be ſcattered; and let them that hate thee, flie before thee.* Then all the people of *Iſrael* removed from their incamping at the foot of the Mountaine *Sinai*, towards *Paran*, the Armie, or great ſquadron of *Juda*, led by *Naaſhon*, taking the Vauntguard, followed by *Nathaneel* and *Eliab*, Leaders of the Tribes of *Iſſachar* and *Zabulon*: after whom the reſt marched, as in the figure expreſt. And becauſe the paſſage through ſo many deſarts and mountaines, was exceeding difficult: *Moſes* leaving nothing unforethought which might ſerve for the advancement of his enterpriſe, he inſtantly intreated his Father in Law, whom in the tenth of *Numbers* he calleth *Hobab*, to accompany them in their journey towards *Canaan*; promiſing him ſuch part and profit of the enterpriſe, as God ſhould beſtow on them: for this man, as he was of great underſtanding & judgement (as appeared by the Counſell he gave to *Moſes* for the appointing of Judges over the people) ſo was he a perfect guide in all thoſe parts, himſelfe inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at *Midian*, or *Madian*: and (as it ſeemeth) a man of great yeares and experience; for he was then the Prieſt or Prince of *Madian*, when *Moſes* fled firſt out of *Egypt*, and married his Daughter, which was 42. yeares before this requeſt made. And though *Moſes* himſelfe had lived 40. yeares in theſe parts of *Arabia*, through which he was now to travell: yet the better to aſſure his paſſage, and ſo great a multitude of ſoules; which could not be ſo few as a Million, it was neceſſary to uſe many guides, and many conductors. To this requeſt of *Moſes*, it may ſeem by the places, *Exod.* 18.27. and *Num.* 10.30. that *Jethro*, otherwiſe called *Hobab*, yeelded not: for it is evident, that he went back from *Moſes* into his owne Countrey. But becauſe it appeareth by other places of Scripture, that the poſterity of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Iſraelites*, it is moſt likely that this his returne to his owne Countrey, was rather to fetch away his Family, and to take his leave of his owne Countrey, by ſetting things in order, than to abide there.

*Judic.* 1.16 & 4.11. Alſo 1 Sam. 15.6. And 2. Reg. 10. 15. 1 Chro. 2.55. Jer. 35.

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## §. III.

### *The voyage from Horeb to Kades: the mutinies by the way: and the cauſe of their turning backe to the Red Sea.*

After this diſmiſſion of *Hobab*, *Iſrael* began to march towards the Deſarts of *Paran*: and after three daies wandring, they ſate down at the *Sepulchres* of luſt, afterward called *Tabeera*, or *Incenſio*: by reaſon that God conſumed with fire thoſe Mutiners and Murmurers which roſe up in this remove, which happened about the 23. day of the ſame Moneth. And from this 23. day of the ſecond Moneth, of the ſecond yeare, they reſted and fed themſelves with Quailes (which it pleaſed God by a Sea-winde to caſt upon them) to the 24. day of the third moneth; to wit, all the moneth of *Sinan* or *June*: whereof ſurfeiting there dyed great numbers: from whence in the following moneth, called *Thamus*, anſwering to our *July*, they went on to *Hazeroth*, where *Miriam* the ſiſter of *Moſes* was ſtricken with the leproſie, which continued upon her ſeven dayes, after whoſe recovery *Iſrael* removed toward the border of *Idumæa*, and incamped at *Rithma*, neere *Kades Barnea*, from whence *Moſes* ſent the twelve diſcoverers into the Territory of *Canaan*, both to informe themſelves of the fertility and ſtrength of the Countrey; as alſo to take knowledge of the Wayes, Paſſages, Rivers, Fords, and Mountaines. For *Arad* king of the *Canaanites* ſurprized divers companies of the *Iſraelites*, by lying in ambuſh neere thoſe wayes, through which the diſcoverers and ſearchers of the Land had formerly paſt. Now, after the returne of the diſcoverers of *Kades*, the wrath of God was turned againſt *Iſrael*; whoſe ingratitude and rebellion after his ſo many benefits, ſo many remiſſions, ſo many miracles wrought, was ſuch, as they eſteemed their deliverance from

Num. 11. & 13.
Num. 12.
Num. 21.

the *Egyptian* ſlavery, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible *Wilderneſſe* (for ſo *Moſes* calleth it) with the victory which he gave them againſt the powerfull *Amalekites*, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that he led them on and preſerved them, but to bring them, their wives, and children to be ſlaughtered, and given for a prey and ſpoyle to the *Amorites* or *Canaanites*. For it was reported unto them, by the ſearchers of the Land, that the Cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many ſtrong Towers and Caſtles; that many of the people were *Gyantlike*, (for they confeſt that they ſaw the ſonnes of *Anac* there) who were men of fearefull ſtature, and ſo farre over-topped the *Iſraelites*, as they appeared to them, and to themſelves, but as Graſhoppers in their reſpect. Now, as this mutiny exceeded all the reſt, wherein they both accuſed God, and conſulted to chooſe them a Captaine (or as they call it now adayes, an *Electo*) to carry them backe againe into *Egypt*; ſo did God puniſh the ſame in a greater meaſure, than any of the former. For he extinguiſhed every ſoule of the whole multitude (*Joſua* and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in Gods promiſes, perſwaded the people to enter *Canaan*, being then neere it, and at the mountaine foote of *Idumæa*, which is but narrow; laying before them the fertility thereof, and aſſuring them of victory. But as men, whom the paſſion of feare had bereaved both of reaſon and common ſenſe, they threatned to ſtone theſe encouragers to death: accounting them as men either deſperate in themſelves, or betrayers of the lives, goods, and children of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God reſiſted theſe wicked purpoſes, and interpoſing the feare of his bright glory betweene the unadviſed fury of the multitude, and the innocency and conſtancy of his ſervants, preſerved them thereby from their violence; threatning an intire deſtruction, of the whole Nation, by ſending among them a conſuming and mercileſſe peſtilence. For this was the tenth inſurrection and rebellion, which they had made, ſince God delivered them from the ſlavery of the *Egyptians*. But *Moſes* (the mildeſt or meekeſt of all men) prayed unto God to remember his infinite mercies; alledging, that this ſo ſevere a judgement, how deſervedly ſoever inflicted, would increaſe the pride of the Heathen Nations, and give them occaſion to vaunt, that the God of *Iſrael*, failing in power to performe his promiſes, ſuffered them to periſh in theſe barren and fruitleſſe Deſarts. Yet as God is no leſſe juſt than mercifull, as God is ſlow to anger, ſo is his wrath a conſuming fire; the ſame being once kindled by the violent breath of mans ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand leſſe heavie than hoped for, he ſcourged this iniquity; ſo by the meaſure of his glory (evermore jealous of neglect and deriſion) he ſuffered not the wicked to paſſe unpuniſhed; reſerving his compaſſion for the innocent: whom, becauſe they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, he was pleaſed to preſerve, and in them to performe his promiſes, which have never beene fruſtrate.

Num.14.10.

Num.14.22.

Num.12.3.

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## §. III.

### Of their unwillingneſſe to returne: with the puniſhment thereof, and of divers accidents in the returne.

NOw when *Moſes* had revealed the purpoſes of God to the people, and made them know his heavie diſpleaſure towards them, they began to bewaile themſelves, though over late: the times of grace and mens repentance, having alſo their appointment. And then when God had left them to themſelves, and was no more among them, after they had ſo often plaid and dallied with his mercifull ſufferings, they would needs amend their former diſobedience by a ſecond contempt, and make offer to enter the Land contrary againe to the advice of *Moſes*; who aſſured them, that God was not among them; and that the Arke of his covenant ſhould not move, but by his direction, who could not erre; and that the enemies ſword, which God had hitherto bended and rebated, was now left no leſſe ſharpe than death; and in the hands of the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites*, no leſſe cruell. But as men from whom God hath with-drawne his grace, doe alwayes follow thoſe counſels which carry them to their owne deſtructions: ſo the *Hebrewes*, after they had forſaken the opportunity by God and their Conductors offered: and might then have entered *Judæa* before their enemies were prepared and joyned; did afterward, contrary to Gods commandement, undertake the enterpriſe of themſelves, and ranne head-long and without advice into the mountaines of *Idumæa*. There the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being joyned, and attending their advantage, ſet on them, brake them, and of their numbers ſlaughtered the greateſt part: and following their victory and purſuit, conſumed them all the way of their flight, even unto *Hormah*: the *Amalekites* in revenge of their former loſſe, and overthrow at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites* to prevent their diſplantation and deſtruction threatned. Of which powerfull aſſembly of thoſe two Nations (aſſiſted in all likellhood with the neighbour Kings, joyned together for their common ſafety) it pleaſed God to forewarne *Moſes*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to returne by thoſe painefull paſſages of the Deſarts, through which they had formerly travelled, till they found the bankes of the red Sea againe: in which retrait before they came backe to paſſe over *Jordan*, there were conſumed 38. yeares; and the whole number of the 600. and odde thouſand, which came out of *Egypt* (*Moſes*, *Joſua*, and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the Wilderneſſe, the ſtubborne and careleſſe generations were wholly worne out, and the promiſed Land beſtowed on their children; which were increaſed to 600000. and more. For beſides the double fault, both of refuſing to enter the Land upon the returne of their diſcoverers, and the preſumption then to attempt it, when they were countermanded: it ſeemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatry of worſhipping *Moloch*, and the Hoſt of Heaven. For although *Moſes* doth not mention it, yet *Amos* doth, and ſo doth the Martyr *Stephen*; as alſo that the *Iſraelites* worſhipped the Sun and Moon in after-times, it is proved out of ſundry other places.

Amos 5.25.
Acts 7.42.
2 Kin. 17.16.
& cap. 21. v. 3.
& c. 23. v 4, 5. 11.
2 Chron. 33. 3.
Hierem. 19. v. 13. &c.

Now after the broken Companies were returned to the Campe at *Cades*, *Moſes* according to the commandement received from God, departed towards the South from whence he came, to recover the ſhoares of the *Red Sea*. And ſo from *Cades* or *Rithma* he removed to *Remmonparez*, ſo called of aboundance of Pomegranates there found, and divided among them. From whence he went on to *Libnah*, taking that name of the Frankincenſe there found. From *Libnah* he croſt the Valley, and ſate downe at *Reſſa*, neere the foot of the mountaine. And after he had reſted there, he bended towards the Weſt, and incamped at *Ceelata*; where one of the *Hebrewes*, for gathering broken wood on the *Sabbath*, was ſtoned to death. After which, *Moſes*, alwayes keeping the Valley betweene two great ledges of mountaines, (thoſe which bound the Deſart of *Sin*, and thoſe of *Pharan*) croſt the ſame from *Ceelata*, and marched Eaſtward to the mountaine of *Sapher*, or *Sepher*: this making the twentieth manſion. From thence he paſſed on to *Harada*; then to *Maceloth*; and then to *Thahah*, and ſo to *Thara* or *Thare*; the foure and twentieth manſion. Where *Moſes* reſted, the people began that inſolent and dangerous mutiny of *Korah*, *Dathan*, & *Abiram*; who for their contempt of God & his miniſters, were ſome of them ſwallowed up alive, and by the Earth, opening her mouth, devoured; others, even two hundred and fifty which offered incenſe with *Korah*, were conſumed with fire from Heaven; and 14700. of their party, which murmured againſt *Moſes*, ſtricken dead with a ſudden peſtilence: one of the greateſt marvailes and judgments of God, that hath beene ſhewed in all the time of *Moſes* his government, or before. For among ſo great a multitude, thoſe lay-men who would have uſurped Eccleſiaſticall authority, were ſuddenly ſwallowed up alive into the Earth with their families and goods; even while they ſought to overthrow the Order, Diſcipline, and Power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliouſly contending againſt the *High Prieſt and Magiſtrate*, to whom God had committed the government both of his Church, and Common-weal of his people. And the better to aſſure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirme them, it pleaſeth him in this place alſo to approve by miracle the former election of his ſervant *Aaron*, by the twelve rods given in by the Heads of the twelve Tribes; of which *Moſes* received one of every Head, and Prince of his Tribe: which being all withered and dried Wands, and on every rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and *Aarons* on that of *Levi*, it pleaſed God, that the rod of *Aaron* received by his power a vegetable ſpirit, and having laine in the Tabernacle of the Congregation, before the *Arke* one night, had on it both Buds, Bloſſomes, and ripe Almonds.

Num. 33.

From *Tharah* the whole Army removed to *Methra*; and thence to *Eſmona*; and thence to *Moſeroth*, (or *Maſurit*, after Saint *Hierome*) and from *Moſeroth* to *Benejacan*; and ſo to *Gadgad*, which *Hierome* calleth *Gadgada*; thence to *Jetabata*, the thirtieth Manſion; where from certaine fountaines of water gathered in one, *Adrichomius* maketh a River, which falleth into the *Red Sea*, betweene *Madian* and *Aſiongaber*.

Now although it be very probable, that at *Aſiongaber*, where *Salomon* furniſhed his Fleetes for the Eaſt *India*, there was ſtore of freſh water; and though *Herodotus* maketh Her.l.3. mention of a great River in *Arabia the ſtonie*, which he calleth *Corys*, from whence (ſaith he) the inhabitants conveigh water in pipes of leather to other places, by which device the King of *Arabia* releeved the Army of *Cambyſes*: yet is *Adrichomius* greatly deceived, as many times he is, in finding theſe Springs at *Gadgad*, or *Jetabata*, being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth Manſion. For it was at *Punon*, that thoſe Springs are ſpoken of, which in *Deuteronomy* the tenth, and the ſeventh *Verſe*, is alſo called *Jetabata*, or *Jotbath*, a Land of running waters, and which by all probability fall into the River *Zared*, the next adjoyning. And that theſe Springs ſhould fall into the *Red Sea* at *Aſiongaber*, or *Eloth*, I cannot beleeve, for the way thither is very long. And this I finde in *Belonius*, that there are divers Torrents of freſh water in thoſe ſandy parts of *Arabia*: which though they continue their courſe for a few miles, yet they are drunke up by the hot and thirſty ſand, before they can recover the bankes of the *Red Sea*.

From *Jetabata*, *Moſes* directed his journey towards the *Red Sea*, and incamped at *Hebrona*, and from thence to *Eſiongaber*: which City in *Joſephus* time had the name of *Berenice*; and in *Hieromes*, *Eſia*. From thence, keeping the Sea, and *Eloth* on his right hand, he turned towards the North, as hee was by God commanded: *Eſiongaber* Deut.2. being the fartheſt place towards the South-Eaſt, that *Moſes* travailed in that paſſage.

It ſeemeth that *Eſiongaber* or *Aſiongaber*, *Eloth* and *Madian*, were not at this time in the poſſeſſion of the Kings of *Edom*. For it is ſaid, *That the Lord ſpake unto* Moſes Num.c.20,v.13. *and* Aaron *in the Mount Hor, neere the Coaſt of the Land of Edom*; ſo as the Mount *Hor* was at this time in the South border of *Idumæa*. And if *Eſiongaber*, and the other places neere the *Red Sea*, had at this preſent bin ſubject unto the *Idumæans*, *Moſes* would alſo have demanded a free paſſage through them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumæans* obtained thoſe places: for it is ſaid; *And they aroſe out of Midian, and came* 1 Kings 11.18. *to Paran, and tooke men with them*; which were thoſe companies that followed young *Adad* of *Idumæa*, into *Egypt*, when he fled from *Joab*. Likewiſe it is ſaid of *Salomon*, that he made a Navie of ſhippes in *Eſiongaber* beſides *Eloth*, in the Land of *Edom*.

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## §. V.

### *Of* Moſes *arrivall at Zin Kades: and of the accidents while that they abode there.*

FRom *Eſiongaber* he turned againe towards the North, and pitched in the *Wilderneſſe* of *Zin*, which is *Kadeſh*: or in *Beroth*, of the children of *Jacan*; where they ſate downe in the firſt Moneth of the fortieth yeare, after they left *Egypt*. For at the next Manſion *Aaron* died in the firſt day of the fifth Moneth of the fortieth yeare: the nine and thirtieth yeare taking end at *Eſiongaber*. And at this City of *Cades* (for ſo it was thought to be) or neere it, died *Miriam*, or *Mary*, *Moſes* ſiſter, whoſe Se- Num.20.v.1. pulcher was to be ſeene in Saint *Hieromes* time, as himſelfe avoweth. From hence ere Num.20.3. they departed to the Mountaine *Hor*, all the people murmured moſt violently againſt *Moſes*, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of water. For neither the puniſhments by fire from Heaven; by being devoured and ſwallowed up by the earth; by the ſudden peſtilence, which often ſeized them; nor any miracle formerly ſhewing, either the love or wrath of God, could prevaile with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and ſatiſfied in every of their appetites: but in ſtead of ſeeking for helpe and reliefe at Gods hands, when they ſuffered hunger, thirſt, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed eſtates, and caſting ungratefully on *Moſes* all their miſadventures; yea, though they well knew that their own Fathers had left their bodies in the Deſarts, and that they were now entred into the fortieth yeare, wherein all their miſeries were to take end. And being, as it were, in the ſight of the Land promiſed, they againe as obſtinately tempted God as in former times, and neither truſted his promiſes, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purpoſes of

GOD are without beginning; ſo his mercies being without end, he commanded *Moſes*
Num.20.9. to ſtrike a Rocke adjoyning with his rod; and the waters iſſued out in a great abundance, with which both themſelves and their cattell were ſatisfied. Nevertheleſſe, becauſe God perceived a kinde of diffidence both in *Moſes* and *Aaron*, at this place; therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promiſed, whereto perchance their worldly deſires might invite them. But it pleaſed him to end the travailes of *Aaron* at the Moun-
2553. taine *Hor*, being the next, and foure and thirtieth Station. At which Mountaine of *Hor*, *Aaron* was deſpoyled of the garments of his Prieſt-hood, and the ſame put on *Eleazar*, his ſonne, as God had commanded. Which done, MOSES and ELEAZAR deſcended the Mountaine; but GOD received *Aaron* on the top thereof, and he was no more ſeene.

Of this Mountaine called *Hor*, otherwiſe *Moſera*, as in *Deuteronomy* 10. *Verſe* 6. thoſe *Horites* tooke name which the *Idumaans* had formerly vanquiſhed. Some there are which make *Moſera*, which was the ſeven and twentieth Manſion, and *Moſera* which they write *Moſeroth* for difference, which was the foure and thirtieth Manſion, and is alſo called *Hor*, to be two diſtinct places: becauſe *Moſes* in paſſing from *Cadesbarne* towards *Eſiongaber*, incamped at *Moſera*, after he departed from *Heſmona*, and before he came to
Num.33. *Benjaacan*. And this *Moſera*, which is alſo called *Hor*, he came unto after he left *Cades*, where *Miriam*, *Moſes* ſiſter, dyed; the firſt being the ſeven and twentieth, and the ſecond being the foure and thirtieth Manſion. But for *Hor*, which is alſo called *Moſera*, it ſhould have bin written, *Hor juxta Moſera*; *Hor neere Moſera*: for it is but one roote of a Mountaine, divided into divers tops, as *Sinai* and *Horeb* are: Whereof the Weſt part *Moſes* calleth *Moſera*, and the Eaſt part *Horeb*. By the Weſt part *Moſes* encamped, as he paſt towards the *Red Sea*, on his left hand; by the Eaſt part, as he went backe againe North-wards towards *Moab*: as in the deſcription of *Moſes* his paſſage through *Arabia*, the Reader may perceive.

Now it was from *Cades*, before they came to *Hor*, becauſe *Hor* belonged to *Edom*, that *Moſes* ſent meſſengers to the Prince of *Idumaa*, praying him that he might paſſe with the people of *Iſrael* through his Territory into the Land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the neereſt way of all other from the City of *Kadeſh*, where *Moſes* then encamped; whereas otherwiſe, taking his journey by the Rivers of *Zared*, *Arnon*, and *Jordan*, he might have runne into many hazzards in the paſſage of thoſe Rivers, the far way about, and the many powerfull Kings, which commanded in thoſe Regions. Now the better to perſwade the Prince of *Idumæa* hereunto, *Moſes* remembred him, that he was of the ſame race and family with *Iſrael*: calling him by the name of brother, becauſe both the *Edomites* and *Iſraelites* were the ſonnes of one father, to wit, *Iſaac*; inferring thereby that he had more reaſon to favour and reſpect them, than he had to aſſiſt the *Canaanites*; againſt whom *Eſau* his Anceſter had made warre, and driven out the *Horites* (who were of their ancient races deſcended of *Cham*) out of the Region of *Seir*, calling it by his owne name *Edom*, or *Edumæa*. He alſo making a ſhort repetition of Gods bleſſings beſtowed on them, and of his purpoſes and promiſes; aſſured *Edom*, or the King thereof, that he would no way offend his people, or waſte his Country, but that he would reſtraine his Army within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high wayes, paying money for whatſoever he uſed, yea, even for the water, which themſelves or their Cattell ſhould
Deut.2.4. drinke. For *Moſes* was commanded by God, not to provoke the children of *Eſau*. But the King of *Edumæa* knowing the ſtrength of his owne Countrey, the ſame being neere *Canaan*, rampir'd with high and ſharpe mountaines: and withall ſuſpecting, as a naturall wiſe man, that 600000. ſtrangers being once entred his Countrey, it would reſt in their wills to give him law, reſolvedly refuſed them paſſage, and delivered this anſwer to the
Num.20.20. & 21. Meſſengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and reſiſt them by all poſſible meanes. And not knowing whether ſuch a deniall might ſatisfie or exaſperate, he gathered the ſtrength of his Countrey together, and ſhewed himſelfe prepared to defend their paſſage. For, as it is written; *Then* Edom *came out a-*
Num.c.20. *gainſt him* (to wit, *Moſes*) *with much people, and with a mighty power*. Whereupon *Moſes* conſidering, that the end of his enterpriſe was not the conqueſt of *Seir* or *Edumaa*, and that the Land promiſed was that of *Canaan*: like unto himſelfe who was of naturall underſtanding the greateſt of any man, and the skilfulleſt man of warre that the world had

he refuſed to adventure the Army of *Iſrael* againſt a Nation, which being overcome, gave but a paſſage to invade others; and which, by reaſon of the ſeate of their mountainous Countrey, could not but have endangered, or (at leaſt) greatly enfeebled the ſtrength of *Iſrael*, and rendred them leſſe able, if not altogether powerleſſe, to have conquered the reſt.

## §. VI.

### *Of their compaſsing Idumæa, and travelling to Arnon, the border of Moab.*

HE therefore leaving the way of *Idumæa*, turned himſelfe towards the Eaſt, and marched towards the Deſarts of *Moab*. Which when *Arad* King of the *Canaanites* underſtood, and that *Moſes* had blanched the way of *Idumæa*; and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom*, which *Iſrael* aimed at, he thought it ſafeſt, rather to finde his enemies in his neighbours Countrey, than to be found by them in his own: which he might have done with a farre greater hope of victory, had *Moſes* bin enforc't firſt to have made his way by the Sword through *Idumæa*, and thereby, though victorious, greatly have leſſened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwiſe than *Arad* hoped for, yet being reſolved to make trial, what courage the *Iſraelites* brought with them out of *Egypt*, before they came neerer his owne home; leading the ſtrength of his Nation to the edge of the Deſart, he ſet upon ſome part of the Army; which, for the multitude occupied a great ſpace, and for the many heards of Cattell that they drave with them, could not encampe ſo neere together, but that ſome quarter or other was evermore ſubject to ſurpriſe. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance unexpected, he ſlew ſome few of the Iſraelites, and carried with him many priſoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his Predeceſſour, which joyned his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gave an overthrow to thoſe mutinous *Iſraelites*, Num.14.45. which without direction from God by *Moſes*, would have entred *Canaan* from *Cadeſbarne*. For it ſeemeth that the greateſt number of that Army were of the *Canaanites*, becauſe in the firſt of *Deuteronomy*, 44. the *Amorites* are named alone without the *Amalekites*, and are ſaid to have beaten the *Iſraelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if he were the ſame that had a victory over *Iſrael*, neere *Cadesbarne*; or if it were his Predeceſſour that then prevailed; this man finding that *Moſes* was returned from the *Red Sea*, and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the South part of *Canaan* was firſt to be invaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of *Moſes* purpoſe to compaſſe *Moab*, determined while he was yet in the Deſart, to trie the quarrell. And whereas it followeth in the third verſe of the twelfth Chapter of *Numbers*, that the *Iſraelites* utterly deſtroyed the *Canaanites* and their Cities, they are much miſtaken that thinke, that this deſtruction was preſently performed by the *Iſraelites*. But it is to be underſtood, to have beene done in the future, to wit, in the time of *Joſua*. For had *Moſes* at this time entred *Canaan* in the purſuit of *Arad*, he would not have fallen backe againe into the Deſarts of *Zin* and *Moab*, and have fetcht a wearſome and needleſſe compaſſe, by the Rivers of *Zered* and *Arnon*.

Neither is their conjecture to be valued at any thing, which affirme, that *Arad* did not inhabite any part of *Canaan* it ſelfe, but that his Territory lay without it, and neere the Mountaine *Hor*. For *Hor* and *Zin Cades* were the South borders of *Edom*, and not of *Canaan*. Num.33.40. And it was in the South of the Land of *Canaan*, that *Arad* dwelt: which South part of *Canaan* was the North part of *Edom*.

Againe, *Horma* (for ſo farre the *Iſraelites* after their victory purſued the *Canaanites*) is ſeated in the South of *Judæa*. There is alſo a City of that name in *Simeon*. But there is no ſuch place to the South of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed preſently after the repetition of this victory, it were enough to prove, that the ſame was obtained in the future, and in *Joſua* his time, and not at the inſtant of *Arads* aſſault. For had the *Iſraelites* at this time ſackt the Cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day have complained for want of water and bread. For where there are great Cities, there is alſo water and bread. But it was in the time of *Joſua*, that the *Iſraelites* tooke their revenge, and after they had paſt *Jordan*: *Joſua*, then governing them; who in the twelfth Chapter and foureteenth Verſe, nameth this *Arad* by the name of his

Citie ſo called; and with him the King of *Horma*: to which place the Iſraelites purſued the Canaanites. And he nameth them amongſt thoſe Kings, which he vanquiſhed, and put to death.

Now after this aſſault and ſurprize by *Arad*, *Moſes* finding that all entrance on that ſide was defended, he led the people Eaſtward to compaſſe *Idumæa* and the *Dead Sea*, and to make his entrance by *Arnon* and the Plaines of *Moab*, at that time in the poſſeſſion of the Amorites. But the Iſraelites, to whom the very name of a Deſart was terrible, began againe to rebell againſt their Leader; till God by a multitude of fiery Serpents, (that is, by the byting of Serpents, whoſe venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterward, according to his plentifull grace, cured them againe by their beholding an artificiall Serpent, by his Commandement ſet up.

From the *Mount Hor*, *Moſes* leaving the ordinary way which lyeth between the *Red Sea*, and *Cæloſyria*, encamped at *Zalmona*: and thence he removed to *Phunon*, where he erected the Brazen Serpent; making theſe journyes by the edge of *Idumæa*, but without it. For *Phunon* was ſometime a principall City of the Edomites. Now where it is written in *Numbers* 21. *Verſe* 4. *That from Mount Hor they departed by the way of the Red Sea, which grieved the people*, it was not thereby meant that the Iſraelites turned back towards the *Red Sea*; neither did they march (according to *Fonſeca*) *per viam quæ habet à latere mare rubrum*; *By the way that ſided the Red Sea*, but indeed they croſt, and went athwart the common way from *Galaad*, *Traconitis*, and the Countries of *Moab*, to the *Red Sea*, that is, to *Eſiongaber*, *Eloth*, and *Midian*: which way, as it lay North and South, ſo *Iſrael* to ſhun the border of *Edom*, and to take the utmoſt Eaſt part of *Moab*, croſt the common way towards the Eaſt, and then they turned againe towards the North, as before.

From *Phunon* he went to *Oboth*; where they entred the Territory of *Moab*, adjoyning to the Land of *Suph*, a Country bordering on the *Dead Sea*; and from thence to *Abarim*, the eight and thirtieth Manſion, that is, where the Mountaines ſo called take beginning, and are as yet but ſmall Mountures of Hills, on the Eaſt border of *Moab*; from thence they recovered *Dibon Gad*, or the River of *Zared*, which riſeth in the mountaines of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the *Dead Sea*, not farre from *Petra* the *Metropolis* thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And having paſt that River, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*, & from thence they kept the way to *Diblathaim*, one of the Cities of *Moab*; which *Hieremie* the Prophet *Chap.* 48. *Verſe* 22. calleth the *Houſe of Diblathaim*, the ſame which afterward was deſtroyed among the reſt by *NabuchadneZZar*. From thence they came to the River of *Arnon*, and encamped in the mountaines of *Abarim*: though in the 22. of *Numbers*, *Moſes* doth not remember *Helmondiblathaim*, but ſpeaketh of his remove from the River of *Zared*, immediately to the other ſide of *Arnon*; calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*, betweene them and the Amorites: ſpeaking, as he found the ſtate of the Countrey at that time. For *Arnon* was not anciently the border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the Moabites, by *Sehon*, King of the Amorites: even from the Predeceſſour of *Balac Peor* then reigning. From *Diblathaim*, *Moſes* ſent meſſengers to *Sehon*, King of the Amorites, to deſire a paſſage through his Countrey: which though he knew would be denied him, yet he deſired to give a reaſon to the neighbour Nations, of the warre he undertooke. And though *Edom* had refuſed him as *Sehon* did, yet he had no warrant from God to enforce him. *Moſes* alſo in ſending meſſengers to *Sehon*, obſerved the ſame precept, which he left to his poſterity and ſucceſſours, for a law of the warre; namely in *Deut.* 20. *Verſe* 10. in theſe words; *When thou comeſt neere unto a Citie to fight againſt it, thou ſhalt offer it peace, which if it doe accept of and open unto thee, then let all the people found therein be tributaries unto thee, and ſerve thee; but if it refuſe, &c. thou ſhalt ſmite all the males thereof with the edge of the ſword*. Which ordinance all commanders of Armies have obſerved to this day, or ought to have done.

## §.VII.

### *Of the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, mentioned in this Story, and of other Bookes mentioned in Scripture, which are loſt.*

Num.c.21.v.14.

NOw concerning the Warre betweene *Iſrael* and *Sehon*, *Moſes* ſeemeth to referre a great part of this Story to that *Booke* intituled, *Liber bellorum Domini*; *The booke of Gods battailes*: and therefore paſſeth over many encounters, and other things memorable, with greater brevity in this place. His words after the *Geneva* Tranſlation are theſe: *Wherefore it ſhall be ſpoken in the booke of the battailes of the Lord, what things he did in the Red Sea, & in the Rivers of Arnon.* The *Vulgar* copie differeth not in ſenſe from this: But the *Greeke Septuagint* vary. For the *Greeke* writes it to this effect; *For thus it is ſaid in the Booke: The warre of the Lord hath burnt (or inflamed) Zoob, and the brookes of Arnon. Junius* for the *Red Sea*, which is in the *Genevian* & *Vulgar Edition*, names the Region of * *Suph*, a Countrey bordering the *Dead Sea* towards the Eaſt, as he conjectureth. The Text he readeth thus. *Idcircò dici ſolet in recenſione bellorum* Jehovæ, *contra* Vahebum *in Regione* Suph: *& contra flumina, flumina Arnonis; Therefore is it ſpoken in repeating of the battailes of* Jehovah, *againſt* Vaheb, *in the Countrey of* Suph: *and againſt the Rivers, the Rivers of Arnon.* In which words he underſtands, that amongſt the wars which the Lord diſpoſed for the good of the Iſraelites, there was in thoſe times a famous memory in the mouth of moſt men, concerning the warre of *Sehon* againſt *Vaheb*, the King of the Moabites, and of his winning the Country neere *Arnon*, out of the poſſeſſion of the Moabites. For this *Vaheb* was the immediate predeceſſour of *Balac*, who lived with *Moſes*: though it be written that this *Balac* was the ſon of *Zippor*, and not of *Vaheb*. For it ſeemes (as it is plaine in the ſucceſſion of the *Edomites*) that theſe Kingdomes were elective, and not ſucceſſive. And as *Junius* in this Tranſlation underſtandeth no ſpeciall Booke of the battailes of the Lord: ſo others, as *Vatablus* in his Annotations, doubt whether in this place any ſpeciall Booke be meant; and if any, whether it be not a prediction of warres in future ages, to be waged in theſe places, and to be written in the Booke of *Judges*. *Syracides c.46.* tells us plainely, that thoſe battailes of the Lord were fought by *Joſua*; *Who was there* (ſaith he) *before him like to him? for he fought the battailes of the Lord.* But ſeeing the Hiſtories of the Scripture elſewhere often paſſe over matters of great weight in few words, referring the Reader to other Bookes, written of the ſame matter at large: therefore it ſeemeth probable, that ſuch a Booke as this there was; wherein the ſeverall victories by *Iſrael* obtained, and alſo victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the Iſraelites, were particularly and largely written. And that the ſame ſhould now be wanting, it is not ſtrange, ſeeing ſo many other Volumes, filled with divine diſcourſe, have periſhed in the long race of time, or have bin deſtroyed by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magiſtrate. For the Bookes of *Henoch*, howſoever they have bin in later ages corrupted, and therefore now ſuſpected, are remembred in an Epiſtle of *Thaddaus*, and cited by *Origen* περὶ ἀρχῶν, and by *Tertullian*.

Num.21.

* Of the countrey of *Suph*, ſee more chap. 10.§.4.†.2. & of the force of the word *Suph*, alſo chap. 18.§.3.

Num.21.26.

1 Chron.c.1.

That worke alſo of the Patriarch *Abraham*, *of Formation*, which others beſtow on *Rabbi Achiba*, is no where found. The Bookes remembred by *Joſua c.10.v.13.* and in the ſecond of *Samuel, c.1.v.18.* called the *Booke of Jaſher*, or *Juſtorum*, is alſo loſt; wherein the ſtay of the Sunne and Moone in the middeſt of the Heavens is recorded, and how they ſtood ſtill till *Iſrael* had avenged themſelves of their enemies: out of which alſo *David* tooke the precept, of teaching the children of *Juda*, to exerciſe their bowes againſt their enemies.

Some thinke this to be the Booke of eternall Predeſtination, in which the juſt are written, according unto the ſixty and ninth *Pſalme, Verſe 28.* where it is ſaid; *Let them be put out of the Booke of Life, neither let them be written with the righteous.* Hierome thinkes, that *David* by this Booke underſtood thoſe of *Samuel*; *Rabbi Salomon*, that the Bookes of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the juſt *Abraham*, of *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, and *Moſes*, are written; Others, that it was the Booke of *Exodus*; others, as *Theodoretus*, that it was a Commentary upon *Joſua*, by an unknowne Authour.

*Hieron. in queſt. ſuper. lib. Regum.*

The booke of *Chozai*, concerning *Manaſſe*, remembred in the ſecond of *Chron.33.v.18.& 19.* Of this booke, alſo loſt, *Hierome* conceives that the Prophet *Iſay* was the Authour.

*Hieron. in annot. in Paralip.*

The ſame miſchance came aſwell to the Story of *Salomon*, written by *Ahia Silonites*, who met with *Jeroboam*, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdome of *Iſrael* from the ſonne of *Salomon*; as to the bookes of *Nathan* the Prophet, and to thoſe of *Jeedo* the *Seer*; remembred in the ſecond of *Chron.c.9.v.29.* With theſe have the bookes of *Shemaiah* and of *Iddo*, remembred in the ſecond of *Chron.c.12.v.15.* periſhed: and that of *Jehu* the ſonne of *Hanani*, of the acts of *Jehoſaphat*, cited in the ſecond of *Chron.c.20.v.34.* Alſo that booke of *Salomon* which the *Hebrewes* write *Haſcirim*, of 5000. verſes, of which that part called *Canticum Canticorum*, onely remaineth, 1 *Kings* 4.32. and with this divers others of *Salomons* works have periſhed, as his Booke of the natures of Trees, Plants, Beaſts, Fiſhes, &c. 1 *Kings* 4.33. with the reſt remembred by *Origen*, *Joſephus*, *Hierome*, *Cedrenus*, *Ciccus Aſculanus*, *Picus Mirandula*, and others.

Of theſe and other Bookes many were conſumed with the ſame fire, wherewith *Nebuchadnezzar* burnt the Temple of *Hieruſalem*. But let us returne thither where we left.

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## §.VIII.

## *Of* Moſes *his ſparing the iſſue of* Lot; *and of the Giants in thoſe parts; and of* Sehon *and* Og.

Deut.2.v.9.& 10,11,& 12.

WHen *Moſes* had paſt *Arnon*, he incamped on the other ſide thereof at *Abarim*, oppoſite to the City of *Nebo*; leaving the City of *Midian* on the left hand, and attempting nothing upon the *Moabites* on that ſide. For *Moab* did at this time inhabite on the South-ſide of *Arnon*, having loſt all his ancient & beſt Territory, which was now in the poſſeſſion of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For *Moſes* was commanded by God not to moleſt *Moab*, neither to provoke them to battaile, God having given that Land to the children of *Lot*; the ſame which was anciently poſſeſt by the *Emims*, who were men of great ſtature, and comparable to thoſe Giants called *Anakims*, or the ſons of *Anac*.

Joſ.15.v.13. 14.v.15.

God alſo commanded *Moſes* to ſpare the *Ammonites*, becauſe they likewiſe were deſcended of *Lot*: who had expelled from thence thoſe Giants, which the *Ammonites* called *Zamzummims*. For it ſeemeth that all that part, eſpecially to the Eaſt of *Jordan*, even to the Deſart of *Arabia*, as well on the Weſt, as on the Eaſt-ſide of the Mountaines of *Gilead*, was inhabited by Giants. And in the plantation of the Land promiſed, the *Iſraelites* did not at any time paſſe thoſe Mountaines to the Eaſt of *Baſan*, but left their Countrey to them, as in the deſcription following is made manifeſt. We find alſo, that as there were many Giants both before and after the floud: ſo theſe Nations, which anciently inhabited both the border of *Canaan*, and the Land it ſelfe, had among them many Families of Giant-like men. For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*, which ſometimes was called the City of *Arbah*, which *Arbah* in *Joſua* is called the father of the *Anakims*; and the greateſt man of the *Anakims*. There had alſo bin Giants in the Land of the *Moabites*, called *Emims*: and their chiefe City was *Aroer* or *Ar*, neere the River of *Arnon*. To the Giants of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gave the name of *Zamzummims*; which were of the ſame ancient *Canaanites*: and their chiefe City was *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphia*. They were alſo called *Zuzims*, which is as much to ſay, as *Viri robuſti, horrendiq; Giantes*; *Strong men, and fearefull Giants*, who inhabited other Cities of *Ham*, or *Hom*, in the ſame Province, and not farre to the North of *Aroer*.

Deut.1.v.8.

Now *Moſes* having paſt *Arnon*, and being encamped at *Abarim*; and having (as before) ſent to *Sehon*, as he had done to *Edom*, to pray a paſſage through his Country, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proud by his former conqueſt upon *Vaheb* the *Moabite*; which Nation the *Amorites* eſteemed but as ſtrangers and uſurpers, (themſelves being of the ſons of *Canaan*, and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refuſed to grant *Iſrael* any entrance that way; and withall prepared to encounter *Moſes* with as much ſpeed as he could, becauſe *Moſes* encamped in the Countrey of his new conqueſts, to wit, the Plaines of *Moab*, the two & fortieth and laſt Manſion: which *Moſes* waſted with the multitude of his people, and cattell. Towards him therefore haſting himſelfe, they encountred each other at *Jahaz*: where *Sehon* with his children and people were broken and diſcomfited: and the victory ſo purſued by *Moſes*, as few or none of the *Amorites* eſcaped. He alſo ſlaughtered all the Women and Children of the *Amorites*, which he found in *Eſſebon*, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the race of *Canaan*, as thoſe of *Baſan* alſo were, and deſcended of *Emoreus* or *Amoreus*: for *Moſes* calleth the *Baſanites* alſo *Amorites*. And although *Iſrael* might now have taken a ready way and paſſage into *Judaa*, being at this time, and after this victory at the bankes of *Jordan*: yet he knew it to be perillous to leave ſo great a part of that Nation of the *Amorites* on his backe, as inhabited all the Region of *Baſan* or *Traconitis*: and therefore he led on his Army to invade *Og*: a perſon of exceeding ſtrength and ſtature, and the onely man of marke remaining of the ancient Giants of thoſe parts, and who at that time had 60. Cities walled and defenced: lying betweene the Mountaine of *Hermon* (which Mountaine, ſaith *Moſes*, the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites Shenir*) and the River of *Jordan*. And it befell unto the King of *Baſan* (who attended *Moſes* comming at *Edrei*) as it did unto *Sehon*: for he and his ſonnes periſhed, and all his Cities were taken and poſſeſt. After this, *Moſes* with-drawing himſelfe backe againe to the Mountaines of *Abarim*, left the proſecution of that warre unto *Jair* the ſonne of *Manaſſe*: who conquering the Eaſt parts of *Baſan*, to wit, the Kingdome of *Argob*, even unto the Nations of the *Geſſuri* and *Machati*, 60. walled Cities, called the ſame after his own name *Havoth Jair*: of all which conqueſts afterward the halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe* poſſeſt the North part as farre as *Edrei*, but the Eaſt part that belonged to *Sehon* the *Amorite*, with the Mountaines of *Gilead* adjoyning, was given to *Reuben* and unto *Gad*.

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## §.IX.

### *Of the troubles about the Madianites, and of* Moſes *his death.*

After theſe victories, and while *Iſrael* ſojourned in the valley of *Moab*, the Madianites and Moabites (over both which Nations it ſeemeth that *Balac* King of the Moabites then commanded in chiefe) ſought, according to the advice of *Balaam*, both by alluring the Hebrewes to the love of their daughters, and by perſwading them to honour and ſerve their Idols, to divide them both in Love and Religion among themſelves: thereby the better both to defend their own intereſt againſt them, as alſo to beate them out of *Moab*, and the Countries adjoyning. The Iſraelites as they had ever bin inclined, ſo were they now eaſily perſwaded to theſe evill courſes, and thereby drew on themſelves the plague of peſtilence, whereof there periſhed 24000. perſons: beſides which puniſhment of God, the moſt of the offenders among the Hebrewes, were by his commandement put to the Sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the ſonne of *Eleazar* had pierced the bodies of *Zimri*, a Prince of the Simeonites, together with *Cosbi*, a Daughter of one of the chiefe of the Midianites, the plague ceaſed, and Gods wrath was appeaſed. For ſuch was the love and kindneſſe of his all-powerfulneſſe, reſpecting the ardent zeale of *Phineas* in proſecuting of *Zimri* (who being a chiefe among the Hebrewes, became an Idolater) as he forgave the reſt of *Iſrael*, and ſtayed his hand for his ſake.

Num.25.v.3.

In this valley it was that *Moſes* cauſed the people to be numbred the third time: and there remained of able men fit to beare armes, 601730. of which as his laſt enterpriſe, he appointed 12000. to be choſen out, to invade the Cities of *Midian*, who together with the Moabites practiſed with *Balaam* to curſe *Iſrael*: and after that ſought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worſhip of the true God, to the ſervice of *Beth-Peor*: and to the reſt of their barbarous Idolatry. Over which companies of 12000. *Moſes* gave the charge to *Phineas*, the ſonne of *Eleazar* the high Prieſt: who ſlew the five Princes of the Midianites, which were, or had lately bin, the vaſſals of *Sehon*, as appeareth by *Joſuah*. Theſe five Princes of the Midianites ſlaine by *Eleazar*, were at this time but the vaſſals of *Sehon* the Amorite, to wit, *Evi*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Rera*, the Dukes of *Sehon* ſaith *Joſuah*. He ſlew alſo the men, male-children, and women: ſaving ſuch as had not yet uſed the company of men, but thoſe they ſaved, and diſpierc't them among the children of *Iſrael* to ſerve them.

Num.26.v.51.
Num.31.v.8.
Joſ.c.13.v.21.
Cap.13.21.

And *Moſes* having now lived 120. yeares, making both his owne weakeneſſe of body knowne to the people, and his unability to travaile: and alſo that he was forewarned of his end by the Spirit of God, from whom he received a new commandement to aſcend the Mountaines of *Abarim*, and thereon to render up his life: He haſtned to ſettle the Government in *Joſua*: whom he perſwaded with moſt lively arguments to proſecute the conqueſt begun, aſſuring him of Gods favour and aſſiſtance therein. And ſo having ſpent theſe his later dayes after the Conqueſt of *Og*, and *Sehon* King of the Amorites, in the repetition and expoſition of the Law, (or an iteration of the Law, according to Saint *Auguſtine*) uſing both arguments, prayers, and threats unto the people: which he often repeated unto them; thereby to confirme them in knowledge, love, feare, and ſervice, of the all-powerfull God: He bleſſed the twelve Tribes, that of *Simeon* excepted, with ſeverall and moſt comfortable bleſſings: prayſing the greatneſſe and goodneſſe

Deut.31.v.1.
Deut.31.v.2.
*Aug.l.4.de Mirab.ſacr. Scrip.*
Deut.33.

Deut 32.1.

Deut.34.v.6.

neſſe of him, unto whom in his prayers he commended them: He alſo commanded the Prieſts to lay up the Booke of the Law, by the ſide of the *Arke* of God: The laſt that he indited was that Propheticall Song, beginning: ***Hearken ye Heavens and I will ſpeake, and let the Earth heare the words of my mouth***: and being called by God from the labours and ſorrowes of this life, unto that reſt which never afterward hath diſquiet, he was buried in the Land of *Moab*, over againſt *Beth-Peor*: but no man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day; which happened in the yeare of the World 2554.

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## §. X.

### *Obſervations out of the Story of* Moſes, *how God diſpoſeth both the ſmalleſt occaſions, and the greateſt reſiſtances, to the effecting of his purpoſe.*

NOw let us a little, for inſtruction, looke backe to the occaſions of ſundry of the great events, which have bin mentioned in this Story of the life of *Moſes*, for (excepting Gods miracles, his promiſe, and fore-choice of this people) he wrought in all things elſe by the *medium* of mens affections, and naturall appetites. And ſo we ſhall finde that the feare which *Pharaoh* had of the increaſe of the *Hebrewes*, multipled by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next naturall cauſe of the ſorrowes and loſſe, which befell himſelſe, and the *Egyptian* Nation: which numbers when he ſought by cruell and ungodly policies to cut off and leſſen, as when he commanded all the male-children of the *Hebrewes* to be ſlaine, God (whoſe providence cannot be reſiſted, nor his purpoſes prevented by all the fooliſh and ſalvage craft of mortall men) moved compaſſion in the heart of *Pharao's* owne daughter, to preſerve that childe, which afterward became the moſt wiſe, and of all men the moſt gentle and milde, the moſt excellently learned in all Divine and Humane knowledge, to be the conductor and deliverer of his oppreſſed brethren, and the overthrow of *Pharao*, and all the flower of his Nation; even then, when he ſought by the ſtrength of his men of Warre, of his Horſe, and Chariots, to tread them under, and bury them in the duſt. The griefe which *Moſes* conceived of the injuries, and of the violence offered to one of the *Hebrewes* in his owne preſence, moved him to take revenge of the *Egyptian* that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his own Nation, by threatning him to diſcover the ſlaughter of the *Egyptian*, moved him to flie into *Madian*: the contention betweene the Shepheards of that place, and *Jethro's* Daughters, made him knowne to their Father; who not onely entertained him, but married him to one of thoſe Siſters: and in that ſolitary life of keeping of his Father in lawes ſheepe, farre from the preſſe of the World, contenting himſelſe (though bred as a Kings Sonne) with the lot of a poore Heardſ-man, God found him out in that Deſart, wherein he firſt ſuffered him to live many yeares, the better to know the wayes and paſſages through which he purpoſed that he ſhould conduct his people, toward the Land promiſed: and therein appearing unto him, he made him know his will and divine pleaſure for his returne into *Egypt*. The like may be ſaid of all things elſe, which *Moſes* afterward by Gods direction performed in the Story of *Iſrael* before remembred. There is not therefore the ſmalleſt accident, which may ſeeme unto men as falling out by chance, and of no conſequence, but that the ſame is cauſed by God to effect ſomewhat elſe by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greateſt worldly importance, either preſently, or in many yeares after, when the occaſions are either not conſidered, or forgotten.

# CHAP. VI.

## Of the Nations with whom the Iſraelites had dealing after *their comming out of Egypt; and of the men of renowne* in other Nations, about the times of *Moſes* and *Joſua, with the ſumme of the Hiſtory* of Joſua.

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### §. I.

### *How the Nations with whom the Iſraelites were to have Warre, were divers wayes, as it were, prepared to be their enemies.*

IN like manner if we looke to the quality of the Nations, with whom the Iſraelites, after their comming out of *Egypt*, had to doe, either in the *Wilderneſſe*, or afterward, we ſhall finde them long before-hand, by the diſpoſing providence of God, as it were prepared for enmity: partly in reſpect that they were moſt of them of the iſſue of *Canaan*, or at leaſt of *Ham*; and the reſt (as the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Iſraelites) were mingled with them by mutuall marriages: whereas the Iſraelites ſtill continued ſtrangers, and ſeparate from them: and ſo partly in this reſpect, and partly by ancient injuries or enmities, and partly by reaſon of diverſity in Religion, were theſe Nations, as it were prepared to be enemies to the Iſraelites: and ſo to ſerve for ſuch purpoſes as God had reſerved them for. To make theſe things more manifeſt, we muſt underſtand that this part of *Syria*, bounded by the mountaines of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the North, by the ſame mountaines continued as farre as the Springs of *Arnon* on the Eaſt: by the way of *Egypt*, and the *Red Sea*, on the South: and by the Mediterran Sea on the Weſt: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one ſpringing from the ſonnes of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: but thoſe of *Sem*, were but as ſtrangers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but with * one Family, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greateſt part were the Canaanites, the ancient Lords and poſſeſſors of thoſe Territories, by proceſſe of time divided into ſeverall Families and names: whereof ſome of them were of eminent ſtature and ſtrength, as the Anakims, Zamzummims, or Zuzei, Emims, Horites, & others. Theſe (as men moſt valiant and able commonly do) did inhabite the utter borders and mountaines of their Countries: the reſt were the Zidonians, Jebuſites, Amorites, Hevites, Hetites, and others, who tooke name after the ſonnes of *Canaan*, and after whom the Country in generall was ſtill called.

* It ſeemeth alſo that *Hus*, the Sonne of *Nachor*, and *Buz* his Brother, planted themſelves in the Eaſt ſide of *Jordan*, about *Baſan*: where they finde the Land of *Hus*, in which *Job* dwelt as one of the iſſue of *Hus*, the Sonne of *Nachor*, and *Elihu*, his friend which is called a *Buzit*. See hereafter cha. 10 § 7.

As for the Hebrewes which deſcended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another Familie, and ſtrangers in that Country, eſpecially the Iſraelites: and this was ſome cauſe that the Canaanites did not affect them, or indure them, no more than the Philiſtims did, who deſcended alſo of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For though *Abraham* himſelfe being a ſtranger, was highly eſteemed and honoured among them; eſpecially by the Amorites inhabiting the Weſt part of *Jordan*: yet now even they which deſcended from *Abraham*, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in thoſe parts, were alienated in affections from the Iſraelites, as holding them ſtrangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the Canaanites, and the reſt of the iſſue of *Cham*, with whom they daily contracted affinity, than of their old pedigree from *Abraham*.

Exod. 17. 16.

True it is, that theſe Nations deſcended of *Abraham*, or of his kindred, who had linked themſelves, and matched with the Canaanites and others, had ſo farre poſſeſt themſelves of the borders of thoſe Regions, as they began to be equall in ſtrength to the bordering Canaanites, if not ſuperiour. For of *Lot* came thoſe two great Families of the Moabites, and Ammonites: of *Eſau* the Idumæans: of *Madian* the Madianites: of *Iſmael* the eldeſt ſonne of *Abraham*, came the Iſmaelites, with whom are joyned as of the ſame Nation, the Amalekites; whom though the more common opinion thinketh to have bin a Tribe of *Edom*, becauſe *Eſau* had a grand-childe of that name, yet manifeſt reaſon convinceth

Deut. 11. 5.

Deut.c.11.v.5. vinceth it to have bin otherwiſe. For the Iſraelites were forbidden to provoke the Edomites, or do them any wrong, whereas contrariwiſe *Amalek* was curſed, and endleſſe Exod.c.17.v.16 warre decreed againſt him: but hereof more elſewhere, Chap.8.§.3. Of *Iſmaels* eldeſt ſonne *Naboth* ſprung the *Arabians* of *Petræa*, called *Nabathæi*. Now even as *Abraham* beſought God to bleſſe *Iſmael*, ſo it pleaſed him both to promiſe and performe it. Gen.17. For of him thoſe twelve Princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land betweene *Havilah* upon *Tigris*, and *Sur* which is the Weſt part of the *Deſart of Arabia Petræa*. Yet howſoever the ſtrength of theſe latter named Nations, which deſcended from *Abraham*, were great; it is not unlikely, but that ſome reaſon which moved them not to favour the entrance of the Iſraelites into *Canaan*, was in reſpect of feare: becauſe all Princes and States doe not willingly permit any ſtranger or powerfull Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all theſe Families before named, were not ſo united in and among themſelves, but that they had their jealouſies of each other, and contended for dominion: yet fearing a third more ſtrong than themſelves, whether they ſtood apart or united, they were taught by the care of their own preſervation, to joyne themſelves together againſt *Iſrael*: though they did it nothing ſo maliciouſly and reſolvedly as the Canaanites did. For the Edumæans onely denied the Hebrewes a paſſage, which the Moabites durſt not denie: becauſe their Country lay more open; and becauſe themſelves had lately bin beaten out of the richeſt part of their Dominions, by the Amorites: and as for the Ammonites, their Countrey lay altogether out of the way, & the ſtrength of *Sehon* and *Og* Kings of the Amorites, was interjacent: and beſides that, the border of the Ammonites was ſtrong, by reaſon of the mountains which divided it from Num.c.21.v.24. *Baſan*. Againe, that which moved the Moabites in their own reaſon not much to interrupt *Iſrael*, in the conqueſt of *Sehon* the Amorite, and of *Og* his confederate, was that the Moabites might hope after ſuch time as the Amorites were beaten by *Moſes*, that themſelves might recover againe their owne inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plaines lying betweene the mountaines of *Arabia* and *Jordan*: But as ſoone as *Sehon* was ſlaine, and that the King of *Moab*, *Balac*, perceived that *Moſes* allotted that valley to the Tribes of *Gad* and *Ruben*, he began to practiſe with *Balaam* againſt *Iſrael*, and by the daughters of *Midian*, as aforeſaid, to allure them to Idolatry: and thus at the length the Moabites by ſpeciall occaſion were more and more ſtirred up to enmity againſt *Iſrael*. And as for divers of the reſt that were deſcended from *Abrahams* kindred, we may note, how in the beginning, between the Authors of their Pedigrees, God permitted ſome enmities to be as it were preſages of future quarrels, which in the poſterity might be the eaſier incenſed by the memory of old grudges: and withall by ſome diſdaine from the elder in nature to the younger. For the Iſmaelites being deſcended from the eldeſt ſonne of *Abraham*, and the Edomites from the eldeſt ſonne of *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, being but a ſecond ſonne, of a ſecond brother; thoſe Princes which were deſcended of the elder Houſes, being naturall men, might ſcorne to give place, much leſſe to ſubject themſelves to their inferiours, as they tooke it: and for a more aggravation, the iſſues of *Eſau*, Princes of *Idumæa*, might Gen.25. keepe in record that their Parent was bought out of his birth-right by *Jacobs* taking his Gen.27. advantage, and that he was deceived of his fathers bleſſing alſo by him: and that *Jacob* Gen.33.14. after reconciliation came not unto him as he promiſed, into *Seir* or *Idumæa*.

So alſo in the poſterity of *Iſmael*, it might remaine as a ſeed or pretence of enmity, that their fore-father was by the inſtigation of *Sara*, caſt out into the *Deſart*, with his mother *Hagar*; and had therein periſhed, but that it pleaſed God by his Angell to relieve them. *Iſmael* alſo had an Egyptian both to his mother and to his wife: and *Amalec* was alſo an Horite by his mother: which Horites were of the ancient Canaanites. The Edumæans alſo, or Edomites, were by their Maternall line deſcended of the Canaanites. For Gen.36. *Eſau* tooke two wives of that Nation: one of them was *Adath*, the daughter of *Elon*, the Hittite; and the other *Aholibamah*, the grand-child of *Zibeon* the Hevite, Lord of *Seir*, before the ſame was conquered by *Eſau*, and called after his name, *Edom*, or *Edumæa*.

Laſtly, it appeareth that all thoſe Families of the Iſmaelites, Amalekites, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, &c. were in proceſſe of time corrupted, & drawn from the knowledge and worſhip of God, and became Idolaters, infected and ſeduced by the converſation of thoſe people among whom they dwelt, and by thoſe wives of the Canaanites which they had married: onely a few of the Kenites and thoſe Madianites, which inhabited on the edge of the Red Sea, whereof *Jethro* was Prieſt, or Prince, or both, worſhipped the true aud ever-living God.

§.II.

## §.II.

### *Of the Kings of the Canaanites and Madianites, mentioned in the ancient Warres of the Iſraelites.*

OF the Kings of the *Canaanites*, deſcended of *Cham*, (for *Melchizedek* may be thought to be of a better *Petigree*) we finde foure named by *Moſes*: and one and thirty remembred by *Joſua*, though few of theſe named, otherwiſe than by the Cities over which they commanded: to which each of them had a ſmall Territory adjoyning, and no other Dominion. Theſe *Canaanites* in a generall conſideration are to be underſtood for all thoſe Nations, deſcended of *Cham* by *Canaan*, as the *Hittites*, *Jebuſites*, *Amorites*, *Gergeſites*, *Hevites*, *&c.* and ſo here we underſtand this name in ſpeaking of the Kings of the *Canaanites*: and ſo alſo we call the Countrey of their habitation, the holy Land, or the Land of promiſe: for God hath appointed that the ſeven principle Families ſhould be rooted out, and that his own people ſhould inherit their Lands and Cities. But if we conſider of the name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by *Jordan*, on the Eaſt, and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the Weſt: in which narrow Countrey, and in the choyſeſt places thereof, thoſe *Canaanites* which held their Paternall name chiefly inhabited.

The firſt King of theſe Nations, named in the Scriptures, was *Hamor* or *Hemer*, of the *Hevites*, whom *Simeon* and *Levi* ſlew, together with his ſon *Sichem*, in revenge of their ſiſters raviſhment. Gen 34.

*Arad* was the ſecond King which the Scriptures have remembred, who had that part of *Canaan* towards the South, neighbouring *Edom* and the dead Sea; the ſame which ſurpriſed *Iſrael*, as they encamped in the *Wilderneſſe* in the edge of *Edumæa*. Num.21.1.

The third named was *Sehon* King of *Eſſebon*, who before *Moſes* arrivall had beaten the *Moabites* out of the Weſt part of *Arabia Petræa* or *Nabathea*, and thruſt them over *Arnon* into the Deſarts, the ſame whom *Moſes* overthrew in the plaines of *Moab*: at which time he tooke *Eſſebon*, and all the Cities of the *Amorites*. Num.21.24. *Joſ.9. Joſeph. ant.lib.4.c.5.*

Preſently after which victory, *Og* was alſo ſlaine by *Iſrael*, who commanded the North part of that Valley between the Mountaines *Traconi* or *Galaad* and *Jordan*, who was alſo a King of the *Amorites*. Num.21.33.

The fift was *Adonizedek* King of the *Jebuſites*, and of *Hieruſalem*, with whom *Joſua* nameth foure other Kings.

*Hoham*, King of *Hebron*.

*Piram*, King of *Jarmuth*.

*Japia*, King of *Lachis*: and

*Diber*, King of *Eglon*, who were all *Amorites* overthrowne in battell; and hanged by *Joſua*. After this overthrow *Joſua* nameth *Jabin*, King of *Hazor*, and Joſua 10. *Joſeph.ant.lib.5.cap.1.*

*Jobab*, King of *Madon*: whom he alſo ſlaughtered, and tooke his Cities: and this *Jabin* ſeemed to have ſome dominion over the reſt; for it is ſaid in the Text, *For* Hazor *before times was the head of all thoſe Kingdomes.* Joſua 11.v.10.

After theſe *Adonibezek* that notorious Tyrant is named: who confeſt that he had cut off the thumbes of the hands and feete of ſeventy Kings, inforcing them to gather crummes under his Table: who, after *Juda* and *Simeon* had uſed the ſame execution upon himſelfe, acknowledged it to be a juſt revenge of God: this King was carried to *Hieruſalem* where he died. *Jud.1. Joſeph. lib.5.cap.2.*

The laſt King named is *Jabin* the ſecond, who as it ſeemeth had rebuilt *Hazor*, burnt by *Joſua*. For at ſuch time as he employed *Siſara* againſt *Iſrael*, whom he oppreſt twenty yeares, after the death of *Ehud*, He inhabited *Hazor*. This *Jabin*, *Barac* (encouraged by *Debora*) overthrew; and his Captaine *Siſara* had by *Jael*, the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, a naile driven into his head while he ſlept in her Tent: *Jabin* himſelfe periſhing afterward in that warre. Jud.4. Jud.4. Pſal.83.

The *Madianites* had alſo their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the *Moabites*: and they held a corner of Land in *Nabathea*: to the South-eaſt of the Dead Sea. They deſcended from *Madian*, *Abrahams* ſonne, by *Cethura*. *Raguel* ſurnamed *Getheglem* or *Jethres*, ſaith *Joſephus*, called *Jethro* in *Exodus*, *Kenis* in the firſt of *Judges*, the ſon of *Dathan*, the grand-childe of *Jexanis*, or *Jokſham*, the great grand-childe of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, *Joſeph.l.5.c.8.* Exod.3.

Cedron.pag.34. *thura*, was Prieſt or Prince of the *Madianites* by the Red Sea: whoſe Daughter or Neece, *Moſes* married, and of whom I have ſpoken elſewhere more at large. This *Jethro* if he were not the ſame with *Hobab*, muſt be his father: and this *Hobab* had ſeven daughters. He guided *Moſes* in the *Wilderneſſe*, and became one of the *Iſraelites*: of him deſcended
Jud.1. the *Kenites*, ſo called of his father *Raguels* ſurname, of which *Kenites* was *Heber*, which had peace with *Jabin* the ſecond, even now remembred.

At ſuch time as *Saul* invaded the *Amalekites*, he knowing the good affection of the *K*-
1 Sam.15.6. *nites* to *Iſrael*, gave them warning to ſeparate themſelves: and yet the *Kenites* had ſtrong ſeates, and lived in the mountaines of the Deſarts.

The Kings of the *Canaanites*, and *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, as many as I find named, were theſe:

1. *Homer* the *Hevite* of *Sichem*
2. *Arad* of the South parts
3. *Sehon* of *Eſſebon*
4. *Og* of *Baſan*
5. Ioſ.10. *AdoniZedek* the *Jebuſite*, King of *Hieruſalem*
6. *Hoham* of *Hebron*
7. *Piram* of *Jarmuth*
8. *Japia* of *Lachis*
9. *Debir* of *Eglon*
10. Ioſ.12. *Jabin* of *HaZor*
11. *Jobab* of *Modon*
12. *AdonibeZek* of *BeZek*, and
13. *Jabin* the ſecond King of *HaZor*.

Of the *Madianites* theſe:

* Theſe five were firſt all at one time Kings of ſeverall portions of the *Madianites*: ſlaine by *Phinehas* and the 12000. which he led againſt them: Num.31.v.8.
* Theſe foure laſt were likewiſe at one time, ſlaine in the purſuite of *Gideons* victory: Jud.c.7. v.25.& cap.8. v.12.

* *Evi* or *Evis*.

*Rekam* or *Recem* who built *Petra* the *Metropolis* of *Petraa*, ſo called by the *Greekes*: and by *Eſai*.cap.16.verſe 1.and *Selah*, which is as much as *Petra*: and ſo alſo it is called 2 *Reg*. 14.7. where it is alſo called *Joktheel*.

*Zur*
*Hur* and
*Reba*
* *Oreb*
*Zeb*
*Zebah*
*Zalmunna*.

After the death of *Barac*, *Judge of Iſrael*, the foure laſt named of theſe *Madianite* Kings, vexed *Iſrael* ſeven yeares: till they being put to flight by *Gideon*, two of them, to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, were taken and ſlaine by the *Ephraimites*, at the paſſage of *Jordan*, as in the 6.7. and 8. of *Judges* it is written at large. Afterward in the purſuite of the reſt, *Gide* himſelfe laide hands upon *Zebah* and *Salmana*, or *Zalmunna*, and executed them, being priſoners; in which expedition of *Gideon* there periſhed 120000. of the *Madianites* and their confederates. Of the *Idumaans*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, I will ſpeake hereafter in the deſcription of their Territories.

## §. III.

### *Of the Amalekites, and Iſmaelites.*

OF the Kings of the *Amalekites* and *Iſmaelites*, I finde few that are named; and though of the *Iſmaelites* there were more in number than of the reſt (for they were multiplied into a greater Nation, according unto the promiſe of God
Gen.17.20. Jud.c.7. made unto *Abraham*) yet the *Amalekites*, who together with the *Midianits* were numbred among them, were more renowned in *Moſes* time than the reſt of the *Iſmaelites*. So alſo were they when *Saul* governed *Iſrael*. For *Saul* purſued them from *Sur* unto *Havilah*, to wit, over a great part of *Arabia Petraa*, and the *Deſart*. The reaſon to me ſeemeth to be this: That the twelve Princes which came of *Iſmael*, were content to leave thoſe barren *Deſarts* of *Arabia Petraa*, called *Sur*, *Paran*, and *Sin*, to the iſſue of *Abraham* by *Cethura*,

that joyned with them (for ſo ſeeme the *Amalekites* to have bin, and ſo were the *Madianites*:) themſelves taking poſſeſſion of a better ſoyle in *Arabia* the Happy; and about the Mountaines of *Galaad* in *Arabia Petræa*: For *Nabaioth* the eldeſt of thoſe twelve Princes planted that part of *Arabia Petræa*; which was very fruitfull; though adjoyning to the *Deſart* in which *Moſes* wandred; afterward called *Nabathea*: the ſame which neighboureth *Judæa* on the Eaſt-ſide. They alſo peopled a Province in *Arabia* the Happy, whereof the people were in after-times called *Napathei* (*B*) changed into (*P*).

*Kedar*, the ſecond of *Iſmaels* ſonnes, gave his owne name to the Eaſt-part of *Baſan*, or *Batanea*, which was afterward poſſeſt by *Manaſſe*, ſo much therof as lay within the mountaines *Traconi*, or *Gilead*: Which Nation *Lampridius* calleth *Kedarens*, & *Pliny Cedræans*.

*Abbeel* ſat downe in the *Deſart Arabia*, neere the Mountaines which divide it from the Happy: and gave name to the *Adubens*, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Agubens*.

*Mibſam* was the Parent of the *Maſamancuſes*, neere the Mountaine *Zamath*, in the ſame *Arabia* the Happy.

The *Raabens* were of *Miſhma*: who joyned to the *Orchens*, neere the *Arabian* gulfe, where *Ptolomy* ſetteth *Zagmais*.

Of *Duma* were the *Dumæans*, betweene the *Adubens* and *Raabens*: where the Citie *Dumeth* ſometimes ſtood.

Of *Maſſa* the *Maſſani*, and of *Hadar* or *Chadar*, the *Athritæ*, who bordered the *Napatheans* in the ſame happy *Arabia*.

*Thema* begat *the Themaneans*, among the *Arabian* Mountaines, where alſo the Citie of *Thema* is ſeated.

Of *Jetur* the *Ituræans*, or *Chamathens*: of whom *Tohu* was King in *Davids* time. Plin.l.6.c.28.

Of *Naphri* the *Nubeian Arabians*, inhabiting *Syria Zoba*: over whom *AdadeZer* commanded, while *David* ruled *Iſrael*.

*Cadma*, the laſt and twelfth of *Iſmaels* ſons, was the Anceſtor of the *Cadmonæans*: who were afterward called *Aſitæ*, because they worſhipped the Fire with the *Babylonians*. Junius.

The *Amalekites* gave their Kings the name of *Agag*, as the *Egyptians* the name of *Pharaoh* to theirs, and the ancient *Syrians Adad* to theirs, and the *Arabian Nabatheans Aretas*, as Names of Honour.

The *Amalekites* were the firſt that fought with *Moſes*, after he paſt the Red Sea: when of all times they flouriſhed moſt, and yet were vanquiſhed. Exod.17.

Afterward they joyned with the *Canaanites*, and beate the *Iſraelites* neere *Cadesbarne*. Num.14. After the government of *Othoniel*, they joyned them with the *Moabites*: after *Barac* with the *Madianites*: and invaded *Iſrael*. God commanded that as ſoone as *Iſrael* had reſt, they ſhould roote out the name of the *Amalekites*: which *Saul* executed in part, when he waſted them from the border of *Egypt*, to the border of *Caldæa*: from *Havilah* to *Shur*.

In *Davids* time they tooke *Siklag* in *Simeon*; but *David* followed them, and ſurpriſed them, recovering his priſoners and ſpoiles. 1 Sam.30. And yet, after *David* became King, they againe vexed him, but to their owne loſſe. 2 Sam.8.12.

In *Ezekias* time as many of them as joyned to *Edumæa* were waſted and diſplanted by the children of *Simeon*.

## §.IIII.

### *Of the inſtauration of Civility in Europe about theſe times, and of* Prometheus *and* Atlas.

THere lived at this time, and in the ſame age together with *Moſes*, many men exceeding famous, as well in bodily ſtrength, as in all ſorts of learning. And as the World was but even now enriched with the written Law of the living God, ſo did Art and Civility (bred and foſtered farre off in the Eaſt, and in *Egypt*) begin at this time to diſcover a paſſage into *Europe*, and into thoſe parts of *Greece*, neighbouring *Aſia* and *Judæa*. For if *Pelaſgus* beſides his bodily ſtrength, was choſen King of *Arcadia*, becauſe he taught thoſe people to erect them ſimple Cottages, to defend them from raine and ſtorme: and learned them withall to make a kinde of Meale, and bread of Acornes, who before lived for the moſt part, by Herbes and Rootes: we may thereby judge how poore and wretched thoſe times were, and how falſly thoſe Nations have vaunted of thoſe their antiquities, accompanied not onely with civill learning, but with all other kindes of knowledge. And it was in this age of the World, as

Aug.l.18.c.8. de Civit.Dei.

Aeſchyl.in Prom vinct. In c.8.lib.18. de Civit.Dei.

both *Euſebius* and S. *Auguſtine* have obſerved, that *Prometheus* flouriſhed: *Quem propterea ferunt de luto formaſſe homines, quia optimus ſapientiæ doctor fuiſſe perhibetur;* Of *whom it is reported that he formed men out of clay, becauſe he was an excellent teacher of Wiſedome:* and ſo *Theophraſtus* expoundeth the invention of fire aſcribed to *Prometheus*, *Ad inventa ſapientiæ pertinere; To have reference to wiſe inventions*: and *Æſchylus* affirmeth, That by the ſtealing of *Jupiters* fire, was meant, that the knowledge of *Prometheus* reached to the Starres, and other celeſtiall bodies. Againe, it is written of him, that he had the art ſo to uſe this fire, as thereby he gave life to the Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning that before his birth and being, thoſe people among whom he lived, had nothing elſe worthy of men, but externall forme and figure. By that fiction of *Prometheus*, being bound on the top of the Hill *Caucaſus*, his entrailes the while devoured by an *Eagle*, was meant the inward care and reſtleſſe deſire he had to inveſtigate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of Heavenly bodies; for ſo it is ſaid: *Ideo altiſſimum aſcendiſſe Caucaſum, ut ſereno cœlo quàm longiſſimè aſtra, ſignorum obitus & ortus ſpectaret; That he aſcended Caucaſus, to the end that he might in a cleere skye diſcerne a far off the ſettings and riſings of the Starres*: though *Diodorus Siculus* expounds it otherwiſe, and others diverſly.

L.Vives ex Heſ.

## *Of this Mans knowledge Æſcylus gives this* teſtimonie.

Aeſchyl.in Prom.vinct.

*Aſt agebant omnia*
*Ut fors ferebat: donec ipſe repperi*
*Signorum obitus, ortuſq; qui mortalibus*
*Sunt utiles: & multitudinem artium*
*His repperi: componere inde literas;*
*Matremq; Muſarum auxi ego Memoriam*
*Perutilem cunctis, &c.*

But Fortune govern'd all their workes, till when
I firſt found out how Starres did ſet and riſe:
A profitable art to mortall men:
And others of like uſe I did deviſe:
As letters to compoſe in learned wiſe
I firſt did teach: and firſt did amplifie
The Mother of the *Muſes Memorie*:

Aug.l.18.c.3. de Civit.Dei.

*Africanus* makes *Prometheus* farre more ancient, and but 94. yeares after *Ogyges*. *Porphyrius* ſayes that he lived at once with *Inachus*, who lived with *Iſaac*.

There lived alſo at once with *Moſes*, that famous *Atlas*, brother to *Prometheus*, both being the ſonnes of *Japetus*, of whom though it be ſaid, that they were borne before *Moſes* dayes, and therefore are by others eſteemed of a more ancient date: yet the advantage of their long lives gave them a part of other ages among men, which came into the World long after them. Beſides theſe ſonnes of *Japetus*, *Aeſculus* findes two other, to wit, *Oceanus* and *Heſperus*, who being famous in the Weſt, gave name to the Evening, and ſo to the evening Starre. Alſo beſides this *Atlas* of *Lybia*, or *Mauritania*, there were others which bare the ſame name: but of the *Lybian*, and the brother of *Prometheus*, it was that thoſe Mountaines which croſſe *Africa*, to the South of *Marocco*, *Sus*, and *Hea*, with the Sea adjoyning, tooke name, which memory *Plato* in *Critias* beſtowes on *Atlas*, the ſonne of *Neptune*.

*Cicero* in the fift of his *Tuſculan* queſtions, affirmeth that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by thoſe names to expreſſe divine knowledge. *Nec verò* Atlas *ſuſtinere cœlum, nec* Prometheus *affixus Caucaſo, nec ſtellatus* Cepheus *cum uxore traderetur, niſi divina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulæ traduxiſſet; Neither ſhould* Atlas *be ſaid to beare up Heaven, nor* Prometheus *to be faſtened to Caucaſus, nor* Cepheus *with hi wife to be ſtellified; unleſſe their divine knowledge had raiſed upon their names theſe erron ous fables.*

*Orpheus* ſometimes expreſt *Time* by *Prometheus*, ſometime he tooke him for *Saturne* as *Rhea conjux alme Prometheu*. But that the ſtory of *Prometheus* was not altogethe a fiction: and that he lived about this time, the moſt approved Hiſtorians and Antiquaries, and among them *Euſebius* and Saint *Auguſtine*, have not doubted; For the great judgement which *Atlas* had in *Aſtronomy*, ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*, were his daughters called by the names of conſtellations, *Pleiades* and *Hyades*: Others attribute unto him the finding out of the Moones courſe, of which *Archas* the ſonne of *Orchomenus* challengeth the invention. Of this *Arcas Arcadia* in *Peloponneſus* tooke name; and therefore did the *Arcadians* vaunt that they were more ancient than the Moone: *Et Luna gens prior illa fuit*: which is to be underſtood, ſaith *Natalis Comes*, before there had bin any obſervation of the Moones courſe: or of her working in inferiour bodies. And though there be that beſtow the finding out therof upon *Endymion*: others (as *Xenagoras*) on *Typhon*: yet *Iſacius Tzetzes*, a curious ſearcher of antiquities, gave it *Atlas* of *Libya*: who beſides his gifts of minde, was a man of unequalled and incomparable ſtrength: from whom *Thales* the *Mileſian*, as it is ſaid, had the ground of his *Phyloſophy*.

*Lib.18.cap.8. de Civit.Dei.*

*Ovid. de faſt. l. 1.*

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## §.V.

## *Of* Deucalion *and* Phaeton.

AND in this age of the World, and while *Moſes* yet lived, *Deucalion* reigned in *Theſſalie*, *Crotopus* then ruling the *Argives*. This *Deucalion* was the ſonne of *Prometheus*, ſaith *Herodotus*, *Apollonius*, *Heſiodus*, and *Strabo*. *Heſiodus* gave him *Pandora* for mother; the reſt *Clymene*: *Homer* in the fifteenth of his *Odyſſees*, makes *Deucalion* the ſonne of *Minos*: but he muſt needs have meant ſome other *Deucalion*; for elſe either *Ulyſſes* was miſtaken, or *Homer*, who put the tale into his mouth. For *Ulyſſes*, after his returne from *Troy*, fained himſelfe to be the brother of *Idomeneus*, who was ſonne to this later *Deucalion*, the ſonne of *Minos*: but this *Minos* lived but one age before *Troy* was taken: (for *Idomeneus* ſerved in that warre) and this *Deucalion* the ſonne of *Prometheus*, who lived at once with *Moſes*, was long before. In the firſt *Deucalions* time happened that great inundation in *Theſſalie*: by which in effect every ſoule, in thoſe parts, periſhed, but *Deucalion*, *Pyrrha* his wife, and ſome few others. It is affirmed that at the time of this floud in *Theſſalie*, thoſe people exceeded in all kinde of wickedneſſe and villany: and as the impiety of men is the forcible attractive of Gods vengeance, ſo did all that Nation for their foule ſinnes periſh by waters: as in the time of *Noah*, the corruption and cruelty of all man kinde drew on them that generall deſtruction by the floud univerſall. Onely *Deucalion*, and *Pyrrha* his wife, whom God ſpared, were both of them eſteemed to be lovers of Vertue, of Juſtice and of Religion. Of whom *Ovid*:

*Com. Alex. ſtrom. lib. 1.*
*Strabo lib. 9.*

*Non illo melior quiſquam, nec amantior æqui*
*Vir fuit: aut illa reverentior ulla dearum.*

No man was better, nor more juſt than he:
Nor any woman godlier than ſhee.

It is alſo affirmed that *Prometheus* fore-told his ſonne *Deucalion* of this over-flowing, and adviſed him to provide for his ſafety: who hereupon prepared himſelfe a kinde of Veſſell, which *Lucian* in his *Dialogue* of *Timon* calles *Cibotium*; and others *Larnax*. And becauſe to theſe circumſtances, they afterward adde the ſending out of the Dove, to diſcover the waters fall & decreaſe, I ſhould verily thinke that Story had bin but an imitation of *Noahs* floud deviſed by the *Greekes*, did not the times ſo much differ, and Saint *Auguſtine* with others of the Fathers and reverent Writers approve this Story of *Deucalion*. Among other his children *Deucalion* had theſe two of note, *Hellen*, of whom *Greece* had firſt the name of *Hellas*, & *Melantho*, on whom *Neptune* is ſaid to have begot *Delphus*, which gave name to *Delphos*, ſo renowned among the Heathen for the *Oracle* of *Apollo* therein founded.

*Auguſt. de Civit. Dei. l.18. c.10. ex Euſebio & Hieronymo.*

And that which was no leſſe ſtrange and marvailous than this floud, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time alſo happened under *Phaeton*; not onely in *Ethiopia*, but in *Iſtria*, a Region in *Italy*, and about *Cumæ*, and the Mountaines of *Veſuvius*: of both which the *Greekes*, after their manner, have invented many ſtrange fables.

## §. VI.

### *Of Hermes Triſmegiſtus.*

BUt of all other which this age brought forth among the Heathen, *Mercurius* was the moſt famous, and renowned; the ſame which was alſo called *Triſmegiſtus*, or *Ter Maximus*; and of the *Greekes*, *Hermes*.

Many there were of this name; and how to diſtinguiſh, and ſet them in their own times, both S. *Auguſtine* and *Lactantius* finde it difficult. For that *Mercury* which was eſteemed the God of Theeves, the God of Wreſtlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and the God of Eloquence (though all by one name confounded) was not the ſame with that *Mercury*, of whoſe many workes ſome fragments are now extant.

*Cicero*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and certaine of the *Greekes* reckon five *Mercuries*. Of which, two were famous in *Egypt*, and there worſhipped; one, the ſonne of *Nilus*, whoſe name the *Egyptians* feared to utter, as the *Jewes* did their *Tetragrammaton*; the other that *Mercury*, which ſlew *Argus* in *Greece*, and flying into *Egypt*, is ſaid to have delivered literature to the *Egyptians*, and to have given them Lawes. But *Diodorus* affirmeth, that *Orpheus*, and others after him, brought learning and letters out of *Egypt* into *Greece*: which *Plato* alſo confirmeth, ſaying; That letters were not found out by that *Mercury* which ſlew *Argus*, but by that ancient *Mercury*, otherwiſe *Thevet*; whom *Philo Byblius* writeth *Taautus*; the Egyptians *Thoyth*; the Alexandrians *Thot*; and the Greeks (as before) *Hermes*. And to this *Taautus*, *Sanconiatho*, who lived about the war of Troy, gives the invention of letters. But S. *Auguſtine* making two *Mercuries* which were both Egyptians, calles neither of them the ſonne of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth either of them to have ſlaine *Argus*. For he findes this *Mercury* the ſlayer of *Argus*, to be the grand-child of that *Atlas*, which lived while *Moſes* was yet young. And yet L. *Vives* upon S. *Auguſtine* ſeemes to underſtand them to be the ſame with thoſe, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the reſt have remembred. But that conjecture of theirs, that any *Gracian Mercury* brought letters into *Egypt*, hath no ground. For it is manifeſt, (if there be any truth in prophaine antiquitie) that all the knowledge which the Greekes had, was tranſported out of *Egypt* or *Phœnicia*, and not out of Greece, nor by any Græcian into *Egypt*. For they all confeſs, that *Cadmus* brought letters firſt into Bœotia, either out of Egypt, or out of Phœnicia: it being true, that between *Mercurius*, that lived at once with *Moſes* & *Cadmus*, there were theſe deſcents caſt; *Crotopus* King of the Argives, with whom *Moſes* lived, and in whoſe time about his tenth yeare *Moſes* died; after *Crotopus*, *Sthenelus*, who reigned eleven yeares; after him *Danaus* fifty yeares; after him *Linceus*: in whoſe time, and after him in the time of *Minos* King of Crete, this *Cadmus* arrived in Bœotia. And therefore it cannot be true that any *Mercurius* about *Moſes* his time, flying out of Greece for the ſlaughter of *Argus*, brought literature out of Greece into Egypt. Neither did either of thoſe two *Mercuries* of Egypt, whom Saint *Auguſtine* remembreth, the one the grand-father, the other the Nephew or grand-child, come out of Greece. *Eupolemus* and *Artapanus* note, that *Moſes* found out Letters, and taught the uſe of them to the Jewes; of whom the Phœnicians their neighbors received them; & the Greekes of the Phœnicians by *Cadmus*. But this invention was alſo aſcribed to *Moſes*, for the reaſon before remembred; that is, becauſe the Jewes & the Phœnicians had them firſt from him. For every Nation gave unto thoſe men the honour of firſt Inventors, from whom they received the profit. *Ficinus* makes that *Mercurie*, upon part of whoſe workes he Commenteth, to have beene foure deſcents after *Moſes*; which he hath out of *Virgil*, who calls *Atlas*, that lived with *Moſes*, the maternall grand-father of the firſt famous *Mercury*, whom others, as *Diodorus*, call the Counſailer and Inſtructer of that renowned *Iſis*, wife of *Oſiris*. But *Ficinus* giveth no reaſon for his opinion herein. But that the elder *Mercury* inſtructed *Iſis*, *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, and that ſuch an inſcription was found on a pillar erected on the Tombe of *Iſis*. *Lod. Vives* upon the ſixe and twentieth Chapter of the eight Booke of Saint *Auguſtine*, *de Civitate Dei*, conceiveth, that this *Mercury*, whoſe workes are extant, was not the firſt which was entituled *Termaximus*, but his Nephew or grand-child. **Sanchoniaton*, an ancient Phœnician, who lived ſhortly after *Moſes*, hath other fancies of this *Mercury*; affirming that he was the *Scribe of Saturne*, & called by the Phœnicians *Taautus*; and by the Egyptians *Thoot*, or *Thoyt*. It may be, that the many yeares which he is

*Lud.Vives* out of *Cicero in Aug.de Civ.Dei. l.8.c.26.*

*Euſeb.l.1.c.6. de Præp.Evan.*

*Virg.l.4.Aeneid.*

*Ficin.in Præfat. Pæmand. Mercurii Triſmegiſti.*

* Or *Sanchoniatho*: See *Euſeb.de præp. Evang.l.1.c.6.*

ſaid to have lived, to wit, three hundred yeares, gave occaſion to ſome Writers to finde him in one time, and to others in other times. But by thoſe who have collected the grounds of the *Egyptian* Philoſophie and Divinitie, he is found more ancient than *Moſes*: becauſe the Inventor of the *Egyptian Wiſedome*, wherein it is ſaid, that *Moſes* was excellently learned. *Vives in lib.8. c.26. Aug. de Civit. Dei.*

It is true, that although this *Mercurie* or *Hermes* doth in his Divinitie differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, eſpecially in the approving of Images, which *Moſes* of all things moſt deteſted: yet whoſoever ſhall reade him with an even judgement, will rather reſolve, that theſe workes which are now extant, were by the *Greekes* and *Egyptian* Prieſts corrupted, and thoſe fooleries inſerted, than that ever they were by the hand of *Hermes* written, or by his heart and ſpirit deviſed. For there is no man of underſtanding, and maſter of his owne wits, that hath affirmed in one and the ſame Tract, thoſe things which are directly contrary in doctrine, and in nature: For out of doubt (*Moſes* excepted) there was never any man of thoſe elder times that hath attributed more, and in a ſtile more reverend and divine, unto Almighty God, than he hath done. And therefore if thoſe his two Treatiſes, now among us; the one converted by *Apuleius*, the other by that learned *Ficinus*, had beene found in all things like themſelves: I thinke it had not bin perillous to have thought with *Eupolemus*, that this *Hermes* was *Moſes* himſelfe; and that the *Egyptian Theology* hereafter written, was diviſed by the firſt, & more ancient *Mercurie*, which others have thought to have bin *Joſeph*, the ſon of *Jacob*: whom, after the expoſition of *Pharaohs* dreames, they called *Saphanetphane*, which is as much to ſay, as *abſconditorum repertor*; *A finder out of hidden things.* But theſe are over-venturous opinions. For what this man was, it is known to God. Envie and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worne out the certaine knowledge of him: of whom, whoſoever he were, *Lactantius* writeth in this ſort: *His ſcripſit libros, & quidem multos, ad cognitionem divinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus Majeſtatem ſummi ac ſingularis Dei aſſerit, iiſdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem*; *He hath written many bookes belonging to, or expreſſing the knowledge of divine things, in which he affirmeth the Majeſty of the moſt High & one God, calling him by the ſame names of God & Father, which we do.* The ſame Father alſo feareth not to number him among the *Sybils* and *Prophets*. And ſo contrary are theſe his acknowledgements to thoſe Idolatrous fictions of the *Egyptians and Græcians*, as for my ſelfe I am perſwaded, that whatſoever is found in him contrary thereunto, was by corruption inſerted. For thus much himſelfe confeſſeth: *Deus omnium Dominus, & Pater, fons & vita, potentia & lux, & mens, & ſpiritus; & omnia in ipſo, & ſub ipſo ſunt. Verbum enim ex ejus eſſe prodiens, perfectiſſimum exiſtens, & generator & opifex, &c.* *God* (ſaith he) *the Lord and Father of all things, the fountaine, and life, and power, and light, and minde, and ſpirit: and all things are in him, and under him. For his Word out of himſelfe proceeding, moſt perfect, and generative, and operative, falling upon fruitfull nature, made it alſo fruitfull and producing.* And he was therefore (ſaith *Suydas*) called *Ter maximus, quia de Trinitate loquutus eſt, in Trinitate unum eſſe Deum aſſerens*; *Becauſe he ſpake of the Trinity, affirming that there is one God in Trinity. Hic ruinam* (ſaith Ficinus) *prævidit priſcæ Religionis, hic ortum novæ fidei, hic adventum Chriſti, hic futurum judicium, reſurrectionem ſæculi, beatorum gloriam, ſupplicia peccatorum*; *This* Mercurie *foreſaw the ruine of the old or ſuperſtitious Religion, and the birth of the new faith, and of the comming of Chriſt, the future judgement, the reſurrection, the glory of the Bleſſed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.*

*Maſius.*

*L.1.c.6.fol.4.*

*In Præf. Merc. Triſmeg.*

To this I will only adde his two laſt ſpeeches reported by *Calcidius* the *Platoniſt*, & by *Volteran* out of *Suydas*. *Hactenus, fili, pulſus à patria, vixi peregrinus & exul, nunc incolumis repeto: cumq; poſt paulum à vobis corporeis vinculis abſolutus diſceſſero, videtote ne me quaſi mortuum lugeatis: Nam ad illam optimam beatamq; Civitatem regredior, ad quam univerſi cives mortis conditione venturi ſunt. Ibi namq; ſolus Deus eſt ſummus Princeps, qui cives ſuos replet ſuavitate mirifica: ad quam hæc, quam multi vitam exiſtimant, mors eſt potius dicenda quam vita*; *Hitherto, O Sonne, being driven from my Country, I have lived a ſtranger and baniſhed man: but now I am repaired home-ward againe in ſafety. And when I ſhall after a few dayes (or in a ſhort time) by being looſed from theſe bonds of fleſh and bloud, depart from you, ſee that you do not bewaile me as a man dead, for I doe but returne to that beſt and bleſſed Citie, to which all her Citizens (by the condition of death) ſhall repaire. Therein is the only God, the moſt high and chiefe Prince; who filleth or feedeth his Citizens with ſweetneſſe more than* *marveilous : in regard whereof, this being, which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death than a life.* The other, and that which ſeemeth to be his laſt, is thus converted by others, agreeing in ſenſe, but not in words, with *Suydas : O cælum magni Dei ſapiens opus, téq; O vox patris quam ille primam emiſit, quando univerſum conſtituit mundum, adjuro per unigenitum ejus verbum, & Spiritum cuncta comprehendentem, miſeremini mei: I adjure thee O heaven, thou wiſe worke of the great God, and thee O voyce of the Father, which he firſt uttered, when he framed the whole World, by his onely begotten Word, and Spirit, comprehending all things, Have mercy upon me.*

But *Suydas* hath his invocation in theſe words: *Obteſtor te cælum magni Dei ſapiens opus, obteſtor te vocem Patris quam loquutus eſt primum, cum omnem mundum firmavit; obteſtor te per unigenitum Sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius eſto; I beſeech thee O heaven, wiſe worke of the great God, I beſeech thee O voyce of the Father, which he ſpake firſt when he eſtabliſhed all the World, I beſeech thee by the onely begotten Word containing all things, be favourable, be favourable.*

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## §. VII.

### *Of* Jannes *and* Jambres, *and ſome other that lived about thoſe times.*

THere were alſo in this age both *Æſculapius*, which after his death became the God of *Phyſicians*, being the brother of *Mercurius*, as *Vives* thinks in his Commentary upon *Auguſtine, de Civitate Dei. lib.* 8. and alſo thoſe two notorious Sorcerers, *Jannes* and *Jambres*, who in that impious art excelled all that ever had beene heard of to this day: and yet *Moſes* himſelfe doth not charge them with any familiarity with Divels, or ill Spirits: words indeed that ſeldome came out of his mouth; how-ever by the *Septuagint* they are called *Sophiſtæ*, or *Venefici* & *Incantatores*; Sophiſts, Poyſoners and Inchanters: by *Hierome, ſapientes & malefici*; Wiſe men, and evill doers: and ſo by *Vatablus*, who alſo uſeth the word *Magi*. The *Greeke* it ſelfe ſeemes at attribute ſomewhat of what they did to naturall *Magicke*: calling them φαρμακοὺς, workers by drugs. The *Genevian, Sorcerers and Inchanters:* Junius, *Sapientes, præſtigiatores & Magi*. Magicians and Wiſe men here by him are taken in one ſenſe: and Preſtigiators are ſuch as dazell mens eyes, and make them ſeeme to ſee what they ſee not: as falſe colours, and falſe ſhapes. But as ſome vertues and ſome vices are ſo nicely diſtinguiſhed, and ſo reſembling each other, as they are often confounded; and the one taken for the other: (Religion and Superſtition having one face and countenance) ſo did the workes and workings of *Moſes*, and of *Pharao's* Sorcerers appeare in outward ſhew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to be one and the ſame art and gift of knowledge. For the Divell changeth himſelfe into an *Angell* of light: and imitateth in all he can the waies and workings of the moſt High. And yet on the contrary every worke which ſurmounteth the wiſedome of moſt men, is not to be condemned, as performed by the helpe or miniſtery of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath given to naturall things, are ſuch, as where he alſo beſtoweth the knowledge to underſtand their hidden and beſt vertues, many things by them are brought to paſſe, which ſeeme altogether impoſſible, and above nature or art: which two ſpeculations of workes of nature, and of miracle, the *Cabaliſts* diſtinguiſhed by theſe names; *Opus de Bereſith, & opus de mercana:* the one they call *Sapientiam naturæ; The Wiſdome of nature:* the other *Sapientiam divinitatis; The Wiſedome of divinity:* the one *Jacob* practiſed in breeding the pied Lambes, in *Meſopotamia*; the other *Moſes* exercſied in his miracles wrought in *Egypt*, having received from God the knowledge of the one in the higheſt perfection, to wit, the knowledge of nature: of the other ſo farre as it pleaſed God to proportion him, both which he uſed to his glory that gave them: aſſuming to himſelfe nothing at all, either in the leaſt or moſt. Alſo Saint *Auguſtine* noteth, that from the time that *Moſes* left *Egypt*, to the death of *Joſhua*, divers other famous men lived in the World, who after their deaths for their eminent vertues and inventions, were numbred among the Gods: as *Dionyſius*, otherwiſe *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Græcians* the uſe of the Vine in *Attica*: at which time alſo there were inſtituted *Muſicall* playes to *Apollo Delphicus*: thereby to regaine his favour, who brought barrenneſſe and ſcarcity upon that part of *Greece*, becauſe they reſiſted not the attempts of *Danaus*, who ſpoiled his Temple and ſet it on fire: ſo did *Ericthonius* inſtitute the like games

*L, Vivts. in l.8. Auguſt. de Civ. Dei. c.26.*

Exod. 9.11.

to *Minerva:* wherein the Victor was rewarded with a preſent of *Oyle*, in memory of her that firſt preſt it out of the Olive.

In this age alſo *Xanthus* raviſhed *Europa*, and begat on her *Radamanthus*, *Sarpedon* and *Minos*; which three are alſo given to *Jupiter* by other Hiſtorians. To theſe Saint *Auguſtine* addeth *Hercules*; the ſame to whom the twelve labours are aſſcribed, native of *Tyrinthia* a City of *Peloponneſus*: (or as others ſay, only nurſed and brought up there) who came into *Italy*, and deſtroyed many Monſters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Euſebius* ſurnameth *Delphin*, famous in *Phœnicia*; nor that *Hercules*, according to *Philoſtratus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an *Egyptian*: *Manifeſtum fit, non Thebanum* Herculem, *ſed Ægyptium ad Gades perveniſſe, & ibi finem ſtatuiſſe terræ* (ſaith *Philoſtratus*;) *It is manifeſt that it was the Egyptian* Hercules, *and not the Theban, which travailed as farre as the ſtreights of Gades, and there determined the bounds of the earth.* In this time alſo while *Moſes* wandered in the Deſarts, *Dardanus* built *Dardania*.

*Lib. de Civit. Dei. cap. 12.*

*Philoſt. l. 2.*

But whoſoever they were, or how worthy ſoever they were that lived in the dayes and age of *Moſes*, there was never any man, that was no more than man, by whom it pleaſed God to worke greater things; whom hee favoured more, to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) hee ſo often appeared; never any man more familiar and converſant with Angels; never any more learned both in Divine and Humane knowledge; never a greater Prophet in *Iſraël*. Hee was the firſt that received and delivered the Law of God entire; the firſt that left to poſterity by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World Univerſall, and all the creatures therein; that taught the deteſtation of Idolatry, and the puniſhment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed.

*Syracides* calleth *Moſes* the beloved of God and men, whoſe remembrance is bleſſed. *He made him* (ſaith the ſame Author) *like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him by the feare of his enemies, made him glorious in the ſight of Kings, ſhewed him his glory, cauſed him to heare his voyce, ſanctified him with faithfulneſſe and meekeneſſe, and choſe him out of all men.*

*Syrac. 45. 12.*

Hee is remembred among prophane Authors; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripatetick*: by *Megaſtenes*, and *Numenius* the *Pythagorian*. The long lives which the *Patriarchs* enjoyed before the floud, remembred by *Moſes*, *Eſtieus*, *Hieronymus Egiptius*, *Hecataus*, *Elanicus*, *Acuſilans*, *Ephorus*, and *Alexander the Hiſtorian*, confirme. The univerſal floud which God revealed unto *Moſes*, *Beroſus*, *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, and others have teſtified. The building of the Tower of *Babel*, and confuſion of tongues, *Abydenus*, *Eſtieus*, and *Sybilla* have approved. *Beroſus* alſo honoureth *Abraham*. *Hecataus* wrot a Booke of him. *Damaſcenus* before cited, ſpeaketh of *Abrahams* paſſage from *Damaſcus* into *Canaan*, agreeing with the Bookes of *Moſes*. *Eupolemon* writeth the very ſame of *Abraham*, which *Moſes* did. For beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the overthrow thereof by divine power, hee ſaith that *Abraham*, borne in the tenth generation, in the City called *Camerina*, or *Urien*, excelled all men in wiſedome: and by whom the Aſtrologie of the *Caldeans* was invented. *Is juſtitia pietateq; ſua* (ſaith *Euſebius* out of the ſame Author) *ſic Deo gratus fuit, ut divino pracepto in Phœniciam venerit, ibiq; habitaverit*; *For his juſtice and piety he was ſo pleaſing unto God, as by his commandement he came into Phœnicia, and dwelt there.* Likewiſe *Diodorus Siculus*, in his ſecond Booke and fift Chapter, ſpeaketh reverently of *Moſes*: There are many other among prophane Authors, which do confirme the Bookes of *Moſes*, as *Euſebius* hath gathered in the ninth of his *Preparation to the Goſpell*, Chapter the third and fourth, to whom I referre the Reader. Laſtly, I cannot but for ſome things in it commend this notable teſtimony of *Strabo*, who writeth of *Moſes* in theſe words. Moſes *enim affirmavit, docebatq; Aegyptios non rectè ſentire, qui beſtiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: itemq; Afros & Gracos, qui Diis hominum figuram affinxerunt: id verò ſolum eſſe Deum, quod nos & terram & mare continet, quod cœlum & mundum, & rerum omnium naturam appellamus: cujus profectò imaginem, nemo ſanæ mentis, alicujus earum rerum, quæ penes nos ſunt, ſimilem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni ſimulachrorum effictione repudiata) dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum conſtituendum, ac ſine aliqua figura colendum:* Moſes *affirmed and taught, that the Egyptians thought amiſſe, which artributed unto God the Images of beaſts and cattell: Alſo that the Affricans and Greekes greatly erred in giving unto their Gods the ſhapes of men: whereas that onely is God indeed, which containeth both us, the Earth and Sea, which we call Heaven, the World, and the nature of all things, whoſe*

*Strabo. l. 16.*

*image, doubtleſſe, no wiſe man will dare to faſhion out unto the likeneſſe of thoſe things, which are amongſt us: That therefore (all deviſing of Idols caſt aſide) a worthy Temple and place of prayer was to be erected unto him, and he to be worſhipped without any figure at all therein.*

Act.7.v.22. Now concerning the *Egyptian* wiſedome, for which the *Martyr Stephen* commended *Moſes*, ſaying, *That Moſes was learned in all the wiſedome of the Egyptians, and was mighty in his works and words*; the ſame is corrected (how truly I know not) by *Diodorus*, *Diogenes*, *Laertius*, *Iamblicus*, *Philo Judaus*, and *Euſebius Cæſarienſis*, and divided into foure parts, *viz.* Mathematicall, Naturall, Divine, and Morall.

In the Mathematicall part, which is diſtinguiſh't into *Geometrie*, *Aſtronomie*, *Arithmetick*, and *Muſick*, the ancient *Egyptians* exceed all others. For *Geometry* which is by interpretation meaſuring of grounds, was uſefull unto them: becauſe it conſiſting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands, and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of *Nilus*, were yearely overflowne and confounded, ſo as no man could know what in right belonged unto him.

For the ſecond part, to wit, *Aſtronomie*, the ſite of the Country being a levell and ſpacious Plaine, free and cleere from the clouds, yeelded them delight with eaſe, in obſerving and contemplating the riſings, fallings, and motions of the Starres.

*Arithmeticke* alſo, which is the knowledge of numbers, they ſtudied; becauſe without it, in *Geometry* and *Aſtronomy*, nothing can be demonſtrated or concluded. But of *Muſicke* they made no other account, nor deſired farther knowledge, than ſeemed to them ſufficient to ſerve and magnifie their Gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Naturall part of this Wiſedome, which handleth the principles, cauſes, elements, & operations of naturall things, differs little from *Peripateticall Philoſophie*; teaching, that *Materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies and living creatures have their being; that Heaven is round like a Globe; that all Starres have a certaine fovent heate, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that raines proceed and be from mutations in the ayre; that the Planets have their proper ſoules, &c.

The Divine part of this wiſedome, which is called *Theologie*, teacheth and beleeveth that the world had a beginning, and ſhall periſh; that men had their firſt orignall in *Egypt*; partly by meanes of the temperateneſſe of that Country, where neither Winter with cold, nor Summer with heate are offenſive; and partly through the fertility, that *Nilus* giveth in thoſe places: That the ſoule is immortall, and hath tranſmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all Gods; and that from this God, other gods are, as the Sunne and Moone, whom they worſhipped by the names of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and divers Images, becauſe the true ſimilitudes of the Gods is not known; that many of the Gods have beene in the eſtate of mortall men, and after death, for their vertues, and benefits beſtowed on mankinde, have bin Deified; that thoſe beaſts, whoſe Images and formes the Kings did carrie in their Armes, when they obtained victory, were adored for Gods: becauſe under thoſe Enſignes they prevailed over their enemies. Moreover the *Egyptian* Divines had a peculiar kinde of writing, myſticall and ſecret, wherein the higheſt points of their Religion and worſhip of God, which was to be concealed from the vulgar ſort, were obſcured.

Clem.Strom.l.5. *Clemens* diſtributeth the whole ſumme of this later *Egyptian* learning into three ſeverall ſorts, *viz.* *Epiſtolar*, which is uſed in writing common Epiſtles; *Sacerdotall*, which is peculiar to their Prieſts; and *Sacred*, which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kindes: the one proper, which it expreſſed by letters Alphabeticall in obſcure and figurative words; as for example, where it is written: The *Ibis* by the Hornet participateth the beauty of the Hawke; which is read thus: The Moone doth by the Sunne borrow part of the light of God: becauſe Light is an Image of Divine beauty; the other ſymbolicall, or by ſignatures, which is threefold, *viz.* Imitative, Tropicall, and Ænygmaticall: Imitative, which deſigneth things by characters, like to the things ſignified, as by a Circle the Sun; and by the Hornes of the Moone, the Moone it ſelfe: Tropicall or transferent, which applies the divers formes and figures of naturall bodies or creatures, to ſignifie the dignities, fortunes, conditions, vertues, vices, affections, and actions of their Gods, and of men. So with the *Egyptian* Divines, the Image of an Hawke ſignifieth God, the figure of the Hornet ſignifieth the Sunne, the picture of the Bird *Ibis* ſignifieth the Moone:

by the forme of a Man, Prudence and Skilfulneſſe: by a Lion, Fortitude: by a Horſe, Libertie: by a Crocodile, Impudency: by a Fiſh, Hatred is to be underſtood. Ænigmaticall is a compoſition or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which ſenſe, the monſtrous Image of a Lions body having a Mans head, was graven on their Temples and Altars, to ſignifie, that to men all divine things are Ænigmaticall and obſcure. So the Image of the Sunne ſet on the head of a Crocodile, (which liveth aſwell in the Waters, as on Land) expreſſeth that the Sun nouriſheth Meteors in the Aire, aſwell from the Waters, as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top whereof is made an Eye, and an Eare, ſignifieth God, Hearing, Seeing, and governing all things. The Scythians are thought to have bin delighted with this kinde of writing. For *Pherecides Syrius* reporteth, That when *Darius* ſending letters, threatned *Idanthura*, King of the Scythians, with ruine and deſtruction of his Kingdome, unleſſe he would acknowledge ſubjection: *Idanthura* returned to him a Mouſe, a Frog, as Bird, a Dart, and a Plough-ſhare: which *Orontopagas*, Tribune of the Souldiers, interpreted to ſignifie, that by the mouſe, their dwellings: by the Frog, their waters: by the Bird, their ayre: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough, their landes, were ſignified to be ready to be delivered to *Darius*, as their Soveraigne Lord. But *Xyphodres* made another conſtruction, *viz.* that the King meant, That except *Darius* with his men did haſten away, as a Bird through the Ayre, or creepe into holes as a mouſe, or runne into the waters which they had paſſed as a Frog, they ſhould not eſcape his armes, but either be ſlaine, or being made Captives, Till his grounds. The ſame Hiſtory is with little difference reported by *Herodotus*.

*Herod.l.4.*

The fourth and laſt part, which is Morall and Politique, doth containe eſpecially the Lawes, which (according to *Laertius*) *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus*, or *Ter Maximus* deviſed: who in his Bookes or Dialogues of *Pimander* and *Aſclepius*, hath written ſo many things of God, worthy of admiration; aſwell (ſaith *Sixtus Senenſis*) of the *Trinity*, and of the comming of *Chriſt*, as of the laſt and fearefull day of *Judgement*: that (as ſaith the ſame Author, the opinion being alſo ancient) he is not onely to be accounted a Philoſopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

*Iamblicus* in his Bookes of Myſteries of the Egyptians, taking two very ancient Hiſtorians for his Authors, to wit, *Seleucus* and *Menatus*, affirmeth that this *Mercury* was not onely the Inventor of the Egyptian Philoſophy, but of all other learning, called the *Wiſedome of the Egyptians* before remembred: and that he wrote of that ſubject 36525. Bookes, or Pages. Of which there were numbred, of Fiery Spirits, one hundred Bookes, of Aereall Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celeſtiall a thouſand; which becauſe they were out of the Egyptians language converted by certaine learned Philoſophers into naturall *Greeke*, they ſeemed to have bin firſt written in that Tongue. *Clemens Alexandrinus* writeth, that among the Bookes of *Hermes*, to wit, of the *Wiſedome of the Egyptians*, there were extant in his time 36. Of *Phyſicke* ſixe Bookes; of the orders of *Prieſts* ten; and of *Aſtrology* foure.

*Clem.Strom.l.6.*

## §. VIII.

### *A Briefe of the Hiſtory of* Joſua; *and of the ſpace between him and* Othoniel: *and of the remainders of the Canaanites; with a note of ſome Contemporaries to* Joſua: *and of the breach of Faith.*

AFter the death of *Moſes*, and in the one and fortieth yeare of the Egreſſion, in the firſt moneth called *Niſan*, or *March*, *Joſua*, the ſon of *Nun*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, being filled with the Spirit of wiſedome, tooke on him the government of *Iſrael*: God giving him comfort, and encouraging him to paſſe the River of *Jordan*, and to poſſeſſe, and divide among the Iſraelites the Land promiſed.

The beginning of *Joſua's* rule, Saint *Auguſtine* dates with the raigne of *Amyntas*, the eighteenth King in *Aſſyria*; with *Corax* the ſixteenth King in *Sicyonia*, when *Danaus* governed the *Argives*; and *Ericthonius*, *Athens*.

*Lib.18.de Civit.Dei.c.11.*

*Joſua* imitating in all things his Predeceſſor, ſent over *Jordan* certaine diſcoverers to view the ſeate and ſtrength of *Jerico*, the next City unto him on the other ſide of the River, which he was to paſſe over. Which diſcoverers being ſaved, and ſent back by *Rahab*, a woman of ill fame, becauſe ſhe kept a Taverne or Vitling-houſe, made *Joſua* know that the inhabitants of *Jerico*, and thoſe of the Country about it, hearing of the approach

Joſ.2.1.

Joſ.2.11.

of *Iſrael*, had loſt courage. Whereupon the day after the returne of the Spies, which was Joſ.2.11. the ſixth day of the one and fortieth yeere after the Egreſſion, *Joſua* removed from Sittim Joſ.3.1. in the plaines of Moab, and drew down his Army to the bankes of the River Jordan; and gave them commandement to put themſelves in order to follow the *Ark of God*, when the Joſ.3.3. Levites tooke it up, and moved towards the River; giving them withall this forcible encouragement, That they ſhould thereby aſſure themſelves of his favour and preſence Joſ.3.13. who is Lord of all the world, when the River of Jordan ſhould be cut off and divided, and the waters comming from above ſhould ſtand ſtill in a heape, whereby thoſe below towards the *Dead Sea* wanting ſupply, they might paſſe over into the land of Canaan with dry feet.

Joſ.1.12. He alſo commanded *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe*, to prepare themſelves (according to their Covenant made with *Moſes*) to march in the head of the reſt, and, as we call it in this age, to lead in the Vantguard, which through all the Deſarts of Arabia, from the Mount Sinai to this place, thoſe of the Tribe of Juda had performed. For theſe Tribes being already provided of their habitations, and Countrie and Cities of the Amorites, by the helpe of the reſt, conquered for them: it agreed with juſtice and equalitie, that *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe of *Manaſſe* ſhould alſo aſſiſt their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies poſſeſſion.

On the banks of Jordan they reſted themſelves from the ſixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the firſt moneth *Niſan*, or *March*, they paſt over to the other ſide, taking with them twelve ſtones from the drie ground in the middeſt of the River: which, for a memory of that miracle by God wrought, they ſet up at Gilgal, on the Eaſt ſide of the Joſ.4.19. Citie of Jerico, where they encamped the firſt night. At which place *Joſua* gave commandement, that all born in the laſt fortieth yeere in the Deſarts ſhould be circumciſed, which Joſ.5.2. ceremonie to that day had beene omitted. Of the neglect whereof S. *Auguſtine* giveth for Aug.q.3.in Joſ. cauſe, The peoples contempt of their ſuperiours. *Thomas* excuſeth it in this ſort; That the Thom.part.3. quæſt.70.art.4. ad.3. Iſraelites knew not the certaine time of their removing from one place to another: *Damaſcen*, That it was not needfull by circumciſion to diſtinguiſh them from other Nations, at ſuch time as they lived by themſelves, and a-part from all Nations.

On the fourteenth day of the ſame Moneth, the children of Iſrael celebrated the *Paſſeover* now the third time; firſt, at their leaving Egypt; ſecondly, at Mount Sinai; & now Joſ.5.10. at Gilgal. After which, being deſirous to taſte of the fruits of the Country, and having, as it were, ſurfeted on *Man*, they parched of the Corne of the land, being not yet fully ripe, and ate thereof.

And as *Moſes* began to diſtribute thoſe Regions beyond Jordan, to wit, the Lands of the Amorites which *Og* of Baſan, and *Sehon* held, ſo did *Joſua* performe the reſt; and after a view and partition made of the Territories, he gave to each Tribe his portion by lot. But this partition and diſtribution was not done at once, but at three ſeverall times; firſt, by *Moſes* to *Gad*, *Reuben*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe*, of the Lands over Jordan; Joſ.14.3. ſecondly, by *Joſua*, to the Tribe of *Juda*, *Ephraim*, and the other halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe*, about the fift yeere of his government; proved in the 14. of *Joſua v.* 10. and a third diviſion Joſ.18. was made to the other ſeven Tribes, at Shilo, where *Joſua* ſeated the *Tabernacle of the Congregation*.

The victories of *Joſua* againſt the Kings of the Canaanites, are ſo particularly ſet down in his own bookes, as I ſhall not need to lengthen this part by their repitition. In whoſe Storie I chiefly note theſe particulars. Firſt, how in the beginning of the warre, thoſe little Kings or *Reguli* of the Canaanites, had not ſo much underſtanding, as to unite themſelves together againſt the Iſraelites; but according to the cuſtome of thoſe eſtates, from whoſe Governours God hath taken away all wiſedome and foreſight, they left thoſe of their owne Nation, which were next the invaders, to themſelves, and to their owne defences; hoping that the fire kindled ſomewhat farre off, might againe have beene quenched, ere it could ſpread it ſelfe ſo farre as their owne Territories and Cities. But after ſuch time as Jerico and Ai were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities conſumed; five of thoſe 31. Kings (all which at length periſhed in that warre) joyned themſelves together, firſt attempting the Gibeonites, who had rendred themſelves to *Joſua*. Only five (the reſt looking on to the ſucceſſe) namely, the King of the Jebuſites, in Jebus, or Hieruſalem, the Kings of Hebron, *Jarmoth*, *Lachis*, & *Eglon*, addreſt themſelves for reſiſtance: whoſe Armie being by *Joſua* ſurpriſed and broken, themſelves deſpairing to eſcape by fligh flight, and hopeleſſe of mercy by ſubmiſſion, creeping into a Cave under ground, were thence by *Joſua* drawne forth and hanged. In the proſecution of which victory he alſo Joſ.10. tooke *Makkedath*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the reliefe whereof *Horam* King of *Gezar* haſtened, and periſhed. After which *Joſua* poſſeſt himſelfe of *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir*, Joſ.10. deſtroying the Cities with their Princes.

In the end, and when the South Countries were poſſeſt, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings and People made duſt: the reſt of the *Canaanites*, guided by the over-late counſailes of neceſſitie, united themſelves, to make one groſſe ſtrength & body of an Armie: which *Jabin*, King of *Hazor*, practiſed & gathered together, by *Joſua* diſcovered, as the ſame reſted neere the Lake of *Merom*, he uſed ſuch diligence, as he came on them unawares; and obtaining abſolute victory over them, he proſecuted the ſame to the utmoſt effect. And, beſides the ſlaughter of the defendants, he entred their Cities, of which he burnt *Hazor* only, reſerving the reſt for *Iſrael* to inhabite and enjoy.

Secondly, I note, that *Joſua* ſhewed himſelfe a skilfull man of Warre, for that in thoſe ancient times he uſed the ſtratagem of an ambuſh in taking of *Ai*; and in that he broke the Armies of the firſt five Kings of the *Amorites*, which attempted *Gibeon* by ſurpriſe. For he marched all night from his campe at *Gilgal*, and ſet on them earely the next day; when Joſ.10.v.9. he overthrew *Jabin* and his confederates. After which, making the beſt profit of his victory, he aſſaulted the great Citie of *Hazor*.

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this warre, were exceeding admirable; as the ſtay of the River *Jordan* at the Springs, ſo as the Armie of *Iſrael* paſt it with a drie foote; the fall of *Jerico* by the ſound of the Hornes; the ſhowers of Haile-ſtones, Joſ.3.v.13. which fell upon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, whereby more of them periſhed Cap.10.v.11. than by the ſword of *Iſrael*: againe, the arreſt of the Sunne in the firmament, whereby the day was ſo much the more lightened, as the *Iſraelites* had time to execute all thoſe which fled after the overthrow: a wonder of wonders, and a worke only proper to the all-powerfull God.

Fourthly, out of the paſſage betweene *Joſua* and the *Gibeonites*, the Doctrine of keeping Faith is ſo plainely and excellently taught, as it taketh away all evaſion, it admitteth no intruſion, nor leaveth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiouſnes, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called *Equivocation*. For, notwithſtanding that theſe *Gibeonites* were a people of the *Hevites*, expreſly and by name, by the commandement of Joſ.9.7. God to be rooted out, and notwithſtanding that they were liars, and deceivers, and counterfeits, and that they did over-reach, and, as it were, deride *Joſua*, and the Princes of *Iſrael*, by faining to be ſent as Embaſſadours from a farre Country, in which travaile their clothes were worne, their bread mouldie, which they avowed to have bin warme for newneſſe when they firſt ſet out; their barrels and bottels of wine broken; their ſhoes patcht; and their ſacks rent and ragged: Yet *Joſua* having ſworne unto them by Joſ.9.from the 5.to the 13.v. the Lord God of *Iſrael*, he durſt not, though urged by the multitude of the people, to lay violent hands on them; but he ſpared both their Lives, and the Cities of their inheritance.

Now if ever man had warrant to breake Faith, and to retract his promiſe made, *Joſua* had it. For firſt, the commandement which he received from God to roote out this Nation among the reſt, preceded by farre the peace which he had granted them. Secondly, he might juſtly have put theſe men to the ſword, and have ſackt their Cities, if there be any evaſion from a promiſe made, whereof the living God is called to witneſſe. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* he gave peace, becauſe he knew them to be a people hated of God. He told them, that if they were of the *Hevites*, it was not in his power to make a Joſ.9.7. league with them. But it was to a ſtrange people that he gave faith, & to a Nation which came from farre, who hearing of the wonders which the God of *Iſrael* had done in *Egypt* and over *Jordan*, ſought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, the Joſ.c.9.v.14. accord, which *Iſrael* made with theſe crafty *Canaanites*, was without warrant. For it is written in the ſame place: That the *Iſraelites* accepted their tale, that is, beleeved what they had ſaid, *and counſailed not with the mouth of the Lord*. Fourthly, theſe men who were knowne Idolaters, and ſerved thoſe Puppets of the Heathen, men of an Apiſh Religion, as all Worſhippers of Images are, could not challenge the witneſſe of the true God, in whom they beleeved not. I ſay therefore, that if ever man might have ſerved himſelfe by any evaſion or diſtinction, *Joſua* might juſtly have done it. For he needed not in this caſe the helpe of *Æquivocation* or *Mentall Reſervation.* For what he ſware, he ſware in good Faith; but he ſware nothing, nor made any promiſe at all to the *Gibeonites.* And yet, to the end that the faithleſſe ſubtiltie of man ſhould borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promiſes he made in the name of God, were made to the living God, and not to the dying Man, he held them firme, and inviolable, notwithſtanding that they, to whom he had ſworne it, were worſhippers of the Devill.

For it is not, as faithleſſe men take it; that he which ſweareth to a Man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a King, and ſweareth by the name of the living Lord, and in his preſence, That this promiſe (if it be broken) is broken to a man, to a Societie, to a State or to a Prince; but the promiſe in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God that we therein neglect: we therein profeſſe that we feare him not, and that we ſet him at naught, and defie him. If he that without Reſervation of honour giveth a lie in the preſence of the King, or of his Superiour, doth in point of Honour give the lie to the King himſelfe, or to his Superiour; how much more doth he breake Faith with God, that giveth Faith in the preſence of God, promiſeth in his name, and makes him a witneſſe of the Covenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearefull thing for a Son to breake the Promiſe, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdome, to breake thoſe Contracts which have bin made in former times, and confirmed by publike faith. For though it were 400. yeares after *Joſua*, that *Saul*, even out of devotion, ſlaughtered ſome of thoſe people deſcended of the *Gibeonites*: yet God, who forgat not what the Predeceſſors and Fore-fathers of *Saul* and the *Iſraelites* had ſworne in his name, afflicted the whole Nation with a conſuming famine; and could not be appeaſed, till ſeven of *Sauls* ſonnes were delivered to the *Gibeonites* grieved, and by them hanged up.

And certainely, if it be permitted by the helpe of a ridiculous diſtinction, or by a God-mocking equivocation, to ſweare one thing by the name of the living God, and to reſerve in ſilence a contrary intent: the life of man, the eſtates of men, the faith of Subjects to Kings, of Servants to their Maſters, of Vaſſals to their Lords, of Wives to their Huſbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trialls of right, will not only be made uncertaine, but all the chaines whereby free men are tied in the world, be torne aſunder. It is by oath (when Kings and Armies cannot paſſe) that we enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies: it is by oath that warres take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it or ought it to be that makes an oath thus powerfull, but this; That he that ſweareth by the name of God, doth aſſure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the World is true whom he calleth for a witneſſe, and in whoſe preſence he that taketh the oath hath promiſed? I am not ignorant of their poore evaſions, which play with the ſeverity of Gods commandements in this kinde: But this indeed is the beſt anſwer, That he breakes no faith, that hath none to breake. For whoſoever hath faith and the feare of God, dares not doe it.

The *Chriſtians* in the *Holy Land* when they were at the greateſt, and had brought the *Caliph* of *Egypt* to pay them tribute, did not onely loſe it againe, but were ſoone after beaten out of the *Holy Land* it ſelfe: by reaſon (ſaith *William* of *Tyre*, a reverend Biſhop which wrote that Storie) that *Almerick* the fiftieth King after *Godfrey* brake faith with the *Caliph Elhadech*, and his Vicegerent. The *Soldan Sanar*, who being ſuddenly invaded by *Almerick*, drew in the *Turke Syracon* to their aide: whoſe Nephew *Seladine*, after he had made *Egypt* his owne, beat the *Chriſtians* out of the *Holy Land*; neither would the wooden Croſſe (the very *Croſſe*, ſay they, that Chriſt died on) give them victory over *Seladine*, when they brought it into the field as their laſt refuge, ſeeing they had forſworne themſelves in his name, that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from Pſal.5.6. Wiſd.1.11. the holy Ghoſt, *That he that ſpeaketh lies, ſhall be deſtroyed,* and that *the mouth which uttereth them, ſlaieth the ſoule*: how much more perillous is it (if any perill be greater than to deſtroy the ſoule) to ſweare a lie? It was *Eugenius* the Pope, that perſwaded, or rather commanded the King of *Hungarie* after his great victory over *Amurath* the *Turke*, and when the ſaid King had compelled him to peace, the moſt advantagious that ever was made for the Chriſtians, to breake his Faith, & to provoke the *Turke* to renew the warre. And though the ſaid King was farre ſtronger in the field than ever; yet he loſt the battaile with 30000. *Chriſtians*, and his owne life. But I will ſtay my hand: For this firſt volum volume will not hold the repetition of Gods judgements upon faith-breakers; be it againſt Infidels, Turks, or Chriſtians of divers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oathes now-a-dayes, is rather made a matter of cuſtome than of conſcience.

It is alſo very remarkeable, That it pleaſed God to leave ſo many Cities of the Canaanites unconquered by Iſrael, to ſcourge and afflict them, by fore-ſeeing their Idolatrie, &, as it is ſaid in the ſcriptures, *To be Thornes in their eyes to prove them, and to teach them to make Warre.* For theſe Cities hereafter named did not onely remaine in the Canaanites poſſeſſion all the time of *Joſua*; but ſoone after his death the Children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plaine Countries, and enforc't to inhabite the Mountaines, and places of hardeſt acceſſe. And thoſe of Juda were not able to be Maſters of their owne Vallies; becauſe, as it is written in the *Judges*, The Canaanites had Chariots of Iron. And thoſe principall Cities which ſtood on the Sea-ſide, adjoyning unto Juda, were ſtill held by the remainder of the Anakims, or Philiſtims: as Azzah, Gath, Aſdod; out of one of which Cities came *Goliath*, remembred in *Samuel*.

Joſu.23.
Judg.1.&
Judg.3.v.2.
Judg.1.v.34.
Jud.1.v.19.
Joſ.11.v.19.
Sam 1.17.4.

Neither did the children of *Manaſſe* over Jordan expell the Geſhurites, nor the Maachathites: which inhabited the North parts of Baſan, afterward Traconitis.

Nor the *Nepthalims* poſſeſſe themſelves of *Bethſhemiſh*, nor of *Bethanah*; but they inforc't thoſe Canaanites to pay them tribute. Neither did *Aſher* expell the Zidonians, nor thoſe of Acho, or Acon, Athlab, Achzib, Heblah, Aphike, & Rehob, nor inforce them to tribute.

Joſ.13.v.13.
Jud 1.v.31.

No more could *Zabulon* enjoy Kitron, and Nahalol, but received tribute from them. Alſo the Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among the Ephraims: & among the children of *Manaſſe*, on the Weſt of Jordan, the Canaanites held Bethſhean, Taacnach, Dor, Ibleam, and Megaddo; yea, Hieruſalem it ſelfe did the Jebuſites defend above foure hundred yeares, even till *Davids* time.

Joſ.16.v.10.
Jud.2.v.27.

Now *Joſua* lived one hundred and ten yeares, eighteene of which he governed Iſrael, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expreſſed in the Scriptures, which cauſeth divers to conjecture diverſly of the continuance. *Joſephus* gives him five & twentie yeares: *Seder Ollam Rabbi* the Authors of the *Hebrew Chronologie* eight and twentie; and *Maſius* ſixe and twentie: *Maimonius* cited by *Maſius*, foureteene: *Joannes Lucidus*, ſeventeene: *Cajetanus* ten: *Euſebius* giveth him ſeven & twentie: and ſo doth S. *Auguſtine*: *Melancthon*, two and thirtie: *Codoman*, five and twentie. But whereas there paſſed 480. yeares from the delivery of Iſrael out of Egypt, unto the building of the Temple, it is neceſſary that we allow to *Joſua* only eighteene of them; as finding the reſt ſupplied otherwiſe, which to me ſeemes the moſt likely, & as I thinke, a well approved opinion.

The ſame neceſſity of retaining preciſely 480. yeares from the departure out of Egypt unto the building of the Temple, convinceth of errour, ſuch as have inſerted yeares betweene *Joſua* and *Othoniel*, of whom *Euſebius* findes eight yeares, to which *Arius Montanus* adhereth; and for which he giveth his reaſon in his foure and twentieth and laſt Chapters upon *Joſua*: *Bunting* reckons it nine yeares: *Bucholzer* and *Reuſner* but one; *Codoman* twentie, and *Nicephorus* no leſſe than three and thirtie: whereas following the ſure direction of theſe 480. yeares, there can be no voide yeares found betweene *Joſua* and *Othoniel*, unleſſe they be taken out of thoſe eighteene aſcribed unto *Joſua* by the account already ſpecified. The prayſes and acts of *Joſua* are briefly written in the ſixe and fortieth Chapter of *Eccleſiaſticus*, where among many other things it is ſaid of him, *Who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battels of the Lord?*

*Euſeb.Præp.*
*Evang.*

That he wrote the booke called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arius Montanus*, becauſe it is ſaid in the laſt Chapter, *v.26. And* Joſua *wrote theſe words in the booke of the Law of God*: which ſeemeth rather to have bin meant by the covenant which *Joſua* made with Iſrael in Sichem, where they all promiſed to ſerve & obey the Lord: which promiſe *Joſua* cauſed to be written in the booke of the Law: and of this opinion were *Cajetan* and *Abulenſis*: *Theodoret* doth likewiſe conceive that the booke of *Joſua* was collected out of an ancient Volume, intituled *Liber Juſtorum*, remembred by *Joſua* himſelfe; and others, that it was the worke of *Samuel*: for whereas *Montanus* groundeth his opinion upon theſe words of the 26. verſe, *And Joſua wrote theſe words, &c.* this place hath nothing in it to prove it: for when the people had anſwered *Joſua*; *The Lord our God will we ſerve, and his voyce will we obey*, it followeth that *Joſua* made a covenant with the people, and wrote the ſame in the booke of the Law of God.

1.10.13.
ſ.laſt.v.24.v.26.

*Lib.18.c.12. De Civit.Dei.*
*Homer.Odyſſ. & Iliad.*
*Hom.Iliad.1.*

There lived at once with *Joſua*, *Ericthonius* in Attica, who taught that Nation to yoke beaſts together, thereby to till the ground with more eaſe & ſpeed: And about the ſame time the fiftie Daughters of *Danaus* (as it is ſaid) ſlew the fiftie Sons of *Ægyptus*, all but *Lynceus*, who ſucceeded *Danaus*, if the tale be true. There lived alſo with *Joſua*, *Phœnix*, & *Cadmus*, and neere the end of *Joſua's* life, *Jupiter* is ſaid to have raviſhed *Europa* the daughter of *Phœnix*, (afterward married to *Aſterius* King of Creta) & begat on her *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, & *Sarpedon*. But S. *Auguſtine* reports this raviſhment to be committed by *Xanthus*, & yet they are more commonly taken for the Sons of *Jupiter*. But it may be doubted whether *Minos* was father to *Deucalion*, and *Deucalion* to *Idomeneus*, who was an old man at the warre of Troy, and *Sarpedon* was in perſon a young or ſtrong man at the ſame Trojan warre. And ſo doth *Neſtor* reckon up in the Councell of the Greekes, *Theſeus* and *Perithous* for men of Antiquitie, and of Ages paſt: *Minos* being yet more ancient than any of theſe. But hereof elſe-where.

## CHAP. VII.

### *Of the Tribes of Iſrael, that were planted in the borders of Phœnicia, with ſundrie Stories depending upon thoſe places.*

#### §. I.

#### *The Proœme to the deſcription of the whole Land of Canaan; with an Expoſition of the name of Syria.*

THE ſtory of the *Judges* ought to follow that of *Joſua*, after whom the Common-wealth of the Jewes was governed by Kings, of which ſo many of them as ruled the tenne Tribes, ſhall be remembred when we come the deſcription of Samaria: but becauſe the Land of Canaan, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and Theaters, whereon the greateſt part of the Story paſt, with that which followeth, hath bin acted, I thinke it very pertinent (for the better underſtanding of both) to make a *Geographicall* deſcription of thoſe Regions: that all things therein performed by the places knowne, may the better be underſtood, and conceived. To which purpoſe (beſides the addition of the Neighbour Countries) I have beſtowed on every Tribe his proper portion: and doe ſhew what Cities and Places of ſtrength were by the Jewes obtained: and what numbers it pleaſed God to leave unconquered; by whom he might correct and ſcourge them, when ungratefull for his many graces, they at ſundry times forgat or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored thoſe deafe and dead Idols of the Heathen. *Divina bonitas* (ſaith *Auguſtine*) *ideo maximè iraſcitur in hoc ſeculo, ne iraſcatur in futuro: & miſericorditer temporalem adhibet ſeveritatem, ne æternam juſtè inferat ultionem; The Divine goodneſſe is eſpecially therefore angry in this world, that it may not be angry in the world to come, and doth mercifully uſe temporall ſeverity, that it may not juſtly bring upon us eternall vengeance.*

To the Cities herein deſcribed, I have added a ſhort Story of the beginnings and ends of divers Kingdomes and Common-weales: and to helpe my ſelfe herein, I have peruſed divers of the beſt Authors upon this ſubject: among whom, becauſe I finde ſo great diſagreement in many particulars, I have rather in ſuch caſes adventured to follow mine owne reaſon, than to borrow any one of their old patternes.

And becauſe Canaan, with Paleſtina of the Philiſtims, and the Lands of *Og* and *Sehon* Kings of Baſan, and the Arabian Amorites, were but ſmall Provinces of Syria: it ſhall be neceſſarie, firſt to divide and bound the generall, and ſo to deſcend to this particular, now called the holy Land.

*Ptol.Aſiæ.tab.4. Ptol.5.*

Syria, now Soria, according to the largeſt deſcription, and as it was anciently taken, imbraced all thoſe Regions from the Euxine Sea, to the Red Sea: and therefore were the Cappadocians, which look into Pontus, called *Leucoſyrians* or white *Syrians*. But taking it ſhorter, and from the coaſt of Cilicia, which is the North border, unto Idumæa towards the South, Tigris towards the Sunne riſing, and the Mediterran Sea Weſtward: it then containeth beſides Babylonia, Chaldæa, Arabia the Deſart, & Arabia Petræa, that Region alſo which the Greekes call Meſopotamia, the Hebrewes Syria, of the two Rivers, to wit, Tigris and Euphrates, for ſo *Aran Nahairajim* is expounded: alſo *Padan Aram*; that is, *Jugum Syriæ*, becauſe the two Rivers goe along in it as it were in a yoke.

Edeſſa, ſometime Rages, now Rage, was the Metropolis of this Region of Syria. In Syria taken largely, there were many ſmall Provinces, as Cœloſyria, which the Latines call *Syria Cava*, becauſe it lay in that fruitfull Valley betweene the Mountaines of Lybanus, and Antylibanus, in which the famous Cities of Antioch, Laodicea, Apamea, with many others, were ſeated. Then Damaſcena, or Syria Lybanica, taking name of the Citie Damaſcus, and the Mountaines of Lybanus, the Regall ſeate of the *Adades*, the firſt Kings of Syria. Adjoyning to it was the Province of Sophene, or Syria Soba, Choba, or Zobal: over which *AdadeZer* commanded in *Salomons* time. Then *Phœnicia* and the people Syraphœnicies: & laſtly Syria Palæſtina bordering Egypt: of which *Ptolomie* maketh Judæa alſo a part: and to that Province which *Moſes* calleth Seir and Edom, *Pomponius Mela* giveth the name of Syria Judæa.

*Aurogallus*
1 K. 11.
*Herod in Pollux, Dio. l. 27.*
*Ptol. Aſiæ, tab. 4.*

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## §. II.

### *Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan, and of the promiſes touching this Land.*

But that Land which was anciently *Canaan*, taketh a part of *Phænicia*, and ſtretcheth from behinde *Lybanus* to the great *Deſarts* betweene *Idumaa* and *Egypt*: bounded by the Mid-land Sea on the Weſt, & the Mountaines of *Hermon*, *Galaad* and *Arnon* towards the Eaſt: the ſame Hils which *Strabo* calleth *Traconi* or *Traconitæ*, and *Ptolomie Hippus*. The name of *Canaan* it had from *Canaan* the ſonne of *Cham*, *& lingua appellata fuit* Canaan; *The language was alſo called* Canaan, ſaith *Montanus*: and after *Hebraa* of the *Hebrewes*: who tooke name from *Heber*, the ſonne of *Sale*, according to Saint *Auguſtine*. But *Arias Montanus* not ſo well allowing of this derivation, makes it a common name to all thoſe of *Noahs* Sonnes, which paſt over *Euphrates* towards the Weſt Sea. For the word *Heber*, ſaith he, is as much as *tranſiens* or *tranſmittens*, *of going* or *paſſing over*. And becauſe the children of *Abraham* had for a long time no certain abiding: therefore, as he thinkes, they were by the *Egyptians* called *Hebræi*, as it were paſſengers, which is alſo the opinion of *C. Sigonius*, and of *Euſebius* long before them both. It had alſo the name of *Judaa* from *Juda*; and then afterwards intituled the holy Land, becauſe therein our *Saviour Chriſt* was borne and buried. Now this part of *Syria* was againe divided into foure; namely, into *Edom*, (otherwiſe *Sier*, or *Edumaa*) *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judaa*. *Galilee* is double, the *ſuperior* called *Gentium*, and the *inferiour*: and that *Galilee* and *Judæa* are diſtinguiſhed, it is plaine in the *Evangeliſts*, though both of them belong to *Phænicia*.

Strab. l. 16.
Calcb. f. 62.
*Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 7. c. 3.*
Matth. 2.
Luke 2.
John 4.

Now beſides theſe Provinces of *Phænicia*, and *Palæſtina* (both which the River of *Jordan* boundeth; ſaving that *Phænicia* ſtretcheth a little more Eaſterly towards *Damaſcus*) that part alſo to the Eaſt of *Jordan*, and within the Mountaines of *Hermon*, *Gilead*, & *Arnon*, otherwiſe *Traconi*, fell to the poſſeſſion of halfe *Manaſſe*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, and therefore are accounted a part of *Canaan* alſo: aſwell becauſe anciently poſſeſt by the Amorites, as for that they were conquered and enjoyed by the Iſraelites; which Eaſtermoſt parts are againe divided into *Baſan* or *Batanea*, into *Gilead*, *Moab*, *Midian*, *Ammon*, and the territories of the *Macbati*, *Geſſuri*, *Argobe*, *Hus*. They are knowne to the later *Coſmographers* by the name of *Arabia* in generall: and by the names of *Traconitis*, *Pieria*, *Batanea*, *&c.* of which I will ſpeake in their proper places.

But where *Moſes* deſcribeth the Land of *Canaan* in the tenth of *Geneſis*, he maketh no mention of the later Provinces, which fell to *Manaſſe*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, for theſe be his words, *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou commeſt to Gerar untill AZZah* (which is *GaZa*) and this was the length of the Countrey North and South: then it followeth in the Text; *And as thou goeſt unto Sodome and Gomorah, and Admah, and Seboiim, even unto Laſha*: by which words *Moſes* ſetteth downe the breadth, to wit, from the *Dead Sea* to the *Mediterran*. But in *Deuteronomie* it ſeemeth to be far more large: For it is therein written; *All the places whereon the ſoale of your feet ſhall tread, ſhall be yours:*

Deut. 11. 24.

3.v.4.

*your coaſt ſhall be from the wilderneſſe, and from Libanon, and from the River Perah, unto the uttermoſt Sea.* Now for the length of the Countrie North and South, this deſcription agreeth with the former: only *Libanon* is put for *Zidon*: and the *Wilderneſſe* for *Gerar* & *Azzah*, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent Eaſt and Weſt, if *Perah* be taken for *Euphrates*: then the Land promiſed ſtretcheth it ſelfe both over *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Deſart*, as far as the border of *Babylon*: which the *Iſraelites* never poſſeſt; nor at any time did ſo much as invade or attempt. And therefore *Vadianus* doth conceive, that by the River *Perah*, was meant *Jordan*, and not *Euphrates*: taking light from this place of *Joſua*: *Behold, I have divided unto you by lot theſe Nations, that remaine to be an inheritance according to your Tribes: from Jordan with all the Nations that I have deſtroyed, even unto the great Sea Weſtward.*

Vadian. Epitom. triam terræ partium. cap. Palæſtin.

And though it be true that *David* greatly enlarged the Territorie of the Holy Land: yet as *Vadianus* well noteth, if *Perah* in the former place be taken for *Euphrates*, then was it put *per gentes in amicitiam receptas*. For *David* did not at any time enter ſo farre to the Eaſt as *Aſſyria*, or *Babylonia*. Neither doth the not poſſeſſing of all theſe Countries give advantage to thoſe that would make any irreligious cavill, as touching the promiſe of God to the Iſraelites unperformed: For when both their Kings, Magiſtrates, and People, fell from his worſhip and ſervice, it pleaſed him not only to incloſe them within that Territorie, which was for ſo many people exceeding narrow; but therein and elſewhere to ſubject them unto thoſe Idolatrous Nations, whoſe falſe and fooliſh gods themſelves alſo ſerved and obeyed. And ſure the promiſe by which the *Hebrewes* claimed the inheritance of *Canaan*, and the laſting injoying thereof, to wit, *as long as the heavens were above the earth*, was tied to thoſe conditions, both in the Verſes preceding, and ſubſequent; which the Iſraelites never performed. And therefore they could not hope for other than all mankinde could or can expect; who knew that all ſorts of comforts from the mercifull goodneſſe of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to be attended, than while we perſevere in his love, ſervice, and obedience. So in the eight Verſe of the eleventh of *Deuteronomy*, the keeping of Gods Commandements was a condition joyned to the proſperity of Iſrael. For therein it is written; *Therefore ſhall yee keepe all the Commandements which I command you this day: that ye may be ſtrong, and go in, and poſſeſſe the Land, whither ye goe to poſſeſſe it. Alſo that you may prolong your dayes in the Land which the Lord ſware unto your Fathers, &c.*

Deut. 11. v. 21.

Deut. 11.

Deut. 11.

The like condition was alſo annexed to the enjoying of the Land conquered, and the poſſeſſion thereof, ſo long as the heavens were above the earth. *For if yee keepe diligently*, ſaith he, *all theſe commandements, which I command you to doe, that is, to love the Lord your God, &c, then will the Lord caſt out all theſe Nations before you, and yee ſhall poſſeſſe great Nations, & mightier than you*. And here, though it be manifeſt, that by reaſon of the breach of Gods Commandements, and their falling away from the worſhip of his all-powerfull Majeſtie, to the Idolatry of the Heathen, the conditionall promiſes of God were abſolutely void, as depending upon obedience unperformed: yet I cannot miſlike that expoſition of *Melancthon*: *For*, ſaith he, *Oſtendit promiſsionem præcipuam non eſſe de hoc Politico regno*; *He ſheweth that his chiefe promiſe is not of a civill Kingdome.* To which agrees that anſwer which S. *Hierome* made to a certain Heretique in his Epiſtle *ad Dardanum*, who accuſed S. *Hierome* that he overthrew the reputation of the *Jewes* Story, & brought the truth thereof in queſtion, by drawing it altogether into an *Allegorie*, & *ad illam duntaxat viventium terram quæ in cœlis eſt*; (that is) *Only to that Land of the living which is in Heaven. Quoniam tota Judæorum Regio adeo anguſtâ ſit ambitu, ut vix longitudinem habeat 160. milliarium, latitudinem verò 40. & in his etiam regiones, loca, urbes & oppida ſunt plurima, nunquam à Judæis occupata, ſed tantùm divina pollicitatione promiſſa*; *Becauſe the whole Countrey of the Jewes is ſo narrow in compaſſe, that it ſcarce hath 160. miles in length, and 40. miles in breadth, and in theſe are Countries, places, Cities, & many Townes, which the Jewes never poſſeſt, but were onely granted by divine promiſe.* In like manner the ſame Father ſpeaketh upon *Eſay*, touching the bleſſings promiſed unto *Hieruſalem*: where he hath theſe words:

Cap. 49. 14.

*De quo diſcimus Hieruſalem nequaquam in Palæſtina Regione petendam, quæ totius Provinciæ deterrima eſt: & ſaxoſis montibus aſperatur, & penuriam patitur ſitis: ita ut cæleſtibus utatur pluviis, & raritatem fontium ciſternarum extructione ſoletur: ſed in Dei manibus, ad quam dicitur, feſtinaverunt ſtructores tui*; *From whence*, ſaith he, *we learne, that Hieruſalem is not to be ſought in that region of Palæſtina, which is the worſt of the whole Province, & ragged* *with craggie Mountaines, and ſuffereth the penurie of thirſt: ſo as it preſerveth raine water, and ſupplieth the ſcarcitie of Wells by building of Ciſternes; but this Hieruſalem is in Gods hands, to which it is ſaid, Thy builders have haſtened:* ſo far S. *Hierome*; where alſo to prevent miſtaking, he thus expoundeth himſelfe. *Neq; hoc dico in ſuggillationem terræ Judææ, ut hæreticus Sycophanta mentitur: aut quo auferam hiſtoriæ veritatem, quæ fundamentum eſt intelligentiæ ſpiritualis: ſed ut decutiam ſupercilium Judæorum, qui Synagogæ anguſtias latitudini Eccleſiæ præferunt. Si enim occidentem tantum ſequuntur literam, & non ſpiritum vivificantem, oſtendant terram promiſſionis lacte & melle manantem; Neither* (ſaith hee) *ſay I this to diſgrace the land of Judæa (as the hereticall Sycophant doth belie me) or to take away the truth of the Hiſtorie, which is the foundation of ſpirituall underſtanding: but to beate downe the pride of the Jewes, which enlarge the ſtraits of the Synagogue farther than the breadth of the Church: for if they follow onely the killing letter, and not the quickening ſpirit, let them ſhew the Land of promiſe, flowing with milke and honey.*

By this it may alſo be gathered, howſoever it be unlikely (ſeeing the Weſt-bound in the place, *Deut.* 11.24. had his truth in the literall ſenſe, that *Euphrates* or *Perath*, which is made the Eaſt-bound, ſhould be taken onely in a ſpirituall ſenſe) yet neverthelеſſe that *Hieroms* opinion inclineth to this, as if this *Perath* were not to be underſtood for *Euphrates*, and that the promiſe it ſelfe was never ſo large: much leſſe the plantation and conqueſt of *Iſrael*.

And now for a more particular deſcription of this Holy Land, becauſe *Aſher*, *Nephtalim*, and *Zabulon*, held the Northermoſt part, and were ſeated in *Phœnicia*, I will begin with theſe three, taking *Aſher* for the firſt: of which Tribe yet before I ſpeake, I muſt admoniſh the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names by reaſon of the divers fancies of Tranſlators, are diverſly expreſſed, ſo that to the unskilfull they may ſeeme divers, when they are one and the ſame: the reaſon of this diverſitie (as by thoſe learned in the *Hebrew* I am taught) is, partly becauſe the ancient Editions of the *Hebrew* want vowels, the old Tranſlators imagined other vowels than now the *Hebrew* Editions have; and partly becauſe the Ancient expreſſed or omitted divers conſonants, otherwiſe than the latter doe thinke fit.

## §. III.
## THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

### †. I.
### *The bounds of the Tribe of Aſher.*

THe *Aſherites* deſcended of *Aſher* the Sonne of *Jacob* by *Zelpha*, the handmaid of *Lea*, were increaſed while they abode in *Egypt*, to the number of 41500. and odde perſons, all men above twenty yeares of age, and able to beare armes, at the time when they were muſtered by *Moſes* at Mount *Sinai*: all which number periſhing in the Deſarts, there remained of their iſſues, beſides women and children, 53400. bodies fit for the warres: which paſt the River of *Arnon*, into the Plaines of *Moab*, and after the Conqueſt of *Canaan*, had for their portion that part of *Phœnicia*, from *Zidon* and the fields of *Libanus*, unto *Ptolomais Acon* alongſt the Sea-coaſt: containing thirtie Engliſh miles, or thereabout: and from the Mid-land ſea to the Eaſt border ſome twelve miles: though *Antoninus* makes it ſomewhat larger. This part of *Canaan* was very fruitfull, abounding in Wine, Oyle, and Wheate, beſides the *Balſamum*, with other pleaſant and profitable commodities: according to that Prophecie, Aſſer *pinguis panis*: Concerning *Aſſer*, his bread ſhall be fat: *And he ſhall give pleaſures for a King*.

*Ant. Itin.*

Gen. 49.

### †. II.
### *Of Zidon.*

THe firſt City ſeated on the North border of the Territory of *Aſſer*, was *Zidon*, which *Joſua* calleth the great *Zidon*, both for ſtrength and magnitude. The *Greekes* and

*Juſtin.l.18.*
*Gen.10.Joſeph.*
*Eſa.23.Hier.47. Ezek.28.& 32. Zac.9.*

*Q.Curtius* make *Agenor* the founder thereof: and *Juſtine* derives the name from the abundance of fiſh found on thoſe ſhores: whereof it hath bin called *Zidona*. But that it was farre more ancient, *Moſes*, *Joſua*, and *Joſephus* witneſſe, the ſame being founded by *Zidon* the eldeſt of *Canaans* Sonnes: and ſo ſtrong it was in *Joſua's* time, as neither did himſelfe attempt it, neither could the Aſſerites, or any of their ſucceſſors maſter it: but it continued all the time of the *Judges* and *Kings*, even unto the comming of *Chriſt*; a Citie interchangeably governed, by their owne Princes or other Magiſtrates: though according to the warnings and threats of the Prophets, *Eſay*, *Hieremie*, *Ezechiel*, and *Zacharie*, it was often afflicted, both by the enemies ſword, and by the peſtilence.

*Paleſt.Seig.f.19. Vadian.Phœn.f.278.Strabo.l.16.*

*Zidon* is ſeated on the very waſh of the Phœnician Sea, which is a part of the Mediterran or Mid-land Sea. It hath to the North the Citie of *Berythus*, and the River *Leontis*: and to the South *Sarepta*, or *Sarphat*, which ſtandeth betweene it and *Tyre*: the diſtance between which two great and famous Cities, to wit, *Zidon* & *Tyre*, is 14. thouſand paces, ſaith *Seiglerus*: but *Vadianus* makes it two hundred furlongs, and ſo doth *Weiſsinburie* in his deſcription of the holy Land, and both from *Strabo*: which two hundred furlongs make five & twentie miles. This difference of diſtance as well betweene theſe two known Cities, as all the reſt, make it over-difficult to deviſe any new ſcale to the Mappe and deſcription of the holy Land.

*Strabo.l.16.*
*Zach.9.v.2.*
*Herod.l.5.*
*Plin.l.5.c.9.*
* It ſeemes that even in *Joſua's* time they practiſed glaſſe-making, whence *Junius* for *Miſphreboth majim*, which *ad verbum* is as much as *combuſtiones aquarum*, reades *fornaces vitrarias*, *Joſ.*11.8. as it ſeemes, becauſe theſe fornaces were where there was ſtore of water, either for the moving of the bellows by the force of the water, or for other neceſſary uſes. But there are others that take them for ſalt pits, and others againe for hot baths. The forme of *Aſtoreth* (or *Aſtarte*) ſeemeth to have beene a ſheep, for *Deut.*7.13. the word in the plurall number ſignifieth ſheepe: & this may confirme *Auguſtins* opinion, that *Aſtarte* was *Juno*: for the forme of her husband *Jupiter Hammon* was a Ram.

What Kings it had till *Agenors* time there is no memorie: the ſtory which Zeno the Philoſopher, who was a Zidonian, wrote thereof, being by time conſumed and loſt. It ſeemeth to be more ancient than *Tyre*; which was alſo built by the Zidonians. For as *Strabo* noteth, *Homer* ſpeaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memorie of *Tyre*, becauſe it was but a member of *Zidon*; and a City ſubject to the Kings thereof: though it be true that in after-times it contended with *Zidon* for Primacie, and became farre more renowned, opulent, and ſtrong: From *Zidon* had *Salomon* and *Zorobabel* their principall workemen, both in Timber and Stone, for the building of the Temple. For as it flouriſhed in all ſorts of learning, ſo did it in all other Mechanicall Arts or Trades: the Prophet Zacharie calling them the wiſe Zidonians. The Citie was both by nature & Art exceeding ſtrong, having a Caſtle or Citadell on the North-ſide, ſtanding upon an unacceſſible Rocke, and compaſſed by the Sea, which after the Citizens became Chriſtians, was held and defended by the Knights of the Dutch Order: and another Caſtle it hath on the South ſide by the Port of *Egypt*, which the Templers guarded. It alſo ſent many other *Colonies* beſide that of *Tyre*, into places remote: as unto *Thebes*, and *Sephyra*, Cities of *Bœotia* in Greece. *Strabo* and *Plinie* give the Zidonians the invention of * Glaſſe, which they uſed to make of thoſe ſands which are taken out of the River *Belus*, falling into the Mediterran Sea, neere *Ptolomais* or *Acon*: and from whence the Venetians fetch the matter of thoſe cleere Glaſſes which they make at *Murana*: of which S. *Hierome* and *Plinie*: Zidon *inſignis artifex vitri*: Zidon *vitrariis officinis Nobilis*; Zidon *a famous Glaſſemaker, or a skilfull worker in Glaſſe houſes.*

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the reſt of the Canaanites) worſhippers of *Baal* and *Aſtaroth*: which Idols though common to the other of the iſſue of *Canaan* (as *Pineda* gathers out of 1.*Sam.*31.10. and *Judg.*10.6.) yet eſpecially and peculiarly were accounted the Gods of the Zidonians: as appeares 1 *Kings* 11.5. in the ſtory of *Salomons* Idolatrie: where *Aſtaroth* is called the God of the Zidonians: and 1. *Reg.*16.33. in the ſtory of *Achab*, the chiefe worſhipper of *Baal*, where it is ſaid that he marrying *Jezabel* the Daughter of the King of the Zidonians, worſhipped their *Baal*. Divers *Baals* and divers *Aſtaroths* in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it appeares by the plurall names of *Baalim* & *Aſtaroth*, 1 Sam.12.10. & elſewhere: for even the name *Aſtaroth*, as I am informed by a skilfull *Hebritian*, is plurall: the ſingular being *Aſtoreth*: whence *Judg.*2.13. the *Septuagint* reade ἐλάτρευσαν ταῖς ἀστάρταις: *They worſhipped the Aſtarties.* The occaſion of this their multiplying of their *Baals*, & *Aſtoreths*, may be diverſly underſtood: either in reſpect of the diverſitie of the formes of the Images, or of the worſhip in divers places, or of the ſtories depending upon them: which (as fables uſe to be) were doubtleſſe in divers Cities divers. *Auguſtine quæſt.*19. *in Judg.* thinkes *Baal* and *Aſtarte* to be *Jupiter* and *Juno*. Fo the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrians*) call *Juno* by ſuch a name as *Aſtarte*. *Tullie*, li 3. *de Nat. Deorum*, making divers *Goddeſſes* of the name of *Venus*, expounds the fourt to be *Aſtarte*: whom he makes to be borne of *Tyrus* and *Syria*, and to have bee the Wife of *Adonis*: as alſo *Macrob.*2.*Saturn.cap.*21. ſaies that *Adonis* was with gre

veneratio

veneration commonly worſhipped of the Aſſyrians: and *Hierome* upon *Ezek.* 8.44. notes that *Thammuz* (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to bewaile) is the name of *Adonis* among the Syrians. So that it may ſeeme that in the worſhip of *Aſtarte* or *Venus*, they did bewaile her Husband *Adonis*: as alſo the Græcians did in their ſongs of *Adonis*: *Mourne for* Adonis *the faire, dead is* Adonis *the faire.* Howbeit others in that place of *Ezekiel* not without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to be the mourning for *Oſiris* in the ſacrifice of *Iſis*: whoſe loſſe of her Husband *Oſiris*, was as famous in the Egyptian Idolatrie, as with the Grecians, *Venus* loſſe of *Adonis*. And to this agreeth that which *Plutarch* hath, *de Iſide & Oſiride*; that *Oſiris* with the Egyptians is called *Ammuz*: which word may ſeeme to be the ſame with *Ezekiels Thammuz*. But howſoever theſe Zidonians were thus anciently foſtered with the Milke of Idolatry: yet they were more apt to receive the Doctrine of the Goſpell of *Chriſt* after his Aſcenſion, than the Jewes: who had bin taught by *Moſes* & the *Prophets* ſo many yeares, whereof our Saviour in *Matthew* and *Luke*: *Woe be to thee Corazin, &c. for if the great workes which were done in thee, had beene done in Tyrus and Zidon, they had repented long agone, &c. but I ſay unto you, it ſhall be eaſier for Tyrus and Zidon, at the day of Judgement, than for you.*

κλαίετε καλὸν Ἄδωνιν.

*Mat.* 11. v. 21.

It received a *Chriſtian* Biſhop with the firſt: who was afterward of the Dioceſſe of *Tyre*. But in the yeare of our Redemption 636. it fell into the hands of the Saracens, and continued in their poſſeſſion till *Baldwinus* the firſt, then King of *Hieruſalem*: in the yeare 1111. by the helpe of the Danes and Norwaies, who came with a Fleet to viſite the holy Land, and tooke Port at *Joppa*, it was againe recovered, the commandement thereof being given to *Euſtace Gremer*, a Noble man of that Countrey. And againe in the yeare 1250. it was reedified and ſtrengthened by *Lodowicke* the French King: while he ſpent foure yeare in the Warre of the holy Land. Laſtly, in the yeare 1289. it was reconquered by the Saracens: and is now in poſſeſſion of the Turke, and hath the name of *Zai*.

*Tyr.* 11. *Bell. Sacr.* 14. *Vitriac.* c. 27.

*Niger Poſtellus.*

## †. III.

### *Of Sarepta, with a briefe Hiſtory of Tyre in the ſame Coaſt.*

Sarepta, or after the *Hebrew*, *Sarphath*, is the next City Southward from *Zidon*, betweene it and the River called *Naar*, or *Fons hortorum Libani* (of which more hereafter) ſtanding in the way towards *Tyre*, a City very famous for the excellent wine growing neere it: of which *Sidonius*:

*Vina mihi non ſunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna,*
*Quæq; Sareptano palmite miſſa bibas.*

I have no wine of *Gaza*, nor *Falerna* wine,
Nor any for the drinking of *Sarepta's* vine.

This City had alſo a *Biſhop*, of the Dioceſſe of *Tyre*: after it came to the Saracens and Turkes, as the reſt: and is now called *Saphet*, ſaith *Poſtellus*.

Not farre from *Sarepta* was ſituate that ſometime famous City of *Tyre*, whoſe fleetes of ſhippes commanded, and gave the law over all the *Mediterran* Sea, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatneſſe and power, the *Tyrians* erected *Utica*, *Leptis*, & *Carthage* in *Africa*, of which *Virgil. Urbs antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere Coloni, Carthago.* And *Carthage* was therefore called *Punica quaſi Phœnicum*, a *Colonie* of the *Phœnicians*. In *Spaine* they founded *Gades*, now *Caliz*. In *Italie*, *Nola*: in *Aſia* the leſſe, *Dromos Achillis*, which Citie the *Scholiaſt* of *Apollonius* placeth neere the River *Phyllis*, in *Bythinia*.

*Virgil.* l. 1.

*Plin.* l. 5. c. 19.
*Marcelin.* l. 22.

It had anciently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor*: and ſo it is written in *Joſua* the 19. taking name from the ſituation; becauſe built on a high Rocke, ſharpe at one end. The *Latines*, as it ſeemes, knew it by the name of *Sarra*: for *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *Oſtrum Sarranum*, by which name *Juvenal* and *Silius* remember it. The Zidonians built it upon a high Hill, whereof many ruines remaine to this day; the place being ſtill knowne by the name of the ancient *Tyre*: and becauſe it was a *Colonie* of the Zidonians, the Prophet

*Gellius.* l. 4. c. 5.

Cap.23.
Cap.23.

*Eſay* calleth it the Daughter of *Zidon*; which *Trogus* alſo confirmeth, though *Beroſus* by affinity of name makes *Thiras* the ſonne of *Japhet* to be the Parent thereof: and though no doubt it was very ancient (for ſo much the Prophet *Eſay* alſo witneſſeth, *Is not this your glorious Citie, whoſe antiquity is of ancient dayes?*) yet, that *Thiras* the ſonne of *Japhet* ſet himſelfe in the boſome of the *Canaanites* who built *Zidon*, and peopled all that Region, I ſee nothing to perſwade me.

Juſtin.l.18.
Curt.l.4.
Euſeb.in Chro.
Joſeph.ant.l.8. cap.2.
Cedren.pa.27.

But that new *Tyre* in after-times ſo renowned, ſeemeth to be the worke of *Agenor*: and of this opinion was *Curtius*: and *Joſephus*, and *Euſebius* make this City elder than *Salomons* Temple 240. yeares: *Cedrenus* 361. who alſo addeth that *Tyrus* the wife of *Agenor* gave it her name: but of *Agenor* I will ſpeake more at large in the ſtory of their Kings.

Ezek.28.2.27. verſe 3.
Eſai.23.3.
27.8.

For ſtrength and for the commodity of the harbour, and the better to receive Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Iland, 700. paces from the continent; and therefore *Ezekiel* placeth it in the middeſt of the Sea, as ſome reade, or as others, in the inner-moſt part of the Sea, whence he called it *ſituate at the entry of the Sea*, as alſo the ſame Prophet calleth it *the Mart of the people for many Iles*: and *Eſay*, *a Mart of the Nations*: and ſo Proud, Wealthy, and Magnificent was this City, as the Prophet *Eſay* calleth the Merchants thereof Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the World.

Joſeph.ant.Jude.l.11.c.8.
De bell.ſacr.l.13.c.4.

It excelled both in learning, and in manu-facture: eſpecially in the making and dying of Purple, and Scarlet-cloth: which, ſaith *Julius Pollux*, was firſt found out by *Hercules* Dogge, who paſſing along the Sea-coaſt, and eating of the Fiſh *Conchilis* or *Purpura*, the haire of his lippes became of that colour. It worſhipped the Idols that *Zidon* did: ſaying that *Hercules* became their *Patron* in after-times. For *Alexander Macedon*, when the *Tyrians* preſented him with a Crowne of gold, and other gifts, deſiring to remaine his friends and allies, anſwered them, that he had vowed a ſacrifice to *Hercules*, the Defender of their City, and the Anceſter of the Macedonians Kings: and muſt therefore enter it. Whereupon they ſent him word, that *Hercules* his Temple was in the Mountaine of old *Tyre*: where he might performe that ceremony. But this availed not: For *Alexander* was not ſo ſuperſtitious, as ambitious; he deſired to enter the Towne, which being denied, he as one whom no perill could feare, nor labour weary, gathered together as many ſhips as he could, and brought from *Libanus* ſo great a number of *Cedars*, and ſo many weighty ſtones from the old City of *Tyre* adjoyning, as notwithſtanding that his materials were often waſht away with the ſtrength of the Sea and the Tydes, yet he never reſted, till he had made a foote paſſage from the Continent to the Iland: and having once approached their Walls, he over-topt them with Turrets of wood, and other frames: from whence (having filled the body of force with the violent moving ſpirit of reſolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the Sword that reſiſted; after which, he cauſed 2000. more to be hung up in a ranke all alongſt the Sea-ſhore: which execution upon cold blood he performed (as ſome Authours affirme) upon the iſſues of thoſe ſlaves which had formerly ſlaine all their Maſters, taking their Wives, Children, Riches and power of Governement to themſelves. This victory of *Alexander* over the Tyrians, *Joſephus* remembreth: and how *Sanaballat* revolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alexander* with 8000. Souldiers: who was the laſt *Satrapa* or Provinciall Governour, which *Darius* ſeated in *Samaria*: the ſame who having married his Daughter to *Manaſſe*, brother to *Jaddas* the high Prieſt of *Hieruſalem*, obtained of *Alexander* that a Temple might be built on the Mountaine *Garizim* over *Samaria*: that the forces of the Jewes being divided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in obedience. The honour of which Prieſthood he beſtowed on his ſonne in law *Manaſſe*, whom the Jewes oppugned, for that he had married out of their Tribes, and with a *Gentile*: but while *Alexander* beſieged *Gaza*, *Sanaballat*, whom *Guil.Tyrius* called *Sanabula*, died.

Joſep.Ant.lib.9.cap.14.

Long before this deſolation of *Tyre* by the cruelty of *Alexander*, it was attempted by *Salmanaſſer* the *Aſſyrian* King: when the growing pride of the *Aſſyrians*, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the reſt of *Syria*, became envious of the beauty, riches, and power of that City. He beſieged it both on the Land-ſide, and with threeſcore ſhippes of Warre held the Port: to the end that neither any victuals nor any ſupply of men might enter it: but the *Tyrians* with twelve ſaile ſcattered that fleet, and tooke 500. priſoners of the *Aſſyrians*: notwithſtanding, the *Aſſyrian* continued his reſolution, and lay before it by his Lievtenants five yeares, but with ill ſucceſſe. And this ſiege *Menander Epheſius*, cited by *Joſephus*, made report of in his *Chronicles*, as he found the Story among the *Annalls* of the *Tyrians* (which the ſaid *Menander* converted into *Greeke*) adding, that *Elulæus*, whom *Tyrius* called *Heliſæus*, was then King of *Tyre*, having governed the ſame ſixe and twenty yeares. Soon after this repulſe of *Salmanaſſar*, and about 200. yeares before the victory of *Alexander*, *Nabuchodonoſor*, at ſuch time as he deſtroyed *Hieruſalem* with the Temple, came before this City: who indeed gave to *Alexander* the example of that deſpairefull worke, of joyning it to the Continent. For *Nabuchodonoſor* had formerly done it: though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the ſtrength of the Sea, the ſame cawſey and paſſage was againe broken downe, and demoliſhed.

*Et cont.Ap.1.*
*Guil.Tyrius.*
*de Bell.Sacr.*
*13.4.Joſeph.*
*Ant.lib.9.cap.*
*15.*

Againſt *Nabuchodonoſor*, for many yeares, the *Tyrians* defended themſelves: for ſo long did thoſe *Babylonians* continue before it, *As every head was made bald, & every ſhoulder made bare*, ſaith *Ezekiel*, who with the Prophet *Eſay* had manifeſtly foretold the deſtruction of this proud place. In the end and after thirteene yeares ſiege or more, the *Tyrians* deſpoiled of all their hopes, and remembring over-late the predictions and threatnings of Gods Prophets, having prepared a convenient number of ſhippes, abandoned their City, tranſporting with themſelves the ableſt of all that remained: and with their wives, children, and portable riches, ſayled thence into *Cyprus*, *Carthage*, and other Maritimate Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: ſo as the *Babylonians* finding nothing therein, either to ſatisfie ſo many labours and perils, or any perſon upon whom to avenge themſelves for the loſſe of ſo many bodies in that Warre: It pleaſed God in recompence thereof (who ſtrengthened this reſolution, as in a worke of his owne) to make *Nabuchodonoſor* victorious over the *Egyptians*: and gave him that Kingdome and the ſpoile thereof, as it were, in wages for his Army. Whereupon Saint *Hierome* noteth, that God leaveth not the good deeds of the Heathen unrewarded: who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action, to attaine unto that eternall happineſſe reſerved for his *Servants* and *Saints*: yet ſuch is the boundleſſe goodneſſe of God, as he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporall bleſſings.

Eze.29.18.
Iſai.23.&c.

Ezek.29.19.

Now of this enterpriſe of *Nabuchodonoſors* againſt *Tyre*, prophane Hiſtorians have not bin ſilent: For both *Diocles*, and *Philoſtratus* (as *Joſephus* citeth them) the one in his ſecond Booke, the other in his *Phœnician* Hiſtories, remember it.

*Joſep.ant.l.10.*
*c.13.*

After theſe two great *Vaſtations* by the Kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*, this Citie of *Tyre*, repaired and recovered it ſelfe againe: & continued in great glory about 300. years, even to the comming of our *Saviour Chriſt*: and after him flouriſhed in the *Chriſtian* Faith neere 600. yeares: the *Archbiſhop* whereof gave place to none but to the *Patriarke* of *Hieruſalem* onely, who within his owne Dioceſſe had foureteene great Cities, with their Biſhops and ſuffragans: namely *Caipha*, otherwiſe *Porphiria*, *Acon*, or *Ptolomais*, *Sarepta*, *Zidon*, *Cæſarea Philippi*, *Berytus*, *Byblus*, *Botrys*, *Tripolis*, *Orthoſia*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus* (or *Tortoſa*) and *Maraclea*. But in the yeere 636. it was with the reſt of that beautifull Region of *Phœnicia* and *Paleſtina*, ſubjected to the cruell and faithleſſe *Saracen*: under the burthen and yoke of whoſe tyranny it ſuffered, with the other *Paleſtine* Cities, 488. yeares.

*Guil.Tyr.bell.*
*ſac.*

In the yeare 1112. it was attempted by *Baldwine* King of *Hieruſalem*; but in vaine: yet in the yeare 1124. by *Guaremonde*, *Patriarke* of *Hieruſalem*, *Vicegerent* to *Baldwine* the ſecond, with the aſſiſtance of the *Venetians*, and their fleete of Gallies, it was againe recovered, and ſubjected to the Kings of *Hieruſalem*, and ſo it remained 165. yeares.

*Guil.Tyr.11.*
*Bell.ſacr.17.*

Finally, in the yeare 1189. *Saladine* having firſt taken *Hieruſalem*, removed his whole Army, and ſate downe before *Tyre*: drawing his fleete of ſhippes and Gallies from *Alexandria* into the Port, this City as then onely remaining in the Chriſtian power.

The Citizens finding themſelves reduced into great famine, and many other miſeries, they at once with certaine rafters of timber, fiered, burnt, and brake the Saracens fleete, and ſallyed out reſolvedly upon his Army, ſlew ſo great numbers of them, and followed their victory with ſuch fury, as that the Saracens forſaking their Trenches and Tents, removed in great diſorder and diſhonour. Two yeares after which victory the body of that famous *Fredericke Barbaroſſa* (who by the lamentable accident of following the *Chriſtians* enemies over a River unfoordable, periſhed by the weight of his armour therein) was brought and interred in the *Cathedrall* Church of *Tyre*, neere unto that glorious Sepulchre of *Origen*, garniſhed and graven with guilt pillars of Marble, 940. yeares before therein buried: but in the yeare 1289. the Saracens againe attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth ſubject to the Turkes.

## †.IIII.

### *Of Ptolomais or Acon.*

*Plin.lib.5.c.19.*
*In deſcrip.terr. ſanct.*

THe third City alongſt the coaſt of the Sea, which the Aſſerites could not obtaine, on the South bound of Aſſer was Acho, which was the ancient name thereof after *Hierome*, though other good Authours affirme that it tooke name from *Acon* the brother of *Ptolomy*. *Plinie* calleth it Ace: and otherwiſe the Colonie of *Claudius*. It had alſo the name of Coth, or Cod, and by *Zeiglerus* it is called Hactipos.

*Ptolomæus Philometer.*
1 Macc.1.10.
1 Macc.11.18.

But laſtly, it was intituled Ptolomais after the name of one of the Egyptian *Ptolomies*: which City alſo as it is, 1 *Mac.*11. another of the *Ptolomies*, infideliouſly wreſted from his ſonne in law *Alexander*, which called himſelfe the ſonne of *Antiochus Epiphanes*: the ſame *Alexander* having married *Cleopatra* daughter of the ſaid *Ptolomie* not long before. Therein alſo was *Jonathan Machabæus* treacherouſly ſurpriſed & ſlaine, as it is 1 *Mac.* 12.48. by the perfidiouſneſſe of *Tryphon*, whom ſoone after *Antiochus* purſued, as it is in the Story enſuing: and by like reaſon about the ſame time was the aforeſaid *Alexander* in the warre againſt *Demetrius*, one of the ſonnes of *Antiochus* the great, with whom *Ptolomie* joyned, overthrown & treacherouſly murthered by *Zabdiel* the Arabian: to whom he fled for ſuccour: and his head preſented unto his father in law *Ptolomie*: who enjoyed not the glory of his victory and treaſon above three dayes, for God ſtrucke him by death.

*Ant.Itin.*
*Herold.*
*G.Tyr.bell.ſacr. lib.10.cap.28. Herold.l.1.bell. ſacr.tit.7.& lib. 2.cap.1.& alibi.*

For the beauty and ſtrength of this City, this *Alexander* made it his regall ſeate; two parts of the ſame being invironed by the Sea, and the port for ſafety and capacity not inferiour to any other in all that Tract. This Citie is diſtant from *Hieruſalem* ſome foure and thirty miles: foure miles to the North from the Mountaine Carmel, and as much to the South from *Caſtrum Lamberti*: from Tyre, *Antonius* maketh it two and thirty Italian miles. In the middeſt of the City there was a Tower of great ſtrength, ſometime the Temple of *Bel-Zebub*: and therefore called the Caſtle of Flies, on the top whereof there was maintained a perpetuall light, like unto that called Pharus in Egypt: to give comfort in the night to thoſe ſhippes, which came neere and ſought that part. It had in it a Biſhops ſeate, of the Dioceſſe of Tyre, after it became Chriſtian: but in the yeare 636. (a fatall yeare to the Chriſtians in thoſe parts) it was forced and taken by *Haomarus*, the Saracen. In the yeare 1104. it was regained by *Baldwine* the firſt, by the helpe of the Gallies of *Genoa*: to whom a third of the revenew was given in recompence. Againe, in the yeare of our Lord God, one thouſand one hundred foureſcore & ſeven, *Saladine* King of Egypt and Syria, became Lord thereof. In the yeare of Chriſt, one thouſand one hundred ninety and one, by *Richard* King of England, and *Philip* King of France, it was repoſſeſſed and redelivered to the Chriſtians. Laſtly, in the yeare 1291. it was by the fury of the Saracens beſieged with an Army of 150000. entred, ſackt, and utterly demoliſhed: though in ſome ſort afterward reedified, and it is now Turkiſh.

## †.V.

### *Of the Caſtle of Saint* George.

*Broch.*
*Itin.*4.
Of the place & memory of his death. See Chap.9.§.1.

FIve miles from Ptolomais towards the Eaſt, is the Caſtle of Saint *George* ſeated, in which he was borne: the Valley adjoyning bearing the ſame name. And though for the credit of Saint *Georges* killing the Dragon, I leave every man to his own beliefe: yet I cannot but think, that if the Kings of England had not ſome probable record of that his memorable act, among many others: it was ſtrange that the Order full of Honour, which *Edward* the third founded, and which his Succeſſours royally have continued, ſhould have borne his name, ſeeing the World had not that ſcarcity of Saints in thoſe dayes, as that the Engliſh were driven to make ſuch an erection upon a fable, or perſon fained. The place is deſcribed by *Adrichomius* in his deſcription of Aſſer, to have beene in the fieldes of Libanus, betweene the River Adonis, and Zidon: his owne words are theſe: *Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longè à Beryto, memorant inclytum Chriſti Militem* D. Georgium, *Regis filiam ab immaniſsimo Dracone aſſervâſſe: eamq; mactata beſtia parenti reſtituiſſe. In cujus rei memoriam Eccleſia poſtmodum fuit ædificata; In this place, which by the Inhabitants is called* Cappadocia, *not far from* Berytus, *men ſay that the famous Knight of Chriſt, Saint* George, *did reſcue the Kings Daughter from a huge Dragon: & having killed the beaſt, delivered the Virgin to her Parent. In memory of which deed a Church was after built there*: Thus farre *Adrichomius*. His Authours he citeth *Lodovicus Roman, Patric. Navigationum l.1.c.3.* and *Bridenbach Itin.5*. The Valley under this Caſtle ſometime called *Aſſer*, was afterward called the Valley of Saint *George*. If this authority ſuffice not, we may rather make the Story allegoricall, figuring the victory of *Chriſt*, than except of *George* the *Arrian* Biſhop, mentioned by *Am. Marcellinus*.

## †.VI.
## *Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.*

BEtweene *Ptolomais* & *Tyre* alongſt the Seacoaſt, was the ſtrong City of Acziba, or Achazib, which S. *Hierome* called Achziph, and *Joſephus Ecdippos*, *Plinie Ecdippa*, one of thoſe which defended it ſelfe againſt the Aſſerites. *Belforreſt* findes Acziba and Sandalium, or the Caſtle of *Alexander* to be one, but I know not whence he had it.

The twelve ſearchers of the Land which *Moſes* ſent from Cadesbarne, travailed as far to the North as Roob, or Rechob, in the Tribe of *Aſſer*, which Rechob, as alſo Berothæ, which by *Ezekiel cap.47. verſe 16.* is placed in theſe North borders, belonged in *Davids* time to the King *Hadarhezer*, as it may be gathered out of the ſecond of *Samuel* the 8. chap. and 8. verſe, and cap. 10. verſe 6. and it defended it ſelfe againſt the Aſſerites, as Zidon, Tyre, Achziph, Ptolomais, Alab, Helbah, and Aphek did.

*Hieron. de Loc. Hebr.*
*Joſ. Bell. Jud. l.1.c.11.*
*Plin l.5.c.19.*

This Aphek it was, whoſe wall falling downe, ſlew ſeven and twenty thouſand of *Benhadads* Souldiers, after that a hundred thouſand had bin ſlaughtered by the Iſraelites, under the conduct of *Ahab*. Here *Junius* findes that the Philiſtims encamped a little before the battaile at *Gilboa*, though in his note upon the firſt of *Samuel*, the 9. and 1. he takes Aphek there mentioned (at which battaile the Arke was taken) to have bin in Juda. Of which *Joſ.15.* and 53. and in the ſecond of *Kings* 13.17. he reades, *Fortiter*, for, *in Aphek*. Where others convert it, *Percutiens Syros in Aphek*.

*1 Kin 20 29.*
*1 Sam.29.1.*

The next place alongſt the coaſt is Sandalium, firſt called Schandalium of Schander, which we call Alexander, for *Alexander Macedon* built it when he beſieged Tyre: and ſet it on a point of Land which extendeth it ſelfe into the Sea, betweene Acziba and Tyre: which Caſtle *Baldwine* the firſt rebuilt and fortified; in the yeare of *Chriſt* 1157. when he undertooke the recovery of Tyre.

Not much above a mile from this Caſtle, there ariſeth that moſt plentifull Spring of water, which *Salomon* remembreth, called *the Well of living Waters*: from whence not only all the fields and plaines about Tyre are made fruitful by large pipes hence drawn: but the ſame Spring, which hath not above a bow-ſhot of ground to travaile till it recover the Sea, driveth ſixe great Milles in that ſhort paſſage, ſaith *Brochard*.

*Cant.4.*
*Itin. 1.*

Within the Land, and to the Eaſt of Acziba, and Sandalium, ſtandeth Hoſa: and beyond it, under the Mountaines of Tyre, the City of Achſaph, or Axab, or after Saint *Hierome*, Aciſap, a City of great ſtrength, whoſe King amongſt the reſt was ſlaine by *Joſua*, at the waters of Merom.

*Joſ.12.20.*

## †. VII.
## *Of Thoron, Giſcala, and ſome other places.*

FArther into the Land towards Jordan, was ſeated the Caſtle of Thoron, which *Hugo de Sancto Abdemare* built on the Eaſter-moſt Hils of Tyre, in the yeare 1107. thereby to reſtraine the excurſions of the Saracens, while they held Tyre againſt the Chriſtians: the place adjoyning being very fruitful, & exceeding pleaſant. From this Caſtle the Lords of Thoron, famous in the Story of the Warres for the recovery of the Holy Land, derive their names, and take their Nobility. It had in it a curious Chappell, dedicated to the bleſſed *Virgin*, in which *Humfrey* of Thoron, Conſtable to *Baldwine* the 3. King of Hieruſalem, lyeth buried: There were five Caſtles beſides this within the Teritory of Aſſer:

where;

wherof foure are ſeated almoſt of equall diſtance from each other: to wit, Caſtrum, Lamperti, Montfort, Indin (or *Saron*) Caſtrum Regium, & Belfort: The firſt neere the Sea under the Hills of Saron, the next three, to wit, Indin, Montfort, and Regium, ſtand more within the Land, and belonged to the Brotherhood and fellowſhip of the *Teutonici*, or *Dutch Knights* (by which they defended themſelves, & gave ſuccour to other Chriſtians at ſuch time as the Saracens poſſeſt the beſt part of the upper Galilee) the chiefe of which Order was in Ptolomais Achon. The firſt fortreſſe was for beauty & ſtrength called Belfort, ſeated in the high ground upon the River Naar, neere the Citie Rama: of which in this Tribe *Joſ.* 19.29. for which the Vulgar reades Horma: making the article a part of the word, & miſtaking the vowels: from the ſiege of this Caſtle of Belfort, the great *Saladine* King of Syria and Egypt, was by the Chriſtians Army raiſed, and with great loſſe and diſhonour repulſed.

*Herold.l.2.c.4. Continuationis Bell. ac.*

To the Eaſt of Belfort, is the ſtrong City of Alab (or Achlab) which S. *Hierome* calleth Chalab, one of thoſe that defended themſelves againſt *Aſſer*, as Roob (or Rechob) not farre thence did.

Towards the South from Roob they place Gabala (which *Herod* ſurnamed the Aſcalonite rebuilt) making it of the Territory of *Chabol*, *Quod Syrorum lingua diſpicere ſignificat* (ſaith *Weiſhenburg*) ſo called, becauſe *Hiram* of Tyre was ill pleaſed with thoſe twenty Cities, ſeated hereabout, which *Salomon* preſented unto him in recompence of thoſe proviſions ſent him for the building of the Temple. Others think this Chabol (or Cabul) containing a circuit of thoſe twenty Cities given to *Hiram*, to have beene without the compaſſe of the holy Land, though bordering Aſher on the North ſide: as it is ſaid, 1 *Reg.* 9. 11. That they were *in Regione limitis*: that is, *in limite Regionis*, in the border of the countrey: for it was not lawfull, ſay they, to give to ſtrangers any part of the poſſeſſions allotted to the Iſraelites: howſoever, that after *Hiram* had refuſed them, they were peopled by the Iſraelites, it appeares, 2 *Chron.* 8.14. And it ſeemes they were conquered by *David* from the *Syri Rechobeæ*, whoſe City Roob, or Rechob, was in theſe parts.

*Joſeph.ant.*13. 21. & 15.10.

*Jun.annot.in* 1 *Reg.*9.11.

2 Sam.10.6.

Almoſt of equall diſtance from the Caſtle of Thoron, they place the Cities of Giſcala, and Gadara: of which Gadara is rather to be placed over Jordan: Giſcala was made famous by *John* the ſon of *Levi*, who from a meane eſtate gathering together foure hundred Theeves, greatly troubled all the upper Galilee, at ſuch time as the Romans attempted the conqueſt of Judæa: by whoſe practice *Joſephus*, who then commanded in the upper Galilee, was greatly indangered: whereof himſelfe hath written at large, in his ſecond Booke of thoſe Warres. This *John* betraying in all he could the City of Giſcala (whereof he was native) to the *Roman State*: and finding a reſiſtance in the City, gave opportunity, during the contention, to the Tyrians and Gadarims, to ſurprize it: who at the ſame time forc't it, and burnt it to the ground: but being by *Joſephus* authority rebuilt, it was afterward rendred to *Titus* by compoſition. They finde alſo the Cities of Cana Major, and * Cades, (or Cadeſſa) of the firſt was that *Syro-phœnician*, whoſe Daughter Chriſt delivered of the evill Spirit. Neere the other, they ſay, it was that *Jonathas Machabæus* overthrew the Army of *Demetrius*.

*Cap.*26.

* See *Kadeſh* in *Nephthalim.*
Matth.15.
Mark.7.
*Macca.*1.73.
*Joſephus Antiq.* 13.*cap.*8.

There are beſides theſe forenamed Cities within the Tribe of *Aſſer*, divers others: as on the South border, and neere the Sea, Meſall or Miſheall: within the Land [a] Beſara, [b] Bethdagon, & Bethemec, ſtanding on the South border betweene Aſher and Zabulon: on the North ſide joyning to Syro-phœnicia, is the City of Hethalon, or Chethlon, the utmoſt of the holy Land that way: under which towards the Sea is Chali, and then [c] Enoch ſuppoſed to be built by *Cain*, & named of his ſon *Enoch*, but without probability, as I have formerly proved. There are others alſo beſides theſe, as Ammon or Chammon, of which *Joſ.* 19.28. where alſo we reade of Nehiel, Rama, Alamelec, & Beton: the Cities of Alcath, or Chelcath, Habdon, and Rechob, and Miſheal, which we have already mentioned, were by the Aſſerites given to the Levites. Of others held by the Canaanites, mentio is made, *Judges* 1.30. to which out of *Joſua* we may adde Ebron, Amhad, and others, o which no ſtory dependeth; and therefore I will not peſter the deſcription with them.

[a] Of which *Joſephus in vita ſua.*
[b] Of both which *Joſ.*19. 27. *Ezek.*47.15.
[c] Or *Enoſa Joſeph. ant.lib.*1. *cap.*4.
*Joſ.*21.30.

†. VII

## †.VIII.

### *Of the Rivers and Mountaines of Aſſer.*

THe Rivers to the North of *Aſſer*, are *Adonis*, afterward *Canis*, to which *Ziegler* joyneth *Lycus*; *Ptolomy*, *Leontis*: both which fall into the Sea neere *Berytus*: which River of *Leontis*, *Montanus* drawes neere unto *Zidon*: finding his head notwithſtanding, where *Ptolomy* doth, between *Zidon* and *Tyre*. It hath alſo a River called *fons hortorum Libani*, which *Adrichome* out of *Brochard* intituleth *Eleutherus*: for which he alſo citeth *Plinie*, and the firſt of *Machabees* the 11. Chapter; but neither of thoſe authorities prove *Eleutherus* to be in *Aſſer*: for this River falleth into the Sea at the Ile of *Aradus*: not far from *Balanaa*, witneſſe *Ptolomie*: & therfore *Pinetus* calleth it *Valania*, & *Poſtellus Velana*; which River boundeth *Phœnicia* on the North-ſide: to which *Strabo* alſo agreeth: but this principall River of *Aſſer*, *Arias Montanus* calleth *Gabatus*. *Chriſtianus Chrot* out of the mouth and Papers of *Peter Laicſtan* (which *Laicſtan* in this our age both viewed and deſcribed the Holy Land) calleth the maine River *Fons hortorum Libani*: and one of the ſtreames which runneth into it from the North-ſide, *Naar*, and another from the South-weſt, *Chabul*: of the City adjoyning of the ſame name: for *Eleutherus* it cannot be. There is alſo another River deſcribed by *Adrichome*, named *Jepthael*, which I finde in no other Author, and for which he citeth the nineteenth of *Joſua*, but the word [d] *Ghe*, which is added there to *Jepthael*, is not taken for a River, but for a Valley: and for a Valley the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and *Arias Montanus* turne it. There is alſo found in *Aſſer*, the River of *Belus*, remembred by *Joſephus* and *Tacitus*, which is alſo called *Pagidas*, ſaith * *Plinie*: out of the ſands of this River are made the beſt Glaſſe, which ſometimes the *Zidonians* practiſed: and now the *Venetians* at *Murana*. *Arias Montanus* makes *Belus* to be a branch of *Chedumim*, which it cannot be: for *Belus* is knowne to flow from out the Lake *Cendevia*, as all *Coſmographers*, both Ancient and Moderne, and the later Travailers into thoſe parts, witneſſe. It is true that the River of *Chiſon* taketh water from *Chedumim*, but not in that faſhion which *Montanus* hath deſcribed it: neither doth it find the Sea at *Ptolomais Acon*, according to *Montanus*: but farther to the *South* betweene *Caiphas* and *Sicaminum*, witneſſe *Ziegler*, *Adrichomius*, and *Schrot*.

*Aſiæ.Tab.4.*

*Plin.l.9.*

*Aſiæ.Tab 4.*

*Poſt Orthoſiam & Eleutherum eſt Tripolis.*

[d] The word *Nachal* is ambiguous, either for a Valley or for a River: but this word *Ghe* is alway a valley, as in *Gehinnon* and *Geſtemanim*.

*Joſeph.lib.2. Bell.Jud.c.3.*

* *L.5.c.19.* In *Joſua, c.19.v.26.* it is called *Sichor*, of which name many underſtand another ſtreame *Joſ.13.3.* which running by *Petra* of *Arabia* falleth into the Lake *Sirbonis*, and divideth *Egypt* from the promiſed land whereabout they place *Rhinocolura*, for which city *Junius* taketh *Sichor* in that place of *Joſua*: but howſoever whether this *Sichor. Joſ.13.3.* be a River or a City, it appears that this name is found, both in the North bound of the holy Land, *Joſ.19.26* & in the South bound, *Joſ.13.3.*

Beſides theſe Rivers there are divers famous Springs and Fountaines, as that of living waters adjoyning to *Tyre*: and [a] *Maſerephot*, or after Saint *Hierome*, *Maſerephotmaim*, whoſe Well filled by the floud of the Sea adjoyning, (they ſay) the Inhabitants by ſeething the water make ſalt thereof, as at *Nantwitch*.

The Mountaines which bound *Aſſer* on the North, are thoſe of *Anti-libanus*, which with *Libanus* bound *Cœloſyria*: two great ledges of Hills, which from the Sea of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, extend themſelves farre into the Land Eaſt-ward, foure hundred ſtadia or furlongs, according to *Strabo*: for that length he giveth to the Valley of *Cœloſyria*, which thoſe Mountaines incloſe: but *Plinie* gives them 1500. furlongs in length from the Weſt (where they begin at *Theipſophon*, or *Dei facies*, neere *Tripolis* to the Mountaines of *Arabia* beyond *Damaſcus*: where *Anti-libanus* turneth towards the South. Theſe ledges where they begin to part *Traconitis* and *Baſan*, from the *Deſart Arabia*, are called *Hermon*: which *Moſes* alſo nameth *Sion*, the *Phœnicians Syrion*, and the *Amorites Sanir*; neither is this any one Mountaine apart, but a continuation of Hills: which running farther ſoutherly, is in the Scriptures called *Galaad* or *Gilead*: the ſame being ſtill a part of *Libanus*, as the Prophet *Hieremy* proveth: *Galaad tu mihi caput Libani*: noting that this *Galaad* is the higheſt of thoſe Hills of *Libanus*. *Strabo* knowes them by the name of *Traconitæ*: and *Ptolomie* by *Hippus*. *Arias Montanus* calleth theſe Mountaines bordering *Aſſer*, *Libanus*, for *Anti-libanus*, contrary to all other *Coſmographers*, but he giveth no reaſon of his opinion.

[a] See the marginall Note above in the ſecond Section of this Paragraph.

*Strab.l.10.*

*Pli.l.5.c.20.*

*Deut.4.48.*

*Strab.l.10.*

*Pto.Aſiæ.Tab.4.*

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops, becauſe according to *Tacitus*, the higheſt of them are covered with Snow all the Summer: the *Hebrew* word *Libanos* (ſaith *Weiſſenburg*) ſignifieth whiteneſſe. Others call them by that name of the Frankincence which thoſe Trees yeeld: becauſe λιβάνωτος is alſo the *Greeke* word for that Gumme.

*Sueton.*

*Niger* out of *Aphrodiſeus* affirmeth, that on *Libanus* there falleth a kinde of hony dew, which is by the Sunne congealed into hard Sugar, which the Inhabitants call *Sacchar*, from whence came the *Latine* word *Saccarum*.

*Nig.pag.503.*

The Rivers which ***Libanus*** beſtoweth on the neighbour Regions, are, ***Chryſorrhoas, Jordan, Eleutherus, Leontes, Lycus, Adonis, Fons hortorum Libani***, and others.

The reſt of the Mountaines of ***Aſſer***, are thoſe Hills above ***Tyre***, and the Hills of ***Saron***, both exceeding fruitfull: but thoſe are but of a low ſtature, compared with ***Libanus***: for from ***Nebo***, or the Mountaine of ***Abarim*** in ***Reuben***, ***Moſes*** beheld ***Libanus*** threeſcore miles diſtant.

## §. IIII.

## THE TRIBE OF NEPHTALIM.

### †. I.

### *Of the bounds of Nephtalim, and of Heliopolis, and Abila.*

THe next Portion of the Land of ***Canaan*** bordering ***Aſher***, was the upper ***Galilee***: the greateſt part whereof fell to the lot of ***Nephtalim***, the ſonne of ***Jacob*** by ***Billa***, the hand-made of ***Rachel***: who while they abode in ***Egypt***, were increaſed to the number of 53400. perſons, able men to beare armes, numbred at Mount ***Sinai***: all which leaving their bodies in the Deſarts, there entred the Holy Lord of their ſonnes 45400. beſides Infants, Women, and Children, under twenty yeares of age. The Land of ***Nephtalim*** tooke beginning on the North part, from the Fountaines of ***Jordan***, and the Hills of ***Libanus*** adjoyning, as farre South as the Sea of ***Galilee***, bounded on the Weſt by ***Aſher***, and on the Eaſt and South-eaſt by ***Jordan***.

On the North-ſide of ***Libanus***, and adjoyning to this Territory of ***Nephtalim***, did the ***Amorites*** ( or ***Emorites*** ) alſo inhabite, in which Tract and under ***Libanus***, was the City of ***Heliopolis***: which the heighth of the Mountaines adjoyning ſhadowed from the Sunne, the better part of the day. ***Poſtellus*** calls it Balbec; ***Niger***, Marbech; and ***Leonclavius***, Beallebeca.

Of this name of ***Heliopolis***, there are two great Cities in ***Egypt***: the firſt called ***On***, by the ***Hebrewes***, and the ***Chaldæan Paraphraſt***; otherwiſe ***Bethſemes***, or after the ***Latines***, ***Solis oppidum***, or ***Domus Solis***; ***The City of the Sunne***: into which, ſaith ***Ulpian***, ***Severus*** the ***Roman Emperour*** ſent a ***Colonie***: the other ***Geſtelius*** nameth ***Dealmarach***: and of this name ***Stephanus*** alſo findeth a Citie in ***Thrace***, and ***Glycas*** in ***Phrygia***.

There is alſo in the ſame Valley adjoyning to ***Nephtalim***, ***Chalcis***, and ***Abila***. ***Chalcis***, of whom the Region towards ***Palmyrena*** hath the name of ***Chalcidica***, over which ***Herod Agrippa***, and ***Bernice*** the Queene commanded.

***Abila*** alſo gave name to the Region adjoyning, of which ***Lyſanius*** the ſonne of ***Herod*** the elder, became ***Tetrarch*** or Governour: whereof ***Ptolomie*** gave it the addition of ***Lyſanii***, and called it ***Abila Lyſanii***. ***Volateran*** names it ***Aphila***, of which he notes that one ***Diogenes***, a famous ***Sophiſter***, was native, who by ***Volateran*** is intituled ***Aphileus***, not ***Abileus***. After that this City of ***Abila*** or ***Aphila***, had received the ***Chriſtian*** Faith, ***Priſcillinus*** became the Biſhop thereof: ſlaine afterward by our ***Brittiſh Maximus*** at ***Trever***. For diſtinction of this Citie ( if it be not the ſame, as it may be thought to be the ſame) it is to be remembred, that in the Tribe of [a] ***Manaſſe***, joyning upon the bounds of the Tribe of ***Nephtalim***, there is another City of the ſame name, ſaving that it is written with an (*E*) for an (*I*) and called ***Abela***, remembred in the 20. Chapter of the ſecond of ***Samuel***. The ſame ***Joſephus*** calls ***Abelmachea***, and ***Hierome Bethmacha***. In the place of ***Samuel*** for diſtinction ſake, it is written ***Abel Beth-Mahaca***, (for belike it was the Towne of ***Mahaca***, the wife of ***Macir***, the ſonne of ***Manaſſe***, the Father of ***Gilead***) in the ***Chronicles*** it is called, ***Abel-Majim***. This City ***Joab*** beſieged, becauſe ***Seba*** the ſonne of ***Bichri***, who rebelled againſt ***David***, fled thereinto for ſuccour: but a certaine wiſe woman of the Citie perſwading the people to caſt ***Seba*** his head over the wall, ***Joab*** retired his Army. The ſame Citie was afterward taken by the King of ***Damaſcus***, ***Benadad***: and after a while by ***Teglatphalaſar***.

The word ***Abel*** may be expounded, either to ſignifie bewailing, or a plaine ground; and therefore no marvell that many Townes ( with ſome addition for diſtinction ſake) were thus called: for even of bewailing, many places tooke name; as ***Bochim***, ***Judg.*** 2. 4.

and

*Guil. Tyr. Bell. ſacr. l.* 9. *c.* 15.
*Theod.* 4. *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt.*
*Mela. l.* 3. *c.* 9.
*Juſtin. Geſtel. in itinerar.*
*Joſep. in plurib. locis.*
*Euſeb.* 8. *Demonſt.*
*Volat. l.* 11. *f.* 243.

[a] Alſo a third in ***Ephraim***, called ***Abel Mechola***, and a fourth in ***Reuben***, called ***Abel-Sittim***, alſo ***Abel-Mitſraim***, at the Foord of ***Jordan***, and (as it ſeemes) in the ſame Tribe of ***Reuben***, of all which in that which follows: to which alſo we may adde ***Abel-Magnum***, the name as ſome thinke of a City, otherwiſe called ***Bethſhemes***, neere the border of the ***Philiſtims***, or according to others of the great ſtone in the border.

1 Sam. 6. 18.
*Joſeph. ant. l.* 7. *cap.* 10.
2 Sam. 20.
1 King. 15.
2 King. 15.

and ſo doubtleſſe* Abel-Miſraim, *Gen.* 50. 11. and yet *Junius* in his notes upon *Num.* 33. 49. thinkes that Abel-Sittim was ſo called, rather by reaſon of the plaine ground there (to wit, in the Land of Moab,) and ſo perhaps Abel-Meholah in the Tribe of Ephraim: the Towne of *Eliſha* the Prophet: alſo Abel-Vinearum of the Ammonites, whither *Jephta* purſued them.

* And *Abel Magnum.* 1 Sam.6.18.
Judg.7.24 & 1 Reg.19.15.
Judg.11.35.

## †. II.
### *Of Hazor.*

IN the Tribe of Nephtalim, was that famous City of *Jabin*, in *Joſua's* time called Aſor (or after the Chaldæan Paraphraſt, Haſzor) by *Joſephus*, Aſora; by *Junius** Chatzor: which *Laicſtan* names Heſron; the Regall City, and Metropolis of Canaan: ſeated in the Weſt part of Nephtalim, towards Aſher. In this City was that great Rendevous and aſſembly of thoſe foure and twenty Kings againſt *Joſua*: who being all overthrown, ſlain, and ſcattered, this their powerfull City was by *Joſua* taken and burnt to duſt. But in proceſſe of time the ſame being rebuilt by the Canaanites, a ſecond King *Jabin*, 137. yeares after the death of this firſt *Jabin*, invaded the Iſraelites: and being ordained of God to puniſh their Idolatry, he prevailed againſt them, and held them in a miſerable ſervitude twenty yeares: till *Debora* the Propheteſſe overthrew *Siſera*, *Jabins* Leivtenant, and his Army, neere the Mountain Tabor. This City *Salomon* reſtored at ſuch time as he alſo re-edified Gezar, burnt by *Pharao* of Egypt, with [a] Megiddo, Bethoron, and other Cities; but about 260. yeares after, it fell into the hands of *Teglatphalaſar*, King of the Aſſyrians. It is now, ſaith *Adrichomius*, called Antiopia: it was one of the principall Cities of Decapolis. There is another Citie of this name in the Territory of *Benjamin*, ſeated on the confines of *Aſcalon*, called the new Hazor, [b] ſaith *Hierome.*

* Of two other Cities of this name in *Juda*, ſee chap.9.§.1. Of a fourth in *Benjamin*, ſee that which follows in this place: of a fift in this Tribe of *Nephtalim*, called *Hen-Chatſor*, we reade, *Joſ.*19.27. whereto we may adde *Chatſor-Henan*, in the uttermoſt North Eaſt of *Manaſſe*, over *Jordan*. *Ez.*47. *Num.*34.8. alſo in Simeon, *Chatſar-Suſima*, of which, 1 *Chron.*4.31. which alſo is called *Chatſar-Suſa*, and *Chatſar-Gaddæ*, and laſtly *Chatſar-Shuleb*, another City of Simeon. *Joſ.*19.3.

[a] 1 *Kings* 9. [b] *Hieron. loc. Hebr. l.*4. out of *Nehem.* 11.33. as it ſeemes.

## †. III.
### *Of Cæſarea Philippi.*

THere was alſo on the border, and within the Territory of *Nephtalim*, that renowned City of *Lais*, or *Lajiſch*, as *Junius* writes it, or *Leſchen*; which City the children of *Dan* (being ſtraitned in their Territory under *Juda*) invaded & maſtered; and gave it the name of their own parent *Dan*: and by that name it is written in *Geneſis* the foureteenth, at which place *Abraham* ſurprized *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates, & followed his victory as farre as *Sobah*, formerly remembred in the diviſion of *Syria*, otherwiſe called *Sophena*. And after the poſſeſſion of the *Danites*, it had the joynt name of *Leſchem-Dan*. *Weiſſenburg* writes it *Lacis*, the *Geneva Laiſh*, Joſephus, *Dana*; Benjamin, *Balina*; Breidenbach, *Belena*: but the now Inhabitants know it by the name of *Belina* to this day: witneſſe *Neubrigenſis*, *Tyrius*, *Volaterranus*, *Brochard* the *Monke*, and *Poſtellus*: who alſo taketh this City to be the ſame, which in *Matth.* 15. *verſ.* 39. in the *Vulgar* is called *Magadan*, for which the *Greeke* Text hath *Magdala* in that place, and in S. *Marke*, ſpeaking of the ſame ſtory, *Dalmanutha*. At ſuch time as the children of *Dan* obtained this place, it ſeemeth that it was either a free City, of the alliance & confederacy of the *Zidonians*, or elſe ſubject unto the Kings thereof; for it is written in the eighteenth of *Judges*, *And there was none to helpe, because Lais was farre from Zidon: & they had no buſineſſe with other men*; for it was above thirty Engliſh miles from the *Mediterran* Sea, & from *Zidon*.

Judg.18.27.
Joſ.19.47.
Judg.18.
Chap.8.10.
Verſe 28.
*Plin.l.*5.*c.*15.

In after-times when theſe Regions became ſubject to the ſtate of *Rome*, it had the name of *Paneas*, from a Fountaine adjoyning ſo called: and therefore *Ptolomie* calls it *Cæſarea Pania*. *Hegeſippus* calls it *Parnium*, ſaith *Weiſſenburg*: but he had read it in a corrupt copy: for in *Hegeſippus* ſet out by *Badius*, it is written *Paneum* without an (*R*): and at ſuch time as *Philip* the ſonne of the elder *Herod*, brother to *Herod*, *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, became Governour of *Traconitis*, ſometime *Baſan*; this City was by him amplified add fortified; and both to give memory to his owne name, and to flatter *Tiberius Cæſar*, he called it ** Cæſarea Philippi*: and ſo it became the *Metropolis*, and head City of *Traconitis*, and one of the firſt Cities of *Decapolis*. And being by *Agrippa* in the ſucceeding age greatly adorned; by him in honour of *Nero*, it was called *Neronia*, or *Neroniada*. But as

*Heg.l.*1.*c.*35.

* Of another *Cæſaria* (or *Cæſarea*) called *Cæſarea Philippi*, ſee here-after in the former part of *Manaſſe*.

Of Diocæſaria, ſee Sephoris in Zabulon. Euſeb.hiſt.Eccl. l.7.c.14. Niceph.l.6.c.15.

nothing remained with that Emperour, but the memory of his impiety: ſo in Saint Hieromes time the Citizens remembred their former *Paneas*, and ſo recalled it, with the Territory adjoyning by the ancient name. Of this City was that woman whom *Chriſt* healed of a bloudy iſſue, by touching the hemme of his Garment with a conſtant Faith: who afterward, as ſhe was a woman of great wealth and ability, being mindfull of Gods goodneſſe, and no leſſe gratefull for the ſame, as *Euſebius* and *Nicephorus* report, cauſed two *Statues* to be caſt in pure Copper: the one repreſenting *Chriſt, as neere as it could be moulded:* the other made like her ſelfe, kneeling at his feet, and holding up her hands towards him. Theſe ſhee mounted upon two great Baſes or *Pedeſtals* of the ſame Mettall, which ſhe placed by a Fountaine neere her owne houſe: both which (ſaith *Euſebius*) remained in their firſt perfection, even to his owne time: which himſelfe had ſeene, who lived in the Reigne of *Conſtantine* the Great. But in the yeare after *Chriſt* 363. that Monſter *Julian Apoſtata*, cauſed that worthy Monument to be caſt downe, and defaced: ſetting up the like of his owne in the ſame place: which Image of his was with fire from Heaven broken into fitters: the head, body, and other parts ſundered and ſcattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time living. The truth of this accident is alſo confirmed by *Sozomenus Salaminius*, in his fift booke and twentieth Chapter.

a *Joſepus* in the booke of the Jewiſh war. 18. ſaith that *Philip* the *Tetrach* caſt chaffe into a Fountaine called *Phiala*, diſtant 120. ſtadia North-eaſt from *Cæſaria*, which chaffe being carried under ground was caſt up againe at *Panium* or *Dan*, whereby it is conjectured that the firſt Spring of *Jordan* is from this Fountaine called *Phiala*, from whence *Jor* and *Dan* receive their waters.

This City built by the *Danites*, was neere the joyning together of thoſe two Rivers, which ariſing from the ſprings of *Jor* and *Dan*, the two a apparent Fountaines of *Jordan* in a ſoyle exceeding fruitfull, and pleaſant: for, as it is written, *Judges* 18. it is a place *which doth want nothing that is in the World.* In the fields belonging to this Citie it was that Saint *Peter* acknowledged *Chriſt* to be the Sonne of God: whereupon it was anſwered, *Tu es* Petrus, *& ſuper hanc Petram, &c.* After this City received the *Chriſtian* faith, it was honoured with a Biſhops ſeate: and it ranne the ſame fortune with the reſt, for it was after taken and retaken by the *Saracens*, and *Chriſtians*: under *Fulch* the fourth King of *Hieruſalem*, and after the death of *Godfrey* of *Bullion*, the King of *Damaſcus* wreſted it from the *Chriſtians*; and ſhortly after by them againe it was recovered. Laſtly, now it remaineth with all that part of the World ſubjected to the *Turke*.

## †. IIII.

### *Of Capernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.*

AMong the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, *Caphernaum* is not the leaſt: ſo often remembred by the *Evangeliſts*. This City had the honour of *Chriſts* preſence three yeares: who for that time was a Citizen thereof, in which he firſt preached and taught the doctrine of our ſalvation: according to that notable Prophecy of *Eſay* 9. *The people that walked in darkneſſe, have ſeene a great light: they that dwelt in the Land of the ſhadow of death, upon them hath the light ſhined.*

*Caphernaum* was ſeated on *Jordan*, even where it entreth into the Sea of *Galilee*, in an excellent & rich ſoyle: of whoſe deſtruction *Chriſt* himſelfe prophecied in theſe words, *And thou Caphernaum which art lifted up unto heaven, ſhalt be brought downe to Hell, &c.* which ſhewed the pride and greatneſſe of that City: for it was one of the principall Cities of *Decapolis*, and the *Metropolis* of *Galilee*. And although there were ſome markes of this Cities magnificence in Saint *Hieromes* time, as himſelfe confeſſeth; it being then a reaſonable Burge or Towne: yet thoſe that have ſince, and long ſince ſeene it, as *Brochard*, *Breidenbech*, & *Saliniac* affirme, that it then conſiſted but of ſix poore Fiſher-mens houſes.

Matth 4. Marke 7. Luke 8. *Niger.comment. Aſiæ* 4.f.503. *Plin.l.5.c.18.* *Opotos* a City ſtanding in the Valley of *Cæloſyria*, watered by *Chryſorroas* as *Damaſcus* is. *Plin.l.5.*

The Region of ten principall Cities called *Decapolitana* or *Decapolis*, is in this deſcription often mentioned, and in Saint *Matthew*, *Marke* and *Luke* alſo remembred; but I finde no agreement among the *Coſmographers*, what proper limits it had: and ſo *Plinie* himſelfe confeſſeth; for *Marius Niger*, ſpeaking from others, bounds it on the North by the mountaine *Caſius* in *Caſiotis*: and endeth it to the South at *Egypt* and *Arabia*; by which deſcription it imbraceth *Phœnicia*, a part of *Cæloſyria*, all *Palæſtina*, and *Judea*.

*Plinie* alſo makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, he numbreth foure of them to be ſituated towards *Arabia*: to wit, firſt theſe three, *Damaſcus*, *Opotos*, *Raphana*, then *Philadelphia* (which was firſt called *Amana*, ſaith *Stephanus*, or as I gheſſe, *Amona* rather, becauſe it was the chiefe City of the *Ammonites*, knowne by the name of *Rabbah*, before *Ptolo. Philadelphus* gave it this later and new name.) Then *Scythopolis*, ſometime *Niſa*, built (as is ſaid) by *Bacchus*, in memory of his Nurſe, who died therein, anciently knowne by the name of *Bethſan*; for the ſixt he ſetteth *Gadara* (not that *Gadara* in *Cœloſyria*, which was alſo called *Antioch* and *Seleucia*:) but it is *Gadara* in *Baſan*, which *Plinie* in this place meaneth, ſeated on an high hill, neere the River of *Hieromaix*. This River *Ortelius* takes to be the River *Jaboc*: which boundeth *Gad* and *Manaſſe* over *Jordan*: but he miſtaketh it; for *Hieromaix* falleth into the Sea of *Galilee*, betweene *Hippos* and *Geraſa*, whereas *Jaboc* entreth the ſame Sea betweene *Ephron* and *Phanuel*. For the ſeventh he nameth* *Hippos*, or *Hippion*, a City ſo called of a *Colonie* of Horſemen there garriſond by *Herod*, on the Eaſt-ſide of the Galilean Sea, deſcribed hereafter in the Tribe of *Manaſſe* over *Jordan*. For the eighth *Pella*, which is alſo called *Butis*, and *Berenice*, ſeated in the South border of the Region over *Jordan*, called *Peræa*. For the ninth *Gelaſa*, which *Joſephus* takes to be *Geraſa*: and *Geraſa* is found in *Cœloſyria* by *Joſephus*, *Hegeſippus*, and *Stephanus*: but by *Ptolomie* (whom I rather follow) in *Phœnicia*. The tenth and laſt, *Plinie* nameth *Canatha*, and ſo doth *Suetonius* and *Stephanus*, which *Volaterran* calls *Gamala*, but *Hegeſippus* rightly *Camala*, a City in the Region of *Baſan* over *Jordan*, ſo called, becauſe thoſe two Hills on which it is ſeated, have the ſhape of a Camell. But the collection of theſe ten Cities, whereof this Region tooke name, is better gathered out of *Brochard*, *Breidenbach*, and *Salignias*, which make them to be theſe; *Cæſarea Philippi*, and *Aſor*, before remembred, *Cedes*, *Nephtalim*, *Sephet*, *CoraZin*, *Capharnaum*, *Bethſaida*, *Jotapata*, *Tiberias*, and *Scythopolis*, or *Bethſan*. For all other Authours diſagree herein, and give no reaſon for their opinion. One place of the *Evangeliſt* Saint *Matthew* makes it manifeſt, that this Region called *Decapolitana*, was all that Tract betweene *Zidon*, and the Sea of *Galilee*. For thus it is written: *And he departed againe from the coaſts of Tyrus and Zidon, and came unto the Sea of Galilee, through the middeſt of the coaſts of Decapolis*: ſo that it was bounded by *Damaſcus* and *Libanus* on the North: by the *Phœnician* Sea, betweene *Zidon* and *Ptolomais* on the Weſt: by the Hills of *Gelbo* and *Bethſan* on the South: and by the Mountaines *Tracones*, otherwiſe *Hermon*, *Sanir*, and *Galaad*, on the Eaſt: which is from Eaſt to Weſt the whole breadth of the Holy Land: and from the North to the South, neere the ſame diſtance, which may be each way forty Engliſh miles.

*Plinie hath *Hippion Dion*; for which *Volaterran* reades *Hippidion*. *Ortelius* takes them for two Cities.

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## †. V.

## *Of Hamath.*

But to looke backe againe towards *Libanus*, there is ſeated neere the foot thereof the City of* *Hammath* or *Chammath*, of which (as they ſay) the Countrey adjoyning taketh name: the ſame which *Joſephus* calleth *Amathitis*, and *Amathenſis*: [a] *Jacobus Zeigler*, *Ituræa*. *Ituræa Regio tenet borealia tribus Nepthali, per montem Libanum uſq; Trachones.* The Countrey of *Ituræa*, ſaith hee, containeth the North parts of the Tribe of *Nepthali*, along the mount *Libanus* to *Trachones*. But herein following *Strabo*, who calls *Trachonitis Ituræa*, hee miſtakes the ſeate of this Region: and ſo doth *Mercator*. For indeed were *Ituræa* (which *Hegeſippus* calls *Peræa*, and *G. Tyrius*, *Baccar*) the ſame with *Traconitis*, yet *Traconitis* it ſelfe is farre more to the Eaſt than *Hammath* in *Nephtalim*: for *Traconitis* lyeth betweene *Cæſarea Philippi*, and the Mountaines *Trachones*: which the Hebrewes call *Gilead*: and this *Hammath* or *Chammath* is ſeated under *Cæſarea*, towards the Sea Weſt-ward. And it ſeemeth that this miſtaking grew by confounding *Emath* or *Hamath* the great in *Cœloſyria*, beyond the Mountaines *Trachones*, which [b] *Hierome* upon *Amos* calls *Antiochia*, with *Hammath* or *Hamath* the leſſer in *Phœnicia*, and *Nephtalim*, which he calleth *Epiphania*: for this *Hammath*, or in our Tranſlation *Hamath* (and not that which is commonly called *Emath*, which 2 *Chron.* 8. 3. is ſet farre from the North border of *Canaan* in *Syria Soba*) is remembred in *Numbers* 34. *verſe* 8. and *Numbers* 13. *ver.* 22. and in *Ezekiel* 47. 16. In the firſt of which places it bordereth the Land of promiſe, theſe being the words: *From Mount Hor you ſhall point* (that is, direct or draw a line) *untill it come to Hamath*: In

* The *Septuagint* write it *Ammath*, Hierome *Emath*, Joſephus *Amath*: *Joſ.* c. 19. v. 35. *Chammath*; c. 21. v. 32. *Chammath-Dor*, in the firſt of *Chron.* 6. 76. *Chammon*, 2 *King.* 14. 8. *Chammath-Ichude*, as *Junius* reades it, whereas alſo for further diſtinction there is added [in Iſrael] to note that it was of old belonging to *Juda*, though ſeated in *Iſrael*, that is, in the Kingdome of the ten Tribes; the other *Chamath*, being in *Syria Soba*.

[a] *Zeiglier in Nepteal.*

[b] So *Hierome* in his Comment on *Amos*, c. 6. v. 2. where there is mention of *Hamath*, the great, as it ſeemes for diſtinction from the other in *Nephthalim*, though *Matt. Beroaldus* rejecting *Hierome*, rather follows the opinion of *Zeigler* above mentioned, as indeed it cannot eaſily bee juſtified that either one or other of theſe is either *Antiochia* or *Epiphania*, howbeit that the ſame City which in *Joſua* 19. 35. is called *Chammath*, and placed in *Nephthalim*, was alſo called *Chamath* (whence the word *Hamath* and *Emath*, were framed) may bee gathered, partly becauſe the other *Hamath*, 2 *Chron.* 8. 3. for diſtinction is called *Chamath Tſeba*, as this (as it may ſeeme by *Joſ.* 21. 32.) was *Chamath-Dor*-

the ſecond place thus: *So they went up, and ſearched out the Land from the Wilderneſſe of Sin, unto Rehob to go to Hamath:* Then in *Ezekiel; The Weſt part alſo ſhall be the great Sea from the border, till a man come over againſt Hamath:* that is, the coaſt of the ſea ſhal be the Weſt border from the Southermoſt part of the holy Land, till you come directly over againſt *Hamath* Northward: from whence if a line bee drawne to the Sea, it will touch the wals of *Zidon:* which is [c] the Northweſt corner of the holy Land. Now that this *Hamath* or *Hammath*, which *Moſes* alſo made the confine of the holy Land, is that of *Nephthalim*, both the reference which it hath to the Weſt Sea, and the Citie of [d] *Rehob* adjoyning, prove it: the other *Hamath* or *Emath* (being farre removed and beyond the forenamed mountaines, which incloſe all thoſe Lands which *Iſrael* ever had poſſeſſion of) is that *Emath*, which is alſo called *Iturœa*, witneſſe [e] *Stella* and *Laicſtan*; and not that in *Nephtalim*, where [f] *Jonathas Macchabæus* attended the Army of *Demetrius*, who fled from him, and removed by night.

For though *Traconitis* be comprehended within *Iturœa* (and therefore it is ſaid to bee *finitima Galileæ Gentium*) yet it hath beginning over the mountaines *Traconis*, and ſo it ſtretcheth into the plains of the Territory of *Iturœa*; whence *Philip* the brother of *Herod* was *Tetrarch* or *Preſident* both of *Iturœa* and *Trachonitis*: both which are over *Jordan* towards the Eaſt. But *Chemath* in *Nephtalim*, is on the Weſt ſide of *Jordan* towards the *Mediterran* Sea.

The Countrey *Iturœa* was ſo called of *Jethur* one of the ſonnes of *Iſmael*; it is placed in the bounds of *Cœloſyria* and *Arabia* * the deſart.

The people *Iturœi* were valiant and warlike men, and excellent Archers: Of whom *Virgil:*

*Ituræos Taxi torquentur in arcus.*

Of Eugh the *Iturœans* bowes were made.

This City *Chamath* or *Hamath* in *Nephtalim* ſeemes to have bin as ancient as the other in *Iturœa*, both built by *Amatheus* the eleventh ſon of *Canaan*. Whether in the time of *David*, this, or the other had *Tohu* for King, it is not certain; for *Hamath* or *Emath* beyond the Mountaines, and *Hammath* in *Nephtalim*, were both neighbours to *Damaſcus*: of whoſe ſubjugation *Tohu* rejoyced, becauſe *Hadadeſer*, whom the *Damaſceni* came to helpe, was his enemy. This *Tohu* fearing the ſtrength and proſperity of *David*, hearing of his approach towards his Territory, bought his peace with many rich preſents, and with many ancient veſſels of gold, ſilver, and braſſe.

But it ſeemeth that *David* in ſuch great ſucceſſe would not have had peace with *Tohu*, if he had beene King of any place in *Nephtalim*, and therefore it is probable that he ruled in *Tſoba*: which City *Salomon* after his Fathers death made himſelfe Maſter of, as a part of the lands ( * in the larger and conditionall promiſe) allotted by God to the children of *Iſrael*.

But this *Hammath* of *Nephtalim*, in the end, and after divers mutations and changes both of name and fortune, being, as it hath beene ſaid, poſſeſſed by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it was called *Epiphania*.

While Saint *Hierome* lived, it remained a City well peopled, knowne to the *Syrians* by the name *Amathe*, and to the *Greekes* by *Epiphania*.

## †. VI.

### *Of Reblatha and Rama, and divers other Townes.*

IN the border of *Hamath* or *Emath* towards *Jordan* ſtandeth the Citie *Reblatha*, or *Ribla*, watered from the fountaine *Daphnis*: which falleth into the lake of *Merom*. Hereunto

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and *Chamath Judæ*, as wee have noted, 2 *Reg*.24. Secondly, becauſe *Numbers* 34.8. and alſo *Ezekiel* 47.10. *Chamath* in the North ſide of the Holy Land, is placed too neare the Weſt corner, to bee that *Chamath Iſoba*: for in the line which ſhould make the North border which begins at the great Sea, they make *Moſes* to name never a place Eaſtward along all the breadth of the holy Land, untill we come to *Hermon* (for ſo they expound Mount *Hor, Num*.34.7.) and beyond *Hermon* Eaſtward in this North ſide, they make him to name divers Townes, firſt *Chamath*, then *Tſedad*, then *Ziphron*, and laſtly, *Chatſar-henan*, a thing moſt unlikely: ſeeing *Iſrael* had little or nothing Eaſtward beyond *Hermon*. Therefore we muſt needs expound *Hor* to bee one of the Hills neere *Sidon*, and ſo thoſe Townes, as they are named, to lie in order on the North ſide of *Aſher*, *Nephthalim*, and *Manaſſes*: and in like manner thoſe in *Ezekiel*, firſt, *Checlon*, then *Chamath*, and ſo in order, *Berotha*, *Sibraim*, *Tſedad*, *Chaueran*, *Chatſar-henan*.

[c] Of which *Joſ*.19.35.

[d] Which *Rehob*, or *Rechob*, in *Joſ*. 19 28. is placed in *Aſher* towards *Zidon*, in the confines of *Nephthalim*.

[e] *Tilemanus*, *Stella* and *Peter Laicſtan* in their Tables of the holy Land.

[f] *Joſ.Ant*.13.8.

* That it doth properly belóg to *Arabia*, the name of *Jethur Iſmaels* ſonne, whoſe iſſue ſettled in the *Arabia's*, may in part give witneſſe. Alſo the place of the 1 Chron.5.19. confirmes it, where *Jethur* is named among the *Hagarens* againſt whom the *Rubenites* and *Gadites* made war, and whoſe country they poſſeſt in the time of *Jeroboam*, as their fore-fathers had done in the time of *Saul* after his conqueſt of the *Amalekites*, 1 Ch.5.10. where the countrey is placed at the Eaſt of *Gilead*.

* Of the larger promiſe expreſt Deut.1.7. where *Euphrates* is named for one of the bounds; ſee *cap*.7.§.2.

*Hieron. de Locis Hebr.*

was *Zedekias* brought priſoner, after his ſurprize in the fields of *Jerico:* and delivered to *Nabuchodonoſor:* who to be avenged of *Zedekia*'s infidelity, beyond the proportion of pietie, firſt cauſed the Princes his children to be ſlaine in his preſence: and to the end that this miſerable ſpectacle might be the laſt that ever he ſhould behold in this world, and ſo the moſt remembred, he commanded both his eyes preſently to be thruſt out: and binding him in Iron chaines, he was led a ſlave to *Babylon*, in which eſtate he ended his life. Of which ſeldome-exempled calamity, though not in expreſſe words, *Jeremy* the Prophet fore-told him in *Hieruſalem* not long before: But *Ezekiel* thus directly, ſpeaking in the perſon of God; *I will bring him to Babel to the Land of the Chaldæans, yet ſhall he not ſee it, though he ſhall die therein.*

There are beſides theſe before remembred, many other ſtrong Cities in *Nephthalim*, as that which is called [a] *Cedes:* there are two other of the ſame name, one in [b] *Iſachar*, another in *Juda*, of which *Joſ.*15.23. and therefore to diſtinguiſh it, it is knowne by the addition of [c] *Nephtalim*, as *Jud.*4. It is ſeated on a high hill, whence *Joſ.*20.7. *Kedeſh in Galilea in monte Nephtali: Joſephus* calls it *Cedeſis*, and in Saint *Hieromes* time it was called *Cidiſſus. Belforeſt* greatly miſtakes this *Cedes*, and confounds it with *Cades* in the *Deſart* of *Pharan*.

After the King thereof among other of the *Canaanites* periſhed by the hand of *Joſua*, it was made a City of refuge, and given to the *Levites*. Herein was *Barac* borne; who overthrew the Armie of the ſecond *Jabin* of *Hazor*, at the Mount *Tabor*. It was ſomtime poſſeſt by *Teglatphalaſſer*, when he waſted all *Nephtalim:* afterward by the *Romans*, and numbred for one of the ten Cities of the *Decapolitan* Region: When it had imbraced the Chriſtian faith, it was honoured with a Biſhops ſeate, but in time it fell with the reſt into the power of the *Saracens* and *Turkes*, and by them it was demoliſhed.

From *Cedes* ſome foure Italian miles towards the South-weſt, ſtandeth *Sephet*, otherwiſe *Zephet*, which was alſo one of the ten *Decapolitan* Cities: a place exceeding ſtrong, and for many yeares the inexpugnable Fortreſſe of the *Chriſtians*, and afterward of the *Saracens*; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour Cities of thoſe regions, both In-land and Maritimate, neere it. Touching *Rama* of *Nephtalim*, ſeated Northward neere *Sephet*, this is to be noted, that there are () divers places of this name in *Palæſtine*, all ſituate on Hills: and therefore called *Rama* (*Rama Hebræis excelſum; Ramath with the Hebrews is high.*) Alſo that from this *Rama Joſ.*19.36. they read *Arama*, making the article (which it hath in the *Hebrew*, as being a name of divers Towns) to be a part of the word: whence caſting away the aſpiration, they reade *Arema*. From *Sephet* towards the Weſt they place* *Bethſemes*, of which *Joſ.*19.38. which defended it ſelf againſt *Nephtalim, Jud.*1.33. but paid them tribute. On the other ſide of *Sephet* towards the Eaſt was *Bethanath*, who alſo kept their Citie from the *Nephtalims*.

Adjoyning to which ſtandeth *Carthan* [d] or *Kiriathajim*, a Citie of the *Levites*, not far from the Mountaine out of which the ſprings of *Capharnaum* ariſe, called *Mons Chriſti*, a place by our Saviour often frequented: as alſo then when calling his Diſciples together, he made choiſe of twelve, which he called and ordained to be his *Apoſtles* or Meſſengers; of which place, or the acts therein done, there is often mention in the [e] *Evangeliſts*.

Adjoyning to theſe are *Magdalel*, a place of ſtrength, [f] and *Meſaloth*, of which we read that it was forced by *Bacchides* in the time of the [g] *Macchabees:* alſo (according to *Adrichomius*) one of the two *Berotha's* of *Nephtalim*. For *Adrichomius* maketh two of this name in this Tribe, [h] one neere *Chamath* in the North border, of which *Ezek.*47.6. another (upon a weak conjecture out of *Joſeph. ant. l.*5. *c.*2.) he therefore placeth in this tract neere the waters of *Merom*; becauſe the Kings that joyned with *Jabin* againſt *Joſ.* which incamped at the waters of *Merom*, *Joſ.*11.5. are by *Joſephus* ſaid to have incamped at the Citie *Berotha* in *Galilee*, not farre from *Cedeſa ſuperior*, which is alſo in *Galilee:* all which may be true of that *Berotha* of which *Ezek.* ſeeing it is in that *Galilee* which is called the upper *Galilee*, or *Galilee* of the *Gentiles*. The ſame *Adrichomius* placeth the Region of *Berim* neer *Abela* (of which *Abela* or *Abel-beth Mahacah* we have ſpoken already) this he doth upon a conjecture touching the place 2 *Sam.*20.14. where ſome read *Abel & Bethmahacah, & omnia loca Berim:* but the better reading is, *& omnes Berim*, that is, *with all the Berai:* for *Shebah* being of *Benjamin* (in which Tribe alſo there is a Citie called *Berotha* or *Beeroth*) drew the men of that Citie after him.

To the North of *Berotha* of *Nephtalim* ſtandeth *Sebarim* under *Libanus*, remembred by

*Ezek.*

*Hierem.*52.11. *&c.*
*Ezek.*21.52.

[a] Or *Kedeſh*, Joſ.19.37. & 10.7. & 21.32. *item* Jud.4.6.

[b] 1 Chron 6.72. which *Joſ.*19.20. is called *Kiſhion*.

[c] Sometime *Kedeſh in Galilea*; 1 Chron.6.76. Joſ.12.22. 2 Reg.15.29.

() See in *Benjamin*, and in *Ephraim*.

* Other Cities there were of this name, (which is as much as *domus ſolis*) as that in *Juda*, 2 Kin.14.15. where *Joaſh* King of the ten tribes overcame *Amaſia* of *Juda*, of which alſo I underſtand the place, *Joſ.*21.16. & 1 Sam. 6.14 & 2. Chro. 29.18. A third as it ſeemes was in *Dan*. 1.Kin.4.9. which *Joſ.*19.41. is written *Hirſhemes*, which is as much as *Civitas ſolis*. *Jud.*1.31.

[d] So it appears by comparing of the places. *Joſ.*21.32. and 1 Chr.6.76. *Adrichomius* both here and elſewhere, deceived by the double name, makes two of one: although I deny not but that there was another *Kiriathajim* in *Reuben*, of which Joſ.13.9.

[e] Mar.3. Matth.10. Acts 1. Matth.5.6,7.

[f] *Joſ.*19.38.

[g] 1 Mac.9.2.

[h] *Barathena Ptolomeo in fine Arabiæ deſertæ: Junio eadem cum Berothai una civitatum Hadadezeris.* 2.Sam. 8; 8.Joſ.18.25.

*Aſtroth.Hierom.*
*Jud.4.Lyr.in*
*Jud.4.*
*Joſ.19.37.*
1 *Reg.15.20.*
2 *Reg.15.29.*

*Ezek.47.* and *Aroſeth gentium*, neere the waters of *Merom* or *Samochonitis*, the Citie of *Siſara* Lievtenant of the Army of the ſecond *Jabin*: from whence not farre off towards the Sea of *Galilee*, is *Edrai*, or *Edrehi*, a ſtrong Citie: beſides many others, wherof I find no particular ſtory of importance: as *Ser* in *Joſua c.19.v.35.* called *Triddim-Tzer*, and named for the firſt of their fenced Cities: whence they make two Cities, *Aſſedim* and *Ser*. Then *Adama*, which they call *Edama*: alſo *Hion*, which they call *Ahion*, of which in the Bookes of *Kings*. Then the ſtrong Citie of *Cinnereth*, after called *Gennezareth*, whence we reade of the Land and Lake of *Gennezareth*, the ſame Lake which is alſo called the Sea of *Tiberius*. In the body of the Land they place *Galgala* to the South border: of which * 1. *Mac.9.2.* alſo divers others, named *Joſ.19.* as *Ucuca* or *Chukkok Horem* and *Azanoth-tabor* (which they place towards the Eaſt parts) and out of the ſame place of *Joſua*, *Jerzon*, *Lakkum Jepnael*, *Heleb*, and k *Raccath*; which two laſt they place neere *Cæſarea Philippi*. To theſe they adde out of *Joſua*, *Nekeb*, and *Adami*: for which two *Junius* readeth *Foſſa Adamat*, making it no Towne but a Ditch caſt by ſome of *Adameth*, as it ſeemes; or at leaſt the cuſtodie of which March or Limit belonging to the Towne. To theſe out of *Num.34.10.* they adde *Sephana*, which 1 *Sam.30.21.* ſeemes to be called *Sipmoth*. As for *Tichon* and *Helon*, whereof the former they fetch out of *Ezek.47.16.* and the latter out of *Joſua 19.33.* it may appeare by *Junius* his Tranſlation, that neither are to be taken for Cities: for the former he readeth *Mediana*, and for the latter *Quercetum*. The Citie of l *Nephthalim*, which they make the native place of *Tobie*, and *Naaſſon* neere unto it, they fetch out of the *Vulgar* Tranſlation, *Tob.7.7.* but in the *Greeke* Text there is no ſigne, neither of the one nor of the other.

*Mar.6.53.*
*Luc.5.1.*

* This place of the *Macchab.* warrants no *Galgala* or *Gilgal* in *Nepthali*, but may well be underſtood of *Gilgal* in *Benjamin* or in *Manaſſe*.

k This *Reccath* or *Racath* *Junius* thinkes that it is the ſame with *Karthan* (one of theſe being made of the other by Tranſpoſition of letters) of which *Karthan* wee have noted already, that it is alſo called *Kiria-thajim*.

l In the place, 1 *Reg.4.* it is, which alſo they bring to proove that there was a Citie called *Nepthalim*, as it is evident by the following Verſes: the Tribe of *Nepthalim* is meant, and not any Citie of that name.

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## §. V.

## THE TRIBE OF ZABULON.

OF *Zabulon* or *Zebulon*, another of the ſonnes of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were muſtered at Mount *Sinai*, 57400. able men, beſides women, children, and aged unable perſons: all which dying in the Deſarts, there entred the Holy Land of their iſſues 65000. fit to beare armes: who inhabited that part of *Canaan*, from *Aſher* to the River *Chiſon* Southward, and from the Sea of *Galilee* to the *Mediterran*, Eaſt and Weſt.

The Cities within this Tribe which border *Aſher*, are *Sicaminum* on the Sea ſhore; of which *Joſeph. Ant.13.c.19.* *Debbaſet*, of * which *Joſ.19.11.* *Jekonam* or *Jokneham* (whoſe King was a ſlaine by *Joſua*, and the Citie was given to the *Levites*:) and *Gaba*, after called the Citie of Horſemen, of a Regiment there garriſond by *Herod*. Then the City which beareth the name of *Zabulon*, or the *Citie of men*, exceeding ancient and magnificent, b burnt to the ground by *Ceſtius*, Lievtenant of the *Romane* Armie. *Adrichomius* makes it the birth-Citie of c *Elon* Judge of *Iſrael*, becauſe he is called *Zabulonita*: not marking that in the ſame place, he is ſaid to be buried at *Ajalon*.

To the Eaſt of this City of *Zabulon* is *Cateth*, of which *Joſ.19.15.* on the border of *Aſher*: and beyond it the leſſer d *Cana* of *Galilee*, where *Chriſt* converted Water into Wine: the native Citie of *Nathaniel*, and, as it is thought, of *Simon Zelotes*. Beyond it begin the Mountaines of *Zabulon*: and then the Citie of *Cethron* (in *Zeigler*, *Ghiltron*) which defended it ſelfe againſt *Zabulon*. Then *Berſabe*, which ſtandeth in the partition of the upper and nether *Galilee*, fortified by *Joſephus* againſt the *Romanes*. Not farre from hence ſtandeth *Shimron* of *Meron*, whoſe King was ſlaine by *Joſua*.

Then *Damna* or *Dimna*, a Citie of the *Levites*: then *Noa*, or rather *Neha*, of which *Joſ.19.13.* Then *Dothan* or *Dothain*, where *Joſeph* found his brethren feeding their flockes: the ſame wherein *Elizæus* beſieged by the *Syrians*, ſtrooke them all blinde.

Beyond it towards the Eaſt they imagine e *Amthar* or *Amathar*: then *Remmon* of the *Levites*. The laſt of the Cities on the North border of *Zabulon* is *Bethſaida*, one of the ten Cities of *Decapolis*, ſituate on the *Galilæan* Sea, and watered by the ſprings of *Capharnaum*, the native Citie of the Apoſtles, *Peter*, *Andrew*, and *Philip*. Herein *Chriſt* did many miracles, but theſe people being no leſſe incredulous than the *Capharnaims*, and others,

* *Joſua 12.22.*
a *Joſ.2.bel.19.*
b *Joſ.2.bel.22.*
c *Jud.12.12.*

d The greater *Cana* is in the Tribe of *Aſſer*. *Joſ.22.2.* *Nathaniel* is ſaid to be of *Cana* in *Galilee*. Of *Simon* it may be doubted: for *Angelus Caninius* reades *Mat.10.4.* *Simon Cannites*, which word (*Luc.6.*) hee thinketh to be expounded by *Zelotes*.

e The *Hebrew Hammethoar*, (for which the Vulgar hath *Amthar*, *Joſ.19.13.*) *Vatablus* expounds *quæ gyrat*; *Junius* joynes it with the word going before it, & reades *Rimmonemo Methoarum*, *Mat.8.11.*
*Mark.1.6.*
*Luke 4.10.*

thers, received the ſame Curſe of threatened Miſeries, as, *Woe be unto thee Bethſaida, &c.*

Alongſt the Weſt border of *Galilee*, towards the South from *Bethſaida*, was the ſtrong Caſtle of *Magdalum*, the habitation of *Marie Magdalen*, not long ſince ſtanding.

And beyond it the ſtrong and high ſeated Citie of *Jotapata*, fortified by *Joſephus* in the *Roman* Warre: but in the end after a long ſiege ſurpriſed by *Veſpaſian*, who ſlaughtered many thouſand of the Citizens, and held 1200. priſoners, whereof *Joſephus* the Hiſtorian was one.

The laſt and greateſt of the Cities on that * Sea, and the Lake of *Genezareth* within *Zabulon*, was that of *Tiberias*, from whence afterward the *Galilæan* Sea alſo changed name, and was called the Sea of the Citie *Tiberias*, ſo named in the honour of *Tiberius Caſar*; it was one of the ten Cities, and the *Metropolis* of the Region *Decapolitan*, & the greateſt and laſt of the lower *Galilee*. From hence our *Saviour* called *Matthew* from the toll or cuſtome houſe, to be an Apoſtle; and neere unto it raiſed the daughter of *Jairus* from death: it was built (as *Joſephus* reports) by *Herod* the *Tetrarch*, the brother of *Philip*, in the beginning of the raigne of *Tiberius Caſar*, in the moſt fruitfull part of *Galilee*; but in a ground full of *Sepulchers*: *Quum juxta noſtras leges* (ſaith he) *ad ſeptem dies impurus habeatur, qui in talibus locis habitet*; *Whereas by our law he ſhould be ſeven dayes held as uncleane, who inhabited in ſuch a place*: by which words, and by the whole place of *Joſephus* it appeares, that this *Tiberias* is not (as ſome have thought) the ſame as the old *Cinnereth*, which was ſeated, not in *Zabulon*, but in *Nephtalim*.

* The names of the chiefe Cities ſeated about this Sea, or lake, thorow which *Jordan* runneth, were *Capernaum*, *Taberias*, *Bethſaida*, *Gadara*, *Tarichea*, and they adde *Cinnereth*, which in foretimes gave name to the Lake and Countrie.

*Matth.9.*
*Luc.5.*
*Joſe. Ant.18.3.*
*Joſeph.10 15.*
*Adrich.in Zab.*

Neere unto this *Tiberias*, at *Emaus*, there were hot baths, where *Veſpaſian* the Emperour encamped againſt *Tiberias*. More into the Land toward the South-weſt is *Bethulia*, ſeated on a very high Hill, and of great ſtrength, famous by the ſtorie of *Holofernes* and *Judith*, ſuch as it is. Neere which ſtandeth *Bethleem* of *Zabulon*: and adjoyning unto it *Capharath*, fortified by *Joſephus* againſt the *Romans*: and *Japha* an exceeding ſtrong place, afterward forced by *Titus*: who in the entrance, and afterward in furie ſlew 15000. of the Citizens; and carried away above two thouſand priſoners.

*Joſe.in vit.ſua.*
*Joſep.2.Bel.25.*

On the South ſide are the Cities of *Cartha* of the *Levites*, and *Gabara*, of which *Joſephus* in his owne life, then *Jafie* according to *Adrichomius* (of which *Joſ.19.12.*) for hee thinkes that it is not that *Japha* of which we ſpake but now out of *Joſephus*. *Jideala*, of which *Joſ.19.15.* *Hierome* calls it *Jadela*: under it Weſtward, *Legio*, (afterward a Biſhops ſeate) and the Citie *Belma*, in ancient times exceeding ſtrong, remembred *Judith 7.3.* otherwiſe *Chelma*. Betweene *Legio* and *Nazeret* is the Citie *Saffa* or *Saffra*, the birth-Citie of *Zebedæus*, *Alphæus*, *James* and *John*: Then *Sephoris*, or *Sephora*, according to *Joſephus*: *Sephorum* according to *Brochard*: which afterward, ſaith *Hegeſippus* and *Hierome* was called *Diocæſarea*, the Citie of *Joachim* and *Anna*, the Parents of the Virgin *Mary*; it was called by *Herod* the *Tetrarch*, and by him, as *Joſephus* ſpeakes, made the head and defence of *Galilee*: in another place he ſaith, *Urbium Galilaarum maxima Sephoris & Tiberias*. This *Sephoris* greatly vexed *Veſpaſian* ere he wanne it. *Herod Antipas*, when he made it the Regall ſeat of the nether *Galilee* and ſurrounded it with a ſtrong wall, called it *Autocratorida*, which is as much to ſay as Imperiall, ſaith *Joſephus*; and it is now but a Caſtle called *Zaphet*.

*Joſua 21.35.* otherwiſe *Kiſloth Thabor*, as *Junius* thinkes upon *Joſ.19.12.* whence 1 *Chro.6.77.* it is called *Thaber*.
*Johan.de Montevilla,c.4.& 20.*
*Joſeph.ant.18.3. & in vita ſua.*

To the South-weſt of this *Sephoris* or *Diocæſarea* was that bleſſed place of *Nazareth* the Citie of *Mary* the Mother of *Chriſt*; in which he himſelfe was conceived: it ſtandeth betweene Mount *Tabor*, and the *Mediterran Sea*. In this Citie he abode chiefly foure and twenty yeares, and was therefore called a *Nazarite*, as the *Chriſtians* afterward were for many yeares. It was erected into an *Archbiſhopricke* in the following age. Neere unto it are the Cities *Buria* (afterward well defended againſt the *Turkes*) and *Nahalal*, of which *Joſ.19.15.* and *Judg.1.30.* where it is called *Nahalol*: and *Joſ.21.35.* where it is a Citie of the *Levites*; neere the Sea, adjoyning to the River of *Chiſon* is *Sarid*, noted in *Joſua* for the uttermoſt of *Zabulon*.

In this Territorie of *Zabulon* there are divers ſmall Mountaines: but *Tabor* is the moſt renowned, by the apparition of *Moſes* and *Elias*: and by the Transfiguration of *Chriſt* in the preſence of *Peter*, *James*, and *John*: unto whom *Moſes* and *Elias* appeared; in memory whereof on the top of the Mountaine, the *Empreſſe Helen* built a ſumptuous Chappell.

The chiefe River of *Zabulon* is *Chiſon*, which riſing out of *Tabor*, runneth with one

ſtreame

See *Laiſtans* Map in *Ortelius.* *Joſ.*19.14.

ſtreame Eaſtward to the Sea of *Galilee*, and with another ſtreame Weſtward into the great Sea. This River of *Chiſon* where it riſeth, and ſo farre as it runneth Southward, is called *Chedumim* or *Cadumim:* and for mine owne opinion, I take it to be the ſame which *Ptolomie* calleth *Chorſeus:* though others diſtinguiſh them, and ſet *Chorſeus* by *Caſaria Paleſtina*. There is a ſecond Torrent or Brooke that riſeth in the Hills of *Bethulia*, and falleth into the Sea of *Galilee* by *Magdalum:* and the third is a branch of a river riſing out of the Fountaines of *Capharnaum*, which falleth alſo into the ſame Sea, and neere *Magdalum*; which Torrent they call *Dotham*, from the name of the Citie, from which it paſſeth Eaſtward to *Bethſaida*, and ſo joyning with *Jordanis parvus* which runneth from the Valley of *Jephthael*, which *Joſua* reckoneth in the bounds of *Zabulon:* it endeth in the Sea of *Galilee.*

## §.VI.

## *THE TRIBE OF ISACHAR.*

THe next adjoyning Territory to *Zabulon*, to the South and Southweſt, was *Iſachar*, who inhabited a part of the nether *Galilee*, within *Jordan:* of whom there were increaſed in *Egypt*, as appeared by their muſters at Mount *Sinai*, 54400. able and warlike men, who leaving their bodies with the reſt in the Deſarts, there entred the Holy Land, 64300.

*Taricbea in Suston.*

The firſt Citie of this Tribe neere the Sea of *Galilee*, was *Tarichea*, diſtant from *Tiberias* eight Engliſh miles, or ſomewhat more; a City wherein the *Jewes* (by the practice of a certaine mutinous upſtart, *John* the ſon of *Levi*) tooke armes againſt *Joſepus* the Hiſtorian, then Governour of both *Galilees*. This Citie was firſt taken by *Caſsius*, and 3000. *Jewes* carried thence captive; and afterward with great difficultie by *Veſpaſian*, who entred it by the Sea ſide, having firſt beaten the *Jewes* in a ſea-fight upon the Lake or Sea of *Galilee*: he put to the ſword all ſorts of people, and of all ages; ſaving that his furie being quenched with the Rivers of bloud running through every ſtreet, he reſerved the remainder for ſlaves and bond-men.

*Joſ.*21.28. *Kiſhion*, which 1 *Chr.*6.72. is called *Kedeſh.*

*Joſua* 19.
1 *Sam.*4.1.
1 *Sam.*3.19.
1 *Kings* 20.26.
In the latter two places *Junius* makes *Aphec* in *Aſſer*, according to *Joſ.*19 30. in the firſt he placeth it in *Juda*, out of *Joſ.*15.53.
1 *Kings* 20,

Next to *Tarichea* is placed *Ceſsion*, or *Ciſhion*, of the *Levites*, and then *Iſachar*, remembred in the firſt of *Kings.c.*4.*v.*17. then *Abes* or *Ebets*, *Joſ.*19.20. and *Remeth*, of which *Joſ.*19.21. otherwiſe *Ramoth*, 1 *Chron.*6.73. or *Jarmuth*, *Joſ.*21.29. this alſo was a City of the *Levites*, from whoſe Territorie the Mountaines of *Gilboe* take beginning: & range themſelves to the *Mediterran* ſea, and towards the Weſt as farre as the Citie of *Jezreel*, between which and *Ramoth*, are the Cities of *Bethpheſes*, or *Bethpaſſes*, according to *Zeigler*; and *Enadda*, or *Hen chadda*, neere which *Saul* ſlew himſelfe: under thoſe, *Aphec* or *Apheca*, which *Adrichomius* placeth in *Iſachar:* betweene which and *Suna*, he ſaith, that the *Philiſtims* incamped againſt *Iſrael*, & afterward againſt *Saul:* a Land thirſtie of bloud, for herein alſo, ſaith he, the *Syrians* with two and thirty *Reguli* aſſiſting *Benhabad*, incountered *Achab*, and were overthrowne and ſlaughtered: to whom the King of *Iſrael* made a moſt memorable anſwer, when *Benhadad* vaunted before the victory: which was, *Tell* Benhadad, *Let not him that girdeth his harneis, boaſt himſelfe as he that putteth it off:* meaning, that glorie followed after victorie, but ought not to precede it. In the yeare following, in the fields, as they ſay, adjoyning to this Citie, was the ſame vaine-glorious *Syrian* utterly broken and diſcomfited by *Achab:* and 100000. footmen of the *Aramites* or *Syrians* ſlaine: before which overthrow the ſervants and Counſailors of *Benhadad* (in deriſion of the God of *Iſrael*) told him, *That the Gods of Iſrael were Gods of the Mountaines: and therefore if they fought with them in the plaines, they ſhould overcome them.*

1 Kings 20.23.

Judith 1.8.& 7.3.
1 Chron.6.73.
Joſ.21.29.

Under *Aphec* towards the Sea they ſet the Citie of *Eſdrelon*, in the plaines of *Galilee*; called alſo the great field of *Eſdrelon*, and *Maggeddo:* in the border whereof are the ruines of *Aphec* to be ſeene, ſaith *Brochard*, and *Breidenbach*. After theſe are the Cities of *Caſaloth*, of which, 1 *Machab.*9.2. *Anem* or *Hen-Gannim* of the *Levites*, and *Seeſima* or *Shabatſima*, the Weſt border of *Iſachar*, of which *Joſ.*19.22. From hence ranging the Sea coaſt, there is found the Caſtle of *Pilgrims:* a ſtrong Caſtle, invironed with the Sea, ſometime the ſtore-houſe and Magaſine of the *Chriſtians*, and built by the Earle of S. *Giles* or *Tolouſe*.

From the Caſtle of *Pilgrims* the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and the farthermoſt ſhore beginneth Mount *Carmel*, not farre from the River *Chiſon*, where *Elijah* aſſembled all the Prophets and Prieſts of *Baal*; and prayed King *Achab* and the people aſſembled, to make triall whether the God of *Iſrael*, or the Idoll of *Baal* were to be worſhipped, by laying a ſacrifice without fire on the Altar: which done, the Prieſts of *Baal* prayed, and cut their owne fleſh after their manner, but the fire kindled not, while *Elijah* in deriſion told them that their God *was either in purſuite of his enemies, not at leyſure, or perchance aſleepe, &c.* but at the prayer of *Elijah* the fire kindled, notwithſtanding that he had cauſed the people to caſt many Veſſells of water thereon: by which miracle the people incenſed, ſlew all thoſe Idolaters on the bankes of *Chiſon* adjoyning.

At the foot of this Mountaine to the North, ſtandeth *Caiphas*, built, as they ſay, by *Caiphas* the high Prieſt. It is alſo knowne by the name of *Porſina* and *Porphyria*, ſometime a *Suffragane* Biſhops ſeate. Returning againe from the Sea-coaſt towards *Tiberias* by the bankes of *Chiſon*, there are found the City of *Hapharaim* or *Aphraim*, and the Caſtles of *Mezra* and *Saba*: of which *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*: and then *Naim* on the River *Chiſon*: a beautifull Citie while it ſtood, in the Gates whereof *Chriſt* raiſed from death the widowes onely ſonne.

Luk.7.

Then *Seon* or *Sbion*, named *Joſ.* 19. betweene the two Hills of *Hermon*, in *Iſachar*: beyond it ſtandeth *Endor*, famous by reaſon of the Inchantreſſe that undertooke to raiſe up the body of *Samuel* at the inſtigation of *Saul*.

Beyond it ſtands *Anaharath* and *Rabbith*, named *Joſ.c.19.v.19,20.* Then *Dabarath*, as it is named, *Joſ.21.28.* or *Dobratha*, as it is named, 1 *Chron.6.71.* This Citie (which ſtretcheth it ſelfe over *Chiſon*) was a Citie of refuge belonging to the *Levites*.

Next to *Dabarath* is *Arbela* ſituate, neere the Caves of thoſe two Theeves which ſo greatly moleſted *Galilee* in *Herods* time. It joyneth on one ſide to the Mountaine of *Iſachar* or *Hermon*, and on the other to the Valley of *Jeſrael*: which valley continueth it ſelfe from *Bethſan* or *Scythopolis*, the Eaſt border of *Iſachar*, even to the *Mediterran* Sea: two parts whereof are incloſed by the Mountaines of *Gilboe* on the South, & by *Hermon*, and the River *Chiſon* on the North. In theſe * plaines *Gideon* overthrew the *Madianites*, and herein, they thinke, *Saul* fought againſt the *Philiſtims*, *Achab* againſt the *Syrians*, and the *Tartars* againſt the *Saracens*.

* Called *campus Magnus*.
1 Mac.12.49.
and *Harbathe* for *Harabath*.
1 Macc.5.23.
& 9.2.
Judg 6.
1 Sam.31.
1 King.20.

## §.VII.

## THE HALFE OF THE TRIBE OF MANASSE.

### †. I.

*Of the bounds of this halfe Tribe: and of Scythopolis, Salem, Therſa, and others.*

THe next Tribe which joyneth it ſelfe to *Iſachar* towards the South, is the halfe of *Manaſſe*, on the Weſt ſide of *Jordan*. *Manaſſes* was the firſt begotten of *Joſeph*, the eleventh ſon of *Jacob*. His mother was an Egyptian, the daughter of *Putiphar*, Prieſt and Prince of *Heliopolis*: which *Manaſſes*, with his brother *Ephraim*, the grandchildren of *Jacob*, were by adoption numbred amongſt the ſonnes of *Jacob*, and made up he number of the twelve *Patriarkes*.

Of *Manaſſe* there were increaſed in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 32200. able men: all which being conſumed in the *Deſarts*, there entred of their iſſues, 52700. bearing armes. The Territory which fell on this one halfe of *Manaſſe*, was bounded by *Jordan* on the Eaſt, and *Dora* upon the *Mediterran* Sea on the Weſt, *Jeſrael* on he North, and *Machmata* is the South border.

The firſt and principall Citie which ſtood in this Territorie was *Bethſan*, ſometime *Nyſa*, ſaith *Plinie*, built by *Liber Pater*, in honour of his Nurſe there buried, of the ſame name, which *Solinus* confirmes. Afterward when the *Scythians* invaded *Aſia* the leſſe, and pierc't into the South, to the uttermoſt of *Cœloſyria*, they built this Citie a-new, and very magnificent: and it had thereupon the name of *Scythopolis*, or the Citie of *Scythians* given y the *Greekes*.

Plin.lib.5.c.18

Theſe barbarous Northren people conſtrained the *Jewes* to fight againſt their owne

Nation and kindred, by whoſe hands when they had obtained victory, they themſelves ſet on the Jewes which ſerved them, and ſlew them all. ***Stephanus*** makes it the utmoſt towards the South of Cœloſyria: and ***Strabo*** joynes it to Galilee. It is ſeated between Jordan and the Hills of Gilboe, ***in aulone ad montes acrabitena***, ſaith ***Zeigler***. But I finde it in the Eaſt part of the Valley of Jeſrael neere Jordan: after that, Jordan ſtrengtheneth it ſelfe againe into a River, leaving the Sea or Lake Genezareth. Notwithſtanding ***Montanus*** deſcribes it farre to the Weſt, and towards the Mediterran Sea, neere Endor, contrarie to ***Stella***, ***Laicſtan***, ***Adrichome***, and all other the beſt Authors. This Citie was the greateſt of all thoſe of Decapolis: but the children of ***Manaſſe*** could not expell the Inhabitants thereof: and therefore called it Sane, an enemie, or Beth-ſan, the houſe of an enemie.

*Judg.1. Joſ.17. de Bell.ſacr.*

Over the walls of this Bethſan the Philiſtims hung the body of ***Saul***, and his ſonnes ſlaine at Gilboe. It had, while the Chriſtian religion flouriſhed in thoſe parts, an Archbiſhop, who had nine other Biſhops of his Dioceſſe, numbred by ***Tyrius***, in his 14. Booke and 12. Chapter: but the ſame was afterward tranſlated to Nazareth. The later travailers in thoſe parts affirme, that there is daily taken out among the rubble and the ruines of that Citie, goodly pillars and other pieces of excellent Marble, which witneſſe the ſtately buildings, and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poore and deſolate Village.

*Hierom. in Epiſt. ad Evagr. & in Loc. Hebr.*

From Bethſan keeping the way by Jordan, they finde an ancient Citie called Salem, which Citie the ancient Rabbines, ſaith ***Hierome***, do not finde to be the ſame with Hieruſalem: there being in the time of ***Hierome*** and ſince, a towne of that name, neere Scythopolis before remembred, which if the place of Scripture, ***Gen.*** 13.18. doe not confirme, where the Vulgar readeth ***tranſivitq; in Salem urbem Sichemorum*** (for which others reade ***venit incolumis ad Civitatem Sechemum***, making the word ***Shalem*** not to be a proper name, but an adjective) yet the place ***John*** 3.13. where it is ſaid, that ***John*** was baptizing in Ænon neere Salem, may ſomewhat ſtrengthen this opinion, and yet it is not unlikely that this Salem of which S. ***John*** ſpeaketh, is but contracted of Shahalim, of which in the Tribe of ***Benjamin***, 1 ***Sam.***9.4. This word ***Junius*** maketh to be the plurall of Shuhal: of which we reade, 1 ***Sam.***13.17. for as for that which is added out of ***Canticles*** 6.12. of Shulammitis, as if it had bin as much as a Woman of this Salem, neere Ænon, it hath no probability.

This City *Bezek* by the place, *Jud.*1.3. ſeemeth to have beene in *Juda*. *Joſ.ant.*6.c.5. 1 Sam.c.11.

Not farre from thence where they place Salem, they find Bezech the City of Adonibezec, ***Joſephus*** calls it Bala: here it was that ***Saul*** aſſembled the ſtrength of Iſrael and Juda, to the number of 330000. when he meant to relieve Jabeſh Gilead, againſt ***Naaſh*** the Ammonite: who would give them no other conditions of peace, than to ſuffer their right eyes to be thruſt out. Neere Bezech is the City of Bethbera or rather Beth-bara, of which ***Judg.***7.24. in the ſtorie of ***Gideon***: and then Ephra or Hophra, wherein ***Gideon*** inhabited: in the border whereof ſtood an Altar conſecrated to ***Baal***, which he pulled downe and defaced; and neere it that ſtone, on which ***Abimelech*** the Baſtard ſlew his 70. brothers; a Heatheniſh cruelty, practiſed by the Turke to this day: and not farre hence, betweene the Village of Aſophon and Jordan, ***Ptolomeus Lathurus*** overthrew ***Alexand*** King of the Jewes, and ſlaughtered, as ***Joſephus*** numbereth them, 3000. but according to ***Timagenes*** 50000. after which victory, as ***Ptolomie*** paſt by the Villages of the Jewes, he ſlew all their women, and cauſed the young children to be ſod in great Caldrons, that the reſt of the Jewes might thereby thinke that the Egyptians were growne to be men-eaters and ſtrike them with the greater terror.

*Joſ.l.13.c.21. ant.*

* This *Aner Junius* upon 1 *Chron* 6.70. makes to be the ſame with *Tahanac*, of which *Joſ.*21. 25. *Hierome* names it from *Aner* the Confederate of *Abraham*. Gen. 14.13. Joſua 12.17. 1 King.14.

Towards the Weſt and on the border of Iſachar, they place the Cities of * ***Aner*** of the Levites, and Abel-Mehola, which ***Junius***, ***Judg.***7.22. placeth in Ephraim: it was the habitation of ***Heliſaus*** the Prophet, numbred among thoſe places, 1 ***Reg.***4.12. which were given in charge to ***Baana*** by ***Salomon***, to whoſe charge alſo Tahanac belonged, a place of great ſtrength, which at the firſt reſiſted ***Joſua***, though their King was afterward hanged, and their Citie given to the Levites.

In the body of this Territory of Manaſſe, but ſomewhat neerer Jordan than to the Mediterran Sea, were three great Cities, to wit, Therſa, whoſe King was one of thoſe that ***Joſua*** ſlew: which the Kings of Iſrael uſed for their Regall ſeate, till ſuch time as Samaria was built. From hence the wife of ***Jeroboam*** went to ***Achia*** to enquire of her ſons health who knowing her, though ſhe were diſguiſed, told her of her ſonnes death.

The ſecond was Thebes neere Samaria, of which name there are both in Egypt, and

Greece, of great fame: in the aſſault of the Tower of this Towne, whereinto the Citizens retired, the Baſtard ***Abimelec*** was wounded by a waighty ſtone, throwne by a Woman over the Wall, who deſpairing of his recovery, commanded his Page to ſlay him outright, becauſe it ſhould not be ſaid that he periſhed by the ſtroke of a Woman. But others Judg.9.ver.53.54. ſet this Citie in *Ephraim* neere *Sichem* or *Neapolis*.

The third is *Acrabata*, of which the Territory adjoyning is called *Acrabatena*, (one of the ten *Toparchies* or Governments in *Judæa*) for which **Hierome**, 1 *Macc*.5. reades *Arabathena*: Hier.Mac.1. c.5. but in the Greeke it is *Acrabatine*: *Iſidore* calls it *Agrabat*. This Citie had one of the largeſt Territories of all *Palæſtine* belonging to the Governour thereof. *Joſephus* remembreth it often, as in his ſecond Booke of the Jewes Wars, *c*.11.25.28. & elſewhere.

The difference betweene a *Tetrarchie* and a *Toparchie*, was, that the firſt was taken for a Province, & the other for a City with ſome leſſer Territory adjoyning; and a *Tetrarch* is the ſame with *Præſes* in Latine, and *Preſident* in Engliſh, being commonly the fourth part of a Kingdome; and thereof ſo called. *Plinie* nameth ſeventeene *Tetrarchies* in *Syria*: Plin.l.5. the Holy Land had foure, and ſo hath the Kingdome of *Ireland* to this day, *Lemſter*, *Ulſter*, *Connath*, and *Mounſter*. Euſeb.in Chron.

To the South-weſt of *Acrabata* they place the Cities of *Balaam* or *Bilham*, & *Gethremmon* of the Levites: but *Junius* out of *Joſ*.21.25. and 1 *Chron*.6.70. gathers that theſe two are but one: and that *Jibleham*, *Joſ*.16.11. is another name of the ſame Citie.

Then is *Jezael* a Regall Citie, ſet at the foot of the Mountaines of *Gilboe*, towards the South-weſt: herein *Jezabel*, by a falſe accuſation, cauſed *Naboth* to be ſtoned, to the end ſhe might poſſeſſe his Vineyard adjoyning to the Citie, which *Naboth* refuſed to ſell, becauſe it was his inheritance from his Father.

*Joram* alſo was caſt unburied into the ſame field: for which his Mother *Jezabel* murthered *Naboth*. 2 King.cap.21.

Toward the Sea from *Jezael* is the Citie which they call *Gaber*: in whoſe aſcent as *Ahaziah* King of *Juda* fled from *Jehu*, when he had ſlaine *Joram*, he was wounded with the ſhot of an arrow, of which wound he died at *Maggeddo* adjoyning. The Scripture calls 2 King.9.27. this Citie of *Gaber*, *Gur*.

Then *Adadremmon*, neere unto which the good King *Joſias* was ſlaine by *Necho*, King of *Egypt*, in a War unadviſedly undertaken. For *Necho* marched towards *Aſſyria* againſt the King thereof, by the commandement of God; whom *Joſias* thought to reſiſt in his paſſage. It was afterward called *Maximianopolis*.

A neighbour City to *Adadremmon* was *Maggeddo*, often remembred in the Scriptures; Jud.1.c.5. whoſe King was ſlaine among the reſt by *Joſua*: Joſ.12.17. yet they defended their Citie for a long time againſt *Manaſſe*. The River which paſſeth by the Towne, may perhaps be the ſame which *Ptolomie* calleth *Chorſeus*: & not that of which we have ſpoken in *Zabulon*. For becauſe this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of thoſe that have deſcribed the holy Land, delineate no ſuch River. *Moore* only ſets it down in his *Geographie* of the twelve tribes: but the River which paſſeth by *Maggeddo*, he underſtandeth to be but a branch, falling thereinto. *Laicſtan* & *Schrot* make a great confluence of waters in this place, agreeable to this Scripture in the fifth of *Judges*: *Then fought the Kings of Canaan in Tanaac by the waters of Maggeddo*. But theſe Authors, and with them *Stella*, give it no other name than the Torrent ſo called.

But ſeeing that ancient *Coſmographers* ſtretch out the bounds of *Phœnicia*, even to *Sebaſte* or *Samaria*; and *Strabo* farre beyond it on the Sea-coaſt: And *Joſephus* calls *Cæſaria* Strab.l.16. *Palæſtina* a Citie of *Phœnicia*, yea *Laurentius Corvinus* extendeth *Phœnicia* as far as *Geza*: Joſep.l.15.c.13. Niger. ſeeing alſo *Ptolomie* ſets down *Chorſeus* for the partition of *Phœnicia* & *Judæa*, this River running Eaſt and Weſt parallel with *Samaria*: it is very probable that this Torrent called *Maggeddo*, after the name of the Citie, which it watereth, is the ſame which *Ptolomie* in his fourth Table of *Aſia*, calleth *Chorſeus*. The later travailers of the holy Land call *Maggeddo Subimbre* at this day.

### †.II.

### *Of Cæſaria Palæſtina, and ſome other Townes.*

From *Maggeddo* toward the Weſt, and neere the *Mediterran* Sea, was that glorious Citie of *Cæſaria Palæſtina*: firſt, the Tower of *Straton*: the ſame which *Plinie* calls

*Apollonia*: though *Ptolomy* ſets *Apollonia* elſewhere,& toward *Egypt*,betweene this City and *Joppe*,to which *Veſpaſian* gave the name of *Flavia Colonia.* It was by *Herod* re-built, who therein laboured to exceed all the workes in that part of the world. For beſides the edifices,which he reared within the Walls, of cut and poliſht marbles, the *Theater* and *Amphitheater*, from whence he might looke over the Seas farre away,with the high and ſtately Towers & Gates: he forced a Harborow of great capacitie, being in former times but an open Bay: and the winde blowing from the Sea, the Merchants haunting that Port,had no other hope, but in the ſtrength of their Cables and Anchors. This worke he performed with ſuch charge and labour,as the like of that hath not bin found in any Kingdome,nor in any age: which,becauſe the Materials were fetcht from far, and the waight of the ſtones was ſuch as it exceedeth beliefe,I have added *Joſephus* owne words of this Joſep.l.15.c.13. worke,which are theſe: *Hanc locorum incommoditatem correcturus, circulum portus circumduxit,quantum putaret magnæ claſsi recipiendæ ſufficere: & in viginti ulnarum profundum,prægrandia ſaxa demiſit: quorum pleraq; pedum quinquaginta longitudinis,latitudinis verò octodecim, altitudine novem-pedali: fuerunt quædam etiam majora, minora alia; To mend this inconvenience of place* (ſaith Joſephus) *he compaſt in a Bay wherein a great fleete might well ride: and let downe great ſtones twentie fadome deepe: whereof ſome were fifty foote long,eighteen foot broad,and nine foote thicke: ſome bigger,and ſome leſſer.* To this he added an arme or cawſie of two hundred foot long, to breake the waves: the reſt he ſtrengthened with a ſtone wall, with divers ſtately Towers thereon builded: of which the moſt magnificent he called *Druſus*, after the name of *Druſus* the ſonne in law of *Cæſar*: in whoſe honour he intituled the Citie it ſelfe, *Cæſaria* of *Palæſtine*: all which he performed in twelve yeares time. It was the firſt of the Eaſterne Cities that received a Biſhop: L.4.c.12.bell. ſacr. afterward erected into an Archbiſhopricke, commanding twentie others under it, ſaith *Tyrius*.

S. *Hierome* nameth *Theophilus*, *Euſebius*, *Acacius*, *EuZorus*,and *Galaſius* to have beene Biſhops thereof. In this Citie was *Cornelius* the *Centurion* baptized by Saint *Peter*: and herein dwelt *Philip* the Apoſtle: S. *Paul* was herein two yeares priſoner, under the *Preſident Fælix*,unto the time and government of *Porcius Feſtus*: by whom making his appeale, he was ſent to *Cæſar*. Here, when *Herod Agrippa* was paſſing on to celebrate the *Quinquennalia*, taking delight to be called a god by his flatterers, he was ſtricken with an Angell unto death,ſaith *Joſephus*.

To the North of *Cæſaria* ſtandeth *Dora*,or *Naphoth Dor*,as ſome reade, *Joſ.*1.2. ſo called (ſaith *Adrichomius*) becauſe it joyneth to the Sea, whoſe King was ſlaine by *Joſua*. But *Junius* for *in Naphoth Dor*, reades *in tractibus Dor*: and ſo the Vulgar, *in regionibus Dor*, although 1 *Reg.*4.11. for the like ſpeech in the Hebrew it readeth *omnis Nephath Dor*: The *Septuagint* in the place of *Joſua* call it *Nephith-Dor*, and in the other of the Kings, *Nepha-Dor*: but the true name by other places (as *Joſ.*12.23. *Jug.*1.27.) may ſeeme to be *Dor*. It was a ſtrong and powerfull Citie, and the fourth in account of thoſe twelve Principalitics or *Sitarchies*, which *Salomon* erected. *Junius* upon *Macchab.* 15.11. placeth this betweene the Hill *Carmel*,and the mouth of the River *Cherſeus*: for ſo ſome name the River *Chorſeus*,of which we have ſpoken already.

Into this Citie,for the ſtrength thereof, *Tryphon* fled from *Antiochus* the ſon of *Deme-* Macc.1.13.15. *trius*,where he was by the ſame *Antiochus* beſieged with 12000.foot-men, and 8000. Horſe: the ſame perfidious villaine that received 200.talents for the ranſome of *Jonathan Macchabæus* (whom he had taken by treacherie) and then ſlew him: and after him ſlew his owne Maſter,uſurping for a while the kingdome of *Syria*. It had alſo a Biſhops ſeate of the Dioceſſe of *Cæſaria*.

Gul.Tyr.de Bell. ſacr.l.10.c.6. From *Cæſaria* towards the South,they place the Cities of *Capharnaum*, *Gabe*, and *Galgal*: for beſides that *Capharnaum* famous in the *Evangeliſts*, they finde in theſe parts neere the Weſt Sea,another of the ſame name. Of *Gabe Hierome in locis Hebraicis*. The famous *Galgal* or *Gilgal*,was in *Benjamin*: but this *Gilgal*,they ſay,it was whoſe King was ſlaine by *Joſua*.

Then *Antipatris*, ſo called of *Herod*, in honour of his Father: but in the time of the Mac.17.ver.31. *Macchabees* it was called *Capharſalama*: in the fields whereof *Judas Macchabæus* overthrew a part of the Armie of *Nicanor*, Lievtenant to *Demetrius*: an armie drawn into *Judea* by a traiterous Jew,called *Alcimus*: who contended for the Prieſt-hood,firſt under *Bacchides*,and then under *Nicanor*. To this was S. *Paul* carried priſoner from *Hieruſalem*, conducted by 470. Souldiers, to defend him from the furie of the Jewes. In after-times the Armie of *Godfrey* of *Bulion* attempted it in vaine: yet was it taken by *Baldwine*. It was honoured in thoſe dayes with a Biſhops ſeate, but it is now a poore Village called *Aſſur*, ſaith *Brochard*. Neere unto this Citie the Prophet *Jonas* was three daies preſerved in the body of a Whale.

Into the Land, from *Antipatris* and *Cæſaria*, ſtandeth *Narbata*, whereof the Territory taketh name: which *Ceſtius* the Romane waſted with fire and ſword, becauſe the Jewes which dwelt at *Cæſaria* fled thence, and carried with them the Bookes of *Moſes*. Neere unto it is the Mountaine of *Abdia*, the Steward of King *Achab*: wherein he hid an hundred Prophets, and fed them; after which he himſelfe is ſaid to have obtained from God the Spirit of Propheſie alſo.

# Chap. VIII.

## *Of the Kingdome of Phœnicia.*

### §.I.

*The bounds and chiefe Cities, and Founders, and Name of this Kingdome: and of the invention of Letters aſcribed to them.*

Becauſe theſe five Tribes, of *Aſſer*, *Nephtalim*, *Zabulon*, *Iſſachar*, and the halfe of *Manaſſe*, poſſeſt the better part of that ancient Kingdome of *Phœnicia*, to wit, of ſo much as lay to the South part of *Anti-libanus* I have therefore gathered a briefe of thoſe Kings which have governed therein: at leaſt ſo many of them as time (which devoureth all things) hath left to poſteritie: and that the reſt have periſhed, it is not ſtrange; ſeeing ſo many volumes of excellent learning in ſo long a race and revolution, and in ſo many changes of Eſtates and Conqueſt of Heathen Princes, have bin torne, caſt away, or otherwiſe conſumed.

The limits of this Kingdome, as touching the South parts, are very uncertaine: but all *Coſmographers* doe in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of *Syria*, which is called *Caſiotis*, ends: moſt of them bounding it by *Orthoſia*, to the North of *Tripolis*. *Ptolomie* makes it a little larger, as reaching from the River *Eleutherus*, that falls into the Sea at the Iland of *Aradus*, ſomewhat to the North of *Orthoſia*, and ſtretching from thence alongſt the coaſt of the *Mediterran* ſea, as farre as the River of *Chorſeus*; which ſeemes to be that which the Jewes call the Torrent or River of *Mageddo*. *Plinie* extends it farther, and comprehends *Joppe* within it: *Corvinus* and *Budæus*, *Joppe* and *Gaza*. *Phœnicia apud priſcos appellata* (ſaith *Budæus*) *quæ nunc Palæſtina Syriæ dicitur*; *It was called Phœnicia of old* (ſaith he) *which now is called Palæſtina of Syria.*

Ptol.4.Tab.Aſiæ.

Plin.lib.5.c.19.

*Strabo* comprehends in this Countrey of *Phœnicia*, all the Sea ſide of *Judæa*, and *Paleſtina*, even unto *Peluſium*, the firſt Port of *Egypt*. On the contrary *Diodorus Siculus* foldeth it up in *Cœloſyria*, which he boundeth not. But for my ſelfe I take a middle courſe, and like beſt of *Ptolomies* deſcription, who was ſeldome deceived in his own Art. It had in it theſe famous Maritimate Cities (beſides all thoſe of the Ilands) to wit, *Aradus*, *Orthoſia*, *Tripolis*, *Botrys*, *Byblus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Ptolomais* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Cæſaria Paleſtinæ*: and by reaſon of the many Ports and goodly Sea-townes, it anciently commanded the Trades of the Eaſterne world: and they were abſolute Kings of the *Mediterran* Sea.

Strab.l.16.
Budæ. de Aſſ.l.4.

The ancient Regall Seate of thoſe Princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the firſt ſonne of *Canaan*: and the people then ſubject to that people were called Zidonians: the ſame ſtate continuing even unto *Joſua's* time. For till then it is probable that there was but one King of all that Region; afterward called *Phœnicia*: which *Procopius* alſo confirmeth in his ſecond Booke of *Vandall Warres*. But in proceſſe of time the Citie of *Tyre* adjoyning, became the more magnificent: yet according to the Prophet, it was but a daughter of *Zidon*, and by them firſt built and peopled.

Eſay 23.

F.17.

But after the death of *Moſes*, and while *Joſua* yet governed Iſrael, *Agenor* an Egyptian of *Thebes*, or a Phœnician bred in *Egypt*, came thence with his ſonnes *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cyrus*, and *Cilix*, (ſay *Cedrenus* and *Curtius*) and built and poſſeſt the Cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon*: to wit, the new *Tyrus*, and brought into *Phœnicia* (ſo called after the name of his ſecond ſonne) the uſe of letters: which alſo *Cadmus* in his purſuite after his ſiſter *Europa*, taught the Græcians. For *Taurus* King of *Crete*, when he ſurpriſed *Tyre*, had ſtollen her thence: of which the Poets deviſed the fable of *Jupiters* transformation into a Bull, by whom that ſtealth was alſo ſuppoſed to be made. *Pomponius Sabinus* makes *Belus* the firſt King of *Phœnicia*; and findes *Cadmus* his ſucceſſour, whom he calleth his grand-childe: and it ſeemeth that *Belus* was the Father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: becauſe the ſucceſſors of *Dido* held that name alwayes in reverence, making it a part of their own, as *Aſdruball*, *Hannibal*: whoſe memorie *Virgil* alſo toucheth in theſe Verſes.

*Hic Regina gravem gemmis auroq; popoſcit*
*Implevitq; mero pateram: quam* Belus *& omnes*
*A* Belo *ſoliti.*

The Queene anon commands the waighty bowle
(Waightie with precious ſtones and maſſie gold)
To flow with wine. This *Belus* us'd of old,
And all of *Belus* Line.

Whether this *Belus* were Father or Grand-father to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it ſeemes to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was Anceſtor to theſe Phœnicians, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Jupiter Belus*, the ſonne of *Neptune* by *Lybia* the daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the Sonne of *Thelegonus*, according to *Euſebius*; yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Attica*: and in the end of *Cerops* time, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, *Moſes* left *Egypt*: *Agenors* ſucceſſor living at once with *Joſua*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the ſame time into the Territory of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither doe I denie, but that he gave that Region the name of *Phœnicia*, in honour of his Sonne. But in ſtead of the building of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a founder, as *Semiramis* and *Nebuchodonoſor* were of *Babylon*.

For be it true that *Agenor* was of the ſame Nation, and brought up in *Egypt*: where he learnt the uſe of letters (*Egypt* flouriſhing in all kinde of learning in *Moſes* time) or were he by Nation an Egyptian, yet it is very likely that either he came to ſave his owne Territory; or otherwiſe to defend the coaſt of *Canaan*, from the Iſraelites: who were by *Moſes* led out of *Egypt*, to the great loſſe and diſhonour of that Nation: and by *Joſua* conducted over *Jordan*, to conquer and poſſeſſe the Canaanites Land. For though the Egyptians, by reaſon of the loſſe which they received by the hand of God, in the Red Sea, and by the ten plagues caſt on them before that, and by the ſlaughter of ſo many of the Male children at the ſame time, could not hinder the Hebrews from invading *Canaan* by Land: which alſo they knew had ſo many powerfull Nations to defend it: the *Deſarts* inter-jacent, and the ſtrong Edomites, Moabites, Amorites & Ammonites their borderers: yet *Egypt* having ſuch Veſſels, or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in uſe: did not in all probability neglect to Garriſon the Sea coaſt, or aſſiſt *Agenor* with ſuch forces, as they had to ſpare; and which they might performe with the greater facilitie, in that the Philiſtims which held the ſhores of *Canaan*, next adjoyning unto them, were their Friends and Confederates.

C.19.v.29.

Now as it appeareth by the courſe of the ſtorie, thoſe Cities of *Phœnicia*, which *Agenor* was ſaid to have built (that is, to have fortified and defended againſt *Joſua*, and againſt the Tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, by *Joſua* called the ſtrong Citie, *Accho*, afterward *Ptolomais*, *AcZib* and *Dor*) were all that *Phœnicia* had in thoſe dayes.

That the Kings of *Phœnicia* were mighty, eſpecially by Sea, it appeares, firſt by their defence againſt *Iſrael*: ſecondly by this, that *David* & *Salomon* could not maſter them, but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their Cities, though they were then but *Reguli*, defended it ſelfe 13. yeeres againſt a King of Kings, *Nabuchodonoſor*: and that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the providence of God, ſeemed unreſiſtable) ſpent more time in the recovery of *Tyre*, than in the conqueſt of all the Cities in *Aſia*.

Other opinions there are, as that of *Beroſus* out of *Joſephus*, who conceives that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyrus* the ſon of *Japhet*. And for the Region it ſelfe, though *Caliſthenes* derive it, *ab arbore dactylorum*; and the Greekes from the word *Phonos*, of ſlaughter, becauſe the Phœnicians ſlew all that came on their coaſts; yet for my ſelfe I take it that *Phœnix* the ſon of *Agenor* gave it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phœnicia*, or *Cadmus* his ſon in *Greece*, were the Inventors of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the diſpute unneceſſary.

The Ethiopians affirme that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the firſt light of all thoſe Arts, Sciences and civill Policies, which they afterward profeſt, and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himſelfe was inſtructed by the Lybians: to wit, from the South and ſuperiour Egyptians: from whom thoſe which inhabited neerer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they ſay, borrowed their Divinitie & Philoſophie: and from them the Greekes, then barbarous, received Civilitie. Again, the Phœnicians challenge this invention of Letters and of Learning: acknowledging nothing from the Egyptians at all; neither do they allow that *Agenor* and his ſonnes were Affricans; whence *Lucan*,

*Phœnices primi (famæ ſi creditur) auſi* *Lucan.l.3.*
*Manſuram rudibus vocem ſignare figuris.*

*Phœnicians* firſt (if fame may credit have)
In rude Characters dar'd our words to grave.

And that *Cadmus* was the ſon of *Agenor*, and was a Phœnician, and not an Egyptian, it appeareth by that anſwer made by *Zeno*; when he in a kinde of reproach was called a ſtranger and not a Phœnician:

*Si patria eſt Phœnix, quid tum? nam* Cadmus *& ipſe* *Athen.1.Dipnoſ.*
*Phœnix; cui debet Græcia docta libros.*

If a *Phœnician* borne I am, what then?
*Cadmus* was ſo: to whom *Greece* owes
The Bookes of learned men.

*Joſeph. contra Appionem.*

Out of doubt the Phœnicians were very ancient: and from the Records and Chronicles of *Tyre*, *Joſephus* the Hiſtorian confirmes a great part of his Antiquities. The Thracians againe ſubſcribe to none of theſe reports: but affirme conſtantly, that the great *Zamolxis* flouriſhed among them: when *Atlas* lived in *Mauritania*: *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Egypt*: and *Ochus* in *Phœnicia*. Yea, ſome of the French do not bluſh to maintaine, that the ancient *Gaules* taught the *Greekes* the uſe of Letters, and other Sciences. And do not we know that our *Bardes* and *Druides* are as ancient as thoſe *Gaules*, and that they ſent their ſonnes hither to be by them inſtructed in all kinde of learning?

Laſtly, whereas others beſtow this invention on *Moſes*, the ſame hath no probabilitie at all; for he lived at ſuch time as Learning and Arts flouriſhed moſt, both in *Egypt*, and *Aſſyria*, and he himſelfe was brought up in all the learning of the Egyptians, from his infancie.

But true it is, that letters were invented by thoſe excellent Spirits of the firſt age, and before the generall floud: either by *Seth* or *Enos*, or by whom elſe God knowes; from whom all wiſedome and underſtanding hath proceeded. And as the ſame infinite God is preſent with all his Creatures, ſo hath he given the ſame invention to divers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other; as well in this as in many other knowledges: for even in *Mexico*, when it was firſt diſcovered, there was found written Bookes after the manner of thoſe *Hieroglyphicks*, anciently uſed by the Egyptians, and other Nations: and ſo had thoſe Americans a kinde of Heraldrie; and their Princes differing in Armes and Scutchions, like unto thoſe uſed by the Kings and Nobilitie of other Nations, *Jura naturalia communia & generalia, &c. Naturall Lawes are common and generall.* *Juriſcon.*

## §.II.

### *Of the Kings of Tyre.*

But whatſoever remaineth of the ſtory and Kings of Phœnicia (the bookes of *Zeno*, *Sachoniatho*, *Mnaſeas*, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the ſame is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, *Joſephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*.

*Agenor* lived at once with *Joſua*, to whom ſucceeded *Phœnix*, of whom that part of Canaan, and ſo farre towards the North as *Aradus*, tooke the name of Phœnicia: what King ſucceeded *Phœnix* it doth not appeare: but at ſuch time as the Græcians beſieged Troy, *Phaſis* governed Phœnicia.

*Chap.27.v.3.*

In *Hieremies* time, and while *Jehojakim* ruled in Juda, the Tyrians had a King apart: for *Hieremie* ſpeaketh of the Kings of Zidon, of Tyre, of Edom, &c. as of ſeverall Kings.

In *Xerxes* time, and when he prepared that incredible Armie wherewith he invaded Greece, *Tetramneſtus* ruled that part of Phœnicia, about Tyre, and Zidon: who commanded, as ſome writers affirme, *Xerxes* fleete, or rather, as I ſuppoſe, thoſe 300. Gallies, which himſelfe brought to his aide: for at this time it ſeemeth, that the Phœnicians were Tributaries to the *Perſian*: for being broken into *Reguli*, and pettie Kings in *Hieremies* time, they were ſubjected by *Nabuchodonozor*; of whoſe conqueſts in the Chapter before remembred, *Hieremie* prophecied.

*Tennes*, though not immediately, ſucceeded *Tetramneſtus*, remembred by *D. Siculus* in his 14. Booke.

*L.4.*

*Strato*, his ſucceſſor, and King of Zidon, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, becauſe of his dependancie upon *Darius*, & that his Predeceſſors had ſerved the Eaſt Empire againſt the Grecians. But divers Kings, of whom there is no memorie, came betweene *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were conſumed 130. yeares and ſomewhat more, betweene *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this man was by *Alexander* eſteemed the more unworthy of reſtitution, becauſe (ſaith *Curtius*) he rather ſubmitted himſelfe by the inſtigation of his Subjects (who foreſaw their utter ruine by reſiſtance) than that he had any diſpoſition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the Macedonians.

*Athen.l.12.c.13.*

*Hieron.l.1. cont.Jovin.*

Of this *Strato*, *Athenæus* out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that he was a man of ill living, and moſt voluptuous; alſo that he appointed certaine games and prizes for Women-dancers, and ſingers, whom he to this end chiefly invited, and aſſembled: that having beheld the moſt beautifull and lively among them, he might recover them for his owne uſe and delights. Of the ſtrange accident about the death of one *Strato* King of theſe coaſts, S. *Hierome* and others make mention: who having heard that the Perſians were neere him with an Armie too waighty for his ſtrength, and finding that he was to hope for little grace, becauſe of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhering to the Egyptians; he determining to kill himſelfe, but fainting in the execution, his wife being preſent, wreſted the ſword out of his hand and ſlew him: which done, ſhee alſo therewith pierced her owne body, and died.

After *Alexander* was poſſeſt of Zidon, and the other *Strato* driven thence, He gave the Kingdome to *Hephaſtion*, to diſpoſe of: who having received great entertainment of one of the Citizens, in whoſe houſe he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith; and willingly offered to eſtabliſh him therein: but this Citizen no leſſe vertuous than rich, deſired *Hephæſtion* that this Honour might be conferred on ſome one of the bloud and race of their ancient Kings: and preſented unto him *Balonymus*, whom *Curtius* calls *Abdolominus*, *Juſtine*, *Abdolomius*, and *Plutarch*, *Alynomus*: who at the very houre that he was called to this regall Eſtate, was with his own hands working in his Garden, ſetting hearbs and rootes, for his reliefe and ſuſtenance: though otherwiſe a wiſe man and exceeding juſt.

Theſe were the ancient Kings of Zidon: whoſe eſtate being afterward changed into Popular or *Ariſtocraticall*: and by times and turnes ſubjected to the Emperours of the Eaſt: there remaineth no farther memorie of them, than that which is formerly delivered in the Tribe of *Aſſer*.

The Kings of Tyre, who they were before *Samuels* time, it doth not appeare: *Joſephus* the Hiſtorian, as is ſaid, had many things wherewith he garniſhed his Antiquities from the Tyrian Chronicles: and out of *Joſephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be gathered a deſcent of ſome twenty Kings of the Tyrians; but theſe Authors, though they both pretend to write out of *Menander Epheſius*, do in no ſort agree in the times of their raignes, nor in other particulars.

*Abibalus* is the firſt King of the Tyrians, that *Joſephus* & *Theophilus* remember, whom *Theophilus* calls *Abemalus*: the ſame perchance that the ſonne of *Sirach* mentioneth in his fourtie and ſixth Chapter, ſpeaking of the Princes of the Tyrians. *Cap.46.*

To this *Abibalus*, *Suron* ſucceeded, if he be not one and the ſame with *Abibalus*. *David* (ſaith *Euſebius* out of *Eupolemus*) conſtrained this *Suron* to pay him Tribute, of whom alſo *David* complaineth, *Pſal.* 83. *Præp.Evang.l.9.c.4.*

*Hiram* ſucceeded *Suron*, whom *Joſephus* calls *Irom*, and *Theophilus* ſometime *Hieronimus*, ſometimes *Hieromus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonaras*, *Chiram*. He entred into a league with *David*, and ſent him Cedars, with Maſons and Carpenters, to performe his buildings in *Hieruſalem*, after he had beaten thence the Jebuſites. The ſame was he that ſo greatly aſſiſted *Salomon*: whom he not only furniſhed with Cedars, and other Materials towards the raiſing of the Temple, and with great ſummes of money, but alſo he joyned with him in his enterprize of the Eaſt *India*, and of *Ophir*: and furniſhed *Salomon* with Mariners and Pilots: the Tyrians being of all Nations the moſt excellent Navigators: and lent him 120. talents of gold. Of this *Hiram*, there is not only mention in divers places of Scripture, but in *Joſephus* in his Antiquities the 7.& 8.chap.2.& 3.in *Theophilus* his third booke, in *Tatianus* his Oration againſt the Greekes: and in *Zonaras*, Tome the firſt. This Prince ſeemed to be very mighty and magnificent, he deſpiſed the 20. Townes which *Salomon* offered him: he defended himſelfe againſt that victorious King *David*: and gave his daughter in marriage to *Salomon*, called the Zidonian: for whoſe ſake he was contented to worſhip *Aſtaroth*, the Idoll of the Phœnicians. *Hiram* lived 53. yeares. 2 Sam.5.&c. 2 Sam.c.5. 2 Kin.c.1.9.20. 1 Chron.14. 2 Chron.2.8.9. 1 King.11.

*Baleaſtartus* whom *Theoph. Antiochenus* calleth *Bazorus*, ſucceeded *Hiram*, King of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, and reigned 7. yeares, according to *Joſephus*. *Theoph.*17. yeeres.

*Abdaſtartus* the eldeſt ſon of *Baleaſtartus*, governed 9. yeares, and lived but 20. yeares, according to *Joſephus*: but after *Theophilus* he reigned 12. yeares, and lived 54. who being ſlaine by the foure ſonnes of his owne Nurſe, the eldeſt of them held the kingdome 12. yeares.

*Aſtartus* brother to *Abdaſtartus* recovered the Kingdome from this Uſurper, and reigned 12. yeares.

*Aſtarimus*, or *Atharimus*, after *Theophilus*, a third brother, followed *Aſtartus*, and ruled 9. yeares, and lived in all 54. *Joſeph.*54. *Theoph.*58.

*Phelles* the fourth ſon of *Baleaſtartus*, and brother to the three former Kings, ſlew *Aſtarimus*, and reigned 8. moneths, and lived 50. yeares. *Theoph.*

*Ithobalus* (or *Juthobalus*, in *Theophilus*) ſon to the third brother *Aſtarimus*, who was the chiefe Prieſt of the *Goddeſſe Aſtarta*, which was a dignity next unto the King, revenged the death of his father, and ſlaughtered his Unckle *Phelles*: and reigned 32. yeares; the ſame which in the firſt of Kings, chap.16. is called *Ethbaal*, whoſe daughter *Jezabel*, *Achab* married. *Joſeph.*32. *Theoph.*12.

*Badezor* or *Bazor* the ſon of *Ithobalus* or *Ethbaal*, brother to *Jezabel*, ſucceeded his Father, and reigned 6. yeares, and lived in all 45. 1 King.16.31. *Joſeph.*6.yeeres. *Theoph.*26.

*Mettimus* ſucceeded *Badezor*, and reigned but 9. yeares (ſaith *Joſephus*) he had two ſons, *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and two daughters, *Eliſa* and *Anna*. *Joſeph.*9. *Theoph.*29.

*Pygmalion* reigned after *Mettimus* his Father 40. yeares, and lived 56. In the ſeventh yeare of whoſe reigne, *Eliſa* ſailed into *Africa*, and built *Carthage*, 143. yeares and 8. moneths after the Temple of *Salomon*: which by our accompt was 289. yeares after *Troy* was taken, and 143. before *Rome*: and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Æneas* and *Dido* muſt be farre out of ſquare. For *Pygmalion* covetous of *Sicheus* his riches, who had married his ſiſter *Eliſa*, ſlew him trayterouſly as he accompanied him in hunting: or if we beleeve *Juſtine* and *Virgil*, at the Altar: whereupon *Eliſa* fearing to be deſpoiled of her husbands treaſure, fled by Sea into *Africa*, as aforeſaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to purſue, he was by his mothers teares, and by threats from the *Oracle* arreſted. *Barca* accompanied his ſiſter, and aſſiſted her, in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him ſprang that noble Family of the *Barcæ* in *Africa*, of which race deſcended many famous Captaines, and the great *Hanniball*. *Servius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, becauſe of her man-like acts: others from *Jedidia*, a ſurname of *Salomon*. *Juſtin.l.*11. *Virgil.l.*1.

*Eluleus* ſucceeded *Pygmalion*, and reigned 36. yeares: the ſame that overthrew the fleet of *Salmanaſſar*, in the Port of *Tyre*: notwithſtanding which he continued his ſiege before it on the Land ſide five yeares, but in vaine.

After *Eluleus*, *Ethobales* governed the Tyrians, who vaunted himſelfe to be as wiſe as *Daniel*: and that he knew all ſecrets (ſaith *Ezekiel*) of whom the Prophet writeth at large in his 28. Chapter: out of whom it was gathered, that this Prince dyed, or was ſlaine in that long ſiege of *Nabuchodonoſor*: who ſurrounded and attempted *Tyre* 13. yeares together, ere he prevailed.

*Baal* followed *Ethobales*, and reigned 10. yeares a tributary, perchance, to *Nabuchodonoſor*: for after his death, it was governed by divers *Judges*, ſucceeding each other: Firſt, by *Ecnibalus*, then by *Chelbis*, *Abarus* the Prieſt, *Mittonus*, and *Geraſtus*, who held it among them ſome 7. yeares, and odde months: after whom *Balatorus* commanded therein as a King for one yeare: after him *Merbalus* ſent from *Babylon*, 4. yeares: after him *Irom* ſent thence alſo, 20. yeares. In the 17. of whoſe raigne *Cyrus* began to governe *Perſia*.

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## §.III.

### Of Bozius *his conceit, that the Edumæans inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the Progenitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them received and brought into Phœnicia the knowledge of the true God.*

OF the great mutations of this Kingdome and State of the Tyrians, mixed with a diſcourſe of divers other Nations, there is one *Bozius* that hath written a Tract at large, intituled *de ruinis Gentium*. And although the great and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yea, in all things under heaven, have proceeded from his ordinance who onely is unchangeable, and the ſame for ever; yet whereas the ſaid *Bozius*, inforcing heere-hence, that the proſperity and ruine of the Tyrians were fruites of their embracing or forſaking the true Religion; to prove this his aſſertion, ſuppoſeth the Tyrians to have bin Edumæans, deſcended from *Eſau*, *Jacobs* brother: firſt, it can hardly be beleeved that *Tyre*, when it flouriſhed moſt in her ancient glory, was in any ſort truly devout and religious. But to this end (beſides the proofe which the Scriptures give of *Hirams* good affection when *Salomon* built the Temple) he brings many conjecturall arguments; whereof the ſtrongeſt is their petigree and deſcent: it being likely in his opinion, that the poſterity of *Eſau* received from him by Tradition the Religion of *Abraham* and *Iſaac*. That the Tyrians were Edumæans, he endevours to ſhew, partly by weake reaſons, painefully ſtrained from ſome affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than waight: partly by authority. For *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and others witneſſe, that the Tyrians came from the red Sea, in which there were three Ilands, called *Tyrus*, *Aradus*, and *Sidon*: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards given to the Cities of *Phœnicia*. Conſidering therefore that all the coaſt of the Red Sea, was (in his opinion) under the Edumæans: as *Elah* and *Eſiongaber*; or under the Amalekites, who deſcended of *Amalec* the Nephew of *Eſau*, whoſe chiefe City was *Madian*, ſo called of *Madian* the ſon of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, whoſe poſterity did people it: the conſequence appeares good (as he takes it) that the Tyrians originally were Edomites: differing little or nothing in Religion from the children of *Iſrael*. Hereunto he addes, that *Cadmus* and his Companions brought not into *Greece* the worſhip of *Aſtartis*, the Idoll of the Sidonians. That the Parents of *Thales* and *Pherecydes* being Phœnicians, themſelves differed much in their Philoſophy from the Idolatrous cuſtomes of the Greekes. That in *Teman*, a Towne of the Edumæans, was an Univerſity, wherein as may appeare by *Eliphas* the Temanite, who diſputed with *Job*, Religion was ſincerely taught.

*Boz. de ruin. Gent. l.5.c.7.*

Such is the diſcourſe of *Bozius*, who labouring to proove one *Paradoxe* by another, deſerves in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the Tyrians were Edumæans, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his people: neither is it true that they were Edumæans at all. In what Religion *Eſau* brought up his children, it is no where found written; but that himſelfe was a prophane man, and diſavowed by God, the Scriptures in plaine termes expreſſe. That his poſterity were Idolaters, is directly proved in the 25. Chapter of the ſecond booke of *Chronicles*. That the Edomites were perpetuall enemies to the houſe of *Iſrael*, ſave only when *David* & ſome of his race, Kings of *Juda*, held them in ſubjection, who knowes not? or who is ignorant of *Davids* unfriendly behaviour amongſt them, when firſt they were ſubdued: Surely it was not any argument of Kindred or Alliance betweene *Tyrus* and Mount *Seir*, that *Hiram* held ſuch good correſpondence with *David*; even then when *Joab* ſlew all the males of *Edom*: neither was it for their devotion to God, and good affection to *Iſrael*, that the Edomites were ſo ill intreated. It ſeemeth that the piety and ancient wiſedome of *Eliphaz* the Themanite was then forgotten, and the Edumeans puniſhed, for being ſuch as *David* in his owne dayes found them. Although indeed the Citie of *Teman* whence *Eliphaz* came to reaſon with *Job*, is not that in *Edumæa*, but another of the ſame name, lying Eaſt from the Sea of *Galilee*, and adjoyning to *Hus*, the country of *Job*: and to *Sueh* the Citie of *Bildad* the *Suhite*; as both ſuch *Chorographers* who beſt knew thoſe parts, do plainly ſhew, and the holy Text maketh manifeſt. For *Job* is ſaid to have exceeded in riches, and *Salomon* in wiſedome, all the people of the Eaſt; not the inhabitants of Mount *Seir*, which lay due South from *Paleſtina*. True it is that *Eliphaz* the ſonne of *Eſau* had a ſon called *Teman*: but that Fathers were wont in thoſe dayes to take name of their ſonnes, I no where finde. And *Iſmael* alſo had a ſon called *Thema*: of whom it is not unlike, that *Theman* in the Eaſt had the name: for as much as in the 7. Chap. of the booke of *Judges*, the Midianites, Amalekites, & all they of the Eaſt are called Iſmaelites. And he that well conſiders how great and ſtrong a Nation *Amalec* was, which durſt give battaile to the Hoſt of *Iſrael*, wherein were 600000. able men, will hardly beleeve that ſuch a people were deſcended from one of *Eſau* his grand-children. For how powerfull and numberleſſe muſt the forces of all *Edom* have bin: if one Tribe of them, yea, one Family of a Tribe had bin ſo great? ſurely Mount *Seir* and all the Regions adjoyning could not have held them. But we no where finde, that *Edom* had to do with *Amalec*, or aſſiſted the Amalekites, when *Saul* went to roote them out. For *Amalec* is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of *Edom*: but a Nation of it ſelfe, if diſtinct from the Iſmaelites. The like may be ſaid of *Midian*, that the Founder thereof being ſon to *Abraham* by *Cethura*, doubtleſſe was no Edomite. And thus much in generall for all the *Seigniory* of the Red-ſea coaſt, which *Bozius* imagines the Edumeans to have held: if the Edomites in after-times held ſome places, as *Elan* and *Eſiongaber* on the Red Sea ſhore, yet in *Moſes* time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Moſes* himſelfe ſaith, that *Iſrael* did compaſſe all the borders of *Edom*: within which limits had *Midian* ſtood, *Moſes* muſt needs have known it: becauſe he had ſojourned long in that Country; and there had left his wife and children, when he went into *Egypt*.

But conjecturall Arguments, how probable ſoever, are needleſſe in ſo manifeſt a caſe. For in the 83. *Pſal. Edom*, *Amalec*, and *Tyre*, are named as diſtinct Nations: yea the Tyrians and Sidonians being one people, as all good Authours ſhew, and *Bozius* himſelfe confeſſeth, were Canaanites, as appeares, *Gen. c.* 10. *v.* 15. & 19. appointed by Cod to have bin deſtroyed, and their Lands given to the children of *Aſſer*, *Joſ.* 29. becauſe they were Idolaters, and of the curſed ſeed of *Canaan*, not Couſins to *Iſrael*, nor profeſſors of the ſame Religion. For though *Hiram* ſaid, *Bleſſed bee God that hath ſent King David a wiſe ſonne*: we cannot inferre that he was of *Davids* Religion. The Turke hath ſaid as much of Chriſtian Princes, his confederates. Certaine it is, that the Sidonians then worſhipped *Aſtaroth*; and drew *Salomon* alſo to the ſame Idolatry.

Whereas *Hiram* ayded *Salomon* in building the Temple, he did it for his owne ends, receiving therefore of *Salomon* great proviſion of Corne, and Oyle, and the offer of 20. Townes and Villages in *Galilee*. And if we rightly conſider things, it will appeare that *Hiram* in all points, dealt Merchant-like with *Salomon*. He allowed him Timber, with which *Libanus* was, and yet is over-peſtered, being otherwiſe apt to yeeld ſilkes: as the *Andarine* ſilkes which come from thence, and other good commodities. For Corne & Oyle, which he wanted, he gave that which he could well ſpare to *Salomon*. Alſo Gold for Land: wherein *Salomon* was the wiſer; who having got the gold firſt, gave to *Hiram* the worſt Villages that he had: with which the Tyrian was ill pleaſed. But it was a neceſſary policy which inforced *Tyrus* to hold league with *Iſrael*. For *David* had ſubdued *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, even to *Euphrates*: thorough which Countries the Tyrians were wont to carry and re-carrie their Wares on Camels, to their fleets on the Red Sea, and backe againe to *Tyrus*: ſo that *Salomon* being Lord of all the Countries through which they were to paſſe, could have cut off their Trade.

But the Iſraelites were no Sea-men, and therefore glad to ſhare with the Tyrians in their adventures. Yet *Salomon*, as *Lord* of the Sea-townes which his Father had taken from the Philiſtims, might have greatly diſtreſſed the Tyrians, & perhaps have brought them even into ſubjection. Which *Hiram* knowing, was glad (and no marvaile) that *Salomon* rather meant as a man of peace to employ his Fathers treaſure in magnificent works, than in purſuing the conqueſt of all Syria. Therefore he willingly ayded him, and ſent him cunning workmen, to encreaſe his delight in goodly buildings, imageries, and inſtruments of pleaſure.

As theſe paſſages betweene *Salomon* and *Hiram*, are no ſtrong Arguments of pietie in the Tyrians: ſo thoſe other proofes which *Bozius* frames negatively upon particular examples, are very weake. For what the Religion of *Cadmus* was, I thinke, no man knowes. It ſeemes to me, that having more cunning than the Greekes, and being very ambitious, he would faine have purchaſed divine honours: which his Daughters, Nephwes, and others of his houſe obtained, but his owne many misfortunes beguiled him of ſuch hopes, if he had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but ſingle examples: Every ſalvage Nation hath ſome wiſedome excelleth the Vulgar, even of civill people. Neither did the morall wiſedome of theſe men expreſſe any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the gods of Greece: whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to ſay, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being Tyrians, are not knowne to have taught Idolatry, therefore the Tyrians were not Idolaters. But this is of force, That *Carthage*, *Utica*, *Leptis*, *Cadiz*, and all *Colonies* of the Tyrians (of which I thinke, the Ilands before mentioned in the Red Sea to have beene, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, even from their firſt beginnings: therfore the Tyrians who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were ſo likewiſe.

This their Idolatry from *Salomons* time on-wards is acknowledged by *Bozius*, who would have us thinke them to have beene formerly a ſtrange kind of devout Edomites. In which fancie he is ſo peremptory, that he ſtyleth men of contrary opinion, *Impios politicos*, as if it were impiety to thinke that God (who even among the Heathen, which have not knowne his name, doth favour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded morall honeſty, with temporall happineſſe. Doubtleſſe, this doctrine of *Bozius* would better have agreed with *Julian* the *Apoſtata*, than with *Cyril*. For if the Aſſyrians, Greeks, Romanes, and all thoſe Nations of the Gentiles, did then proſper moſt, when they drew neereſt unto the true Religion: what may be ſaid of the foule Idolatry which grew in *Rome* as faſt as *Rome* it ſelfe grew: and was enlarged with ſome new ſuperſtition, almoſt upon every new victory? How few great battailes did the Romanes win, in which they vowed not either a Temple to ſome new god, or ſome new honour to one of their old gods? yea, what one Nation, ſave onely that of the Jewes, was ſubdued by them, whoſe gods they did not afterward entertaine in their City? Only the true God, which was the God of the Jewes, they rejected, upbraiding the Jewes with him, as if he were unworthy of the Romane Majeſty: ſhall we hereupon enforce the lewd & fooliſh concluſion which Heathen writers uſed againſt the *Chriſtians* in the *Primitive Church*: That ſuch Idolatry had cauſed the Citie of *Rome* to flouriſh, and that the decay of thoſe abominations did alſo bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought ſo, if proſperitie were a ſigne or effect of true Religion. Such is the blinde zeale of *Bozius*, who writing againſt thoſe whom he falſely termes impious, gives ſtrength to ſuch as are impious indeed. But ſuch indiſcretion is uſually found among men of his humour; who having once either fooliſhly embraced the dreames of others, or vainely faſhioned in their owne braines any ſtrange *Chimera's* of Divinity, condemne all ſuch in the pride of their zeale, as Atheiſts & Infidels, that are not tranſported with the like intemperate ignorance. Great pitie it is, that ſuch mad dogges are oftentimes incouraged by thoſe, who having the command of many tongues, when they themſelves cannot touch a man in open and generous oppoſition, will wound him ſecretly by the malicious vertue of an *Hypocrite*.

# CHAP. IX.

## *Of the Tribe of Ephraim, and of the Kings of the ten Tribes, whoſe head was Ephraim.*

### §. I.

### *Of the memorable places in the Tribe of* Ephraim.

HAving now paſt over *Phœnicia*, we come to the next Territotie adjoyning: which is that of *Ephraim*: ſometimes taken *per excellentiam* for the whole Kingdome of the ten Tribes. *Ephraim* was the ſecond ſonne of *Ioſeph*, whoſe iſſues when they left *Egypt* were in number 45000. all which dying in the *Deſarts*, (*Ioſua* excepted) there entred the Holy Land of their children growne to be able men, 32500. who ſate downe on the Weſt ſide of *Jordan*, betweene *Manaſſe*, and *Benjamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the North and South; as *Jordan*, and the *Mediterran* Sea, did by the Eaſt and Weſt.

Pſal.59.78. 108.Par.25.

The firſt and chiefe Citie which *Ephraim* had, was *Samaria*, the *Metropolis* of the Kingdome of *Iſrael*, built by *Amris* or *Homri* King thereof, and ſeated on the toppe of the Mountaine *Somron*, which overlooketh all the bottome, & as farre as the Sea-coaſt. It was afterward called *Sebaſte*, or *Auguſta*, in honour of *Auguſt. Cæſar.* This Citie is often remembred in the Scriptures: & magnificent it was in the firſt building; for as *Brochard* obſerveth, the ruines which yet remaine, and which *Brochard* found greater than thoſe of *Hieruſalem*, tell thoſe that behold them, what it was when it ſtood upright: for to this day there are found great ſtore of goodly Marble pillars, with other hewne and carved ſtone in great aboundance, among the rubble.

It was beaten to the ground by the ſonnes of *Hircanus* the high Prieſt: reſtored and built by the firſt *Herod* the ſonne of *Antipater*: who to flatter *Cæſar* called it *Sebaſte.* Herein were the Prophets *Heliſæus* and *Abdias* buried: and ſo was *John Baptiſt.* It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with *Grecian* Monkes.

Neere *Samaria* towards the South, is the Hill of *Bethel*, & a towne of that name: on the top of which Mountaine, *Jeroboam* erected one of his golden Calves, to be worſhipped: with which he ſeduced the *Iſraelites.*

In ſight of this Mountaine of *Bethel*, was that ancient Citie of *Sichem*; after the reſtauration called *Neapolis*, now *Peloſa*, and *Napolaſa*: It was deſtroyed by *Simeon* and *Levi*, in revenge of the raviſhment of their ſiſter *Dina*: and after that by *Abimelec* evened with the ſoyle. *Jeroboam* raiſed it up againe: and the *Damaſcens* a third time caſt it downe.

*Sichar. Joh.4.5.* *Maborthan.* *Joſeph.11.ant.1.*

Under *Sichem* toward the Sea ſtandeth *Pharaton* or *Pirhathon*, on the Mountaine *Amalec*, the Citie of *Abdon* Judge of *Iſrael.* And under it *Bethoron* of the *Levites*, built as it is ſaid by *Sara*, the daughter of *Ephraim.* Neere to this Citie *Judas Macchabæus* overthrew *Seron* and *Lyſias*, Lievtenants to *Antiochus.* This Citie had *Salomon* formerly repaired and fortified.

Judg.12.15. 2.King.13.

Betweene *Bethoron* and the Sea, ſtandeth *Samir*, of which *Joſ.* 10. and *Saron*, whoſe King was ſlaine by *Joſua*: it is alſo mentioned *Acts* 9.35. and of this *Saron* the Valley taketh name, which beginning at *Cæſarea Palæſtina*, extendeth it ſelfe alongſt the coaſt as farre as *Joppe*, ſaith *Adrichome*: though indeed the name *Sarona* is not particularly given to this Valley, but to every fruitfull plaine Region; for not only this Valley is ſo called, to wit, betweene *Cæſarea* and *Joppe*, but that alſo betweene the Mountaine *Tabor* and the Sea of *Galilee*: for ſo S. *Hierome* upon the five and thirtieth Chapter of *Eſay*, interprets the word *Saron*: and ſo doth the ſame Father in his Commentaries upon *Abdia*, read *Saron* for *Aſſaron*: underſtanding thereby a Plaine neere *Lidda*: which *Lidda* in his time was called *Dioſpolis*, or the City of *Jupiter*, one of the *Toparchies* of *Judæa*, the fift in dignitie (or the third after *Pliny*) where S. *Peter* (*non ſua, ſed Chriſti virtute*) cured *Æneas*. *Niger* calls all that Region from *Anti-libanus* to *Joppe*, *Sarona.* This *Joppe* was

Joſ.c.12.18.

Act.6. Luc.23. *Niger, com.4. Aſiæ fol.*503.14.

was burnt to the ground by the *Romanes*, thoſe Ravens and ſpoylers of all Eſtates, diſturbers of Common-weales, uſurpers of other Princes Kingdomes; who with no other reſpect led than to amplifie their owne glory, troubled the whole world: and themſeves, after murthering one another, became a prey to the moſt ſalvage and barbarous Nations.

Of this Saint *George* ſee more above in this 2 booke. C.7.§.3.†.5.

In *Dioſpolis* (ſaith *Wil.* of *Tyre*) was S.*George* beheaded, and buried: in whoſe honour and memory *Juſtinian* the Emperour cauſed a faire Church to be built over his Tombe; theſe be *Tyrius* his words: *Relicta à dextris locis maritimis Antipatride, & Joppe, per latè patentem planitiem Elutheriam pertranſeuntes, Liddam quæ eſt Dioſpolis, ubi & egregii Martyris* Georgii *uſque hodie Sepulchrum oſtenditur, pervenerunt, ejus Eccleſiam quum ad honorem ejuſdem Martyris, pius & orthodoxus Princeps Romanorum,* Auguſtus Juſtinianus *multo ſtudio & devotione prompta ædificari præceperat, &c. They having left* (ſaith he) *on the right hand, the Sea Townes Antipatris, and Joppe, paſſing over the great open plaine of Elutheria, came to Lidda, which is Dioſpolis: where the ſumptuous Tombe of the famous Martyr* S.George *is at this day ſhewed; whoſe Church, when the Godly and Orthodox Prince of the Romanes, High and Mighty* Juſtinian, *had commanded to be built, with great earneſtneſſe and preſent devotion, &c.* Thus farre *Tyrius*: by whoſe teſtimonie, we may conjecture that this S.*George* was not that *Arrian* Biſhop of *Alexandria*; but rather ſome better *Chriſtian*: for this of *Alexandria* was ſlaine there in an uprore of the people, and his aſhes caſt into the Sea, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yet alſo it may be, that this *Georgius* was a better *Chriſtian*, than he is commonly thought: for his words of the Temple of *Genius*, *How long ſhall this Sepulchre ſtand?* occaſioned the uprore of the people againſt him: as fearing leſt he would give attempt to overthrow that beautifull Temple. This alſo *Marcellinus* reports; who though he ſay that this *Georgius* was alſo deadly hated of the *Chriſtians*, who elſe might have reſcued him: yet he addeth, that his aſhes, with the aſhes of two others, were therefore caſt into the Sea, leſt if their Reliques had bin gathered up, Churches ſhould be built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather thinke that it was not *Georgius*, whoſe name lives in the right honorable Order of our Knights of the Garter, but rather another, whom *Tyrius* above cited, witneſſeth to have bin buried at *Lidda* or *Dioſpolis*. The ſame alſo is confirmed by *Vitriac*. S.*Hierome* affirmes that it was ſometime called *Tigrida*, and while the *Chriſtians* inhabited the Holy Land, it had a Biſhop *Suffragan*.

L.22.c.11.

Salig.Tom.6. c.4.

See in the Tribe of *Benjamin.cap.*12. §.1.

Neere to *Lidda* or *Dioſpolis* ſtandeth *Ramatha* of the *Levites*, or *Aramathia*: afterward *Rama*, and *Ramula*, the native Citie of *Joſeph*, which buried the body of *Chriſt*. There are many places which beare this name of *Rama*; one they ſet in the Tribe of *Juda* neere *Thecua* in the way of *Hebron*; another in *Nephtalim*, not farre from *Sephet*; a third in *Zabulon*, which they ſay, adjoyneth to *Sephoris*; a fourth, which they make the ſame with *Silo*; and a fift, which is this *Rama*, in the Hils of *Ephraim*, called *Rama-Sophim*, where *Samuel* lived, and wherein he is buried.

1 Sam.25.v.5.

*Ant.*13.21.*de Bell.Jud.*1.6.

From hence to the North alongſt the coaſt are *Helon*, or *Ajalon* of the *Levites*, of which 1 Chron.6. *Apollonia*, of which *Joſephus* in his Antiquities, and in the warres of the *Jewes*. Alſo *Balſaliſa* (for which *Junius*, 2.*Reg.*4.42. reades *planities Shaliſtæ*) they place hereabout in this Tribe of *Ephraim*; but *Junius* upon 1.*Sam.*6. where we reade of the Land of *Shaliſha*, findeth it in *Benjamin*.

On the other ſide of the Mountaines of *Ephraim* ſtandeth *Goſna*, one of the *Toparchies* or Cities of government, the ſecond in dignity, of which the Country about it taketh name.

Judg.2.9. It is called *Thimnath Chores.* Joſ 9.50.

*Hieron in locis Hebr.*

Then *Thamnath-ſarah*, or according to the *Hebrew*, *Thimnath-Serach*: one alſo of the ten *Toparchies* or *Præſidencies* of *Judæa*, which they call *Thamnitica*; a goodly City and ſtrong, ſeated on one of the high Hils of *Ephraim*; on the North of the hill called *Gaas*; which City and Territoty, *Iſrael* gave unto their Leader *Joſua*; who alſo amplified it with buildings, neere which he was buried. His Sepulchre remained in S.*Hieromes* time, and over it the *Sunne* engraven, in memory of that greateſt of wonders which God wrought in *Joſua's* time.

Mac.1.7.40.

In the places adjoyning ſtandeth *Adarſa*, or *Adaſa*; where *Judas Maccabæus* with 3000 Jewes overthrew the Army of *Nicanor*, Lievtenant of *Syria*; neere to *Gaſer* or *Gezer* which *Joſua* tooke, and hung their King; a Citie of the *Levits*. It was afterward taken by *Pharaoh* of *Egypt*; the people all ſlaine, and the Citie razed; *Salomon* rebuilt it.

To the Eaſt of this place is the Frontier City of Jeſleti, of which *Joſ.* 16.3. otherwiſe Pelethi, whence *David* had part of his Prætorian Souldiers, under the charge of *Benaia.* Then that high and famous Mountaine and City of Silo, whereon the Arke of God was kept ſo many years, till the Philiſtims got it.

To this they joyn the City of Machmas, or Michmas: in which *Jonathan Macchabæus* inhabited, a place often remembred in the Scriptures. It ſtandeth in the common way from Samaria towards Hieruſalem: and is now called Byra.

Then the Village of Naioth where *Saul* prophecied; and neere it Ephron, one of thoſe Cities which *Abijah* recovered from *Jeroboam*; after the great overthrow given him. Then Kimbtſaim, of the Levites, of which *Joſ.* 21.22. which *Junius* thinks to be the ſame with Jokmeham, of which 1 *Chro.* 6.28. As for *Abſaloms Baalaſor*, which they find hereabout, *Junius* reads it in the Plaine of Chatzor; and findes it in the Tribe of Juda; as *Joſ.* 15. we reade of two Chatzors in that Tribe; one neere Kedeſh, *v.* 23. and the other the ſame as Chetzron, *v.* 25.

See in *Benjamin*
1 Mac 9.ult.
1 Kin.c.4.and ſee *Rana in Benjamin.*

In this Tribe alſo they finde the City of Mello; whoſe Citizens, they ſay, joyned with the Sichemites in making the Baſtard *Abimelec* King: adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, *Salomon* raiſed a Tribute upon the people. But it ſeemes that Mello or Millo is a common name of a ſtrong Fort or Cittadell: and ſo *Junius* for *domus Millo*, reades *incola munitionis*, and for *Salomo ædificabit Millo*, he reades *ædificabat munitionem*, and ſo the *Septuagint* reade τὴν ἄκραν in that place. And without doubt the Millo which *Salomon* built, cannot be that of Sichem, but another in Hieruſalem.

Jud 9 6.& 20.
1 Reg.11.27.
*Vatablus* expounds *Millo* in this place *locum publicum neceſſarium civibus Jeroſolymitanis atq; Iſraelitis.*

The other Cities of marke in Ephraim, are Taphuach, whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſua*; and Janoach or Janoah, ſpoyled by *Teglatphalaſſar*; *Pekah* then governing Iſrael; with divers others, but of no great fame. The Mountaines of Ephraim ſometime ſignifie the greateſt part of the land of the ſons of *Joſeph*, on the Weſt of Jordan: ſeverall parts whereof are the Hill of Samron or Samaria, 1 *Reg.* 16.24. * the Hill of Gahas, *Jud.* 2.9. the hill of Tſalmon or Salmon, *Jud.* 9.48. the Hils of the Region of Tſuph or Tſophim, *Ju.* 9.5. where Rama-Tſophim ſtood, which was the City of *Samuel.*

2 Kin.15.29.
Joſ. 17.15,16.
* Alſo the Hill of *Phineas*, where *Eleazar* the high Prieſt the ſon of *Aaron* was buried, Joſ. 24 33.
And the two tops of Hills, *Gerizzim* where the bleſsings, & *Hebal* where the curſings were to be read to the people: of which Deut. 11.&27.& Joſ.8.

The great plenty of fruitfull Vines upon the ſides of the Mountaines, was the occaſion that *Jacob* in the ſpirit of Prophecy, *Gen.* 49.22. compared *Joſephs* two branches, Ephraim and Manaſſe, to the branches of a fruitfull Vine planted by the Wel ſide, and ſpreading her [a] Daughter-branches along the Wall: which Allegory alſo *Ezekiel, c.* 22. in his Lamentation for Ephraim (that is, for the ten Tribes, whoſe head was Ephraim) proſequutes: as alſo in his Lamentation for Juda, he followeth the other Allegory of *Jacob*, *Gen.* 49.9. comparing Juda to a Lyon. Upon the top of one of the higheſt of theſe Hills of Ephraim, which over-looketh all the plains on both ſides of Jordan, they finde the Caſtle called Dok: which they make to be the ſame with Dagon, of which *Joſeph.* 1. *Bell. Jud. c.* 2. in which Caſtle, as it is 1 *Macc.* 16. *Ptolomie* moſt traiterouſly, at a banquet, ſlew *Simon Macchabæus* his Father in Law.

[a] It ſeemeth that *Jacob* in this prophecie the rather uſeth the word *Daughters* for *branches*, therby the more plainly to ſignifie *Colonies*: which in the *Hebrew* phraſe are called *Daughters* of the *Metropolis*: as in *Joſua* and elſewhere often.

Among the Rivers of this Tribe of Ephraim, they name Gaas, remembred in the ſecond of *Samuel, c.* 23. *v.* 30. where though *Junius* reade *Hiddai ex una vallium Gahaſi*: yet the Vulgar and *Vatablus* reade *Giddai* of the River of Gaas. Alſo in this Tribe they place the River of Carith, by which the Prophet *Elias* abode during the great drought: where he was [b] fed with the Ravens: and after that the River was dried up, he travailed (by the Spirit of God guided) towards Sidon: where he was relieved by the poore Widow of Zarepta, whoſe dead ſonne hee revived, and increaſed her pittance of Meale and Oyle: whereby ſhe ſuſtained her life.

[b] 1 Reg.17.6. & ch.17.

## §. II.

### *Of the Kings of the ten Tribes from* Jeroboam *to* Achab.

OF the firſt Kings of Iſrael I omit in this place to ſpeake, and reſerve it to the Catologue of the Kings of Juda: of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the diviſion from *Juda* and *Benjamin*, now it followeth to ſpeake. The firſt of theſe Kings *Jeroboam* the ſonne of *Nebat*, an Ephrathite of *Zereda*, who being a man of ſtrength and courage, was by *Salomon* made overſeer of the buildings of the Munition in *Hieruſalem*, for as much as belonged to the charge of the Tribes of *Ephraim* and *Manaſſe*: & ſo many of them as wrought in thoſe works. During which time as he went from

*Hieruſalem*, he encountred the Prophet *Abijah*: who made him know that he was by God deſtinied to bee King of *Iſrael*, and to command ten of the twelve Tribes. After this, fearing that thoſe things might come to *Salomons* knowledge, he fled into *Egypt* to *Shiſhak*, whom *Euſebius* calleth *Oſochores*, whoſe Daughter hee married: the Predeceſſor of which *Shiſhak* (if not the ſame) did likewiſe entertain *Adad* the Edumæan, when he was carried young into *Egypt* from the fury of *David*, and his Captaine *Joab*; which *Adad*, the King of *Egypt* married to his Wives ſiſter *Taphnes*; uſing both him and *Jeroboam* as inſtruments to ſhake the Kingdome of *Judaa*; that himſelfe might the eaſilier ſpoile it, as hee did: for in the fift yeere of *Rehoboam*, *Shiſhak* ſackt the Citie of *Hieruſalem*, and carried thence all the treaſure of *David* and *Salomon*, and all the ſpoiles which *David* tooke from *Adadezer* of *Soba*, with the preſents of *Tohu*, King of *Hamath*, which were of an ineſtimable value.

1 Kin. 14.

This *Jeroboam* after the death of *Salomon* became Lord of the ten Tribes: and though he were permitted by God to governe the Iſraelites, and from a meane man exalted to that ſtate: yet preferring the policies of the world before the ſervice and honour of God (as fearing that if the Tribes under his rule ſhould repaire to *Hieruſalem* to doe their uſuall Sacrifices, they might bee drawne from him by degrees) hee erected two golden Calves, one in *Dan*, and another in *Bethel*, for the people to worſhip (an imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*, ſaith S. *Ambroſe*, or rather of *Aarons* Calfe in *Horeb*:) further he made election of his Prieſts out of the baſeſt and unlearned people. This King made his chiefe ſeate and Palace at *Sichem*: Hee deſpiſed the warning of the *Judæan* Prophet, whom *Joſephus* calleth *Adon*, and *Glycas Joel*: his hand thereafter withered, and was againe reſtored: but continuing in his Idolatry; and hardened upon occaſion that the Prophet returning was ſlaine by a Lyon, *Abijah* makes him know that God purpoſed to root out his poſterity.

*Ambroſe* upon the 1. Chap. of the Epiſtle to the *Romanes*.

1 Kin. 11. 12. &c.

Hee was afterward overthrowne by *Abia* King of *Juda*, and died after he had governed two and twenty yeeres; whom *Nadab* his ſon ſucceeded: who in the ſecond yeere of his raigne, together with all the race of *Jeroboam*, was ſlaine, and rooted out by *Baaſha*, who raigned in his ſtead; ſo *Nadab* lived King but two yeeres.

*Baaſha* the ſonne of *Abijah*, the third King after the partition, made war with *Aſa* King of *Juda*: he ſeated himſelfe in *Therſa*: and fortified *Rama* againſt *Juda*, to reſtraine their excurſions. Hereupon *Aſa* entertained *Benhadad* of *Damaſcus* againſt him, who invaded *Nepthalim*, and deſtroyed many places therein: the mean while *Aſa* carried away the materials, with which *Baaſha* intended to fortifie *Rama*; but being an Idolater, he was threatned by *Jehu* the Prophet, that it ſhould befall his race, as it did to *Jeroboam*: which afterward came to paſſe: He ruled foure and twenty yeares, and died.

1 Kin. 15. & 16.

To *Baaſha* ſucceeded *Ela* his ſonne, who at a feaſt at his Palace of *Therſa*, was in his cups ſlaine by *Zambris*, after he had raigned two yeeres: and in him the prophecie of *Jehu* was fulfilled.

*Zambris* ſucceeded *Ela*, and aſſumed the name of a King ſeven dayes; but *Ambris* in revenge of the Kings murther, ſet upon *Zambris*, or *Zimri*, and incloſed him in *Therſa*, and enforc't him to burne himſelfe.

1 Kin. 16.

*Ambris* or *Homri* ſucceeded *Ela*, and transferred the Regall ſeat from *Therſa* to *Samaria*: which he bought of *Shemer*, built, and fortified it. This *Ambris* was alſo an Idolater no leſſe impious than the reſt: and therefore ſubjected to *Tabremmon*, King of *Syria*, the Father of *Benhadad* according to *Euſebius*, *Nicephorus*, and *Zonaras*: but how this ſhould ſtand, I doe not well conceive; ſeeing *Benhadad* the ſonne of *Tabremmon* was invited by *Aſa* King of *Juda*, to aſſaile *Baaſha* King of Iſrael, the Father of *Ela*, who forewent *Ambris*. This *Ambris* raigned twelve yeeres, ſixe in *Therſa*, and ſixe in *Samaria*, and left two children, *Achab* and *Athalia*.

1 Kin. 16.

1 Kin. 15.

## §. III.

### Of Achab *and his Succeſſors, with the captivity of the ten Tribes.*

ACHAB or *Ahab* ſucceeded *Omri*, who not onely up-held the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*, borrowed of the Egyptians: but hee married *Jeſabel* the *Zidonian*: and as *Jeroboam* followed the Religion of his Egyptian Wife: ſo did *Achab* of his *Zidonian*:

nian: and erected an Altar and a Grove to *Baal* in *Samaria*. He ſuffered *Jezabel* to kill the Prophets of the moſt high God. God ſent famine on the land of *Iſrael*. *Achab* met *Elias*: *Elias* prevailed in the triall of the ſacrifice, and killeth the falſe Prophets; and afterward flyeth for feare of *Jezabel*.

*Benhadad* not long after beſieged *Samaria*: and taken by *Achab*, was by him ſet at liberty: for which the Prophet (whom *Glycas* calleth *Michæas*) reproveth him: afterward he cauſed *Naboth* by a falſe accuſation to be ſtoned. Then joyning with *Joſaphat* in the warre for the recovery of *Ramoth*, he was ſlaine, as *Michæas* had foretold him.

He had three ſons, named in the Scripture, *Ochozias*, *Joram*, and *Joas*: beſides ſeventie other ſons by ſundry wives and concubines.

*Ochozias* ſucceeded his father *Achab*. The *Moabites* fell from his obedience: he bruiſed himſelfe by a fall: and ſent for counſell to *Beelzebub* the god of *Acharon*. *Eliah* the Prophet meeteth the meſſenger on the way: and miſliking that *Ochozias* ſought helpe from that dead Idoll, asked the meſſenger, If there were not a God in *Iſrael*? *Ochozias* ſendeth two Captains, and with each fifty ſouldiers to bring *Eliah* unto him, both which with their Attendants were conſumed with fire. The third Captaine beſought mercy at *Eliahs* hands, and he ſpared him, and went with him to the King, avowing it to the King that he muſt then die; which came to paſſe in the ſecond yeare of his raigne.

*Beelzebub* was the ſame with *Belus*, and *Pluto*, ſaith *Viginere* upon *Levi*.

2 Kin.1.

*Joram*, the brother of *Ochozias* by *Jezabel*, ſucceeded: He allured *Joſaphat* King of *Juda*, and the King of *Edom* to aſſiſt him againſt the *Moabites*, who refuſed to pay him the tribute of 20000. ſheepe. The three Kings wanted water, for themſelves and their Horſes, in the Deſarts. The Prophet *Eliſha* cauſeth the ditches to flow. The *Moabites* are overthrown: their King flyeth to *Kirharaſeth*, and being beſieged, according to ſome Expoſitors, burnt his ſon on the walls as a Sacrifice, whereat the three Kings, moved with compaſſion, returned and left *Moab*, waſting and ſpoyling that Region. Others, as it ſeemes with better reaſon, underſtand the Text to ſpeake of the ſonne of the King of *Edom*, whom they ſuppoſe in this irruption to have been taken priſoner, by the *Moabites*, and that the King of *Moab* ſhewed him over the walls, threatning, unleſſe the ſiege were diſſolved, that he would offer him in ſacrifice to his gods. Whereupon the King of *Edom* beſought thoſe of *Juda* and *Iſrael* to break off the ſiege for the ſafety of his ſon: which when the other kings refuſed to yeeld unto, & that *Moab*, according to his former threatning, had burnt the King of *Edoms* ſonne upon the rampire, that all the aſſailants might diſcern it, the King of *Edom* being by this ſad ſpectacle inraged, forſook the partie of the other Kings, for want of whoſe aſſiſtance the ſiege was broken up.

2 Kin 3.

After this the King of *Aram* ſent to *Joram*, to heale *Naaman* the Captaine of his Armie of the Leproſie. The anſwer of *Joram* was, Am I God to kill, and to give life, that he doth ſend to heale a man from his Leproſie? adding, that the *Aramite* ſought but matter of quarrell againſt him. *Eliſha* hearing thereof, willed the King to ſend *Naaman* to him; promiſing that he ſhould know that there was a Prophet in *Iſrael*: and ſo *Naaman* was healed by waſhing himſelfe ſeven times in *Jordan*. *Eliſha* refuſed the gifts of *Naaman*; but his ſervant *Gehazi* accepted a part thereof: from whence the ſellers of ſpirituall gifts are called *Gehazites*, as the buyers are *Simonians* of *Simon Magus*.

2 Kin.15.

Afterward *Benhadad* King of *Aram*, or *Damaſcus*, having heard that this Prophet did diſcover to the King of *Iſrael* whatſoever the *Aramite* conſulted in his ſecreteſt counſell, ſent a troope of horſe to take *Eliſha*: all whom *Eliſha* ſtrooke blinde, and brought them captives into *Samaria*: *Joram* then asked leave of the Prophet to ſlay them, *Eliſha* forbad him to harm them; but cauſed them to be fed and ſent back to their own Prince in ſafetie.

The King of *Aram* notwithſtanding theſe benefits, did againe attempt *Samaria*, and brought the Citizens to extreme famine. *Joram* imputeth the cauſe thereof to the Prophet *Eliſha*. *Eliſha* by prayer cauſed a noiſe of Chariots and armour to ſound in the ayre, whereby the *Aramites* affrighted, fled away, and left the ſiege. An act of great admiration, as the ſame is written in the ſecond of *Kings*. After this, when *Azael* obtained the kingdom of *Syria* by the death of his Maſter, *Joram* entring upon his frontier, took *Ramoth Gilead*: in which war he received divers wounds, and returned to *Jezreel* to be cured. But whileſt he lay there, *Jehu* (who commanding the Armie of *Joram* in *Gilead*, was anointed king by one of the children of the Prophets ſent by *Eliſha*) ſurpriſed

2 Kin.7.

and ſlew both him and all that belonged unto him, rooting out the whole poſteritie of *Ahab*.

Pag.86.

*Jehu*, who raigned after *Jehoram*, deſtroyed not onely the race of his fore-goers, but alſo their religion; for which he received a promiſe from God, That his ſeed ſhould occupie the Throne unto the fourth generation. Yet he upheld the Idolatry of *Jeroboam*, for which he was plagued with grievous warre, wherein he was beaten by *Hazael* the *Aramite*, who ſpoiled all the Countries to the Eaſt of *Jordan*: in which warre he was ſlaine, ſaith *Cedrenus*: whereof the Scriptures are ſilent. *Jehu* raigned 28. years.

2 Kin.13.

*Joachaz* or *Jehoahaz* the ſonne of *Jehu* ſucceeded his father, whom *Azael* and his ſon *Benhadad* often invaded, and in the end ſubjected, leaving him onely 50. horſe, 20. chariots, and 10000. foot; and, as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them like duſt beaten into powder. *Joachaz* raigned 17. years.

After *Joachaz Joas* his ſonne governed *Iſrael*, who when he repaired to *Eliſha* the Prophet as he lay on his death-bed, the Prophet promiſed him three victories over the *Aramites*: and firſt commanded him to lay his hand on his bow, and *Eliſha* covered the Kings hands with his, and bad him open the window weſtward (which was toward *Damaſcus*) and then ſhoot an arrow thence out. Hee againe willed him to beat the ground with his arrowes, who ſmote it thrice and ceaſed: The Prophet then told him, that he ſhould have ſmitten five or ſix times, and then he ſhould have had ſo many victories over the *Aramites* as he gave ſtrokes. And ſo it ſucceeded with *Joas*, who overthrew the *Aramites* in three battels, and recovered the Cities & Territory from *Benhadad* the ſon of *Azael*, which his Father *Joachaz* had loſt. He alſo overthrew *Amazia* King of *Juda*, who provoked him to make the warre, whereupon he entred *Hieruſalem*, and ſacked it, with the Temple. This *Joas* reigned ſixteene yeeres, and died; in whoſe time alſo the Prophet *Eliſha* exchanged this life for a better.

2 Kin.14.

*Jeroboam* the third from *Jehu*, followed *Joas* his father, an Idolater as his predeceſſors; but he recovered all the reſt of the lands belonging to *Iſrael*, from *Hamath* which is neere *Libanus*, to the dead Sea, and reigned one and forty yeeres.

*Zacharias* the fift and laſt of the houſe of *Jehu*, ſlain by *Shallum* his vaſſall, who raigned in his ſtead, governed ſixe months. *Shallum* held the Kingdome but one moneth, being ſlaughtered by *Menahem* of the *Gadites*.

2 Kin.16.19.

*Menahem* who tooke revenge of *Shallum*, uſed great cruelty to thoſe that did not acknowledge him: ripping the bellies of thoſe that were with childe. This *Menahem* being invaded by *Phul*, bought his peace with ten thouſand talents of ſilver, which he exacted by a Tribute of fifty ſhekels from every man of wealth in *Iſrael*. *Menahem* governed twenty yeeres.

2 Kin 15.29.

*Pekahiah* or *Phaceia*, or after *Zonaras*, *Phaceſia* ſucceeded, and after hee had ruled two yeeres, he was ſlain by *Phaca* or *Pekah* the Commander of his army, who raigned in his place. In this *Pekahs* time, *Phulaſſar*, or *Tiglat-Phylaſſar* invaded the kingdome of *Iſrael*, and wan *Jion*, *Abel-Bethmaacah*, *Janoach*, *Kedeſh*, *Hazor*, and *Gilead*, with all the Cities of *Galilee*, carrying them captives into *Aſſyria*: he was drawne in by *Achaz* King of *Judæa*, againſt *Pekah* and *Rezin*, the laſt of the *Adades*. For *Achas* being waſted by *Pekah* of *Iſrael*, and by *Rezin* of *Damaſcus*, did a third time borrow the Church riches, and therewith ingaged the *Aſſyrian*, who firſt ſuppreſſed that Monarchy of *Syria* and *Damaſcus*, and then of *Iſrael*: and this inviting of the great *Aſſyrian*, was the utter ruine of both States, of *Iſrael* and of *Judæa*. *Pekah* raigned 20. years.

Then *Hoſhea* or *Oſea*, who ſlew *Pekah*, became the vaſſall of *Salmanaſſar*; but hoping to ſhake off the *Aſſyrian* yoake, he ſought ayd from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sebicus* King of *Egypt*: which being knowne to the *Aſſyrian*, he caſt him into priſon, beſieged *Samaria*, and maſtred it: carried the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Ninive* in *Aſſyria*, and into *Rages* in *Media*, and into other Eaſterne Regions, and there diſperſed them: and replanted *Samaria* with divers Nations, and chiefly with the *Cutha* (inhabiting about *Cutha* a river in *Perſia*, or rather in *Arabia Deſerta*) and with the people *Catanei* bounding upon *Syria*, and with thoſe of *Sepharvajim* (a people of *Sephar* in *Meſopotamia* upon *Euphrates*, of whoſe conqueſt *Senacherib* vaunteth) alſo with thoſe of *Ava*, which were of the ancient *Avins*, who inhabited the Land of the *Philiſtims* in *Abrahams* time, dwelling neere unto *Gaza*, whom the *Caphtorims* rooted out: and at this time they were of *Arabia* the *Deſart*, called *Havæi*, willing to returne to their ancient ſeats. To theſe he added thoſe of *Chamath* or *Ituræa*, the ancient enemies of the Iſraelites, and ſometime the Vaſſals of the Adads of Damaſcus, which ſo often afflicted them. And thus did this Aſſyrian adviſe himſelfe better than the Romanes did. For after *Titus* and *Veſpaſian* had waſted the Cities of Judæa and Hieruſalem, they carried the people away captive: but left no others in their places, but a very few ſimple labourers, beſides their owne thin Garriſons, which ſoone decayed: and thereby they gave that dangerous entrance to the Arabians and Saracens, who never could be driven thence againe to this day.

And this tranſmigration, plantation, and diſplantation, happened in the yeare of the world 3292. the ſixth yeare of *Ezekiah* King of Juda: and the ninth of *Hoſea* the laſt King of Iſrael.

## *A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten* TRIBES.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | *Jeroboam* | Raigned 22 | Years. |
| 2. | *Nadab* | 2 | Years. |
| 3. | *Baaſha* | 24 | Years. |
| 4. | *Ela* | 20 | Years. |
| 5. | *Zambris* | 7 | Dayes. |
| 6. | *Omri* | 11 | Years. |
| 7. | *Achab* | 22 | Years. |
| 8. | *Ochozias* | 2 | Years. |
| 9. | *Joram* | 12 | Years. |
| 10. | *Jehu* | 28 | Years. |
| 11. | *Joachaz* | 17 | Years. |
| 12. | *Joas* | 16 | Years. |
| 13. | *Jeroboam* | 41 | Years. |
| 14. | *Zacharias* | 6 | Moneths. |
| 15. | *Shallum* | 1 | Moneth. |
| 16. | *Menahem* | 10 | Years. |
| 17. | *Pakahia.* | 2 | Years. |
| 18. | *Phaca.* | 20 | Years. |
| 19. | *Hoſea.* | 9 | Yeares, about whoſe time Writers differ. |

14

# Chap. X.

## *Of the memorable places of Dan, Simeon, Juda, Reuben, Gad, and the other halfe of Manaſſe.*

### §. I.

### *Of Dan, whereof Joppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, and other Townes,*

NOw following the coaſt of the Mediterran Sea, that portion of Land aſſigned to the Tribe of *Dan*, joyneth to Ephraim, whereof I ſpake laſt: of which Family there were numbred at Mount Sinai 62700. fighting men, all which leaving their bodies with the reſt in the Deſarts, there entred the Holy Land of their ſons 66400. bearing armes. V.46. The firſt famous Citie in this tribe on the Sea-coaſt was Joppe, or Japho, as in the 19. of *Joſua*: one of the moſt ancienteſt of the World, and the moſt famous of others on that coaſt, becauſe it was the Port of Hieruſalem. From hence *Jonas* imbarked himſelfe when he fled from the ſervice of God, towards Tharſis in Cilicia. In the time of the Macchabees this City received many changes: and while *Judas Macchabæus* governed the Jewes, the Syrians Macc.2.12. that were Garriſon'd in Joppe, having their fleet in the Port, invited 200. principall Citizens aboord them, and caſt them all into the Sea: which *Judas* revenged by firing their fleet, and putting the companies which ſought to eſcape to the ſword.

It was twice taken by the Romanes, and by *Ceſtius* the Lievtenant utterly burnt and ruined. But in the yeare of Chriſt, 1250. *Lodowicke* the French King gave it new Wals and Towers: It is now the Turkes, and called Jaffa. There are certaine Rockes in that Port, whereunto it is reported, that *Andromeda* was faſtned with chains: and from thence delivered from the Sea-monſter by *Perſeus*. This Fable (for ſo I take it) is confirmed by *Joſephus*, *Solinus*, and *Plinie*. *Marcus Scaurus* during his office of Ædileſhip, ſhewed the bones of this Monſter to the people of Rome. S. *Hierome* upon *Jonas* ſpeakes of it indifferently.

L.3.1.15.de bel Jud.Solin.c.47.Pli.l.5.c.9.

The next unto Joppe was Jamnia, where *Judas Macchabæus* burnt the reſt of the Syrian fleet: the fire and flame whereof was ſeene at Hieruſalem, 240 furlongs off. It had sometime a Biſhops ſeate, ſaith *Will.* of Tyre; But there is no ſigne of it at this time, that ſuch a place there was.

2.Mac.12.
De Bell.ſacr.

After Jamnia is the Citie of Geth or Gath, ſometime Anthedon, ſaith *Volatteran*. And ſo *Montanus* ſeemes to underſtand it. For he ſets it next to Egypt, of all the Philiſtim Cities, and in the place of Anthedon. But *Volatteran* gives neither reaſon nor authority for his opinion; for *Ptolomie* ſets Anthedon farre to the South of Joppe: And Geth was the firſt and not the laſt (beginning from the North) of all the great Cities of the Philiſtims: and about ſixteene miles from Joppe: where S. *Hierome* in his time found a great Village of the ſame name. It was ſometime the Habitation and Seminarie of the Anakims, ſtrong and Gyant-like men, whom *Joſua* could not expell, nor the Danites after him, nor any of the Iſraelites, till *Davids* time: who ſlew *Goliath*, as his Captaines did divers others not much inferiour in ſtrength and ſtature unto *Goliath*.

F.244.
Hieron.in Micheam.

*Roboam* the ſonne of *Salomon* rebuilt Geth: *Ozias* the ſonne of *Amazia* deſtroyed it againe. It was alſo laid waſte by *Azael* King of Syria. *Fulke* the fourth King of Hieruſalem, built a Caſtle in the ſame place out of the old ruines. Whether this Geth was the ſame that *Will.* of Tyre in the Holy warre calls Ibiilin, I much doubt: the error growing by taking Geth for Anthedon.

L.21.c.18.

Not farre from Geth or Gath ſtandeth Bethſemes, or the houſe of the Sunne. In the fields adjoyning to this City (as is thought) was the Arke of God brought by a yoke of two Kine, turned looſe by the Philiſtims: and the Bethſemites preſuming to looke therein, there were ſlaine of the Elders 70. and of the people 50000. by the ordinance of God. After which ſlaughter & the great lamentation of the people, it was called the great *A-bel, ſaith S. *Hierome*. *Benedictus Theologus* findes three other Cities of this name; one in [a] *Nephtalim*: another in *Juda*: and another in *Iſachar*. *Hierome* finds a fifth in *Benjamin*.

Sa.1.c.6.v.18.
* Or rather not the Citie it ſelf but the great ſtone in the field upon which ſtone the Philiſtims ſet the Ark, the change being eaſie frō Eben or Aben, which ſignifieth a ſtone, to *Abel* which ſignifieth mourning.
a See in *Neph.* C.7 *Sect.*4.†.6.

Keeping the Sea-coaſt, the ſtrong City of Accaron offereth it ſelfe, ſomtime one of the five Satrapies, or Governments of the Philiſtims. S. *Hierome* makes it the ſame with Cæſaria Palæſtinæ. *Plinie* confounds it with *Apollonia*: It was one of thoſe that defended it ſelfe againſt the Danites and Idumæans. It worſhipped *Beel-Zebub* the god of Hornets or Flies. To which Idoll it was that *Ahaziah* King of Iſrael, ſent to enquire of his health: whoſe meſſengers *Eliah* meeting by the way, cauſed them to returne, with a ſorrowfull anſwer to their Maſter. This City is remembred in many places of Scripture.

2.King 1.

*Chriſtianus Schrot* placeth Azotus next to Geth, and then Accaron or Ekron. This Azotus or Aſdod was alſo an habitation of the Anakims, whom *Joſua* [b] failed to deſtroy, though he once poſſeſt their Citie. Herein ſtood a ſumptuous Temple, dedicated to the [c] Idoll *Dagon*: the ſame Idoll which fell twice to the ground of it ſelfe, after the *Arke* of God was by the Philiſtims carried into their Temple: and in the ſecond fall, it was utterly broken and defaced. Neere it was that famous [d] *Judas Macchabæus* ſlain by *Bacchides* and *Alcimus*, the Lievtenants of *Demetrius*. Afterward it was taken by *Jonathas*: and the reſt of the Citizens being put to the ſword, all that fled into the Temple of *Dagon*, were with their Idoll therein conſumed with fire: neere which alſo hee overthrew *Apollonius*.

but was beſieged by *Pſammetichus*, the Father of *Pharao Neco* for 29. yeers together, whence *Jer.*25. v.20. ſpeakes of the reſidue of *Aſhdod*, to wit, the greateſt part having periſhed in this ſiege.

*Gabinius* the Romane re-built it. It had a Biſhops ſeat while Chriſtianity flouriſhed in thoſe parts. But in S. *Hieromes* time it was yet a faire Village. And this was the laſt of the Sea-Townes within the Tribe of *Dan*.

c 1 Sam.5.4.
d 1 Macc.c.9.
1 Macc.c.10.

The Cities which are within the Land Eaſtward from *Azotus*, and beyond the Fountaine of Æthiopia, wherein *Philip* the Apoſtle baptized the Eunuch, are *Tſora* or Sarxa, and Eſthaol, and between them Caſtra Danis neere Hebron: though this place where *Sampſon* was borne, may ſeeme by the words, *Jud.*18.12. to be in the Tribe of

Joſ.19.41.
Jud.13.25.&c.18.v.2.

*Juda*

*Judah*, as the other alſo were bordering Townes betweene *Dan* and *Juda*.

After theſe within the bounds of *Juda*, but belonging to the *Danites*, they finde *Gedor*, or as it is 1 *Mac*.15. *Cedron*, which *Cendebaus* the Lievtenant of *Antiochus* fortified againſt the *Jewes*, and neere which himſelfe was by the *Macchabees* overthrowne.

1 Mac.15.16.

Then *Modin* the Native Citie of the *Macchabees*: and wherein they were buried, on whoſe Sepulchre the ſeaven Marble Pillars, which were erected of that heighth, as they ſerved for a mark to the Sea-men, remained many hundreds of yeares after their firſt ſetting up, as *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* witneſſe.

There are beſides theſe the Citie of *Cariathiarim*, that is, the Citie of the woods: ſeated in the border of *Juda*, *Benjamin*, and *Dan*, wherein the Arke of God remained twenty yeeres in the houſe of *Aminadab*: till ſuch time as *David* carried it thence to *Hieruſalem*. Of this place (as they ſay) was *Zacharias* the ſon of *Barachias*, or *Jehoida*, who was ſlain between the Temple & the Altar: alſo *Urias*, whom *Joachim* King of *Hieruſalem* ſlaughtered as we finde in *Jeremy*. Many other places which they place in this Tribe, rather as I take it upon preſumption than warrant, I omit: as that of *Caſpin* taken with great ſlaughter by *Judas Macchabaus*: and *Lechis*, whoſe King was ſlaine by *Joſua*, in which alſo *Amaziah* was ſlaine: The ſame which *Senacherib* tooke, *Ezekias* raigning in *Juda*.

*Alias Cariathbaal & Baal*, or *Baalpharoſim*.
1.Sam.7.1. & 2 Sam.6.2.
2 Chron.24.22.
Mat.23.33.
Jer.26.20.
2 Mac.12.13.
Joſ 12.11.
2 Reg.14.19.

Of other Cities belonging to this Tribe, ſee in *Joſua c*.19. from the *Ver*.41. where alſo it is added that the *Danites* portion was too little for their number of Families: and therefore that they invaded *Leſhem*, and inhabited it: which City, after amplified by *Philip* the brother of *Herod Antipas*, was called *Cæſarea Philippi*, as before, & made the *Metropolis* of *Ituraa*, and *Trachonitis*: of which coaſts this *Philip* was *Tatrach*: but of this Citie ſee more in *Nephtalim*. In this Tribe there are no Mountaines of fame.

It hath two Rivers or Torrents: the Norther-moſt riſeth out of the Mountaines of *Juda*: and paſſing by *Modin*, falleth into the Sea by *Sachrona*. The other hath the name of *Sorek* or *Sored*, whoſe bankes are plentifull of Vines which have no ſeeds or ſtones: The wine they yeeld is red, of excellent colour, taſte, and ſavour, &c. In this Valley of *Sorek*, ſo called from the River, inhabited *Dalila* whom *Sampſon* loved.

*Hieron in Eſai.& Micheam* 1.*Broch Breid*.
Jud.16.4.

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## §. II.

## THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

THe Tribe of *Simeon* takes up the reſt of the Sea-coaſt of *Canaan*, to the border of *Egypt*: who being the ſecond ſon of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were increaſed of that Family while they abode in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 59300. able men, all which ending their lives in the *Deſarts*, there entred the Land of Promiſe of their iſſues 22200. bearing armes, who were * in part mixed with *Juda*, and in part ſevered, inhabiting a ſmall Territory on the Sea-coaſt, belonging to *Edumaa*, of which the firſt Citie adjoyning to *Dan*, was *Aſcalon*.

The *Reguli* or pettie Kings thereof were called *Aſcalonita*: of which *Volatteran* out of *Xanthus*, in the Hiſtory of the *Lydians*, reports, that *Tantalus* and *Aſcalus* were the ſons of *Hymenaus*: and that *Aſcalus* being imployed by *Aciamus* King of the *Lydians*, with an Army in *Syria*, falling in love with a young Woman of that Countrie, built this Citie, and called it after his owne name: The ſame hath *Nicolaus* in his Hiſtorie, ſaith *Volatteran*.

* And therefore no marvell that divers places named *Joſ*.15. in the large portion of *Juda*, be reckoned in this Tribe: ſee *Joſ*. 19.v.1.& 9. where thus much is expreſly noted. *Volat. Geog* l.11.f.244.

*Diodorus Siculus* in his third booke remembreth a Lake neere *Aſcalon*, wherein there hath beene a Temple dedicated to *Derceto*, the Goddeſſe of the *Syrians*; having the face of a Woman, and the body of a Fiſh: who, as I have ſaid before in the ſtory of *Ninus*, was the Mother of *Semiramis*, fained to be caſt into this Lake, and fed and relieved by Doves. And therefore was the Dove worſhipped both in *Babylonia* and *Syria*, of which *Tibullus* the Poet:

*Alba Palaſtino ſancta Columba Syro.*

The white Dove is for holy held in *Syria Palaſtine*.

It was one of the chiefeſt and ſtrongeſt Cities of the Philiſtims. It bred many learned

men

*Vol. ut ſupra.* men ( ſaith *Volatteran* ) as *Antiochus*, *Soſus*, *Cygnus*, *Dorotheus* the Hiſtorian, and *Artemidorus*, who wrote the ſtory of *Bithynia*.

In *Aſcalon*, as ſome ſay, was that wicked *Herod* borne, that ſeeking after our Saviour, cauſed all the Male-children of two yeears old and under to be ſlain. In the Chriſtian times it had a Biſhop, and after that, when it was by the *Saladine* defaced, *Richard* King of England, while he made Warre in the Holy Land, gave it a new Wall and many buildings.
*Adrich. in Trib. Simeon.* *Ejus muros cum* Saladinus *diruiſſet*, Richardus *Anglorum Rex inſtauravit*, ſaith *Adrichomeus*.

2. Sam. 1. In *Davids* time it was one of the moſt renowned Cities of the Philiſtims: for he nameth *Gath* and *Aſcalon* onely, when he lamenteth the death of *Saul* and *Jonathan*: not ſpeaking of the other three. *Tell it not in Gath, nor publiſh it not in the ſtreets of Aſcalon:* It is now called *Scalone*. *Gabinius* reſtored it as he did *Azotus* and *Gaza*.

Next to *Aſcalon* ſtood *Gaza* or *Gazera*, which the *Hebrewes* call *Hazza*, the *Syrians Azan*, of *Azonus* (as they ſay) the ſonne of *Hercules*. Other prophane writers affirme, that it was built by *Jupiter*. *Pomp. Mela* gives the building thereof to *Cambyſes* the Perſian; becauſe belike he re-built it, and *Gaza* in the Perſian tongue is as much to ſay as
*Vol. l. 11.* Treaſure. This *Gaza* was the firſt of the five *Satrapies* of the Philiſtims, and the South bound of the land of *Canaan* towards *Egypt*. But this Citie was farre more ancient than *Cambyſes*, as it is proved by many Scriptures. It was once taken by *Caleb*: but the ſtrength
*Steph. de Vrb.* of the *Anakims* put him from it. At ſuch time as *Alexander Macedon* invaded the Empire
*Jud.* 1. 6. 16. of *Perſia*, it received a Garriſon for *Darius*: in deſpight whereof it was by the
1 King. 6. & alib. *Macedonians* after a long ſiege demoliſhed, and was called *Gaza* of the *Deſart*.

*Joſe.* 13. *ant.* 19. *Alexander Janneus* King of the Jewes ſurprized it, and ſlew five hundred Senators in the Temple of *Apollo*, which fled thither for Sanctuary: but this *Gaza* was not ſet up in the ſame place againe, to wit, on the foundations which *Alexander Macedon* had overturned, but ſomewhat nearer the Sea ſide: though the other was but two mile off. It was a Towne of great account in the time of the *Macchabees*, and gave many wounds to the Jewes till it was forſt by *Simon*: of which he made ſo great account, as that hee purpoſed to reſide therein himſelfe, and in his abſence left *John* his ſonne and Succeſſour
Mac. 1. 15. to be Governor. In *Brochard* his time it was ſtill a goodly Citie, and knowne by the name
*Broch. Itin.* 7. of *Gazara*.

At the very out-let of the River of *Beſor*, ſtandeth *Majoma* the Port of *Gaza*: to which the priviledge of a Citie was given by the great *Conſtantine*, and the place called
*Hiſt. trip. l.* 6. *c.* 4 *Niceph.* 10. *hiſt cap.* 4. *Conſtance* after the name of the Emperours Sonne. But *Julian* the *Apoſtata* ſoone after favouring the *Gazeans*, made it ſubject unto them, and commanded it to bee called *Gaza maritima*.

*Joſ.* 13. *an.* 19. 21. On the other ſide of *Beſor* ſtandeth *Anthedon*, defaced by *Alexander Janneus*, reſtored by *Herod*, and called *Agrippias*, after the name of *Agrippa*, the favourite of *Auguſtus*.

*Joſ.* 13. *ant.* 19. 21. 14. &c. Then *Raphia*, where *Philopater* overthrew the great *Antiochus*: and beyond it *Rhinocura*, whoſe Torrent is knowne in the Scriptures by the name of * *the Torrent of Egypt*, till the *Septuagint* converted it *Rinocura*: to difference it, *Eſ.* 27. 12. giving the name of the Citie to the Torrent that watereth it. *Plinie* calls it *Rhinocolura*: and *Joſephus Rhinocorura*: [a] *Epiphanius* reports it as a Tradition, that at this place the world was divided by lot, betweene the three Sonnes of *Noah*.

* *Junius* calls it *Vallis Egypti*, the name of the ſtream ſeems to be *Sichor*. See in *Aſſer*, c. 7. § 3. † 8 in the margent.

[a] *Epiph. tom.* 2. *in reſut. Manich. & in Ancorato. Gen.* 10. 19.

Within the Land and upon the River of *Beſor* they place *Gerar*: which the Scripture placeth between *Kadeſh* & *Shur*, *Gen.* 20. 1. That it was neer to the Wilderneſſe of *Beer-ſhebah*, it appeares *Gen.* 20. 31. and therefore no marvell that as elſewhere *Beer-ſheba*, ſo ſometime *Gerar*, be made the South bound of *Canaan*. It was of old a diſtinct Kingdome from the *Philiſtim Satrapies*: the Kings by one common name were called *Abimelechs*; S. *Hierome* ſaith that afterward it was called *Regio ſalutaris, the healthy Country*: ſo that it was no marvel that *Abraham* and *Iſaac* lived much in thoſe parts. Of King *Aſa's* conqueſt of the Cities about Gerar, ſee 2 *Chron.* 14. 14.

1 Sam. 30. More within the Land was *Siceleg* or *Tſiglak*, which was burnt by the *Amalekites*, when *David* in his flying from *Saul* to the Philiſtims had left his carriages there, but *David* followed them over the River of *Beſor*, and put them to the ſlaughter, and recovered the prey.

*Joſep.* 10. 11. 12. Next *Dabir* ſometime *Cariath-Sepher*, the Citie of Letters, the Univerſitie, as they ſay, or *Academie* of old *Palæſtine*. In Saint *Hieromes* time it ſeemes it had the name of

*Daema*: *Joſ.*15.49. it is called *Urbs Sannæ*: from the name, as it ſeemes, of ſome of the *Anakims*, as *Hebron* was called *Urbs Arbahi*. For even hence alſo were theſe Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by *Othoniel*, incouraged by *Calebs* promiſe of his Daughter in marriage: but that *Joſua* and the Hoaſt of *Iſrael* were at the ſurpriſe, it appears *Joſ.*10.39. This Citie *Joſ.*21.15. is named among thoſe which out of *Simeon* and *Juda* were given to the *Levites*. And hence it ſeemes they attribute it to this Tribe.

Joſ.11.21.

Beſides theſe, there are many others in the Tribe of *Simeon*, but of leſſe fame, as *Haſin*, of which *Joſ.*19.7. which alſo *Jo.*21.16. is reckoned for one of the Cities of the *Levites*, given out of the portion of *Juda* and *Simeon*, (for which *Junius* thinks *Huſham* is named 1 *Chron.*6.59. though * in the place of *Joſua* theſe two are diſtinguiſhed) alſo *Tholad*, ſo named 1 *Chron.*4.29. for which *Joſ.*19.4. we have *Eltholad*. *Chatzar-Suſa*, ſo named, *Joſ.*19.5. for which *Joſ.*15. we have *Chatzar-Gadda*, both names agreeing in ſignification: for *Gadda* is *Turma*, and *Suſa Equitatus*.

* And alſo 1 Chron.4.32.

In the ſame places of *Joſua*, and of the *Chronicles Chorma* is named, which they thinke to be the ſame with that of which *Num.*14.45. to which the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* purſued the *Iſraelites*: But that *Chorma* cannot be in *Simeon*, nor within the Mountaines of *Edumæa*. For *Iſrael* fled not that way: but backe againe to the Campe, which lay to the South of *Edumæa*, in the *Deſart*.

Deut.1.

The ſame places alſo name *Beerſheba* in this Tribe: ſo called of the Oath betweene *Abraham* and *Abimelec*: neer unto which *Hagar* wandered with her ſonne *Iſmael*. It was alſo called the Citie of *Iſaac*, becauſe he dwelt long there. While the *Chriſtians* held the Holy Land, they laboured much to ſtrengthen this place, ſtanding on the border of the *Arabian Deſart*, and in the South bound of *Canaan*. It hath now the name of *Gibelin*. The other Cities of *Simeon* which are named in the places of *Joſua*, and of the *Chronicles* above noted, becauſe they helpe us nothing in ſtorie, I omit them. In the time of *Ezekia* King of *Juda*, certaine of this Tribe being ſtrengthened in their owne Territories, paſſed to * *Gedor*, as it is 1 *Chron.*4.39. (the ſame place which *Joſ.*15.36. is called *Gedera* and *Gederothaima*) which at that time was inhabited by the iſſue of *Cham*: where they ſeated themſelves: as alſo five hundred others of this Tribe, deſtroyed the Reliques of *Amalec* in the Mountaines of *Edom*, and dwelt in their places.

Gen.21.31.

* As it ſeemes in the Land of *Juda*. See in the firſt *Paragraph* of this Chapter in the Cities of *Dan*.

The mountaines within this Tribe are few, and that of *Sampſon* the chiefeſt: unto which he carried the Gate-poſt of *Gaza*. The Rivers are *Beſor*, and the *Torrent* of *Egypt* called *Shichar*, as is noted in *Aſſer*.

Jud.16.3.

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## §. III.

## *THE TRIBE OF JUDA.*

Of *Juda* the fourth ſon of *Jacob* by *Lea*, there were multiplied in *Egypt* 74600. all which (*Caleb* excepted) periſhed in the *Deſarts*. And of their ſons there entred the Land of *Canaan* 76500. bearing armes. Agreeable to the greatneſſe of this number was the greateſt Territorie given, called afterward *Judæa*: within the bounds whereof were the portions allotted to *Dan* and *Simeon* included. And many Cities named in thoſe Tribes, did firſt, as they ſay, belong unto the Children of *Juda*: who had a kind of Soveraigntie over them: as *Succoth*, *Cariathiarim*, *Lachis*, *Bethſemes*, *Tſiglag*, *Beerſheba*, and others. The multitude of people within this ſmall Province (if it be meated by that ground given to this Tribe only) were incredible, if the witneſſe of the Scriptures had not warranted the report. For when *David* numbred the people, they were found five hundred thouſand fighting men.

The Cities of *Juda* were many. But I will remember the chiefeſt of them: beginning with *Arad*, or *Horma*, which ſtandeth in the entrance of *Judæa* from *Idumæa*: whoſe King firſt ſurprized the *Iſraelites* as they paſſed by the border of *Canaan* towards *Moab*, and tooke from them ſome ſpoyles, and many priſoners: who being afterward overthrowne by the *Iſraelites*, the ſonnes of *Keni*, the Kinſmen of *Moſes*, obtained a poſſeſſion in that Territorie: who before the comming of the Iſraelites, dwelt betweene *Madian* and *Amalek*.

Num.21.3.
Joſ.12.14.
Jud.1.16.

Following this Frontier towards *Idumæa* and the South, *Aſcenſus Scorpionis*, or *Acrabbim* is placed: the next to *Arad*: ſo called becauſe of Scorpions, which are ſaid to bee in

Num.34.4.
Deut.8.15.

that place: from which name of *Acrabbim*, *Hierome* thinkes that the name of the *Toparchie* called *Acrabathena* was denominated: of which we have ſpoken in *Manaſſes*. On the South ſide alſo of *Judaa* they place the Cities of *Jagur*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Cedes*, *Aſhna*, *Jethnam*, and *Aſor* or *Chatſor*, moſt of them Frontier Townes.

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places ſo called: one beſides this in the body of *Juda*, of which the *Deſart* and Forreſt adjoyning tooke name: where *David* hid himſelfe from *Saul*. After theſe are the Cities of *Eſron*, *Adar*, *Karkah*, and *Aſcemona*, or *Haſmon*, of no great fame.

Jud.15.8.
1 Chron.11.6.
*Jun.* out of the 1 Chron.4.31. notes that this *Hetham*, though it were within the bounds of *Juda*, belonged to *Simeon*.
Joſ.15.48.
*Hieron. in loc. Hebr.*

Turning now from *Idumaa* towards the North, we finde the Cities of *Danna*, *Shemah*, *Amam*, the other *Aſor*, or *Chatſor*, *Behaloth*, and the two *Socboes*: of all which ſee *Joſ*.15. alſo *Carioth*, by *Joſua* 15.25. called *Krioth*: whence *Judas* the Traitor was called *Iſ-carioth*, as it were a man of *Carioth*. Then *Hetham* the abode of *Sampſon* which *Rehoboam* re-edified. Beyond theſe towards the North border, and towards *Elutheropolis*, is the Citie of *Jethar*, or *Jathir*, belonging to the Levites. In Saint *Hieromes* time it was called *Jethira*: and inhabited altogether with Chriſtians: neere unto this Citie was that remarkable battell fought betweene *Aſa* King of *Juda* and *Zara* King of the *Arabians*, who brought into the field a Million of fighting men: and was notwithſtanding beaten and put to flight: *Aſa* following the victorie as farre as *Gerar*, which at the ſame time he recovered.

2 Macc.12.35.

Not far from *Jether* ſtandeth *Jarmuth*, whoſe King was ſlain by *Joſua*, and the Citie overturned. Next unto it is *Mareſa* the native City of the Prophet *Michaa*: between it and *Odolla Judas Macchabæus* overthrew *Gorgias*, and ſent thence ten thouſand *Dragmas* of ſilver to be offered for Sacrifice.

Gen.38.1.
Joſ.12.15.
1 Sam.23.1.

*Odolla* or *Hadullam* it ſelfe was an ancient and magnificent Citie, taken by *Joſua*, and the King thereof ſlaine. *Jonathan Macchabæus* beautified it greatly. Then *Ceila* or *Keila* afterward *Echela*, where *David* ſometime hid himſelfe: and which afterward he delivered from the aſſaults of the *Philiſtims*: neere which the Prophet *Abacuc* was buried: whoſe monument remained, and was ſeene by S. *Hierome*.

Neere it is *Hebron*, ſometime called *the Citie of Arbah*, for which the *Vulgar* hath *Cariatharbe*: the reaſon of this name they give, as if it ſignified the Citie of foure: becauſe the foure Patriarchs, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, were therein buried, but of *Adam* it is but ſuppoſed: and it is plain by the places *Joſ*.14.14. and 15.13. and 20.11. that *Arbah* here doth not ſignifie four, but that it was the name of the Father of the *Giants* called *Anakim*, whoſe ſon as it ſeemes *Anak* was: and *Achiman*, *Sheſhai*, and *Talmai*, (whom *Caleb* expelled, *Joſ*.15.) were the ſons of *Anak*, *Num*. 13.23. The name of *Anak* ſignifieth *Torquem*, a chaine worne for ornament; and it ſeems that this *Anak*, inriched by the ſpoiles which himſelfe and his father got, wore a chain of gold, and ſo got this name: and leaving the cuſtome to his poſteritie, left alſo the name: ſo that in *Latine* the name of *Anakim* may not amiſſe be expounded by *Torquati*.

The Citie *Hebron* was one of the ancienteſt Cities of *Canaan*, built ſeven years before *Tſoan* or *Tanis* in *Egypt*: and it was the head and chiefe Citie of the *Anakims*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part given, to wit, the Villages adjoyning, and the reſt to the Levites. It had a Biſhop in the Chriſtian times, and a magnificent Temple built by *Helen* the Mother of *Conſtantine*.

Joſ.10.11.
Macc.1.3.
*Euſeb. in Chron.*
*Broch. Itin.*6.
* Alſo 1 *Chron*. 4.39. as is above remembred in the Tribe of *Simeon*.
a *Junius* for *in Valle Terebinthi*, hath *in Valle querceti*. *Vatablus* keeps the *Hebrew* reading *in valle Elah*.

Not farre hence they find *Eleutheropolis*, or the free Citie, remembred often by Saint *Hierome*. Then *Eglon*, whoſe King *Dabir* aſſociated with the other foure Kings of the *Amorites*, to wit, of *Hieruſalem*, *Hebron*, *Jarmuth*, & *Lachis*, beſieging the Gibeonites, were by *Joſua* utterly overthrown. From hence the next Citie of fame was *Emaus* afterward *Nicopolis*, one of the Cities of Government or *Præſidencies* of *Judæa*. In ſight of this Citie *Judas Macchabæus* (after he had formerly beaten both *Apollonius* and *Seron*) gave a third overthrow to *Gorgias* Lievtenant to *Antiochus*.

In the yeare 1301. it was overturned by an earth-quake, ſaith *Euſebius*. In the Chriſtian times it had a Biſhops ſeate of the Dioceſſe of *Cæſarea* of *Paleſtine*.

From *Emaus* toward the Weſt Sea there are the Cities of *Nahama*, *Bethdagon*, and *Gader* or *Gedera*, or *Gederothaima*, of which and of *Gederoth*, * *Joſ*.15.36. and 41. Then *Azecha*, to which *Joſua* followed the ſlaughter of the five Kings before named, a City of great ſtrength in the Valley of a *Terebinth*, or *Turpentine*, as the *Vulgar* readeth, 1 *Sam*.17.2. whence (as it ſeemes) they ſeate it neere unto *Soco*, and unto *Lebna* of the

Levites. It revolted from the ſubjection of the Jewes, while *Joram* the ſon of *Joſaphat* ruled in Hieruſalem: And next unto this ſtandeth *Maceda*, which *Joſua* utterly diſpeopled.

On the other ſide of *Emaus* towards the Eaſt ſtandeth *Bethſur*, otherwiſe *Bethſora*, and *Bethſor*: one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſought for places in all Juda. It is ſeated on a high Hill; and therefore called *Bethſur* (*the houſe on the Rocke*, or *of ſtrength.*) It was fortified by *Roboam*, and afterward by *Judas Macchabeus*. *Lyſias* forc't it, and *Antiochus Eutapor* by famine, *Jonathas* regained it: and it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified againſt the *Syrian* Kings.

*Joſ.13.ant.9.*
Macc.1.6.

*Bethleem* is the next unto it within ſixe miles of *Hieruſalem*, otherwiſe *Lehem*: ſometime *Ephrata*; which name, they ſay, it had of *Calebs* wife, when as it is ſo called by *Moſes* before *Caleb* was famous in thoſe parts, *Gen.38.16.* Of this Citie was *Abeſſan*, or *Ibzan*, *Judge* of *Iſrael* after *Jephtah*, famous for the thirty ſonnes and thirty daughters begotten by him. *Elimelec* was alſo a *Bethlemite*, who with his wife *Naomi* ſojourned in *Moab* during the famine of *Juda* in the time of the Judges, with whom *Ruth* the daughter in law of *Naomi* returned to *Bethleem*: and married *Booz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Iſhai*, of whom *David*. It had alſo the honor to be the native City of our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*; and therefore ſhall the memorie thereof never end.

Gen.53.48.
Ruth 1.

In *Zabulon* of Galilee there was alſo a City of the ſame name: and therefore was this of our Saviour called *Bethleem Juda*.

*Hieron in com. ſuper Mat.c.2.*
Matt.2.1.

From *Bethleem* ſome foure or five mile ſtandeth *Thecua*, the City of *Amos* the Prophet: and to this place adjoyning is the City of *BethZacaria*, in the way betweene *Bethſura* and *Hieruſalem*: on whoſe Hils adjoyning, the glorious guilt ſhields of *Antiochus* ſhined like lamps of fire in the eyes of the Jewes. The City of * *Bezek* was alſo neere unto *Bethleem*, which *Adoni-Bezec* commanded, who had during his raigne tortur'd 70 Kings, by cutting off the joynts of their Fingers and Toes; and made them gather bread under his Table: but at length the ſame end befell himſelfe by the ſonnes of *Juda*, after they had taken him priſoner.

Amos 1.1.
1 Macc.6.32.
*Joſ.ant.12.c.14.*
1 Macc.6.36.
* See in *Manaſſe.* C.7.§.7.†.1.
Jud.1.6,7.

The reſt of the Cities in this part (moſt of them of no great eſtimation) we may paſſe by untill we come to the magnificent Caſtle of Herodium, which *Herod* erected on a Hill, mounting thereunto with 200. Marble ſteps, exceeding beautifull and ſtrong. And towards the Dead Sea, & adjoyning to the Deſart of *Jaruel*, between it and *Tekoa*, is that *Clivaus floridus*, where, in the time of *Jehoſaphat*, the Jewes ſtood and lookt on the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites*, maſſacring one another, when they had purpoſed to joyn againſt *Juda*: neere which place is the Valley of bleſſing, where the Jewes the fourth day after, ſolemnly came and bleſſed God for ſo ſtrange a deliverance.

*Joſ.14.ant.22.*
2 Chr.20.16. & 26.

Now the Cities of *Juda* which border the Dead Sea, are theſe; *Aduran* beautified by *Roboam*: and *Tſohar*, which the Vulgar calleth * *Segor*: ſo called, becauſe *Lot* in his prayer for it, urged that it was but a little one: whence it was called *Tſohar*, which ſignifieth a little one: when as the old name was *Belah*, as it is *Gen.*14.2. In the Romans time it had a Garriſon, and was called (as they ſay) *Pahnier*: in *Hieromes* time *Balexona*. Then *Engaddi* or *Hen-gaddi*, firſt *Aſaſonthamar*: neere unto which are the Gardens of *Balſamum*, the beſt that the world had called *Opobalſamum*: the moſt part of all which Trees *Cleopatra* Queene of *Egypt* ſent for out of *Judæa*, and *Herod*, who either feared or loved *Anthony* her Husband, cauſed them to be rooted up and preſented unto her: which ſhe re-planted neere *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*. This City was firſt taken by *Chedorlaomer*, and the *Amorites* thence expelled. It was one of the moſt remarkable Cities of *Judæa*; and one of the Preſidencies thereof.

2 Chron.11.
* Some call it *Bal-ſaliſa* and *Vitula conſternans.* See in *Gadc.*10. §.5.*poſt principium in Harober.*
Gen.19.20.
*Hieron.in Oſe.* *Hebr. Chatſatſon-thamar.*
2 Chro.20.2.
Gen.14.7.

The reſt of the Cities are many in the In-land, and among them *Jeſrael*: not that which was the City of *Naboth*, of which already; but another of the ſame name, the City of *Achinoan*, the wife of *David*, the mother of that *Ammon* whom *Abſalom* ſlew: alſo, as ſome thinke, the City of *Amaſa Abſaloms* Lievtenant, and the commander of his Army. But this ſeemeth to be an error grounded upon the neerneſſe of the words *Iſrael* and *Jeſrael*: and becauſe the 2 *Sam.*17.25. *Amaſaes* father is called an *Iſraelite*, who firſt of the *Chro.*2.17. is called an *Iſmaelite*: indeed the Hebrew Orthographie ſheweth that *Amaſa's* Father is not ſaid to be of the City *Jeſrael*, but an *Iſraelite* in Religion, though otherwiſe an *Iſmaelite*.

1 Reg.21.
2 Sam.7.25.

In this Tribe there were many high Hils and Mountaines; as thoſe of *Engaddi* upon the Dead Sea: and the Mountaines of Juda, which begin to riſe by *Emaus*, and end neere Taphna, and theſe part Juda from Dan and Simeon. Of others which ſtand ſingle, there is that of Hebron, at the foot whereof was that Oake of Mamre, where the three Angels *Hieron. in loc. Heb.& quæſt. Hebr.* appeared to *Abraham*; which S. *Hierome* calleth a Fir-tree, and ſaith, that it ſtood till the time of *Conſtantine* the younger. There is alſo that Mountaine called *Collis Achillæ*, on *Joſ.14. Ant.c.20.* the South of Ziph: on the top whereof the great Herod, incloſing the old Caſtle, erected by *Jonathan Maccbabæus*, and called Maſſada, garniſhed it with 27. high and ſtrong Towers: and therein left Armour and furniture for an hundred thouſand men; being as it ſeemeth a place unacceſſible, and of incomparable ſtrength.

In the Valley afterward called the Dead Sea, or the lake Aſphaltitis, this Countrie had foure Cities, Adama, Sodom, Seboim, and Gomorra, deſtroyed with fire from Heaven for their unnaturall ſinnes.

## §. IIII.

## THE TRIBE OF REUBEN, and his Borderers.

### †. I.

### *The ſeats and bounds of Midian, Moab, and Ammon, part whereof the Reubenites wan from* Sehon *King of Heſbon.*

ON the other ſide of the Dead Sea, *Reuben* the eldeſt of *Jacobs* ſonnes inhabited: of whoſe children there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 46000. who dying with the reſt in the Deſarts, there remained to poſſeſſe the Land promiſed 43700. bearing armes. But before we ſpeake of theſe or the reſt that inhabited the Eaſt ſide of Jordan, ſomething of their borderers: to wit, Midian, Moab, and Ammon, whoſe land in our writers are confuſedly deſcribed, and not eaſily diſtinguiſhed. And firſt wee are to remember, that out of *Abrahams* kindred came mighty Families: as by *Iſaac* and *Jacob* the Nation called Iſrael, and afterward Jewes: by *Eſau* or *Edom* the Idumæans: by *Iſmael*, the eldeſt ſonne of *Abraham*, the Iſmaelites: and by *Ketura* his laſt wife, the Midianites. And againe by *Lot*, *Abrahams* brothers ſon, thoſe two valiant Nations of the Moabites and Ammonites: all which being but ſtrangers in the Land of Canaan (formerly poſſeſt by the Canaanites; and by the Families of them deſcended) theſe iſſues and alliance of *Abraham*, all but *Jacob*, whoſe children were bred in Egypt, inhabited the frontier places adjoyning.

*Eſau* and his ſonnes held Idumæa, which bounded Canaan on the South, *Iſmael* tooke from the South-eaſt part of the Dead Sea; ſtretching his poſſeſſion over all Arabia Petræa, and a part of Arabia the Deſart, as far as the River of Tigris, from Sur to Havilah.

*Moab* tooke the reſt of the coaſt of the dead Sea, leaving a part to Midian, and paſſing over Arnon, inhabited the plaines betweene Jordan and the Hills of Abarim, or Arnon, as farre North as Eſſebon, or Cheſbon.

*Ammon* ſate down on the North-eaſt ſide of Arnon, and poſſeſt the Tract from Rabba, *Joſ.13.* afterward Philadelphia, both within the Mountains of Gilhead, and without them as far forth as Aroer, though in *Moſes* time he had nothing left him in all that Valley: for the *Num.21.24.* Amorites had thruſt him over the River of Jaboc, as they had done *Moab* over Arnon. As theſe Nations compaſſed ſundry parts of Canaan, ſo the border betweene the River of Jaboc and Damaſcus was held by the Amorites themſelves, with other mixt Nations: all which Territorie on the Eaſt ſide of Jordan, and on the Eaſt ſide of the Dead Sea, was *Gen.14.* granted by *Moſes* to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and halfe *Manaſſe*; whereof that par which *Moab* had, was firſt poſſeſt by the Emims, a Nation of Giants weakned and broke by *Chedorlahomer*, after repulſed by the Moabites, as before remembred. That whic the Ammonites held, was the Territorie and ancient poſſeſſion of the Zamzummims o Zutæi, who were alſo beaten at the ſame time by *Chedorlahomer*, *Amraphel*, and the reſt and by them an eaſie way of conqueſt was prepared for the Ammonites.

Now where it is written that Arnon was the border of Moab, the ſame is to be underſtood according to the time when *Moſes* wrote. For then had *Sehon* or his Anceſtou

beat

beaten the Moabites out of the plaine Countryes, between ***Abarim*** and ***Jordan***, and driven them from ***Hesbon*** over ***Arnon***; and this happened not long before ***Moſes*** arrivall upon that border, when ***Vaheb*** governed the Moabites. For he that ruled ***Moab*** when ***Moſes*** paſt ***Arnon***, was not the ſon of ***Vaheb***, but his name was ***Balac*** the ſon of ***Zippor***. And it may be that thoſe Kings were elective, as the Edumæans anciently were.

Now, all that part of ***Moab*** between ***Arnon*** and ***Jordan***, as far North as ***Eſſebon***, was inhabited by ***Reuben***. And when ***Iſrael*** arrived there out of ***Egypt***, it was in the poſſeſſion of ***Sehon***, of the race of ***Canaan*** by ***Amoreus***: and therefore did ***Jephtab*** the Judge of ***Iſrael*** juſtly defend the regaining of thoſe Countryes againſt the claime of the Ammonites: becauſe (as he alledged) ***Moſes*** found them in the poſſeſſion of the Amorites, and not in the hands of ***Moab*** or ***Ammon***: who (ſaith ***Jephtah***) had 300. years time to recover them, and did not: whence he inferreth that they ought not to claime them now.

Judg.11.

And leſt any ſhould marvell why the Ammonites in ***Jephtahs*** time ſhould make claim to theſe Countries: whereas ***Moſes*** in the place ***Num.21.v.26.*** rather accounts them to have been the ancient poſſeſſion of the Moabites, than of the Ammonites: it is to be noted that ***Deut.3.11.*** when it is ſaid that the Iron bed of ***Og*** was to be ſeen at ***Rabbath***, the chiefe Citie of the Ammonites, it is alſo ſignified, that much of the Land of ***Og***, which the Iſraelites poſſeſſed, was by him or his Anceſtors got from the Ammonites, as much of ***Sehons*** was from the ***Moabites***.

And as the Canaanite Nations were ſeated ſo confuſedly together, that it was hard to diſtinguiſh them: ſo alſo were the ſons of ***Moab*** and ***Ammon***, ***Midian***, ***Amaleck*** & ***Iſmael***. Yet the reaſon ſeemeth plaine enough why ***Ammon*** commanded in chiefe, in ***Jephtahs*** time; for ſometime the one Nation, ſometime the other of all thoſe borderers acquired the Soveraignty: and againe, that one part of the Land which ***Gad*** held, namely, within the mountaines of ***Galaad***, or ***Gilhead***, and as farre South as ***Arroer***, belonged to the Ammonites. And therefore taking advantage of the time, they then ſought to recover it again. Yet at ſuch time as ***Moſes*** overthrew ***Sehon*** at ***Jabaz***, the Ammonites had loſt to the Amorites all that part of their poſſeſſion which lay about ***Arroer***, and between it and ***Jaboc***: ***Sehon*** and ***Og***, two Kings of the Amorites, having diſplanted both ***Moab*** and ***Ammon*** of all within the Mountaines. For it is written in the one and twentieth of ***Num. v. 24.*** that ***Iſrael*** conquered the Land of ***Sehon*** from ***Arnon*** unto ***Jaboc***, ***even unto the children of Ammon***: ſo as at this time the River of ***Jaboc*** was the South bound of ***Ammon***, within the Mountaines, when as anciently they had alſo poſſeſſions over ***Jaboc***, which at length the Gadites poſſeſt, as in the 13. chapter of ***Joſ.v.25.*** it appeares.

*Joſ.13 ver.25.* *Junius* notes that the one halft of the land of *Hammon*, which in this place of *Joſua* is ſaid to have bin given to the *Gadites*, was taken firſt from the *Ammonites* by *Sehon*: but the place Deut.2.11. proves that aſwell *Og*, as *Sehon* had gotten lands out of the hands of the *Ammonites*.

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## †. II.

### *Of the memorable places of the Reubenites.*

THe chief cities belonging to ***Reuben*** were theſe, ***Kedemoth***, for which the ***Vulgar***, without any ſhew of warrant, readeth ***Jethſon***. The ***Vulgar*** or ***Hierome*** followed the ***Septuagint***, thoſe two ***verſes***, 36. and 37. in ***Joſ.22.*** being wanting in the old Hebrew Copies, and the ***Septuagint*** reade ***Kedſon*** for ***Kedmoth***, which ***Kedſon*** by writing ſlipt into ***Jethſon***.

Joſ.21.37.

This City which they gave to the Levites, imparts her name to the ***Deſart*** adjoining: from whence ***Moſes*** ſent his Embaſſage to ***Sehon***. In the ſame place of ***Joſua*** where this ***Kedemoth*** is mentioned, the ***Vulgar*** for ***Betſer & villa ejus***, reads ***Boſor in ſolitudine Miſor***, without any ground from the Hebrew: whence ***Adrichomius*** makes a Town called ***Miſor***, in the border betweene ***Reuben*** and ***Gad***. Farther from ***Kedemoth*** neare the ***Dead Sea*** (for the Countrey betweene being Mountainous, hath few Cities) they place two Townes of note, ***Laſa*** or ***Leſbaſh***, of which ***Geneſis*** 10. ***verſe*** 19. The Greekes call it ***Callirhoe***: neare which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold, bitter and ſweet water; all which ſoone after their riſing, being joyned in one ſtreame, doe make a very wholeſome Bath, eſpecially for all contraction of ſinewes: to which ***Herod*** the elder, when hee was deſperate of all other helpe, repaired, but in vaine. Others ſay that theſe Springs ariſe out of the hils of ***Machærus***, in this Tribe. The like fountaines are found in the ***Pyrenyes***, and in ***Peru***, called ***the Baths of the Inga's or Kings***. The other towne is ***Machærus***, the next betweene ***Laſa*** and ***Jordan***: of all that part of the world the ſtrongeſt In-land Citie and Caſtle, ſtanding upon a Mountaine

Deut.2.26.

It was a marginall note out of Deut.3. where the 70. kept the word *Miſor*, ſignifying a plain, which after crept into the Text.

*Joſ.17.ant.c.9.& Hierom. in queſt. Heb. in Gen.*

*Acoſta.l.3.*

*Joſ.ant.13.c.24. & 14.ant.c.10. & alibi.*

*Joſeph. bell. Jud. l.7.c.25.*

every way unacceſſible. It was firſt fortified by ***Alexander Jannæus***, who made it a frontier againſt the Arabians: but it was demoliſhed by ***Gabinius*** in the war with ***Ariſtobulus***, ſaith ***Joſephus***. It was thither (ſaith ***Joſephus***) that ***Herod*** ſent ***John Baptiſt***, and wherein he was ſlaine: his armie ſoone after being utterly overthrowne by ***Aretas*** King of Arabia, and himſelfe after this murther never proſpering. Not farre from Machærus was Boſor or Bozra, a towne of refuge, and belonging to the Levites, and neare it Livias upon Jordan, which ***Herod*** built in honour of ***Livia*** the mother of ***Tiberius Cæſar***.

Deut.4.43.
Joſ.20.8.
*Euſeb.in Chron.*
*Hier.in loc.heb.*

Num.25.1.
Joſ.3,1.

To the North of Livias is Setim or Sittim: where the children of Iſrael imbraced the daughters of Midian or Moab: and where ***Phineas*** pearced the body of ***Zimri*** and ***Cosbi***, with his ſpeare, bringing due vengeance upon them when they were in the midſt of their ſinne; and from hence ***Joſua*** ſent the diſcoverers to view Jerico, ſtaying here untill he went over Jordan. As for the Torrent Setim, which in this place ***Adrichomius*** dreams of, reading ***Joel.3.18. irrigabit torrentem Setim:*** The vulgar hath ***torrentem ſpinarum:*** and ***Junius, vallem Cedrorum:*** expounding it not for any particular place in Canaan: but for the Church, in which the juſt being placed, grow as the Cedars, ***Pſal.92.13.***

Deut.34.1.

The plaine Country hereabout, by ***Moſes*** called ***The plains of Moab***, where he expounded the book of ***Deuteronomy*** to the people a little before his death, is in the beginning of the ſame book preciſely bounded by ***Moſes***. On the South it had the great Deſart of Paran, where they had long wandred. On the Eaſt it had Chatſeroth, & Dizahab (of which two, the former is that Gazorus, of which ***Ptolomy*** in Paleſtina: the later was a Tract belonging to the Nabathæi in Arabia Petræa, where was*Mezahab, of which, ***Gen.36.39.***) by the Geographers called Medava and Medaba. On the Weſt it had Jordan, and on the North it had ***Laban*** (in ***Junius*** edition, by the fault of the Print, ***Lamban, Deuteron.***1.1.) the ſame which the Geographers call ***Libias***: & ſome confound it with Livias, of which even now we ſpake.

* The ſame as it ſeems which Num.21.30 is called Medeba, whence we read of the plains of Medeba, Joſ. 13.*ver*.9.16. of which alſo we read in the wars of *David* againſt *Hanun* the Ammonite, 1 Chro.19.7. Alſo, 1 Macc.9.36. Iſa.16.2. See before *c*.5.§.7.

Alſo on the ſame North ſide towards the confines of Cœloſyria, it had Theophel: whereabout ſometime Pella of Cœloſyria ſtood: which was in the region of Decapolis, and, as ***Stephanus*** ſaith, was ſometime called Butis. It is alſo noted in ***Moſes*** to be over againſt or neere unto Suph, for which the Vulgar hath the Red Sea, as alſo ***Num.***2.14. it tranſlateth the word Suphah in like manner: whereas in this place of ***Deuteronomy*** there is no addition of any word in the Hebrew to ſignifie the Sea: and yet the Scripture, when this word is ſo to be taken, uſeth the addition of ***Mara***, thereby to diſtinguiſh it from the region of Suph or Suphah: which doubtleſſe was about theſe plaines of Moab towards the dead Sea: where the Countrey being full of reedes, was therefore thus called: as alſo the red Sea was called ***Mare Suph***, for like reaſon.

Joh.1.28.
Jud.7.24.
*Joſeph.ant.4.7.*

Num.25.1.
Exod.25.10.

The place in theſe large plaines of Moab, where ***Moſes*** made thoſe divine exhortations, ſome ſay was Bethabara where ***John*** baptized, which in the Storie of ***Gideon*** is called Beth-bara. ***Joſephus*** ſayes it was where after the City Abila ſtood, neere Jordan, in a place ſet with Palme trees: which ſure was the ſame as Abel-ſittim in the Plaines of Moab, ***Num.33.49.*** (that ſome call Abel-ſathaim, and Bel-ſathim) which is reckoned by ***Moſes*** in that place of ***Numbers*** for the 42. and laſt place of the Iſraelites incamping in the time of ***Moſes***: This place is alſo called Sittim; which word if we ſhould interpret, wee ſhould rather bring it from Cedars than from Thornes, with ***Adrichomius*** and others. It was the wood of which the Arke of the Tabernacle was made.

Num.31.*v*.37.
Gen.14.*v*.5.
Num.32.
* Exod.23.13. *Nomen deorum alienorum ne recordamini, ne audiatur in ore tuo*, Pſ.16.4. *non aſſumpturus ſum nomina eorum in labiis meis*. Hoſ.2.17. *amovebo nomina Bahalimorum ab ore ejus.*

Toward the Eaſt of theſe plaines of Moab, they place the Cities, Nebo, Baal-Meon, Sibma, and Hesbon the chiefe Citie of Sehon, and Elhahel, & Kiriathaima the ſeat of the Giants ***Emim***. Of the two firſt of theſe ***Moſes*** ſeemes to give a note that the names were to be changed, becauſe they taſted of the Moabites * Idolatry. For ***Nebo*** (in ſtead of which, ***Junius, Eſ.46.1.*** reades ***Deus vaticinus***) was the name of their Idoll-Oracle, and ***Baal-meon***, is ***the habitation of Baal***. Of the ſame Idoll was the Hill ***Nebo*** in theſe parts denominated: from whoſe top, which the common Tranſlators call Phaſgah, ***Moſes*** before his death ſaw all the land of Canaan beyond Jordan. In which ſtory ***Junius*** doth not take Phaſgah or Piſgah for any proper name: but for an appellative, ſignifying a Hill: and ſo alſo ***Vatablus*** in ſome places; as ***Num.21.20.*** where he noteth that ſome call Piſgah that top which looketh to Jericho, & Hair as it looketh to Moab, which opinion may be ſomwhat ſtrengthened by the name of a City of ***Reuben***, mentioned ***Joſ.13.***20. called Aſhdoth-Piſga, which is as much as ***decurſus Piſgæ:*** to wit, where the waters did runne down from Piſga. In the ſame place of ***Joſua*** there is alſo named Beth-peor, as

belon

belonging to *Reuben*: ſo called from the Hill *Peor*: from whence alſo *Baal* the Idol was called *Baal-Peor*, which they ſay was the ſame as *Priapus*: the chiefe place of whoſe worſhip ſeemes to have beene *Bamoth-Bahal*, of which alſo *Joſ.* 13. in the Cities of *Reuben*: for which, *Num.* 22.41. they reade, *the high places of Baal* (for ſo the word ſignifieth) to which place *Balaak* firſt brought *Balaam* to curſe the Iſraelites.

What name they uſed for *Nebo* it doth not appeare: but *Baal-meon* it ſeemes they named ſometime *Bajith*, as Eſ.15.2. and ſometime *Beth-meon*, Eſa.48.23.

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## †. III.

### *Of divers places bordering Reuben belonging to Midian, Moab or Edom.*

THere were beſides theſe, divers places of note over *Arnon*, which adjoyned to *Reuben*: amongſt which they place *Gallim*, the City of *Phalti*: to whom *Saul* gave his Daughter *Michol* from *David*: but *Junius* thinks this Towne to be in *Benjamin*: gathering ſo much out of *Eſa.* 10.29. where it is named among the Cities of *Benjamin*. With better reaſon perhaps out of *Num.* 21.19. we may ſay that *Mathana* and *Nahaliel* were in thoſe confines of *Reuben*: through which places the Iſraelites paſt after they had left the Well called *Beer*: Then *Deblathaim*, which the Prophet *Jeremy* threatneth with the reſt of the Cities of *Moab*.

1 Sam.25.ult.

Hierem.48.

*Madian* alſo is found in theſe parts, the chiefe City of the *Madianites* in *Moab*: but not that *Midian* or *Madian* by the Red Sea, wherein *Jethro* inhabited. For of the *Madianites* there were two Nations, of which theſe of *Moab* became Idolaters, and received an exceeding overthrow by a Regiment of twelve thouſand Iſraelites, ſent by *Moſes* out of the plaines of *Moab*: at ſuch time as *Iſrael* began to accompany their Daughters: their five Kings with *Balaam* the Soothſayer, were then ſlaine: and their regall Citie with the reſt deſtroyed. The other *Madianites*, over whom *Jethro* was Prince or Prieſt, forgat not the God of *Abraham* their Anceſtor, but relieved & aſſiſted the Iſraelites in their painful travels through the Deſarts: and were in all that paſſage their guides. In the South border of *Moab* adjoyning to *Edom*, and ſomtime reckoned as the chiefe City of *Edom*, there is that *Petra* which in the Scriptures is called *Selah*, which is as much as *rupes* or *petra*. It was alſo called *Jocktheel*, as appears by the place, 2 *Reg.* 14. It was built (ſaith *Joſephus*) by *Recem*, one of thoſe five Kings of the *Madianites*, ſlaine as before is ſaid: after whom it was called *Recem*: Now they ſay it is called *Crac* and *Mozera*. The Soldans of *Egypt*, for the exceeding ſtrength thereof, kept therein all their treaſures of *Egypt* and *Arabia*: of which it is the firſt and ſtrongeſt City: the ſame perhaps which *Pliny* and *Strabo* call *Nabathea*, whence alſo the Province adjoining tooke name: which name ſeemes to have bin taken at firſt from *Nabajoth* the ſon of *Abraham* by *Kethura*. For *Nabathea* is no where underſtood for all *Arabia Petræa* (at leaſt where it is not miſ-underſtood) but it is that Province which neighboureth *Judæa*. For *Pharan* inhabited by *Iſmael*, whoſe people *Ptolomy* calleth Pharanites, in ſtead of Iſmaelites, and all thoſe Territories of the Cuſites, Madianites, Amalekites, Iſmaelites, Edomites, or Idumæans, the Lands of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Hus*, *Sin*, and of *Og* King of *Baſan*, were parts of *Arabia Petræa*: though it be alſo true, that ſome part of *Arabia* the Deſart belonged to the Amalekites, and Iſmaelites: all which Nations the Scriptures in the firſt of *Chronicles* the fift, calls Hagarens, of *Hagar*.

Eſa.16.1.
1.Reg.14.7.
*Lib.4.Ant.7.*

1 Chron.5.19. & 20.

This citie *Petra*, *Scaurus* beſieged with the Roman Army, & finding the place in ſhew inpregnable, hee was content by the perſwaſion of *Antipater*, to take a compoſition of mony, and to quit it. Yet *Amaſias* king of *Juda* (after he had ſlaughtered 10000. of the Arabians in the valley called *Salinarum*) wan alſo this City. S. *Hierome* finds *Ruth* the Moabite to be naturall of this city. In the meane time when the Chriſtians held the kingdome of *Hieruſalem*, it had a *Latine Biſhop*, having before bin under the *Greek Church*. It is ſeated not far from *Hor* where *Aaron* died, & on the other ſide towards the North is the river of *Zared* or *Zered*, by which *Moſes* encamped in the 38. ſtation. *Adrichomius* deſcribeth the waters of *Memrim*, or rather *Nemrim*, in his Map of *Reuben*, not far hence, and betweene *Zared* and *Arnon*: and ſo hee doth the Valley of *Save*: but the waters of *Nimra*, or *Beth-Nimra* (for which it ſeemes *Adrichomius* writ *Nemrim*) refreſh the plaines of *Moab*: and the confluence of thoſe waters of *Nimra* are in the tribe of *Gad*. *Save* alſo cannot be found in this place, that is, to the South of *Arnon*, and under *Midian*. For after *Abraham* returned from the purſuit of the Aſſyrian and Perſian Princes, the King of *Sodom* met him in the Valley of *Save* or *Saveh*, which is the Kings Dale, where *Abſolom* ſet up his Monument, as it ſeemes, not far from *Hieruſalem*. And at the ſame time *Melchizedeck* King of *Salem*

*Guil.Tyr.20.bell. ſacr.*

Numb.21.
Deut.2.13.

Num.32.3.
Joſ 13.27.
Eſa.15.1.

alſo encountred him. But *Abraham* comming from the *North*, and *Melchizedec* inhabiting, either neare *Bethſan*, otherwiſe *Scythopolis*, in the halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe*, or in *Hieruſalem* (both places lying to the weſt of *Jordan*) could not incounter each other in *Arabia*: and therefore *Save*, which was alſo called *the Kings Dale*, could not be in theſe parts.

### †. IV.

### *Of the Dead Sea.*

NOw becauſe the Sea of *Sodom* or the dead Sea, called alſo the Lake of *Aſphaltitis*, and the ſalt ſea (in diſtinction from the Sea of *Tyberias* which was freſh water) alſo the Sea of the wilderneſſe, or rather the Sea* of the plaines, is often remembred in the Scriptures, and in this ſtory alſo, therefore I thinke it not impertinent to ſpeake ſomewhat thereof. For it is like unto the *Caſpian* Sea, which hath no out-let, or disburthening. The length of this Lake *Joſephus* makes 180 furlongs (which make 22. miles and a halfe of ours) and about 150. in breadth, which make 18. of our miles and ſomewhat more. *Pliny* makes it a great deale leſſe: but thoſe that have of late years ſeen this Sea, did account it (ſaith [a] *Weiſſenburg*) eight Dutch miles (which is two and thirty of ours) in length: and two and a halfe of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea, *Tacitus* maketh this report: *Lacus eſt in immenſo ambitu, ſpecie maris, ſapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis peſtifer: neq; vento impellitur, neq; piſces aut ſuitas aquis volucres patitur, incertum unde ſuperjecta ut ſolido feruntur, periti, imperitiq; nandi perinde attolluntur, &c. That it is very great, and (as it were) a Sea of a corrupt taſte: of ſmell infectious, and peſtilent to the borderers: it is neither moved nor raiſed by the wind, nor indureth fiſh to live in it, or fowle to ſwimme in it. Thoſe things that are caſt into it, and the unskilfull of ſwimming, as well as the skilfull, are borne up by this water.* At one time of the yeare it caſteth up *Bitumen*: the art of gathering which, Experience (the finder of other things) hath alſo taught. It is uſed in the trimming of ſhips, and the like buſineſſes.

* So *Junius* reads for the *Hebrew Haraboth* every where, & ſo alſo the edition of *Vatablus*, Deut.3.17. though Deut.4.44. it hath *mare ſolitudinis*, as alſo 2 Reg.14.25. the reaſon of this name ſeemes to be, becauſe it joines to the plaines of *Moab* which are called *Harboth Moab*, Deut.34.1. as alſo we have *Ceſuloth* in *Harbah*, that is in the plaines, to wit, of *Zabulon* 1 Mac.9.2. whence *Adrichomius* imagines a City in *Zabulon* called *Araba*.

[a] *Deſer.ter.Sanct.*

And then of the Land, he ſpeaketh in this ſort: "The fields not farre from this Lake "which were ſometime fruitfull, and adorned with great Cities, were burnt with lightning; of which the ruines remaine, the ground looking with a ſad face, as having loſt "her fruitfulneſſe; for whatſoever doth either grow, or is ſet thereon, be it fruits or flowers, when they come to ripeneſſe, have nothing within them, but moulder into aſhes: Thus farre *Tacitus*. And it is found by experience, that thoſe Pomegranates and other Apples or Oranges, which doe ſtill grow on the bankes of this curſed Lake, doe looke faire, and are of good colour on the outſide, but being cut, have nothing but duſt within. Of the *Bitumen* which this Lake caſteth up, it was by the *Greeks* called *Aſphaltitis*. *Veſpaſian* deſirous to be ſatisfied of theſe reports, went of purpoſe to ſee this Lake, and cauſed certaine Captives to be caſt into it, who were not onely un-skilfull in ſwimming, but had their hands alſo bound behinde them, yet notwithſtanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not ſinke.

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### †. V.

### *Of the Kings of Moab, much of whoſe Country within Arnon* Reuben *poſſeſt.*

OF the Kings of *Moab*, whoſe Countrie (within *Arnon*) *Reuben* poſſeſt (though not taken from *Moab*, but from *Sehon* the *Amorite*) few are known. *Junius* in the 21. of *Num.v.*14. nameth *Vaheb*, which ſeems to be the Anceſtor or Predeceſſor of *Balac*, the ſon of *Zippor*: which *Balac* ſent for *Balaam* to curſe *Iſrael*. For fearing to contend with *Moſes* by arms, by the examples of *Sehon* and *Og*, he hoped by the help of *Balaams* curſings or inchantments, to take from them all ſtrength and courage, and to caſt on them ſome peſtilent diſeaſes. And though *Balaam* at the firſt, moved by the ſpirit of God, bleſt *Iſrael*, contrary to the hope and deſire of *Moab*: yet being deſirous in ſome ſort to ſatisfie him, & to doe him ſervice, he adviſed *Moab* to ſend *Madianitiſh* women among the *Iſraelites*: hoping by them, as by fit inſtruments of miſchiefe, to draw them to the Idolatrie of the *Heathen*: but in the end he received the reward of his falling from God, and of his evill counſaile, and was ſlaine among the reſt of the Princes of *Midian*.

Num.21.22.23.24. Joſ.24.

After theſe times the Kings of the Moabites are not named: ſaving that we finde in the firſt of *Chronicles* the fourth, that *Jokim*, and the men of *Chozeba*, and *Joaſh*, and

*Sareph*, all being of the iſſue of *Juda*, ſometime had the Dominion in *Moab*: but as it is
written in the ſame Verſe, *Theſe alſo are ancient things*: to wit, as ſome expound it, the V. 22.
particulars of theſe mens Governments are no where extant or remaining: or as others,
*hæc prius fuere*, theſe Families of *Juda* were once thus famous: but now their poſterity
chooſe rather to abide in Babylon, and be Clay-workers to the King there.

Then we finde *Eglon* King of Moab, who with the helpe of *Ammon* and *Amalec* maſtered Judg 3.
*Iſrael*, and commanded them eighteene yeares: which *Eglon*, *Ehud* ſlew in his
owne houſe, and afterward 1000. of his Nation. What name the King of Moab had unto
whom *David* fled fearing *Saul*, it doth not appear: or whether it were the ſame againſt 1 Sam. 22.
whom *Saul* made warre, it is not manifeſt, for neither are named. But in reſpect that this
Moabite was an enemy to *Saul*, he received *David*, and relieved him; knowing that *Saul* 1 Sam. 14.
ſought his life.

After this, *David* himſelfe entred the Region of Moab, but not likely in the ſame Kings 2 Sam. 8.
time: for hee ſlaughtered two parts of the people, and made the third part tributarie:
whereupon it was ſaid of *David*, *Moab is my waſh-pot, over Edom will I caſt my ſhooe*: meaning 1 Chron. 18.
that he would reduce them to ſuch an abjection, and appoint them for baſe ſervices: Pſal. 60. v. 10.
and that he would tread downe the Idumæans.

The next King after *Davids* time, of the Moabites, whoſe name liveth, was *Meſha*: who
falling from Juda, (perhaps in remembrance of the ſeverity of *David*) faſtened himſelfe
to the Kings of Iſrael, and paid tribute to *Ahab*, 100000. Lambes, and 200000. Rams, 2 Reg. 3.
with the wooll: who revolting againe from Iſrael after the death of *Ahab*, was invaded
by *Jehoram*, with whom joyned the Kings of Juda and Idumæa: and being by theſe three
Kings preſt and broken, hee fled to Kir-hareſeth, as is elſe-where ſhewed. There is alſo
mention made of the Moabites without the Kings name; when that Nation, aſſiſted by
the Ammonites and Idumæans, invaded *Jehoſhaphat*: and by reaſon of ſome private
quarrels among themſelves, the Moabites and Ammonites ſet upon the Idumæans, and
ſlaughtered them: and then one againſt another, ſo as *Jehoſhaphat* had a notorious victorie 2 Chron 20.
over them all, without either blood or wound. Alſo in the time of *Hieremy* the Prophet,
there was a King of Moab which is not named, which was after *Meſha* of Moab Hierem 27.
many deſcents: for *Meſha* lived with *Jehoram*, and this Moabite in *Zedechias* time,
fourteene Kings of *Judah* comming betweene, who waſted three hundred and odde
yeares.

## §. V.

### *Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and the bordering places of Ammon.*

THe Territory adjoyning to *Reuben*, is that of *Gad*: whereof all that part which
joyned to the Mountaines, was ſometime in the poſſeſſion of the Ammonites, as
farre to the South as *Aroer*. Of the children of *Gad*, the ſeventh ſonne of *Jacob* Gen. 30.
by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of *Lea*, there parted out of *Egypt*, and died in the *Deſart*, Num. 1. 32. Joſ. 13.
45550. and of their ſonnes there entred the Land promiſed, 45000. bearing armes: from
the halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe* the River of *Jaboc* divided them: from *Reuben* the Cities of
*Heſbon*, *Elhele*, and *Aphec*.

The chiefe Citie of *Gad* was *Aroer*, which they make to be the ſame with *Ar*, or *Rabbath Moab*, Eſai. 15.
the great or commanding *Moab*. But the learned *Junius* attending diligently Deut. 2.
to thoſe words of *Moſes*, *Deut*. 2. 36. *Ab harabero, quæ eſt in ripa fluminis Arnon, & Civitate*
*ipſa quæ eſt in flumine*; *Where the Citie in the River is diſtinguiſhed from the city upon*
*the banke of the River*, as alſo in like manner *Joſ*. (*c*. 12. *v*. 2. and *c*. 13. *v*. 9.) thinketh that
*Haroher* which doubtleſſe belonged to the Gadites (as *Numb*. 32. 34. it is ſaid that they
built it) was indeed ſeated neere *Har* of the Moabites, but divers from it. For that
*Har* was never poſſeſt by *Moſes*, it is plaine *Deuteronomy* 2. 9. where God forbidding
*Moſes* to touch it, ſaith hee hath given *Har* for an inheritance to the ſonnes of *Lot*. Now
that this Citie, which in divers places is ſaid to be within and in the middle of the River
of *Arnon* (and ſo diſtinguiſhed from *Haroher*, which is ſaid in the ſame places to bee on
the banke of *Arnon*) is *Har* of the Moabites, the ſame *Junius* proveth out of *Numb*.
21. 15. where *Arnon* is ſaid to bee divided into divers ſtreames, where or among
which *Har* is ſeated: And the ſame is confirmed by the place of *Joſ*. 13. 25. where *Haroher*
is ſaid to bee ſeated before *Rabbah*: which *Rabbah*, as it ſeemes, cannot bee the

*Rabbah* of the *Ammonites* (for they ſeat not *Harohar* neere it, nor in ſight of it) and therefore by *Rabbah* here wee muſt underſtand *Rabbah* of *Moab*, which they make to be *Ar* or *Har*: and ſo we muſt needs diſtinguiſh it from *Haroher*. And as for * *Har* (which alſo gave the name to the coaſt adjoyning) it ſeemes it continued in the poſſeſſion of the Moabites after they had once expelled the Giant-like people called *Emims*, firſt weakened by *Chedorlaomer* and his Aſſociates: but *Haroher* by the interchange of times ſuffred many ancient changes, as being wonne from the Moabites by *Sehon*, and from him by the Iſraelites, and from them, as it ſeems in the ſtory of *Jephta*, by the Ammonites: and from the Ammonites againe by the Iſraelites under the conduct of *Jephta*. In S. *Hieromes* time the greateſt part of this City periſhed by an earth-quake, as alſo *Zoar*, in which *Lot* ſaved himſelfe in the deſtruction of *Sodome*, ſeated not farre hence; which they ſay was therefore called *Vitula conſternans*, becauſe as a wanton tumbling heifer, ſhe was thrice overthrowne with earth-quakes: for which cauſe alſo *Hierome* ſeemes to think that this *Zoar* was called *Saliſſa*, or *Bal-ſaliſsa*, as if *Baal* had bin a remainder of the old name *Balah*, or *Belah*, (of which *Gen.* 14.2. and *Saliſha*, which hath a ſignification of the *ternary number*, had alluded to the three earth-quakes.

*Brochard* takes *Haroher* to be *Petra*, but erroniouſly, as before it is noted; ſeeing that *Petra* was in the South border of *Moab* adjoyning to *Edom*, whereas *Haroher* is in the North-Eaſt border. Betweene *Haroher* and *Jordan* they ſeate *Dibon*, which is attributed to the Gadites, becauſe they are ſaid to have built it, *Numbers*, 32.34. though *Joſua* 13. *verſe* 17. it is ſaid that *Moſes* gave it to the *Reubenites*. Of this Citie among the reſt of *Moab*, both *Eſay* and *Hieremy* prophecied, that it ſhould periſh, and the Lakes about it runne with the blood of the Inhabitants. It was a great village neere *Arnon* in S. *Hieromes* time.

* Deut.2 9. Out of which place the words Num.21.28. are to be expounded not that the citie of *Hor*, but the coaſt adjoining was waſted by *Sehon*.
Ge.1.14.5.
Judg.11.35.
*Hier. in epitap. Paul & in quæſt. & loc. Hebr.* ſee *Junius* his annotations upon 1 Sam.9 2. where he makes *Shaliſha* a plaine countrey in *Benjamin*, and the ſame with *Bal-ſhaliſha*, 2.Reg.4.42. where he expounds *Bal* or *Bahal* to bee as much as *planities*.
Eſa.15.
Hier 48.
Eſa.15.21.
Judg.8 11.

Keeping the bankes of *Arnon*, one of the next Cities of fame to *Aroer*, was *Bethnimrah*, of which *Eſay* prophecieth, *That the waters thereof ſhould be dryed up: and all the vale of Moab withered.* Not farre from *Bethnimrah* in this tribe *Adrichomius* placeth *Jogbeha*, and *Nobach* or *Nobe*: of both which we read in the ſtory of *Gideon*: and that *Jogbeha* was in *Gad*, built by the Gadites, it appeares, *Numb.* 32.35. and therefore *Nobach* alſo muſt needs bee in theſe parts; but whether in *Gad* or *Manaſſe* it is not certaine: onely that it was anciently called *Kenath*, *Moſes* witneſſeth. *Nobach* alſo (ſaith hee) *went and tooke Kenath with her Towns, and called it Nobach of his owne name*, where becauſe the verſes precedent ſpeake of the Manaſsites, and becauſe it is not likely that *Moſes* would have ſevered this ſeat of the Gadites from the reſt, of which he ſpake before, *v.* 34.35.36. therefore it may ſeeme that this * *Nobach* was in that part of *Manaſſe* which was in the Eaſt of *Jordan*, though *Adrichomius* place it in *Gad*. For whereas he ſuppoſeth it to be the ſame with *Nob*, which *Saul* deſtroyed, of this we ſhall ſpeak[a] in the Tribe of *Benjamin*. And as for that *Karkor* where *Zebah* & *Zalmunnah* reſted themſelves in their flight from *Gideon*, to which place *Gideon* marched through this *Nobach* and *Jogbeha*, though ſome place it in *Gad*, and make it the ſame with *Kir-chares*, of which *Eſay* 15. and 2 *Reg.* 3.25. yet there can be no certainty that it was in *Gad*: and if it be the ſame with *Kir-chares*, it is certaine that it was ſtill a principall Citie held by the Moabites, and not in the Tribe of *Gad*.

Num. 32.35.

* Num.21.30. It is called *Nophach*, and placed in the border of the kingdome of *Sehon*, towards *Baſan*, and therefore it is not altogether unprobable that it was in *Gad*.

[a] Cha.12 Sect.1

Judg.8 10.
Num.32.34.35.

In the body of this Tribe of *Gad* they place *Hataroth*: of which name the Scripture witneſſeth that two Cities were builded by the Gadites; the former ſimply called *Hataroth*, the later *Hatroth-Sophan*: for which later the vulgar makes two Cities, *Roth* and *Shophan*: the name *Hataroth*, is as much as *Coronæ*.

In the Valley of the Kingdome of *Sehon*, together with *Bethnimrah*, of which we have ſpoken, *Joſua cap.* 13. *v.* 27. nameth *Beth-haram* and *Succoth*: the former, *Numb.* 32.36. (where it is called *Beth-haram*) together with *Bethnimra*, is ſaid to have bin built by the Gadites, which (perhaps the rather, becauſe in *Joſhua* it is called *Beth-Haram*) ſome take to be *Betaramptha*, (of which[b] *Joſephus*) after by *Herod* called *Julias*. But whether this *Betaramptha* were corrupted from *Beth-Haram*, or from *Beth-Aramatha* (of which *Aramatha* there is mention in[c] *Joſephus*) or from *Beth-Remphan* (of which *Remphan*, an Idoll of thoſe Countries, wee reade, *Act.* 7.43. and to which *Junius* referres the name of the Citie *Rephan*, 1 *Macchab.* 37.) of this queſtion it were hard to reſolve. But touching *Julias* (according to *Joſephus* ſometime *Betaramptha*) the ſame *Joſephus* placeth in the Region of *Peræa* beyond *Jordan*, which *Regio peræa*, as the Greeke word ſignifieth, is no

[b] Joſ.1.ant.18. cap.3.

[c] L.7.Ant.c.7. *Ubi Græcus codex legit* Ἀρραμαθα. *Latinus Rabatha Metropolis Hammonitarum.*

no more than *Regio ulterior, the Countrie beyond the River*; and therefore they which labour to ſet downe the bounds of this *Peræa*, take more paines than needs. Foureteen Villages this *Julias* had belonging unto it, according to *Joſephus*. Hee makes it to have been built by *Herod Antipas*, and named *Julias*, in honour of the adoption of *Livia Auguſtus* his wife, into the Julian Family: by which adoption ſhe was called *Julia*. Another *Julias*, he ſaith was built by *Philip* the brother of *Herod*, in the lower *Gaulanitis*, which, hee ſaith, is the ſame as *Bethſaida*.

Ant.20.11.
*Joſ.ant.*18.3. & *Bel.Judg.*2.8.

Upon the Sea of *Galilee* neere to *Julias* in *Peræa*, (that is, in the Region over *Jordan*) they finde *Vetezobra*, as it is called in *Joſephus*, for *Beth-ezob*, which is as much as *domus hiſſopi*. Of a noble woman of this Citie, which for ſafegard in the time of Warre with the Romanes, came with many others into *Hieruſalem*, and was there beſieged. *Joſephus* in the place noted, reports a lamentable Hiſtory; how for hunger ſhe ate her own childe, with other tragicall accidents hereupon enſuing.

*Joſeph.de Bel. Judg.l.*7.*c.*8.

Of *Succoth* (which we ſaid *Joſ.*13. is placed with *Ben-haran*, in the Valley of the Kingdome of *Sehon*) it is plaine by the ſtory of *Gideon* that it is neere unto *Jordan*: where it is ſaid, that as he was paſt *Jordan* with his three hundred, wearie in the purſuite of *Zebah* and *Zalmunnah*, he requeſted reliefe of the men of *Succoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gideons* returne were by him tortured, as it ſeemes under a threſhing Carre or *Tribulum*, betweene which and their fleſh he put Thornes to teare their fleſh as they were preſt and trod under the *Tribulum*, and after which ſort alſo *David* uſed ſome of the Ammonites, though not with Thornes, but with Iron teeth of the *Tribulum*. As for the name of *Succoth*, which ſignifieth ſuch Tabernacles as were made in haſte, either for Men or Cattell, *Moſes*, *Gen.*33.17. witneſſeth that the originall of the name was from ſuch harbours, which *Jacob* in his returne from *Meſopotamia* built in that place: as alſo the place beyond the Red Sea, where the children of *Iſrael*, as they came from *Rameſes* in *Egypt*, had their firſt Station, was upon like reaſon called *Succoth*: becauſe there they ſet up their firſt Tabernacles or Tents: which they uſed after for forty yeares in the Wilderneſſe. In remembrance whereof the Feaſt of *Succoth*, or Tabernacles was inſtituted.

Judg.8.5.
2 Sam.12.31.
Exod.12.37.
Levit.23.43.

Other foure Cities of *Gad* are named *Joſ.*21.38. *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, *Machanaiim*, *Cheſbon*, and *Jahzer*, all of them by the Gadites given to the Levites, of which *Jahzer*, as *Cheſbon* or *Heſbon* was a chiefe City of *Sehon*, whence *Num.*32.1. his Countrie is called the Land of *Jahzer*. It was taken by *Moſes*, having firſt ſent ſpies to view it. In the firſt of the *Chonicles* it is made part of *Gilead*. In later times (as it may be gathered by the Prophecie of *Eſay* touching *Moab*) it was poſſeſſed by the Moabites: to which place of *Eſay*, alſo *Hieremy* in a like prophecie alludes. It was at length regained (but as it ſeemes from the Ammonites) by *Judas Macchabæus*: as it is 1 *Macc.*5.8. where *Junius* out of *Joſephus*, reades *Jahzer*, though the Greeke hath *Gazer*. For *Gazer* or *Gezer* (as he gathereth out of *Joſ.*16.3.& 8. and *Jud.*1.29.) was far from theſe Countries of *Sehon*, ſeated in the Weſt border of *Ephraim*, not poſſeſſed by the Iſraelites, untill *Salomons* time, for whom the King of *Egypt* wanne it from the Canaanite, and gave it him as a Dowrie with his Daughter.

Num.22.32.
1 Chron.27.31.
Eſay 6.8.
Hierem.48,92.

Of *Cheſbon* it may be marvelled that in the place of *Joſua*, and 1 *Chron.*6.81. it ſhould be ſaid to have beene given to the Levites by the Gadites, ſeeing *Joſ.*13.*v.*17. it is reckoned for a principall Citie of the Reubenites: *Adrichomius* and ſuch as little trouble themſelves with ſuch ſcruples, finding *Caſbon*, 1 *Macc.*5.36. among the Cities of *Gilead*, taken by *Judas Macchabæus*, makes two Cities of one: as if this *Caſbon* had beene the *Cheſbon* of *Gad*, and that of *Reuben* diſtinct from it: but the better reconciliation is, that it being a bordering Citie, betweene *Gad* and *Reuben*, was common to both, and that the Gadites gave their part to the Levites, for ſo alſo it ſeemes that in like reaſon *Dibon* is ſaid in one place built by the Gadites, and in another given to *Reuben*, as before is noted. Of *Machanaiim*, which word ſignifieth a double Armie, we reade *Gen.*32.2. that it was therefore ſo called, becauſe the Angels of God in that place met *Jacob* in manner of another Hoſt or company, to joine with his for his defence: as alſo *Luke* 2.13. wee reade of a multitude of the Hoſt of Heaven, which appeared to the ſheepeheards, at the time of our Saviours birth: and ſo unto the godly King *Oſwald* of *Northumberland*, when hee was ſoone after to joyne battaile with the *Pagan Penda* of middle-*England*, *Beda* reports, that the like comfort appeared: whence the field where the

Battaile was fought in the North-parts of *England*, is called *Heaven-field*. In this Citie of *Machanaiim*, *David* abode during the rebellion of *Abſalom*: and the ſame for the ſtrength thereof *Abner* choſe for the ſeat of *Iſhboſeth*, during the warre between *David* and the houſe of *Saul*.

Of the fourth Towne, which was *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, wee reade often in the Scripture, for the recovering of which King *Achab* loſt his life. *Junius* thinkes that *Ramatha Mitſpa*, of which *Joſua* 13.26. was this *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. Concerning the place where *Laban* and *Jacob* ſware one to the other, as it was called *Gilead*, which is as much as a witneſsing heape, becauſe of the heape of Stones which *Laban* and his ſonnes left for a monument; ſo alſo that it was called *Mitſpah*, which ſignifieth over-looking (becauſe there they called God to over-ſee and be witneſſe to their covenant) it is plaine by the place, *Gen*.31.49. That in theſe parts there was not onely a Towne, but likewiſe a Region called *Mitſpa*, it appeares *Joſ*. 11.3. where wee reade of the *Chivites* under *Hermon*, in the Countrey of *Mitſpa*, * the Towne of *Mitſpa*, as it ſeemes both by this place, and in the eighth ver. following, being not in the Hill Countrey, but in the Valley. But ſeeing that *Jephta* the Judge of *Iſrael*, who after he came home from *Tob*, (whither his brethren had driven him) dwelt in this Towne of *Mitſpa*, who doubtleſſe was of the Tribe of *Manaſſe*, and thence at firſt expelled by his brethren, it may ſeeme that they doe not well, which place this towne of *Mitſpa* rather in *Gad* than in *Manaſſe*. By *Judas Macchabeus* this Towne of *Mitſpa*, (whether in *Gad* or in *Manaſſe*) was utterly ſpoiled and burnt, and the males of it ſlaine: for it was then poſſeſt of the Ammonites.

* Of other townes of this name, ſee in the Tribe of *Benjamin*.

Jud.11.36.

1 Mac.5.35.

Betweene *Succoth* (of which wee have ſpoken) and the River *Jaboc* was that *Peniel* or *Penuel*, which name ſignifieth *Locum faciei Dei*; *A place where the face of God was ſeen*: ſo called for memory of the *Angels* appearing to *Jacob*, and wreſtling with him there: the churliſhneſſe of which Citie, in refuſing to relieve *Gideon*, was the cauſe that in his returne he overthrew their Tower, and ſlew the chiefe Aldermen thereof. To theſe places of the Gadites, they adde *Rogelim*, the City of that great and faithfull ſubject *Barzillai*, as it ſeemes, not farre from *Mahanaima*, where hee ſuſtained King *David*, during *Abſaloms* rebellion. To theſe they adde the Town of *Gaddi*, *Arnon*, and *Alimis*, of which *Gaddi*, being in Hebrew no more than *Gaddita*, is ignorantly made the name of a place. *Arnon* alſo no where appeares to be the name of a Towne, but ſtill of a River. *Alimis Adrichomius* frames of ἐν Αλέμοις, 1 *Mac*. 5.26. ſo that the name ſhould rather bee *Alema*, but *Junius* out of *Joſephus* reades *Malla*, for this in *Alimis*: and underſtanding *Malla* to bee put for *Millo*, and to bee as much as *Munitio*, (as wee have ſhewed touching the *Millo* of the Sechemites) hee takes this *Mallæ*, to bee *Mitſpa Moabitarum*, of which 1 *Sam*. 22.3. As for that *Mageth* which *Adrichomius* findes in this Tribe of *Gad*, it is that *Mahacath*, which *Moſes* notes to bee as farre as the furtheſt of *Manaſſes*, out of the bounds of this Tribe. So alſo *Dathema*, of which 1 *Mac*.5.10. (which *Junius* takes to be [b] *Rithma*, of which *Num*. 33.18. a place of ſtrength in the Territory of the Ammonites) and in like manner *Minnith*, and *Abel vinearum*, though by ſome they bee attributed to the Gadites, or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two laſt wee reade in *Jephta's* purſuit of the Ammonites: ſeated, as it ſeemes by that place of the book of *Judges*, the former of them in the South border, and the other of them in the Eaſt border, both far removed from the Gadites. But the chiefe City of the Ammonites was neerer, and not farre from the borders of *Gad*. It is called in the Scriptures ſometimes *Rabbath*, as *Deut*. 3.11. but more often *Rabba*. It is ſuppoſed to bee that * *Philadelphia* which *Ptolomie* findes in *Cœloſyria*. *Hierome* and *Caliſtus* in *Arabia*. It was conquered by *Og* from the Ammonites: but as it ſeemes never poſſeſt by the Iſraelites, after the overthrow of *Og*, but left to the Ammonites: whereupon at length it became the Regall ſeat of the Ammonites, but of old it was the poſſeſsion of the Zamzummims: which is as much to ſay, as men for all manner of craft and wickedneſſe infamous. The ſame were alſo called *Raphaim*, of whom was *Og*, which recovered much of that which the Ammonites had got from his Anceſtors: who having beene firſt beaten by the Aſſyrians, and their aſsiſtants (as the Emims in Moab, and the Horims in *Seir* had been) were afterward the eaſier conquered by the Ammonites, as the Emims were by *Moab*, and the Horims by the Idumæans. Yet did the races of *Emoreus*, of whom theſe Giants were deſcended, contend with the Conquerers for their ancient inheritance: and as *Sehon* of *Hesbon* had diſpoſſeſt *Moab*, ſo had *Og* of *Baſan* the Ammonites, and betweene them recovered the beſt part

Gen.32.36.

Judg.8.17.

2 Sam.19.33.

Deut.3.14.
Joſ.12.5.

[b] The letters D. and R. in the *Hebrew* are very like, ſo that one is oft miſtaken for another, and ſometime without miſtaking one is put for another, as for *Rodanim* 1 Chr.7. we have *Dodanim* Gen.10.4.

*Other names of this City according to *Stephanus* were *Ammana* and *Aſtarte*: but in this latter perhaps he miſtooke, which might ſeeme to be the ſame *Aſtaroth* one of the chiefe Cities of *Og*, of which in that which remaineth to be ſpoken of *Manaſſe Adrichomius* ſayes, it was alſo called *Urbs aquarum* becauſe of the part of all the Valley, betweene the Mountaines and *Jordan*. For this *Og* was alſo maſter of *Rabba* or *Philadelphia*: And in the poſſeſſion of the one or of the other of theſe two *Moſes* and *Iſrael* found all thoſe Cities and Countries which were given to *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe*. So that though it were 450. yeares ſince that theſe *Zamzummims* or *Raphaims* were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance: but having theſe two Kings of one kinred, and both valiant and undertaking men, to wit, *Og* and *Sehon*, both *Amorites*, they recovered againe much of their loſt poſſeſſions; and thruſt the ſonnes of *Lot* over the Mountaines, and into the Deſarts. And as the Kings or Captaines of *Perſia* and *Aſſyria*, (remembred in the 14. of *Geneſis*) made way for *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*; ſo by that great conqueſt which *Moſes* had over thoſe two *Amorites*, *Og* and *Sehon*, did the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* take opportunitie to look back againe into thoſe plaines; and when the *Reubenites*, *Gadites* and *Manaſsites* forſook the worſhip of the living God, and became ſloathfull and licentious; they taking the advantage invaded them, and caſt them out of their poſſeſſions: and were ſomtime their maſters, ſomtime their tributaries, as they pleaſed or diſpleaſed God: and according to the wiſedom and vertue of their Commanders.

river *Jaboc's* winding about it, but in the place 2 Sam.27. whence he gathers this opinion, *Junius* reads *intercepi ab urbe aquam*, if we muſt read with others, *cepi ut urbem aquarum*, yet it cannot be taken of *Kabba* it ſelf, but of ſome Fort adjoining.

Gen.14.

In this Citie of *Rabba*, was the Iron bed of *Og* found, nine cubits of length, and foure of breadth. The Citie was taken in *Davids* time, and the Inhabitants ſlaine with great ſeverity, and by divers torments. At the firſt aſſault therof *Urias* was ſhot to death, having beene by direction from *David* appointed to be imployed in the leading of an aſſault, where he could not eſcape: wherein alſo many of the beſt of the Army periſhed: and wherein *David* ſo diſpleaſed God, as his affaires had ill ſucceſſe afterward, even to his dying day. From hence had *David* the waighty and rich Crowne of Gold, which the Kings of *Ammon* ware: or which, as ſome expound it, was uſed to be put on the head of their Idoll, waighing a talent, which is 60. pound waight after the common talent. In the time of *Chriſtians* it had a Metropolitane Biſhop, and under him twelve others.

Deut.3.

2 Sam.12.

*Wil.Tyr.Bel.ſacr.* 13.c.12.*Pto.*

The mountaines which are deſcribed within this Tribe, and that of *Manaſſe*, with a part of *Reuben*, are thoſe that *Ptolomy* calleth *the hills of Hippus*, a City of *Cœloſyria*: and *Strabo** *Trachones*: the ſame which continue from neare *Damaſcus*, unto the deſarts of *Moab*: and receive divers names, as commonly Mountaines doe, which neighbour and bound divers Countries: for from the South part, as farre Northwards as *Aſtaroth*, the chiefe City of *Og*, they are called *Galaad* or *Gilead*; from thence North-ward they are knowne by the name of *Hermon*, for ſo *Moſes* calleth them: The Sidonians name them *Shirion*, but the Amorites *Shenir*, others *Seir*: of which name all thoſe hils alſo were called, which part *Judæa* and *Idumæa*: and laſtly, they are called *Libanus*, for ſo the Prophet *Hieremy* makes them all one, calling the high mountains of *Galaad*, the head of *Libanus*. Theſe Mountaines are very fruitfull, and full of good paſtures, and have many trees which yeeld *Balſamum*, and many other medicinable drugs. The Rivers of this Tribe are the waters of *Nimrah*, and *Dibon*, and the River *Jaboc*: others doe alſo fancy another River, which riſing out of the Rocks of *Arnon*, falleth into *Jordan*.

*Strab.l.6.*

* τραχὼν is *locus aſper & ſalebroſus*: whence it appeares that *Trachonitis regio*, in theſe parts was properly the hil countrey.

Deut.3.9.

Hierem.22.

Hier.8.& 9.

## §. VI.

### *Of the Ammonites, part of whoſe Territories the Gadites wanne from* Og *the King of Baſan.*

THis Tribe of *Gad* poſſeſt halfe the Countrie of the Ammonites, who together with the Moabites, held that part of *Arabia petræa* called *Nabathea*, as well within as without the Mountains of *Gilead*: though at this time when the Gadites wan it, it was in the poſſeſſion of *Sehon* and *Og*, Amorites: and therfore *Moſes* did not expell the Ammonites, but the Amorites, who had thruſt the iſſues of *Lot* over the mountaines *Trachones* or *Gilead*, as before. After the death of *Othoniel* the firſt Judge of *Iſrael*, the Ammonites joyned with the Moabites againſt the Hebrewes, and ſo continued long. *Jephta* Judg of *Iſrael* had a great conqueſt over one of the Kings of *Ammon*, but his name is omitted. In the time of *Samuel* they were at peace with them againe.

Jud.10.

Afterward we finde that cruell King of the Ammonites, called *Nahas*: who beſieging *Jabes Gilead*, gave them no other conditions but the pulling out of their right eyes. The reaſon why he tendred ſo hard a compoſition, was (beſides this deſire to bring

1 Sam.11.

ſhame upon *Iſrael*) becauſe thoſe Gileadites uſing to carry a Target on their left armes, which could not but ſhadow their left eyes, ſhould by loſing their right, be utterly diſabled to defend themſelves: but *Saul* came to their reſcue, and delivered them from that danger. This *Nahas*, as it may ſeem, became the confederate of *David*, having friended him in *Sauls* time, though *Joſephus* thinks that this *Nahas* was ſlain in the battaile, when *Saul* raiſed the ſiege of *Jabes*, who affirmeth that there were three Kings of the Moabites of that name.

*Joſeph.l.6.Ant. c.5.&c.*
2 Sam.10.4.18.

*Hanun* ſucceeded *Nahas*: to whom when *David* ſent to congratulate his eſtabliſhment, & to confirme the former friendſhip which he had with his father, he moſt contemptuouſly and proudly cut off the Ambaſſadours garments to the knees, and ſhaved the halfe of their beards. But afterward notwithſtanding the aids received from the Aramites ſubject to *Adadezer*, and from the *Reguli* of *Rebob*, and *Maacah*, and from *Iſtob*, yet all thoſe Arabians, together with the Ammonites, were overturned: their chiefe City of *Rabba*, after *Philadelphia*, was taken; the Crowne which waighed a talent of gold was ſet on *Davids* head; all ſuch as were priſoners, *David* executed with ſtrange ſeverity; for with ſawes and harrowes he tare them in pieces, and caſt the reſt into lime-kils. *Joſaphat* governing *Juda*, they aſsiſted the Moabites their neighbors againſt him, and periſhed together. *Oſias* made them Tributaries, & they were again by *Jotham* inforc't to continue that tribute, and to increaſe it, to wit, a hundred talents of ſilver, ten thouſand meaſures of wheat, and ten thouſand of barly: which the Ammonites continued two yeares.

*Iſtob*, that is, the men of *Thob*: *Thob* is a ſmall Territory under *Arnon* hils. *Rebob* is another betweene *Hazor* and *Sidon*, in the North bound of *Canaan*, Num.13.22. of which ſee in the tribe of *Aſſer*.
Hier.40 & 41.
2 Chron.20.
2 Chron.36.
2 Chron.26.

The fift King of the Ammonites, of whoſe name we read, was *Baalis* the confederate of *Zedekia*: after whoſe taking by *Nabuchodonoſor*, *Baalis* ſent *Iſmael* of the blood of the Kings of *Juda*, to ſlay *Gedaliah*, who ſerved *Nabuchodonoſor*.

## §. VII.

### *Of the other halfe of* Manaſſe.

THe reſt of the land of *Gilead*, and of the kingdome of *Og* in *Baſan*, with the land of *Hus* and *Argob*, or *Trachonitis* (wherein alſo were part of the ſmall Territories of **Batania*, *Gaulonitis*, *Geſſuri*, *Machati*, and *Auranitis*) was given to the halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe* over *Jordan*; of which thoſe three latter Provinces defended themſelves againſt them for many ages. But *Batania Ptolomy* ſetteth farther off, and to the North-Eaſt, as a skirt of *Arabia* the deſart: and all thoſe other Provinces before named with *Petræa*, and *Ituræa*, he nameth but as part of *Cœloſyria*; as far South as *Rabba* or *Philadelphia*: likewiſe all the reſt which belonged to *Gad*, and *Reuben*, ſaving the land neere the dead Sea, hee makes a part of *Arabia petræa*: for many of theſe ſmall Kingdomes take not much more ground than the County of *Kent*.

* Another territory adjoyning to *Manaſſe*, whoſe limits were confounded with ſome of theſe, was that *Thiſbbitis* the Countrey of *Elias*, as it is, 1 Kin.16.1. and of *Tobias*, Tob.1.2. It lay on the Eaſt to the tribe of *Neph.* on the right hand of it, as in Tob.1.2. & was poſſeſt by Colonies of the Iſraelites in the time of *Saul* after his victory over the *Amalekites* and *Iſmaelites* in thoſe parts, as it is gathered out of 1 Chron.5.10. whence it appeares, that it was part of *Iturea*, of which ch.7.§.4.†.5. and 6.

*Baſan*, or after the *Septuagint*, *Baſanitis*, ſtretcheth it ſelfe from the river of *Jaboc* to the [a] *Machati* and *Geſſuri*: and from the mountaines to *Jordan*, a Region exceeding fertile; by reaſon whereof it abounded in all ſorts of Cattell. It had alſo the goodlieſt woods of all that part of the world: eſpecially of Oaks, which bare maſt (of which the Prophet Zacharias; *Howle, O yee Oakes of Baſhan*) and by reaſon hereof they bred ſo many ſwine, as [b] 2000. in one herd were carried headlong into the Sea, by the uncleane ſpirits which *Chriſt* had caſt out of one of the Gadarens. It had in it threeſcore cities walled & defenced: all which, after *Og* and his ſons were ſlaine, *Jair*, deſcended of *Manaſſe*, conquered, and called the country after his owne name, *Avoth Jair*, or the cities of *Jair*.

The principall cities of this halfe Tribe (for I will omit the reſt) are theſe; *Pella*, ſometimes [c] *Butis*, otherwiſe *Berenice*; by *Seleucus* King of *Syria*, it is ſaid to have been called *Pella*, after the name of that *Pella* in *Macedon*: in which both *Philip* the Father and his ſonne *Alexander* the great were borne. It was taken and in part demoliſhed by *Alexander Jannæus* King of the Jewes, becauſe it refuſed to obey the Jewes lawes: but it was repaired by *Pompey*, and annexed to the Government of *Syria*. It is now but a Village, ſaith *Niger*. *Carnaim* by the river of *Jaboc*, taken by [d] *Judas Maccabæus*: where he ſet on fire the [e] Temple of their Idols: together with all thoſe that fled thereunto for Sanctuary; and neare it they place the Caſtle of Carnion, of which 2 *Macc.* 12.22. Then the ſtrong Citie of [f] Ephron neare Jordan: which refuſing to yeeld paſſage to [g] *Judas Maccabæus*, was forced by him by aſſault, and taken and burnt with great ſlaughter.

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[a] So they call them of *Mahacath*, of which *Mahacath* ſomewhat hath beene ſpoken toward the end of the fift *Paragraph* of this Chapte, ſee the 1 Mac.5.36. and Deut.3.14. and Joſ 12.5. [b] Mar.5.13. [c] Anciently, as it ſeemes, it was called *Tephel*. See above in the bounds *Moab* in this Chapter, §.4.†.2. [d] 1 Mac.5.

e *Joſ.* 12. *ant.* 12.
f 1 Mac. 5.
g 2 Mac. 12.27.

Jabes Gilead, or Jabeſus, was another of the Cities of this halfe Tribe, which being beſieged by *Nahas* [h] King of the Ammonites, was delivered by *Saul*, as is [i] elſewhere mentioned. In memory whereof theſe Citizens [k] recovered, embalmed and buried the bodies of *Saul* and his ſonnes: which hung deſpightfully over the walls of Bethſan or Scythopolis. [l] Gaddara or Gadara, is next to be named, ſeated by *Pliny* on a Hill near the River Hieromiace, which River *Ortelius* ſeemes to thinke to be Jaboc. At the foote of the Hill there ſpring forth alſo hot baths, as at Machærus. *Alexander Jannæus* after ten moneths ſiege, wan it, and ſubverted it. *Pompey* reſtored it: and *Gabinius* [m] made it one of the five Courts of Juſtice in Paleſtine. Hieruſalem being the firſt, Gadara the ſecond, Emath or Amathus the third, Hierico and Sephora in Galile, the fourth and fift. The Citizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of *Herod*, ſurnamed *Aſcalonita*, accuſed him to *Julius Cæſar* of many crimes: but perceiving that they could not prevaile, and that *Herod* was highly favoured of *Cæſar*, fearing the terrible [n] revenge of *Herod*, they ſlew themſelves: ſome by ſtrangling, others by leaping over high Towers, others by drowning themſelves.

h 1 Sam. 11.
i *Joſ.* 6. *ant.* 5.
k 1 Sam. 31.
l 1 Chron. 10.
m *Joſ.* 14. *ant.* 13.
n *Joſ.* 15. *ant.* 13.

To the Eaſt of Gadara they place Sebei, [o] in which, *Joſ. ant.* 5.13. ſaith, *Jephtha* was buried: whence others reading with the *Vulgar*, *Jud.* 12.7. *Sepultus eſt in Civitate ſua Gilehad*, (for *in una Civitatum Gilehad*) imagine Gilehad to bee the name of a City, and to be the ſame with Sebei. In like manner following the Vulgar, 1 *Macc.* 5.26. where it readeth Caſphor for Cheſbon; the ſame *Adrichomius* imagineth it to be *ampla & firma Gilehaditarum Civitas*: ſo of one City Heſbon or Cheſbon, which they call Eſſebon, the chiefe City of *Sehon*, in the Tribe of *Reuben*, hee imagineth two more: This Caſphor in *Manaſſes*, and a Citie in *Gad* which he calleth Caſbon, of which we have admoniſhed the Reader heretofore. Of Gamala (ſo called, becauſe the Hill on which it ſtood, was in faſhion like the back of a Cammell) which *Joſephus* placeth not farre from Gadara, in the lower Gaulanitis over againſt Tarichea, which is on the Weſt ſide of the Sea or Lake of Tiberias, ſee this *Joſephus* in the fourth booke of the Jewiſh warre: where he deſcribes the place by nature to be almoſt invincible: and in the ſtorie of the ſiege, ſhewes how *Veſpaſian* with much danger of his owne perſon, entring it, was at firſt repulſed, with other very memorable accidents: and how at length, after the comming of *Titus* when it was taken, many leaping down the rocks with their wives and children, to the number of five thouſand, thus periſhed: beſides foure thouſand ſlain by the Romanes: ſo that none eſcaped, ſave onely two women that hid themſelves.

o Of Mitſpa in Gilehad, the Citie of *Jephtha*, ſee in the Tribe of *Gad*.

*Cap.* 1. & 3.]

About foure miles Weſt from Gadara, and as much Eaſt from Tiberias (which is on the other ſide of the Lake) *Joſephus* placeth Hippus, or Hippene, whence *Ptolomie* gives the names to the hils that compaſſe the plaines in which it ſtandeth: ſo that it may ſeem to have been of no ſmall note. It is ſeated farre from the hill Countrey: on the Eaſt of the Lake, as alſo *Plinie* noteth *lib.* 5. *cap.* 15. It was reſtored by *Pompey*: after by *Auguſtus* added to *Herods* Tetrarchie: it was waſted by the Jewes, in the beginning of their rebellion: when by many maſſacres of their Nation, they were inraged againſt their borderers.

*In vita ſua.*

*Joſ. Bel. Jud. l.* 2. *c.* 19.

The next Citie of note, but of more ancient fame, is Edrehi or Edrai, wherein *Og* King of Baſan chiefly abode, when *Moſes* and Iſrael invaded him: and neare unto this his Regall Citie, it was that he loſt the battell and his life. It ſtood in S. *Hieromes* time: and had the name of Adar or Adara. Not farre from theſe townes neare Jordan, in this valley, ſtood Geraſſa or Gergeſſa, inhabited by the Gergeſites, deſcended of the fift ſon of *Canaan*. Of theſe Gergeſites we read *Mat.* 8.28. that Chriſt comming from the other ſide of the Lake of Tiberias, landed in their coaſts: where caſting the Divels out of the poſſeſſed, he permitted them to enter into the heard of Hogges: in which ſtory, for Gergeſites or Gergeſins, *S. Luke* and *S. Marke* have Gaderens: not as if theſe were all one (for Gergeſſa, or Geraſſa is a diſtinct Towne in theſe parts from Gadara) but the bounds being confounded, and the Cities neighbours, either might well be named in this ſtory. This Citie received many changes and calamities: of which *Joſephus* hath often mention.

Of another Edrehi in *Nepht.* ſee Joſ. 19.37.
Deut. 3.1. & 10.
*Item.* Joſ. 13.31.
Mat. 8.28.
Marke. 5.
Luke 8.

tion. For beſides other adventures, it was taken by *L. Annius* Lievtenant to *Veſpaſian*: and 1000. of the ableſt young men put to the ſword, and the Citie burnt. In the yeare 1120. it was rebuilt by *Baldwine* King of *Damaſcus*: and in the ſame year recovered by *Baldwine de Burgo* King of *Jeruſalem*: and by him utterly razed. Neare unto *Geraſa* is the village of *Magedan*, or after the Syriake *Magedu*, or after the Greek *Magdala*, where the *Phariſees* and *Sadducees* deſired of our Saviour a ſigne from heaven: the ſame place or ſome adjoyning to it, which *S. Marke* calleth *Dalmanutha*. By the circumſtances of which ſtorie it appeares, that this coaſt lay between the Lake of *Tiberias*, and the Countrey of *Decapolis*. *Brochard* makes both theſe places to be one; and findes it to be *Phiale*, the fountaine of *Jordan* according to *Joſephus*: but this *Phiale* is too far from the Sea of *Galilee*, and from *Bethſaida*, to be either *Magdala* or *Dalmanutha*. For as it appeares by the ſtory, not farre hence towards the North was the *Deſart* of *Bethſaida*, where *Chriſt* filled 5000. people with the five barley loaves and two fiſhes.

Marke 15.

Marke 8.

*Broch.itin.*2.
Of this *Phiale* ſee in *Nepth.* C.7.§.4.†.3.
Math. 14.
Marke 6.
Luke 9.
John 6.

On the North of this *Bethſaida*, they place *Julias*, not that which was built by *Herod*, but the other by *Philip*, which boundeth the Region *Trachonitis* towards the South. It was ſometime a Village, and not long after the birth of *Chriſt* it was compaſſed with a wall by *Philip* the *Tetrach* of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*: and after the name of *Julia*, the wife of *Tiberias*, called *Julias*, as hath been further ſpoken in the Tribe of *Gad*: where it was noted that *Joſephus* makes this *Julias* to be the ſame as *Bethſaida*. Upon the Eaſt ſide of the ſame Lake of *Tiberias* ſtands *Corozaim*, or *Corazim*, of which *Chriſt* in *Matthew*; *Woe be unto thee Corazim.*

*Joſeph.*18.*ant.*3. *& alibi.*

But the principall Citie of all theſe in ancient time was *Aſteroth*: ſometime peopled with the Giants *Raphaim*: and therefore the Countrey adjoyning called the Land of Giants, of whoſe race was *Og* King of *Baſan*. In *Geneſis* this Citie is called *Aſteroth* of *Carnaim*, whence 1 *Mac.*5.26. it it called ſimply *Carnaim*, as *Joſ.*13.21. it is called *Aſteroth*, without the addition of *Carnaim*. The word *Carnaim* ſignifieth a paire of Horns, which agree well with the name of their Idoll *Aſteroth*, which was the image of a ſheepe, as it is elſewhere noted, that *Aſtaroth* in *Deuteronomie* ſignifieth ſheepe. Others from the ambiguity of the Hebrew take *Karnaim*, to have been the name of the people which inhabited this Citie: and expound it *heroes * radiantes*. For of old the *Raphæi* which inhabited this Citie (*Gen.*14.5.) were Giant-like men, as appeares by comparing the words *Deut.* 3.11. *Og ex reſiduo gigantum*, with the words, *Joſ.* 13. 12. *Og ex reliquiis Raphæorum*: but if the *Karnaim* (or *Carnajim*) were theſe *Raphæi*, the word would not have beene in the duall number: neither would *Moſes* in the place of *Geneſis* have ſaid the *Raphæi* in *Aſteroth* of the *Karnaim*, but either the *Raphæi* in *Aſteroth* of the *Raphæi*, or ſome other way fitteſt for perſpicuity: for this naming of both thus in the ſame clauſe, diſtingiſheth one from the other.

Gen. 14.5.

See chap. 7. §.3.†.2.

* Becauſe Horn when it is poliſhed, ſhineth: hence it is that the Verb of this Noune is ſometime *Lucere*: as it were *cornuum eſſe*: whereupon the *Vulgar*, Exo. 34.19. reading *cornutam corneam*, or *lucidam faciem*, gave occaſion to the fabulous painters to paint *Moſes* with Hornes.

Not farre from *Aſteroth*, *Adrichomius* out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbachius* placeth *Cedar* in the way out of *Syria* into *Galilee*, foure miles from *Corazin*. This Citie (ſaith he) is remembred in the *Canticles*, and in the book of *Judith*, and there are that of this Citie understand *David* in his 120. *Pſalme*: and here the Sepulchre of *Job* is yet to be ſeen, ſaith *Breidenbach*.

*Judith* 1.8.
1 *Cant.*5.

Now concerning the Texts which he citeth, it is ſo that the Greeke hath *Galaad* inſtead of the word *Cedar*, which the *Vulgar* doth uſe in that place of *Judith*, and joyneth *Carmel* and *Galilee*. The *Canticles* and the 120. *Pſalme* doe rather prove that *Cedar* was not hereabout, than any way helpe *Adrichomius*. For that they ſpeake of *Scenitæ Cedareni*, it is apparent, and as evident by the place in the *Canticles*, that they were *decolores*, much more than any under the Climates of the Land of *Canaan*: whence *Junius* out of *Lampridius* and *Plinie* placeth them in *Arabia Petræa*, farre from theſe parts. Touching the Sepulchre of *Job*, it is certaine that the Arabians and Saracens (holding thoſe places) faine many things to abuſe the Chriſtians, and to get money. Further, it may well be affirmed, that many (if not all) the hiſtoricall circumſtances of *Job* are ſo obſcure, that we ſhould rather by finding his Countrey ſeeke to get ſome knowledge of him, than by any preſumptions founded upon him, inferre what his Countrey was, and build unto him a Citie by conjecture.

Of *Job* himſelf, whether he was the ſame *Jobab* remembred in the 36. of *Geneſis*, deſcended from *Eſau*, and King alſo of *Idumæa*, though *Rupertus*, *Lyranus*, *Oleaſter*, and *Bellarmine* are of another opinion, yet Saint *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, *Chryſoſtome*, and *Gregorie* with

*Rup. Lyran. Oleaſt. in Gen. Bel. in Cont. lib.*1. *de ver. Dei. S. Amb. ſup. Ep. ad Rom. Aug. de civ. Dei. l.*28. *c.*4. *Chryſ. Hom.*2. *De patientia Job. Greg. com. in Job.*

with *Athanaſius*, *Hippolitus*, *Irenæus*, *Euſebius Emiſſenus*, *Apollinaris*, *Euſtachius*, and other cited by S. *Hierome* in his 126. Epiſt. to *Evagrius*, take him for the ſame.

The Land of *Huts* or *Hus* wherein *Job* dwelt is from the Greek Οὖς, which the *Septuagint* uſe for the word *Huts*, tranſlated by the Vulgar ſometime *Hus*, as *Job* 1.1. ſometime *Auſitis*, as *Hierem.* 25.20. This Land is placed by *Junius* between *Palæſtine* and *Cœloſyria*, beſides *Chamatha* (or *Hamath*) under *Palmyrene*, in the Countrey called by *Ptolomy Trachonitis* or *Bathanæa*, the bounds of which Countries are confounded with *Baſan* in this halfe Tribe of *Manaſſes*. And that this Land of *Hus* was thus ſeated, it may in part bee gathered out of the place of *Jer.* 25.20. where he reckons the *Huſhites* among the promiſcuous borderers of the *Iſraelites*, whom he therefore calleth promiſcuous or *miſcellaneam turbam*, becauſe their bounds were not onely joyned but confounded, and their *Seigniories* mingled one with the other: but of this place the words of *Hieremie*, *Lam.* 4. 21. ſpeaking of the ſame Prophecie, of which he ſpeaketh in the 25. Chapter, muſt needs be expounded, as *Junius* reades them, diſtinguiſhing the Land of *Hus* from *Edom*: *O filia Edomi, O quæ habitas in terra HutZi; O Daughter of Edom, O thou which dwelleſt in the Land of Hus*. Now becauſe the Vulgar doth not ſo diſtinguiſh, but readeth, *Filia Edom quæ habitas in terra Hus; Daughter of Edom which dwelleſt in the Land of Hus*: Hence, as it ſeemes, ſome of the learned have thought that *Job* was an *Edomite*, as we have ſaid, and King of *Edom*, which if they underſtand by it *Idumæa* or *Edom*, ſo called in *Moſes* time, they are greatly miſtaken, making this *Land* of *Hus* to be in *Idumæa*. For it is very probable that *Eſau* when he firſt parted from *Jacob*, did not ſeate himſelfe in *Edom* or *Seir*, which lyeth on the South border of *Judæa*, but inhabited *Seir* far to the Eaſt of *Jordan*, and held a part of thoſe Mountaines, otherwiſe called *Galaad*, and *Hermon*, which by corruption the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites Shenir*, for *Seir*; and from this his habitation did *Eſau* incounter *Jacob* when he returned out of *Meſopotamia*, who paſſed by the very border of *Eſay* his abiding. It is true that at ſuch time as *Moſes* wandered in the *Deſarts*, that the poſterity of *Eſau* inhabited *Seir* to the South of *Judæa*: for it is like that the *Amorites* who had beaten both *Ammon* and *Moab*, did alſo drive the *Edomites* out of thoſe parts, who thence-forward ſeated themſelves to the South of *Judæa*, bordering the *Deſart Paran*, and ſtretched their habitations over the *Deſarts* as far as *Hor* where *Aaron* died.

For ου and αυ are often changed one into the other: whence they uſed *Auſitis* for *Ouſitis*, &c. Hence alſo by *Junius* and others it is called *Auſanitis*, and ſo as it ſeemes they read it in the *Septuagint*. *Jun. in* Gen. 10.23.

Deut. 3.9.

Now for this *Hus* which gave the name to a part of the Land of *Trachonitis*, whether it were *Hus* the ſon of *Aram*, as *Junius* thinkes in his note upon *Gen.* 10.23. or rather *Hus* the ſon of *Nachor*, *Abrahams* brother, the queſtion is doubtfull. For my part I rather encline to thinke, that is was *Hus* the ſon of *Nachor*: partly becauſe theſe Families of *Aram* ſeeme long before to have been loſt: and partly becauſe in *Job* 32.2. *Elihu* the fourth of *Jobs* friends, which ſeemes to be of *Jobs* own Countrey, is called a *BuZite*, of *BuZ* the brother of *Hus*, the ſonne of *Nachor*: as alſo *Jer.* 25. in the ſame continuation (though ſome other Nations named between) where *Hus* is ſpoken of, there *BuZ* is alſo named. Neither doth it hinder our conjecture, that in the place of *Job* 32. *Elihu* the *BuZite* is ſaid to bee of the Family of *Ram*: (which *Junius* expounds to be as much as of the Familie of *Aram*) for that by this *Aram* we are not to underſtand *Aram* the ſonne of *Sem*, *Junius* himſelfe maketh it plaine, both in his annotation upon the beginning of his book, where he ſaith that one of *Jobs* friends (which muſt needs be this *Elihu*) was of the poſterity of *Nachor* (as alſo in this place he confeſſeth ſo much expreſly,) and in as much as hee readeth not *è familia Aram*, or *Ram*, but *è familia Syriæ*; like as elſewhere *Laban* who ſprung of *Nachor* is called a *Syrian*.

Whence the *Septuagint* call him *ex regione Auſitide*.

As for the other three of *Jobs* friends (of whom by this note of *Elihu* his being of the *Syrian* Family, or of the Family of *Nachor*) it is implyed that they were of other kindreds; as alſo by the *Septuagints* addition, that this *Elihu* was of the Land of *Hus*, or *Auſitis*, it is implyed that they thought onely *Elihu* to have beene of *Jobs* own Countrie.

See *Sixtus Senenſis*.

*Franciſcus Brochard* the *Monke*, in his deſcription of the holy Land in the journy from *Acon* Eaſtward, findeth *Suetha*, and *Theman* on the Eaſt of the Sea of *Galilee*: both very neere to the Land of *Hus*: whereof the one may ſeeme to have denominated *Bildad* the *Shuchite*; the other *EliphaZ* the *Themanite*: two of the three friends of *Job*, of the which *Job* 2.11. But *Junius* thinks that the *Shuchites* were inhabitants of *Arabia* the *Deſart*, deſcended of *Shuach* the ſon of *Abraham* and *Ketura*: of whom *Gen.* 25.2. perhaps, ſaith he, the ſame whom *Plinie* calls *Saccæi*. So alſo he thinketh the *Themanites* of whom

De Bell.Sacr.l.22.c.15.& 21.

*Eliphaz* was, to have beene of *Arabia* the *Deſart* : and *Eliphaz* himſelfe to have been of the poſteritie of *Theman* the ſon of *Eliphaz*, which was the ſonne of *Eſau*. And ſo alſo *Nahamah*, whence *Tſophar* the third of *Jobs* friends (which in this place of *Job*.2.11.are mentioned)is by the ſame learned Expoſitor, thought either to be named of *Thimnah* by tranſpoſition of letters ( which *Thimnah Gen*.36.40. is named among the ſons of *Eſau* that gave denomination to the places where they were ſeated)or elſe to be the ſame *Nahamah*, which *Joſ*.15.41.is reckoned for a Citie of *Juda* in the border, as hee thinkes, of *Edom*. And yet I deny not but that neere the Land of *Hus* , in *Baſan*, as it ſeemes, in the Tribe of *Manaſſes*, there is a Region which(at leaſt)in later times was called *Suitis*, or of ſome like name. For this is evident by the Hiſtorie of *Willielmus Tyrius*, which reports of a Fort in this Region of *Suita* or *Suites* ( as he calls it diverſly ) of exceeding great ſtrength and uſe for the retaining of the whole Countrie: which, in the time of *Baldwine* the ſecond King of *Jeruſalem*, was with great digging through rockes recovered by the *Chriſtians*; having not long before been loſt, to the great diſadvantage of the Countrie, while it was in the hands of the *Saracens*. The ſituation of this Fort is by *Tyrius* deſcribed to be ſixteen miles from the Citie *Tiberias*, on the Eaſt of *Jordan* : by *Adrichomius* four miles North-ward from the place where *Jordan* enters the lake *Tiberias* at *Corazin*.

Joſ.21.27.
Deut.4.43.

Other Cities of this part of *Manaſſes* named in the Scripture are theſe : *Golan*, *Beheſhthera*, *Mitſpa* of *Gilead*, and *Kenath*, which after the comming of the *Iſraelites* was called *Nobach*. Of *Nobach* or *Kenath*, and *Mitſpa* of *Gilead*, we have ſpoken by occaſion among the Cities of *Gad:* The other two were given to the *Levites*, and *Golan* made one of the Cities of refuge : from which *Golan* we have both *Gaulanitis ſuperior* and *inferior*, oft in *Joſephus*. *Beheſhthera* is accounted the chiefe Citie of *Baſan* by ſome, but the writers corrupting the name into *Bozra*, it is confounded with *Betſer* or *Bozra* of *Reuben*, and with *Bozra* of *Edom*. *Argob* is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence *Hierome* hath *Arga*, a name of a Citie placed by ſome about the waters of *Merom* ( as they are called by *Joſua*)which make the Lake *Samachonitis*, as *Joſeph*. cals it. This lake, being as it were in the midſt between *Cæſarea Philippi* and *Tiberias*, through which, as through the Lake of *Tiberias*, *Jordan* runneth, boundeth part of this halfe Tribe on the Weſt. When the ſnow of *Libanus* melteth, it is very large, ſaith *Brochard* : otherwiſe more contract, leaving the mariſh ground on both ſides, for Lyons and other wilde beaſts, which harbour in the ſhrubs that plentifully grow there.

1 Chron.3.2.

Adjoyning to this Lake in this Countrey of *Manaſſes* , *Joſephus* names two places of ſtrength, fortified by himſelf in the beginning of the *Jews* rebellion: *Seleucia* the one, and *Sogane* the other. In the North ſide of this halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe* , and in the North-eaſt, the Scripture nameth divers bordering places toward *Damaſcus*, as *Tſedad*, *Chauran*, and *Chatſar-Henan*, lying in a line drawne from the Weſt; of which three Cities we read *Ezek*.47.15. with which alſo agrees the place *Num*.34.8. where for *Chauram*, between *Tſedad*, and *Chatſar-Henan*, *Ziphron* is named. From this *Chauram* is the name of *Auranitis Regio*, in *Joſephus* and *Tyrius*, whoſe bounds(as alſo the bounds or *Geſſur* and *Mahacath* or *Macati*, which were likewiſe borderers to *Manaſſes* toward the North-eaſt) are unknowne : onely that *Geſſur* was of might , it appeares in that *David* married *Mahaca* the Daughter of *Thalmay* King of *Geſſur* : by whom he had the moſt beautifull, but wicked and unfortunate *Abſalon*.

# CHAP. XI.

## *The Hiſtorie of the Syrians, the chiefe borderers of the Iſraelites that dwelt on the Eaſt of Jordan.*

### §. I.

### *Of the Citie of Damaſcus, and the divers fortunes thereof.*

Joſep.1.14.

DAmaſcus of all other in this border , and of that part of the world, wa the moſt famous , excelling in Beautie , Antiquitie , and Riches , an was therefore called the Citie of joy or gladneſſe ; and the Houſe o pleaſure ; and is not onely remembred in many places of Scripture, bu by the beſt Hiſtorians and Coſmographers. The Hebrewes , ſaith *Joſe phus* , thinke it to have beene built by *Hus* the ſonne of *Aram* : of which opinio

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Saint *Hierome* upon *Eſay* ſeemeth to bee: though in his Hebrew queſtions he affirmeth that it was founded by *Damaſcus*, the ſonne of *Eliezer Abrahams* Steward; a thing very unlikely, ſeeing the Citie was formerly knowne by that name, as appeares by *Abrahams* calling this his Steward *Eliezer* of Damaſco. *David* was the firſt that ſubjected it to the Kingdome of *Juda*, after the overthrow of *Adadezer* their King, but in *Salomons* time, *Rezon* recovered it againe, though he had no title at all or right to that principalitie: but *David* having overthrown *Hadadezer* King of *Sophena* (otherwiſe *Syria Soba* or *Zoba*) *Razon* or *Rezon* with the remainder of that broken Armie, invaded Damaſcena, and poſſeſt Damaſcus it ſelfe, and became an enemie to *Salomon* all his life.

In Eſai. 17.
Gen. 15. 2.
1. Reg. 11. 40.

The next King of Damaſcus was *Adad* the Edomite, who flying into Egypt from *David* and *Joab*, when they ſlew all the males in Edom, was there entertained, and marryed *Taphnes* the King of *Egypts* Wives ſiſter: of whom *Taphnes* in *Egypt* was ſo called. This *Adad* returning againe, became an enemie to *Salomon* all his life, and (as ſome writers affirme) invaded Damaſcus, and thruſt *Rezon* thence-out. In the line of *Adad* that Kingdome continued nine deſcents (as hereafter may be ſhewed in the Catologue of thoſe Kings of *Syria*) to whom the *Aſſyrians* and then the *Gracians* ſucceeded. This Citie was exceeding ſtrong, compaſſed with waters from the rivers of *Abanah*, and *Pharpar*: whereof one of them, prophane writers call *Chryſorrhoas*, the golden river. *Junius* takes it for *Adonis*. The countrey adjoyning is very fruitfull of excellent Wines and Wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very ſtrong Caſtle, built as it ſeems by the *Florentines*, after it became Chriſtian: the Lillies being found cut in many Marbles in that Cittadell. Againſt this Citie the Prophets *Amos*, *Eſay*, *Jeremie*, and *Zacharias*, prophecied that it ſhould be taken, burnt, demoliſhed, and made a heape of ſtones. In the time of the laſt *Rezon*, and tenth King of the Damaſcens, *Teglatphalaſſer*, invited by *Achaz* King of *Juda*, carried away the naturals of Damaſcus into the Eaſt: leaving of his owne Nation to inhabit it. After that it was utterly ruined by the *Babylonians* ſaith *Hierome* upon *Eſay*: which thing was performed by *Salmanaſſer*, according to *Junius* in his note upon that place, five yeares after the Prophecie. In time it was reſtored by the *Macedonians*, and the *Ptolomies*; but long after, when *Syria* fel into the hands of the Romans, it was taken by *Metellus* and *Lollius*. In the time of the Chriſtians it had an Archbiſhop: Saint *Hierome* living, as he affirmeth upon the *Acts*, it was the Metropolis of the Sarazens: being taken by *Haomer* their King from the Romans, in the yeare of our redemption 636. and in the yeare 1147. *Conrad* the third, Emperour of *Rome*, *Lewis* King of *France*, *Baldwine* the third King of *Hieruſalem*, *Henry* Duke of *Auſtria*, brother to *Conrad*, *Fredericke Barbaroſſa* afterward Emperor, *Theoderick* Earle of *Flaunders*, and other Princes aſſembled at *Ptolomais Acon*, on the ſea-coaſt, determined to recover Damaſcus: but being betrayed by the *Syrians*, they failed of the enterprize.

1 Reg. 11.
2 Reg. 5.
*Herold. 6. Bell. Sacr.*
1. 3. 8. 10. & 17. 49. & 9.
2 Reg. 16.
Eſay 17.
*Joſ. ant. 4.*
*Onuphrius in Chron.*
*Vitri c. 46. Will. Tyr. Bell. Sacr. l. 17. c. 1. 23. 4. 5.*

In the yeare 1262. *Halon* the Tartar incompaſt it, and having formerly taken the King, brought him under the walls, and treatned extreme torture unto him, except the Citizens rendred the place: but they refuſing it, the King was torne aſunder before them, & in fine the Citie taken, *Agab* the ſonne of *Halon* was by his father made King thereof.

*Herold. Bell. Sac. 4. c. 14.*

In the yeare 1400. *Tamberlaine* Emperour of the *Parthians*, invaded that region, and beſieged the Citie with an Armie of 1200000. (if the number be not miſtaken.) He entred it, and put all to the ſword, filling the ditch with his priſoners; thoſe that retired into the Caſtle, which ſeemed a place impregnable, hee overtopped with another Caſtle adjoyning: he forbare the demoliſhing of the Citie in reſpect of the beauty of the Church, garniſhed with 40. gates or ſumptuous porches. It had within it 9000. Lanternes of gold and ſilver: but while he invaded Egypt, they againe ſurprized Damaſcus. Laſtly, in his returne after three moneths ſiege, he forc't it: the Mahometans proſtrating themſelves with their Prieſts, deſired mercie. But *Tamberlaine* commanding them to enter the Church, he burnt them and it, to the number of 30000. and did ſo demoliſh it, as thoſe that came afterwards to ſee their houſes, knew them not by the foundations. And as a Trophey of his victorie, hee raiſed three Towers with great Art, builded with the heads of thoſe whom he had ſlaughtered. After this, it was reſtored and repoſſeſt by the Soldane of Egypt with a garriſon of Mammalukes: And in the yeare 1517. *Selimus* Emperour of the Turkes wreſted it out of the hands of the Egyptians:

*Herold. l. 6. c. 4.*

in whoſe poſſeſſion it now remaineth inhabited with Mahometans and Chriſtians of all neighbouring Nations.

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## §.II.

### *Of the firſt Kings of* Damaſcus, *and of the growing up of their power.*

NOw be it that Damaſcus were founded by *Hus* the ſon of *Aram*, or by *Damaſcus* the ſonne of *ElieZer Abrahams* ſteward, we find no relation of their Kings, or Common-wealth till *Davids* time. For it ſtood without the bounds of *Canaan*: and therefore neglected by *Moſes*, *Joſua*, and the *Judges*, as impertinent to that Storie. But were it ſo that it had ſome *Reguli*, or petty Kings over it, as all the Cities of thoſe parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till ſuch time as *David* overthrew *AdadeZer* Prince of *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*: the ſame Nation which Plin.l.6.c.28. *Plinie* calleth *Nubæi*, inhabiting betweene *Batania* and *Euphrates*. Now the better to underſtand the ſtorie of thoſe *Syrian* Princes, whom ſoone after the Kings of Damaſcus made their vaſſals, the Reader may informe himſelf, That on the North-eaſt parts of the holy Land, there were three chiefe principalities, whereof the Kings or Commanders greatly vexed or diſturbed the State or Common-wealth of *Iſrael*, namely, *Damaſcus* or *Aram*, *Sophena* or *Syria Zoba*, and *Chamath* or *Chamath Zoba*; of which theſe were the Princes in *Davids* and *Salomons* times: *RaZon* or *ReZon* of *Damaſcus*, *AdadeZer* of *Syria* 1 Sam.14.47. *Zoba*, and *Tohu* of *Chamath*. But it ſeemeth that Damaſcus was one of the Cities ſubject 3082. to *AdadeZer* when *David* invaded him, though when *Saul* made warre againſt *Zoba* Damaſcus was not named. And as *Joſephus* affirmeth, the leader of thoſe ſuccours, which 2 Sam.8. were levied and ſent to *Hadad-HeZer* from Damaſcus, had the name of *Adad*: who was in that battaile ſlaine with 22000. Aramites of Damaſcus: whereof, as of the overthrow of *AdadeZer*, *ReZon*, the Commander of his Armie, taking advantage, made himſelfe King of Damaſcus: *AdadeZer* and *Adad* of Damaſcus being both ſlaine. About the 1 Reg.11. ſame time *Tohu* King of *Chamath* or *Ituræa*, hearing that his neighbour and enemy *AdadeZer* was utterly overthrowne, ſendeth for peace to *David*, and preſenteth him with rich gifts; but *in dolo*, ſaith S. *Hierome*, it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the Holy Land, and to the Weſt of Damaſcus, the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* inhabited: but they for the moſt part were in league and peace with the Judæans and Iſraelites. But to returne to the Kings of *Syria*, I meane of *Syria* as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing *Damaſcena*, *Soba* or *Zoba*, and *Chamath*, or *Ituraa*; to which I may add *Geſhur*, becauſe it is ſo accounted in the ſecond of *Sam.*15. as joyning in the Territorie to Damaſcus (for *Syria* at large is farre greater, of which *Palaſtina* it ſelfe is but a Province, as I have noted in the beginning of this Tract:) It is not agreed among the Hiſtorians of former times, nor of our later writers, who was the firſt of thoſe *Adads* of *Syria Zoba*, and Damaſcus.

Some account *ReZon*, others *Adad* of *Idumaa*: of whom it is written in the firſt of Kings, that *David* having invaded that Region, and left *Joab* there to deſtroy all the male children thereof: *Adad* of the Kings ſeed, fled into Egypt; and was there married to *Taphnes* the Queens ſiſter, as before; who hearing of *Davids* death, and of the death of his Captaine *Joab* (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) he turned againe: and, as *Bunting* thinketh, this *Adad* did expell *ReZon* out of Damaſcus, and was the firſt 2 Sam.8.3. and 12. of the *Syrian* Kings. To me it ſeemeth otherwiſe. For, as I take it, *AdadeZer* the 1 Sam.14 47. ſonne of *Rehob*, whom *Saul* invaded, was the Founder of that Principalitie: and the firſt of *Adads*, who forſaking his Fathers name, as he grew powerfull, tooke upon him the ſtile of *Adad*, the great god of the *Aſſyrians*, ſaith *Macrobius*, which ſignified Oneneſſe or Unitie. I alſo finde a Citie called *Adada*, in the ſame part of *Syria*: of which whether theſe Princes took the name, or gave it, I am ignorant. For *Adad-eZer*, *Ben-adad* *El-adad* were the ſame in name, with the differences of *EZer*, *Ben*, and *Eli*, adjoyned. And that *AdadeZer* was of greateſt power, it appeareth firſt, becauſe it is againſt him, that *David* undertooke the warre: ſecondly, becauſe he levied 22000. Aramites out of the Territory of Damaſcus: as out of his proper Dominions: for had the Damaſcens had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would have given us his name: thirdly, becauſe *Syria Zoba*, of the moſt of which *AdadeZer* was King, was an exceeding large Plin.l.6.c.18. Territorie, & contained of *Arabia* the *Deſart* as far as to *Euphrates*, according to *Plinie*:

and the greateſt part of Arabia Petræa, according to *Niger*. Whoſoever was the firſt,
whether *Adadezer*, or *Adad* of Idumæa, *Rezon* was the ſecond: *Who was an enemie to* 1 Reg.11.
*Iſrael all the dayes of* Salomon. Beſides the evill that *Adad* did, the evill that *Hadad* did,
ſeemeth to be referred to *Hadad* of Idumæa, lately returned out of Egypt: to wit, 23.
yeares after he was carried thither.

The third King of Damaſcus, and of Zobah both, was *Hezion*; to *Hezion* ſucceeded *Tabrimmum*, 1 King.15.18.
or *Tabremmon*; to him *Benhadad*, as is proved in the firſt of Kings: For *Aſa*
King of Juda the ſon of *Abiam*, the ſon of *Roboam*, the ſon of *Salomon*, being vexed and invaded
by *Baaſha*, the ſucceſſour of *Nadab*, the ſon of *Jeroboam*, ſent to *Benhadad* the ſon of
*Tabrimmon*, the ſon of *Hezion*, King of Aram, that dwelt at Damaſcus, to invade Iſrael
(while *Baaſha* ſought to fortifie Rama againſt *Aſa*: therby to block him up, that he ſhould
not enter into any of the Territories of Iſrael) who according to the deſire of *Aſa*, having
received his preſents, willingly invaded the Countrie of Nepthalim, and tooke divers Cities,
and ſpoyles thence: *Aſa* in the meane while carrying away all the Materials, which
*Baaſha* had brought to fortifie Rama withall, and converted them to his owne uſe.

This *Benhadads* Father *Tabremmon* was in league with *Aſa*: and ſo was his Father *Hezion*: 1 Reg.15.v.18.
for *Aſa* requireth the continuance of that friendſhip from *Benhadad*, his ſonne:
though it ſeemeth that the gold and ſilver ſent him out of the Temple, was the moſt forcible
argument. And that this *Tabremmon* invaded Iſrael, before the enterprize of his
ſonne *Benhadad*, it is conjectured. For *Benhadad* when he was priſoner with *Achab*, ſpake
as followeth: *The Cities which my Father tooke from thy Father, I will reſtore: and thou* 1 Reg.20.v.34.
*ſhalt make ſtreetes or keepers of the borders, for thee in Damaſcus: as my father did in Samaria.*
And herein there ariſeth a great doubt (if the argument it ſelfe were of much importance)
becauſe *Tabremmon* was Father indeed to *Benhadad* which invaded *Baaſha*, at 1 Reg.15.
the requeſt of *Aſa*; But this *Benhadad* that twice entred upon *Achab*, and was the ſecond
time taken priſoner, was rather the ſonne of *Benhadad*, the firſt of that name, the confederate
of *Aſa* and *Abiam*, as before, than the ſonne of *Tabremmon*. For betweene the
invaſion of *Benhadad* the firſt, in *Baaſha's* time, and the ſiege of Samaria, and the overthrow
of *Benhadad* by *Achab*, there paſt 49. yeares, as may be gathered out of the raignes
of the Kings of Iſrael. So that if we allow 30. years, of age to *Benhadad*, when he invaded
*Baaſha*, and after that 49. yeares ere he was taken by *Achab*, which make eighty lacking
one, it is unlikely that *Benhadad* at ſuch an age ſhould make warre. Beſides all this,
the firſt *Benhadad* came with no ſuch pompe; but the ſecond *Benhadad* vaunteth, that
he was followed with 32. Kings: and therefore I reſolve, that *Benhadad* the ſonne of
*Tabremmon* invaded *Baaſha* and *Omri*; and *Benhadad* the ſecond invaded *Achab*, at
whoſe hands this *Benhadad* received two notorious overthrowes: the firſt at Samaria,
by a ſally of 700. Iſraelites: the ſecond at Aphec, where, with the like number in effect, 1 Reg.20.
the Iſraelites ſlaughtered 200000. of the Aramites; beſides 27000. which were cruſht
by the fall of the wall of Aphec. And this *Benhadad*, *Achab* againe ſetteth at liberty: to
whom hee rendreth thoſe townes that his father had taken from the Predeceſſour of
*Achab*, but being returned, he refuſed to render Ramoth Gilead, a frontier Towne, and of
great importance. Now three yeares after (for ſo long the league laſted) Ramoth not being 1 Reg.22.
delivered, *Achab* invaded Gilead, and beſieged the City, being aſſiſted by *Joſaphat*. The 3227.
Aramites came to ſuccour and fight: in which *Achab* is wounded, & dyeth that night. After 3232.
this, *Benhadad* ſendeth the commander of his forces called *Naaman*, to *Joram* the ſon
of *Achab* to be healed of the leproſie, and though *Elizeus* had healed him, yet he picketh
quarrell againſt *Joram*: and when *Joram* by *Elizeus* his intelligence had eſcaped his plot, 2 Reg.5.
he ſent men, and Chariots to take the Prophet, as is aforeſaid. After *Benhadad* beſieged 2 Reg.6.
Samaria again, and being terrified thence from heaven, he departeth home, and ſickneth, 2 Reg.6.
and ſendeth *Azael* with great gifts to *Elizeus*, to know his eſtate if he might live. *Azael*
returning, ſmothereth him. *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* call this *Benhadad Adar*, and the ſonne 2 Reg.7.
of *Adar*: *Amos* and *Hieremie* mention the towers of *Benhadad*. *Joſephus* writeth that 3234. Amo.1. Hier.49.
*Benhadad* and his ſucceſſour *Azael* were worſhipped for gods by the Syrians to his time, Ant.l.8.c.8.
for the ſumptuous Temples which they built in Damaſcus. The Syrians alſo boaſted
much of their antiquity, ignorant, ſaith he, that ſcarce yet 1100. yeares are compleate
ſince their warres with the Iſraelites.

*Hazael* or *Azael*, the firſt King of the race of the *Adads* of Damaſcus, was annointed by
*Eliſha*, or *Elizeus*, when he was ſent by *Benhadad* to the Prophet, to know whether *Ben-*

*hadad* ſhould recover his preſent ſickneſſe: He waged warre with *Joram*; who received divers wounds at the encounter at *Ramoth* in *Gilead*: from whence returning to be cured at *Jeſreel*, he and the King of *Juda*, *Ahaziah* or *Ochozias*, are ſlaine by *Jehu*, as before is ſaid. After the death of *Joram*; *Azael* continued warre againſt *Jehu*, and waſted *Gilead*, and all thoſe portions of *Gad*, *Reuben*, and *Manaſſe*, over *Jordan*. He then invaded *Juda*, and took *Gath*; but by gifts from *Joas* he was averted from attempting *Hieruſalem*: for he preſented him all the *hallowed things which* Jehoſaphat, Jehoram, *and* Ahaziah *his fathers, Kings of* Juda, *had dedicated; and which hee himſelfe had dedicated: and all the gold which was found in the treaſuries of the Lord, and in the Kings houſe.* This was the ſecond time that the Temple was ſpoyled to pleaſe the *Adads* of *Damaſcus*. For *Aſa* did preſent *Benhadad* with thoſe treaſures, when he invited him to warre upon *Baaſha* King of *Iſrael*. And notwithſtanding this compoſition betweene *Joas* and *Azaal*, yet a part of his Army ſpoyled the other Provinces of *Judæa*, and ſlaughtered many principall perſons. Laſtly, *Azael* vexed *Joahaz* the ſonne of *Jehu*, and brought him to that extremitie, as he left him but fifty Horſe-men, ten Chariots, and ten thouſand Foot-men of all his people.

2 Reg. 12. 17.
2 Reg. 12.
1 Reg. 15.
2 Reg. 13. 7.

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## §. III.

### *Of the later Kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.*

AFter *Hazael*, *Benhadad* the ſecond, or rather the third of that name, the ſonne of *Hazael*, raigned in *Damaſcus*: who fought againſt *Iſrael*, with ill ſucceſſe: for *Joas* King of *Iſrael*, the ſon of the unhappy *Joachaz*, as he was foretold by *Eliſha* the Prophet, beat *Benhadad* in three ſeveral battels: and he loſt all thoſe Cities to *Iſrael*, which his father *Hazael* had taken violently from *Joachaz*.

2 Reg. 13.
*Joſ. ant. c. 9.*

After this *Benhadad* the ſonne of *Hazael*, there ſucceeded three others by the ſame name, of whom the Stories are loſt, only *Nicholaus Damaſcenus* cited by *Joſephus*, makes mention of them: and in one of theſe Kings times it was that *Jeroboam* the ſecond, the ſonne of *Joas*, recovered *Damaſcus* it ſelfe to *Juda*, ſaith the *Geneva*, but better in *Junius*, *Utque recuperabat Damaſcum, & Chamatham Jehudæ pro Iſraele*; that is, *And how he recovered for Iſrael, Damaſcus and Chamatha of Judæa*; for theſe Cities ſomtimes conquered by *David*, did of right belong to the Tribe of *Juda*.

*Joſ. ant. l. 7 c. 6.*
1 Reg. 14. 28

And it is likely that this conqueſt upon the *Adads* was performed: the firſt of theſe three *Adads* then living, of whom there is no Storie. For when as *Jehoas* the King of the ten Tribes had thrice overcome the *Syrians* in the time of *Benhadad* the ſon of *Hazael*, and had recovered the Cities which *Hazael* had won from *Iſrael*; and ſo left his Kingdome to his ſonne *Jeroboam* the ſecond; it ſeemeth that this *Jeroboam* without delay, and having nothing elſe left for him to enterprize, inſtantly followed his fathers good fortune, and invaded *Damaſcus*.

*Razin*, or *Rezin*, after *Joſephus Raſes*, after *Zonaras Raaſon* the 10. *Adad*, making league with *Pekah*, or *Phacas* King of *Iſrael*, againſt *Achaz* King of *Juda*; both carry away a great number of priſoners. After this they both beſiege *Achaz* in *Hieruſalem*: but in vain. Then *Adad* alone invadeth *Elath*, and beating out the Jewes, maketh it a Colonie of *Syrians*. Wherefore *Achab* brought *Teglatphalaſſar* againſt *Razin*, who took him, and beheaded him, and won *Damaſcus*: with whom ended the line of the *Adads* and the Kingdome of *Damaſcus*: the *Aſſyrians* becomming maſters both of that and *Iſrael*. Theſe *Adads* as they raigned in order are thus reckoned.

2 Kin. 16. 5. 5.
Eſay 7.
*Joſ. ant. l. 9. c. 11.*

1 *Adadezer* the ſonne of *Rehob*.
2 *Rezin* the ſonne of *Eliadad*, or *Razin*.
3 *Hezion*.
4 *Tabremmon*.
5 *Benhadad*, who invaded *Baaſha*.
6 *Benhadad* the ſecond, taken priſoner by *Achab*.
7 *Hazael*, whom *Eliſha* foretold, with teares, of his advancement; the ſame who overthrew *Joram* King of *Iſrael* at *Ramoth Gilead*. And that there was a ſecond *Hazael* which preceded *Benhadad* the third, it is not improbable, becauſe that *Hazael* which took *Geth*, and compounded the war with *Joas*, made the Expedition thirty yeares, and perchance

more, after the firſt *Hazael* which ſtifled his maſter *Benhadad*, and had ſlaine *Joram* the ſonne of *Achab* King of *Iſrael*. For *Joas* began to raigne in the 7. yeare of *Jehu* King of *Iſrael*; and after he had raigned 23 yeares, the Temple was not yet repaired, after which (and how long we know not) it is ſaid that *Hazael* took *Geth*, and turned his face towards *Jeruſalem*. It is alſo ſome proofe that *Hazael* that took *Geth*, was not the ſame with *Hazael* that murthered *Benhadad*; becauſe he could not at that time be of good yeares, being, as it ſeemeth, the ſecond perſon in the kingdom, and Commander of *Benhadads* men of warre. To this *Hazael* (be he the firſt or ſecond) ſucceeded

8 *Benhadad* the third, whom *Joaſh* King of *Iſrael* thrice overthrew.

9 *Reſin* or *Rezin* the laſt, who joyned with *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, againſt *Juda*, at which time *Achaz* King of *Juda* waged for his defence *Teglatphalaſſer*.

Now between *Benhadad* the third, and *Rezin* the laſt, *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* finds three other Kings of the *Adads*, which make twelve in all.

For the reſt of the Princes of *Syria*, which were but *Reguli*, as thoſe of *Emath*, and *Geſſur*, we find that *Tohu* was King of *Emath* or *Camath* in *Davids* time, to whom he ſent his ſonne *Joram* with preſents, after *Davids* victorie againſt *Adadezer*. Alſo *Senacherib* ſpeaketh of a King of *Emath*, but names him not.

2 Sam. 8. 9.
Eſay 37.

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## §.IIII.

### *Of other leſſer Kingdomes of the Syrians, which being brought under the Aſſyrians, never recovered themſelves againe.*

OF *Geſſur* we finde two Kings named; to wit, *Talmai*, and his Father *Ammihur*: to *Talmai*, whoſe daughter *David* married, it was that *Abſalom* fled, who was his maternall grandfather. Of the Kings of *Sephena* or *Syria*, *Soba* or *Cœloſyria* there are two named, *Rehob* or *Rechob* the Father of *Adadezer*, and *Adadezer* himſelfe; and it is plaine that after his death the ſeat of the Kings of *Soba* was transferred to *Damaſcus*, a Citie better fitting their greatneſſe. After *Rezin* became Lord of both Principalities. And the race of theſe Kings of *Syria*, (which became ſo potent, and joyned *Soba*, *Damaſcus*, *Emath*, and the *Deſart* of *Arabia*, with other Provinces into one, under *Rezin* the ſecond of the *Adads*) as it began with *David*, ſo it ended at once with the kingdom of *Iſrael*. For *Ahaz* King of *Juda* waged the *Aſſyrian Teglatphalaſſar* againſt *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, and againſt *Rezin* the laſt King of *Damaſcus*: which *Teglath* firſt invaded *Damaſcena*, and the Region of *Soba*, and tooke *Damaſcus* it ſelfe, and did put to death *Rezin* the laſt, carrying the Inhabitants captive. This was the ſecond time that the *Aſſyrians* attempted *Iſrael*. For firſt *Phul Belochus* entred the borders thereof (*Menahem* governing *Iſrael*) who ſtopt the enterpriſe of *Phul* with a thouſand talents of ſilver: for this *Phul Belochus*, whoſe pedigree we will examine hereafter, being ſcarce warme as yet in his ſeat at *Babylon*, which he, with the helpe of his companion *Arbaces*, had wreſted from *Sardanapalus*: having beſides this King of *Syria* in his way, who ſeemed to be a great and ſtrong Prince, was content to take the compoſition of a thouſand talents of the King of *Iſrael* for that preſent time. But his ſonne *Teglath* following the purpoſe of his father *Belochus*, and finding ſo excellent an occaſion, as the warre begun betweene *Iſrael* and *Judah*, *Pekah* commanding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, his neighbour *Rezin* being alſo wrapt in that warre, and waſted in ſtrength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz* King of *Juda*, his impreſt and entertainment. So, firſt attempting *Damaſcus*, which lay in his path towards *Iſrael*, he carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great eaſe poſſeſt himſelf of the Cities of *Nephthalim*; leading with him a great part of the people captive. And his ſonne *Salmanaſſer*, whom *Ptolomie* calleth *Nabonaſſer*, after the revolt of *Hoſea*, forced *Samaria*, and rent that Kingdome aſunder. So as the line and race of *Ninus* in *Sardanapalus*, whom *Belochus* ſupplanted; the race and Monarchie of the *Syrian Adads* in *Rezin*, whom *Teglath* ſlaughtered; the Kingdome of *Iſrael* in *Hoſea*, whom *Salmanaſſer* overturned; happened neere about a time; that of *Ninus* in the dayes of *Belochus*, and the other two in the dayes of *Teglatphalaſſer*, and *Salmanaſſer* his ſon. For *Sardanapalus* periſhed, *Oſia* ruling *Juda*; and the other two Kingdomes were diſſolved, *Achaz* yet living.

Laſtly, the Kingdome of *Juda* it ſelfe, being attempted by *Senacherib*, the ſonne of *Salmanaſſer* in vaine, and preſerved for the time by God miraculouſly, was at length utterly overturned. *Hieruſalem* and the Temple burnt 132.yeares after the captivitie of *Iſrael* and *Samaria*: the deſtruction of *Iſrael* being in the ninth yeare of *Hoſea*: that of *Juda* in the eleventh of *Zedechia*. Now the Emperours of *Aſſyria* and *Babylon* held alſo the Kingdome of *Syria*, from the eight yeare of *Salmanaſſar*, to the laſt of *Baltaſſar*, whom 3603. *Herodotus* calleth *Labynitus*: in all about 200.yeares. After theſe the Perſians from *Cyrus* 3811. to *Darius* their laſt King, held *Syria* about 200.yeares.

Then *Alexander Macedon* tooke this among other Provinces of the Perſian Empire, & his ſucceſſors the *Seleucida* raigned therein, till it became ſubject unto the power of the Romanes, from whom it was wreſted long after by the Saracens, and remaineth now in poſſeſſion of the Turke, as ſhall be ſhewed in due place. Thus much of the Nations bordering upon the Iſraelites, with whom they had moſt to doe both in warre and peace, being the only people, whoſe Hiſtory in thoſe ancient times carried an aſſured face of truth.

# CHAP. XII.

## OF THE TRIBE OF BENJAMIN, and of Hieruſalem.

### §. I.

### *Of divers memorable places in the Tribe of Benjamin, whereof Hiericho, Gilgal, Muſpa, Bethel, Rama, Gobah and Gibha.*

OF the Tribe of *Benjamin*, the twelfth and youngeſt ſon of *Jacob*, whom he had by *Rachel*, there were muſtered at Mount Sinai 35000. able bodyes: all which periſhing in the Deſarts, there entred the Holy Land of their iſſues 45600. fit to beare Armes: and theſe had their Territorie on this ſide Jordan, between Juda and Ephraim: The Cities within this Tribe neereſt Jordan, are Lod, Haded, and Ono: of which, Lod and 1 *Chron*.8.12. Ono were built by *Shemed* a Benjamite: they were all three re-inhabited with Benjamites, after the returne out of Captivity, as is mentioned, *Nehem*.11.35. and *Eſd*.2.35. *Macc*.12.38. where *Adrichomius* reading Lod, Hadid, Ono, makes beſides Hadid in Nehemia, a Citie called Lodhadid: This Hadid or Chadid was rebuilt by *Simon Machabæus*.

Samarim or Tſemaraim, named of *Tſemary*, one of the ſons of *Canaan*, was another of their Cities: and further into the Land ſtandeth Jericho, one of the Toparchies and the laſt of Juda, ſeated in a moſt fruitfull valley, adorned with many palme trees: and therefore 1 *Reg*.16.34. *Joſ*.6.29. elſewhere called the City of Palmes. From the time of *Joſua*, who utterly deſtroyed it, it lay waſte untill the time of *Achad*: in whoſe dayes *Chiel* of Bethel laid the new foundation of it, in the loſſe of *Abiram* his eldeſt ſonne, and built the gates of it in the loſſe of his youngeſt ſon *Segub*: according to the curſe of *Joſua*: in which and other reſpects, *Hoſ*.12.14. calleth *Joſua* a Prophet. In after-times it was deſtroyed by *Veſpaſian*, and re-built by *Adrian*.

To the Southeaſt of Jericho ſtood * *Halmon* of the Levites, of which *Joſ*.21.18. To the South Betharaba, of which *Joſ.c*.15.and *c*.18. Then that Gilgal of which there is ſo much mention in the Scripture, where *Joſua* firſt ate of the fruits of the land, circumciſed all thoſe borne in the Deſarts, and celebrated the Paſſeover.

*.1 *Chron*.6.60. This *Halmon* is called *Halemeth*, whence they make a new Citie *Almath*, as if this Tribe had given five Cities to the *Levites*.

The reaſon of the name, or rather a memorable application of the Etymologie of this name (for it ſeemes by the place, *Deut*.11.30. that the name was knowne before the comming of the Iſraelites into *Canaan*) is noted *Joſ*.5.9. *Ob devolutionem probri Ægyptiaci*, becauſe their fore-skinnes (the people being there circumciſed) were tumbled downe the Hill: which from thence was called *Collis præputiorum*. This Gilgal was alſo called Geliloth, as appeares by comparing the places, *Joſ*.15.7.and 18.17. for it was in the borders of Jordan, of which *Joſ*.22.13.and *Geliloth* ſignifieth borders. It ſtood (though in ſome *Deut*.11.30. diſtance) directly Eaſtward, over againſt the two * Hils *Garazim* and *Hebal*: upon the one of which the bleſſings, and on the other the curſings were to be read to the people, both being the mountaines of *Ephraim*. Further, for the ſituation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it, and *Mitſpa* of *Benjamin* ( of which alſo we reade oft in the Scripture ) were ſeated about the midſt of the length of the land of *Canaan* : for which reaſon [a] *Samuel* choſe theſe two places, to either of which he came yearly to give judgement to the Iſraelites; of which two, *Gilgal*, ( as is ſaid ) was neere *Jordan* on the Eaſt ſide of this Tribe; and *Mitſpa* neere the Weſt Sea, towards the land of the Philiſtims.

The third place, which is named with theſe two, whither alſo *Samuel* uſed yearely to come, is [b] *Bethel*: which alſo was ſeated in this Tribe of *Benjamin*. But to return to *Gilgal*, which was the firſt place where the *Arke* reſided, after they paſt over *Jordan* ( from whence it was carried to *Silo*, and thence to *Kiriath-jeharim*, and at length to *Hieruſalem* ) here in *Gilgal* it was that *Joſua* pitched up the twelve ſtones, which were taken out of the channell of *Jordan*, when it was drie, that the Iſraelites might paſſe over it: by which Storie, as it is ſet downe *Joſ.* 4. it appears, that the ſame day that they paſſed over *Jordan*, they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the ſame *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was that *Samuel* hewed *Agag* the King of the *Amalekites* in pieces. And as for *Mitſpa*, whither *Samuel* came yearely to give judgement, there alſo were often the greateſt meetings held: as that for the revenge of the Levites wife againſt *Gibha*, and the Benjamites, *Ju* 20. 1. and another againſt the Philiſtims, 1 *Sam.* 7.12. Thither alſo *Judas Macchabæus* gathered the Jewes, ( when *Hieruſalem* was poſſeſt by the Heathen ) as it is 1 *Macch.* 3.47. in which place this reaſon of their meeting is added; *Quia locus orationi fuerat Mitſpæ anteà Iſraeli*. Touching this *Mitſpa*, to avoide confuſion, it is to be remembred, that the Scriptures mention foure places of this name: *Mitſpa* of *Juda*, of which *Joſ.* 15.38. [c] *Mitſpa* of *Gilead*, of which we have ſpoken already in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Mitſpa* of the *Moabites*, where *David* for a while held himſelfe, commending his Parents to the King of *Moab*, 1 *Sam.* 22.3. and laſtly, this chiefe *Mitſpa* of the *Benjamites*. And as in this place the chiefe meetings were held both before *Hieruſalem* was recovered from the *Jebuſites*, and alſo in the time of the Macchabees ( as we have ſaid ) when *Hieruſalem* was held by the wicked under *Antiochus*, ſo alſo in the time of *Hieremy*, after the deſtruction of the Temple by the Chaldees, *Gedaliah* whom *Nabuchodonoſor* left in *Jewrie*, as Governour over thoſe that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: untill (to the great hurt of the Jewes) he was ſlaine by the treaſon of *Iſmael*, one of the royall bloud of *Juda*, as it is *Jerem.* 41.

Neere unto this *Mitſpa*, the Scripture mentioneth *Beth-car*, after called *Aben-Hezer*, that is, the Stone of helpe: where *Samuel* pitched up the Pillar or Stone, for a Trophey againſt the Philiſtims.

Touching *Bethel*, which (as it ſeemes) was the third place where *Samuel* held his chiefe meetings for the miniſtring of Juſtice, that it was anciently called *Luz*, and how it was taken by the iſſue of *Joſeph* (though it belonged to the portion of *Benjamin*, as it is *Nehem.* 11.31. and *Joſ.* 18.22.) and how another Citie called *Luz* [d] neere adjoyning to it, was built by the man of the Citie which ſhewed the entrance to the Spies, as it is *Jud.* 1. and of the occaſion of the name from *Jacobs* viſion: and how *Jeroboam*, by erecting one of his calves here, of *Bethel* (which ſignifieth the houſe of God) made it [e] *Beth-aven*, that is, the houſe of Vanitie, *Hoſ.* 4.15. and 10.5. as alſo other memorable things of this place, they are ſo well known out of the Hiſtories of the Scripture, that we may wel paſſe them over.

The Territorie of *Bethel*, which at the firſt belonged to the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes, from the time of the great victorie of *Abia* againſt *Jeroboam*, (of which 2 *Chron.* 13.) was taken from them, and adjoyned to the Kingdome of *Juda*: and ſo it continued, as appeares by the Storie of *Joſias*: which performed the Prophecies againſt the altar of *Bethel*, 2 *Reg.* 23. whence thoſe coaſts 1 *Macc.* 11.34. are called *Apheræma*, which Greeke word ſignifieth as much as, *A thing taken away*, to wit, from the tenne Tribes. It was one of the three *Seigniories* or *Præfectures* which *Demetrius* in his Epiſtle mentioneth, as added by him to the *Dition* of the Jews, out of the *Samaritan Country*. A part of it, as appears 2 *Chron.* 13.19. was *Hephravin*, which *Joſ.* 18.23. is called *Hophram*, belonging to this Tribe of *Benjamin*.

Not farre from this *Bethel*, in this Tribe, we finde three other Cities, often mentioned

in

[a] 1 Sam.7.15.

[b] *Junius* in this place, for *Bethel* reades *Domum Dei fortis*, and interprets it, *Kireath-jeharim*, where the *Arke* abode. For (ſaith he) by the Law, *Exod.* 23.17. the greateſt meetings in their annuall feaſts were to be where the *Arke* was, but this place doth not ſpeake of feſtivall, but of judiciall meetings: and beſides the Prieſts did uſe to bring the *Arke* to their great meetings whereſoever they were, as appears 1 Sam. 12.11. & 14.18. neither is it eaſie to expound *Bethel* otherwiſe than for the Citie *Bethel*: though *Junius* alſo take it for the place where the *Arke* was, 1 Sam.10.3.

[c] It was no other than this *Mitſpa* of *Gilead*, of which *Joſ.* 11.8 as appears by that which is added, *Verſus orientem*, for *Joſua* notes the three quarters, North, Weſt, & Eaſt, to which he followed the *Canaanites*, though *Adrichomius* and others out of this place imagine a *Mitſpa* or *Maſpha* (as they write it) in the Tribe of *Aſſer*.

[d] 1 Sam.7.11. *Joſ.* 16.1.

[e] Borrowing the name of a neighbour town in the confines of the Kingdomes of *Juda* and *Iſrael* betweene *Hai* and *Bethel*, *Joſ.* 7.2. and 18.12.

in the Scriptures, *Rama*, *Gidba*, and *Gebah*. Of the name *Rama*, [b] it is noted already, in the deſcription of *Ephraim*, that there were many townes ſo called, becauſe of their high ſituation. But whereas they finde out *Rama* in the Tribe of *Juda* (as it ſeemes, becauſe *Mat.2.* it appeares that it bordered *Bethlehem*) and alſo out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* make *Silo* to have beene called *Rama*, and find yet another *Rama* in *Zabulon*; theſe three have no warrant in the Scripture. Of *Rama* in the Tribe of *Aſſer*, as it ſeemes, we have teſtimonie, *Joſ.19.29.* and of another in *Nephthalim*, *Joſ.19.36.* of a third *Rama*, where *Samuel* dwelt in Mount *Ephraim*, 1 *Sam.25.1.* which more often is called [c] *Ramatha*, and 1 *Sam.1.1.* *Ramathaim Tſophim*: for which the *Septuagint* have *Aramathaim-ſophim*, taking the Article affixed in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they thinke to *Joſeph* of *Arimathaa* *Mat.27.57.* was denominated.

Of a fourth *Rama* we read 2 *Reg.8.29.* which is *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. The firſt, which is moſt often mentioned, is *Rama* of *Benjamin*, ſeated, as we ſaid, neere *Bethel* the uttermoſt South-border of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes: for which cauſe *Baaſha* in the time of *Aſa* King of *Juda*, fortified it, to hinder thoſe that did flie from him to *Aſa*. Of this *Rama* or *Ramatha*, I ſhould rather think *Joſeph* was, that buried *Chriſt*: becauſe it was neerer to *Hieruſalem*, and after the captivitie belonged to *Judaa*, as it appeares, *Eſd.2.26.* where in that it is joyned with *Gebah*, it is plaine that he ſpeaketh of that *Rama* with whoſe ſtones (after *Baaſha* had ceaſed to build it) *Aſa* (as it is 1 *Reg.25.22.*) built *Gebah* adjoyning to it: both being in *Benjamin*. And as *Rama* was the South-border of the ten Tribes, ſo was *Gebah* the North-border of the Kingdom of *Juda*: whence 2 *Reg.23.8.* we reade that *Joſiah* through all his Kingdome, even from *Gebah*, which was the North-border, to *Beer-ſheba*, which was the South-border, deſtroyed the places of Idolatry.

The third Citie *Gibha*, which was the Citie of *Saul* (the wickedneſſe of which Citie in the time of the *Judges* had almoſt utterly rooted out this Tribe) *Adrichomius* confounds with *Gebah*, making one of two (as they are evidently diſtinguiſhed, *Eſay* 10.27.) of which word [d] *Gibha*, in another form *Gibbath*, he imagineth *Gibbaath*, another Citie in this Tribe, making two of one. The vicinitie of this Citie alſo to *Rama* of *Benjamin* appears *Jud.19.13.* where the *Levite* with his wife, not able to reach to *Rama*, took up his lodging at *Gibha*. By that place of 1 *Sam.22.6.* it ſeems that there was in this *Gibha* ſome Tower or *Cittadel* called *Rama*: where *Junius* reads *in excelſo*, for *in Rama*: but it may be that the name of the Kings Palace in this Citie, was *Rama*: as it ſeems that in *Rama* of *Samuel*, the name of the chiefe place where *Samuel* with the *Colledge* of *Prophets* abode, was *Najoth*. The great Citie of *Hai* overthrowne by *Joſua*, which *Joſ.7.2.* is placed neere *Beth-aven*, upon the Eaſt of *Bethel*, was in this Tribe, as is proved *Neh.7.10.30.* though it be not named by *Joſ.c.18.* for it was burned by him and laid deſolate, as it is *Joſ.8.28.* *In ſolitudinem in tumulum perpetuum.* Another Citie of chiefe note is reckoned *Joſ.18.25.* In this Tribe was *Gibhon*, the chiefe Citie of the *Hevites*: whoſe cunning to binde the *Iſraelites* by oath to ſave their lives, is ſet downe *Joſ.9.* whence they were reckoned among the * *Nethinai* or *Proſelites*, and were bound to certaine publique ſervices in the houſe of God: which oath of ſaving theſe *Gebeonites*, broken in part after by *Saul*, was by God puniſhed by a famine, 2 *Sam.21.1.* This *Gibeon* or *Gibhon* with *Almon* and *Jebah* (of both which we have ſpoken) and with *Hanothoth* the natall place of *Hieremie* the Prophet, were ſaid *Joſ.21.28.* to be given to the *Levites* by the *Benjamites*. Neere to this *Hanothoth* was *Nob*, as appeares 1 Reg.2.26. where *Abiathar* the Prieſt, which was of *Nob* before it was deſtroyed by *Saul*, is ſent to his grounds at *Hanothoth*. It is reckoned in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, *Neh.9.31.* and though in the time of *Saul* the reſiding place of the *Ark* was at *Kiriath-jeharim*: yet by the lamentable tragedie of bloudſhed, which *Saul* raiſed in this place (as it is ſet downe 1 *Sam.21.* and 22.) in the judgement of *Junius*, it is proved that the Tabernacle was there for a time.

*Micmas* alſo in this Tribe, *Nehem.9.31.* was a place of fame, of which *Eſay* 10.28. where alſo he nameth *Gallim*, and *Migrom* in this Tribe. In *Micmas* *Saul* had his Campe 1 *Sam.13.2.* (when he left *Gibba* to *Jonathan*) and there alſo was *Jonathan Macchabæus* hi aboad, 1 *Macc.9.73.* Of *Giſcala* in *Galilee* *Joſephus* makes often mention, but of any he in *Benjamin*, which they make the natall place of S. *Paul*, whence (they ſay) when it wa taken by the *Romans*, he ſailed with his parents to *Tharſis*, of this I find no good warrant Other places of leſſe importance I omit, and come to the Citie of *Hieruſalem*; and th

Prince

[b] See c.9 §.1.

[c] Of this *Amatha* I underſtand the place 1 Macc.11.34. where it is named for one of the three *Præfectures* which, *Demetrius* yeelds to the *Jewes* out of the countrey of *Samaria*: this lying toward the Eaſt to *Jericho*, and *Lydda* toward the Weſt, and *Apheræma* (of which even now we ſpake) lying in the middeſt betweene the two other.

A ſixt *Rama* it ſeemes there was in the Tribe of *Simeon* toward the South, which *Joſ.19.8.* is called *Rama* of the South, and otherwiſe *Bahalath-beer*.

[d] *Gibha* in conſtruction, that is, Governing a genitive caſe is *Gibbath*: whence the *Vulgar* out of the *Septuagint* reade *Joſ.24.33.* *Gabbath Phinees*: for which *Junius* hath *Collis Phineaſi* (for this word is ofttimes an Appellative ſignifying a Hill) but *Adrichomius* taking notice of this, builds his City *Gabaath* upon this Text, and placeth it in *Benjamin*, when as the words adjoyned, note that this Hill was in the mountaines of *Ephraim*.

* The word *Nethinim*, or *Nethinai*, is as much as *dati* (as it were *à Deo dati*) or as *Junius* expounds it, *deditítii*: it is uſed, 1 Chro.9.2. and in *Eſdras* and *Nehemias* often.

Princes and Governours of this Citie : A great part whereof was in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, whence *Joſ.*18.28. it is named among the Cities of *Benjamin*.

## §. II.

## *Of divers memorable things concerning* Hieruſalem.

AT what time Hieruſalem was built (which afterward became the Princeſſe of all Cities ) it doth not appeare. Some there are who imagine that *Melchiſedec* was the founder thereof in *Abrahams* time. But, * according to others, that Citie out of which *Melchiſedec* encountred *Abraham* ( in his returne from the overthrow of the *Aſſyrian* and *Perſian* Kings or Captaines, when *Lot* was made priſoner ) ſtandeth by the river of *Jordan*, in the halfe Tribe of *Manaſſe* bordering *Zabulon*, which was alſo called *Salem*, and by the Greekes *Solima*.

* See in the hither halfe of *Manaſſe*.

Hieruſalem (whenſoever or by whomſoever built) was a principall Citie in *Joſua* his time : yet not ſo renowned as Hazor the *Metropolis* (in thoſe dayes and before) of all the *Canaanites*. *AdoniZedek* (whom *Joſua* ſlew) was then King of Hieruſalem. That it was belonging to the *Jebuſites* it is manifeſt : for how long ſoever they held it before *Moſes* time, they were Maſters and Lords thereof almoſt 400. yeeres after him: even till *David* wanne it : and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Jebuſæi* ( the children of *Jebuſæus* the ſon of *Canaan*) built ; after whom it was called *Jebus*. And ſo much did that Nation relye on the ſtrength of the place, as when *David* attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blinde, and impotent people ſhould defend it.

2 Sam.5.6.

*David*, after he had by Gods aſſiſtance poſſeſt it, and turned out the *Jebuſites*, gave it an exceeding great increaſe of circuit: ſtrengthened it with a Citadel or Caſtle : and beautified it with many Palaces, and other buildings: changing the name from *Jebuſſalem*, the Citie of the *Jebuſites*, to Hieruſalem, which the Greeks call *Hieroſolyma*. After *Davids* time *Salomon* amplified, beautified, and ſtrengthned it exceedingly. For beſides the work of the Temple, which was no leſſe admirable than renowned among all Nations, the Palaces, gates, and wals, could not any where in the world be exampled: and beſides, that it had 150000. Inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had 60. foot depth, cut out of the very rocke : and 250. foot of breadth : whereof the like hath ſeldome been heard of, either ſince or before.

*Joſ.cont.Ap.l.*1.
*Strab.geog.l.*16.

After the death of *Salomon*, and that the Kingdome of the Jewes was cut aſunder, *Shiſhac* King of *Egypt*, and his predeceſſor, having bred up for that purpoſe *Adad* the *Iduməan*, and *Jeroboam Salomons* ſervant ; and both married to *Egyptians* : the State by the one diſturbed, by the other broken : *Shiſhac* firſt invaded the Territorie of *Juda*, entred Hieruſalem, and ſackt it, and became maſter not onely of the riches of *Salomon*, but of all thoſe ſpoyles which *David* had gotten from *AdadeZer*, *Tobu*, the *Ammonites*, and other Nations. It was again ſackt, and a part of the wall thrown down by *Joas* King of *Iſrael* ; while *Amaſia* the twelfth King thereof governed *Juda*.

2 Chron.12.
2 Kin.14.
2 Kin.16.

Not long after, *AchaZ* the fifteenth King of *Juda* impoveriſhed the Temple, and preſented *Teglatphalaſſer* with the treaſures thereof. And *Manaſſes* the ſonne of *EZekiah*, the ſonne of *AchaZ*, by the vaunts made by *EZekiah*, to the Embaſſadours of *Merodach*, loſt the remaine, and the very bottome of their treaſures. It was againe ſpoyled by the *Babylonians*, *Joakim* then raigning. But this ungratefull, Idolatrous and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by theſe Gods gentle corrections and afflictions, but perſiſting in all kinde of impietie, filling the City even to the mouth with innocent bloud, God raiſed up that great *Babylonian* King *Nabuchodonoſor*, as his ſcourge and revenger, who making this glorious Citie and Temple, with all the Palaces therein, and the Walls and Towers which embraced them, even and levell with the duſt, carried away the ſpoyles with the Princes and people, and cruſht them with the heavie yoake of bondage and ſervitude full ſeventy yeares, inſomuch as *Sion* was not onely become as a torne and plowed-up field, Hieruſalem an heape of ſtones, and rubble, the Mountaine of the Temple as a grove, or wood of thornes and briars, but ( as *Hierome* ſpeaketh ) even the birds of the Ayre ſcorned to flie over it, or the beaſts to tread on that defiled ſoyle.

1 Chron 5.26.
2 Kin.25.
2 Kin 19.
2 *Par.*18.
*Mich.*3.*Hier.*
25.26.29.

Then 70. yeares being expired, according to the prophecie of *Daniel*, and the Jews by the grace of *Cyrus* returned : the Temple was againe built, though with interruption and

*Hier.tom.*3.*trad.*
*Heb.*

difficultie

Neh.12.34.&c.

*The firſt of the *Egyptian* Kings after *Alexander Macedon*, who diſſembling his Religion, came up to *Hieruſalem* to offer Sacrifice. *Joſ.12.an.1.*

difficultie enough: and the Citie meanely inhabited, and without wals or other defences, for ſome 60. and odde yeares, till *Nehemia* by the favour of *Artaxerxes* re-built them. Then again was the Temple and Citie ſpoyled by *Bagoſes*, or *Vagoſes*, the Lievtenant of *Artaxerxes*: after by * *Ptolomæus* the firſt; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*: and again by *Apollonius* his Lievtenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not deſtroyed, nor robbed, though *Craſſus* in his *Parthian* expedition tooke as much as hee could of that which *Pompey* ſpared.

M.T.C. *pro Scylla*

But the damages which it ſuſtained by the violence of ſacrilegious Tyrants, were commonly recompenced by the induſtrie or bountie of good Princes, the voluntarie contribution of the people; and the liberalitie of ſtrangers. Before the captivitie, the people of the land, through the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large offerings to repaire the Temple of *Salomon*. The wrong done by *Ptolomæus Lagi* to the ſecond Temple, was requited by the bountie of his ſon *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*. The miſchiefe wrought by *Antiochus Epiphanes* and his followers, was amended partly by the great offerings which were ſent to *Hieruſalem* out of other Nations. Finally, all the loſſes, which either the Citie or Temple had endured, might well ſeeme forgotten in the raigne of *Herod*, that uſurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the Citie, new built the Temple, and with many ſumptuous workes did ſo adorne them, that he left them farre more ſtately and glorious than they had beene in the dayes of *Salomon*.

### §. III.

### *Of the deſtruction of Hieruſalem by the Romans.*

1 Eſd.4.45.

IN this flouriſhing eſtate, it was at the comining of our *Saviour Chriſt Jeſus*: and after his death and aſcenſion, it ſo continued about 40. yeares. But then did *Titus* the *Roman*, being ſtirred up by God to be the revenger of *Chriſt* his death, and to puniſh the *Jewes* ſinfull ingratitude, incompaſſe it with a *Roman* armie, and became Lord thereof. He began the ſiege at ſuch time as the *Jewes*, from all parts, were come up to the celebration of the *Paſſeover*: ſo as the Citie was then filled with many hundreds of thouſands of all ſorts; and no maner of proviſion or ſtore for any ſuch multitudes. An extreme famine, with the civill diſſenſion, oppreſt them within the walls; a forcible enemie aſſailed them without. The *Idumaans* alſo, who lay in wait for the deſtruction of the *Jewes* Kingdome, thruſt themſelves into the Citie, of purpoſe to betray it: who alſo burnt the Temple, when *Nabuchodonoſor* tooke it. And to be ſhort, there periſhed of all ſorts, from the firſt beſieging to the conſummation of the victorie, eleven hundred thouſand ſoules: and the Citie was ſo beaten downe and demoliſhed, as thoſe which came afterward to ſee the deſolation thereof, could hardly beleeve that there had beene any ſuch place or habitation. Only the three *Herodian* towers (works moſt magnificent, and over-topping the reſt) were ſpared, as well for lodgings for the *Romane* garriſons, as that thereby their victorie might be the more notorious and famous: for by thoſe buildings of ſtrength and State remaining, after-ages might judge what the reſt were; and their honour be the greater and more ſhining, that there-over became victorious.

After this, ſuch *Jewes* as were ſcattered here and there in *Judæa*, and other Provinces, began again to inhabit ſome part of the Citie; and by degrees to re-build it, and ſtrengthen it as they could, being then at peace, & tributaries to the *Roman* State: but after 65. years, when they again offered to revolt and rebel, *Ælius Adrianus the Emperour* ſlaughtered many thouſands of them, and overturned thoſe three *Herodian* Towers, with all the reſt, making it good which *Chriſt* himſelfe had foretold; *That there ſhould not ſtand one ſtone upon another*, of that ungratefull Citie. Afterward, when his furie was appeaſed, and the Prophecie accompliſhed, he took one part without the wal, wherein ſtood *Mount Calvarie, and the Sepulchre of Chriſt*, and excluding of the reſt the greateſt portion, he againe made it a Citie of great capacitie, and called it after his owne name, *Ælia Capitolia*. In the gate toward *Bethel*, he cauſed a Sow to be cut in Marble, and ſet in the front therof, which he did in deſpight of the *Jews* Nation: making an *Edict*, that they ſhould not from thence-forth ever enter into the Citie, neither ſhould they dare ſo much as to behold it from any other high place over-topping it.

But the Chriſtian Religion flouriſhing in Palæſtina, it was inhabited at length by all Nations, and eſpecially by Chriſtians; and ſo it continued 500. yeares. *Guil.Tir.Bel-Sa.l.14.c.12.*

It was afterward in the 636. yeare after Chriſt, taken by the Egyptian Saracens, who held it 400. and odde yeares. *Onuphrius Chro.*

In the yeare 1099. it was regained by *Godfrey* of Buillon, by aſſault; with an exceeding ſlaughter of the Saracens; which *Godfrey*, when he was elected King thereof, refuſed to be crowned with a Crowne of gold, becauſe Chriſt, for whom he fought, was therein crowned with thornes. After this recovery, it remained under the ſucceſſors of *Godfrey* fourescore and eight yeares: till in the yeare 1197. it was regained by *Saladine* of Egypt: and laſtly, in the yeare 1517. in the time of *Selim*, the Turkes caſt out the Egyptians, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzumbaret*, or the Holy Citie. Neither was it Jeruſalem alone that hath ſo oftentimes bin beaten downe and made deſolate, but all the great Cities of the World have with their Inhabitants, in ſeverall times and ages, ſuffered the ſame ſhipwracke. And it hath bin Gods juſt will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not onely to puniſh the impiety of men, by famine, by the ſword, by fire, and by ſlaverie; but he hath revenged himſelfe of the very places they poſſeſt; of the walls and buildings, yea, of the ſoyle and the beaſts that fed thereon. *G.Tir.l.8.c.5. 18.19,&c.*

For, even that land, ſometime called holy, hath in effect loſt all her fertilitie and fruitfulneſſe; witneſſe the many hundreds of thouſands which it fed in the dayes of the Kings of Juda and Iſrael, it being at this time all over, in effect, exceeding ſtony and barraine. It alſo pleaſed God, not onely to conſume with fire from heaven, the Cities of the Sodomites; but the very ſoile it ſelfe hath felt, and doth feele the hand of God to this day. God would not ſpare the beaſts that belonged to *Amalek*, no not any ſmall number of them to be ſacrificed to himſelfe: neither was it enough that *Achan* himſelfe was ſtoned, but that his moveables were alſo conſumed and brought to aſhes.

## §. IIII.

## *Of the vaine and malicious reports of Heathen writers, touching the ancient Jewes.*

OF the originall of the Jewes, prophane writers have conceived diverſly and injuriouſly. *Quintilian* ſpeakes infamouſly of them, and of their Leader; who (ſaith he) gathered together a pernicious Nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them Egyptains. Others affirme that while *Iſis* governed Egypt, the people were ſo increaſed, as *Ieroſolymus* and *Judas* led thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions: which might be meant by *Moſes* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moſes* was accidentall, becauſe he was taken up and ſaved out of the waters. But *Iuſtine*, of all other moſt malicious, doth derive the Jewes from the Syrian Kings; of whom, *Damaſcus*, ſaith he, was the firſt: and to him ſucceeded *Abraham*, *Moſes* and *Iſrael*. He againe ſuppoſeth (ſomewhat contrary to himſelfe) that *Iſrael* had ten ſonnes, among whom he divided the land of Juda; ſo called of *Judas* his eldeſt, who had the greateſt portion. The youngeſt of the ſonnes of *Iſrael* he calleth *Ioſeph*: who being brought up in Egypt, became learned in magicall Arts, and in the interpretations of Dreames, and ſignes prodigious; and this *Joſeph* (ſaith he) was father to *Moſes*: who with the reſt, by reaſon of their foule diſeaſes, and leſt they ſhould infect others, were baniſhed Egypt. Further, he telleth how theſe men thus baniſhed, when in the Deſarts they ſuffered extreme thirſt and famine, and therein found reliefe the ſeventh day, for this cauſe ever after obſerved the ſeventh day, and kept it Holy; making it a Law among themſelves, which afterward became a branch of their Religion. He addeth alſo, that they might not marrie out of their owne Tribes, leſt diſcovering their uncleaneneſſe, they might alſo be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the Egyptians. Theſe and the like fables hath *Juſtine*. *Iuſtin.l.36.*

*Cornelius Tacitus* doth as groſſely belie them, in affirming, that in the inmoſt Oratorie of their Temple, they had the golden head of an Aſſe, which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himſelfe, having in the fift booke of his owne Hiſtory truely confeſſed of the Jewes, that they worſhipped one only God: & thought it moſt prophane to repreſent

ſent the *Deitie* by any materiall figure, by the ſhape of a man, or any other creature: and they had therefore in their Temples no Image or repreſentation, no not ſo much as in any Citie by them inhabited. Somewhat like this hath *Alexander Polyhiſtor*, in *Stephanus*; who alſo makes *Judas* with *Idumaa*, the firſt parents of the *Jewes*.

*Claudius Iolaus* drawes them from *Judæus*, whoſe parents were *Sparton* and *Thebis*; whence it came that the *Spartans* or *Lacedamonians* challenged kindred of the *Hebrewes*: but they did it as deſcended of *Abraham*, ſaith *Joſephus*. Some of theſe reports ſeeme to have bin gathered out of divine letters; though wreſted and perverted, according to the cuſtome of the Heathen. For ſo have they obſcured and altered the Storie of the Creation, of *Paradiſe*, of the Floud; and given new names to the children of *Adam* in the firſt age: to *Noah* and his ſonnes, in the ſecond: and ſo to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, *Moſes*, and the reſt of the Fathers, and leaders of the *Hebrewes*: all which fainings, as touching the *Jewes* and their originalls, *Joſephus* againſt *Appion*, and *Tertullian* have ſufficiently anſwered. For that the *Hebrewes* were the children of *Arphaxad* and *Heber*, no man doubteth: and ſo *Chaldaans* originally, taking name either of *Heber*, the ſonne of *Sale*, or elſe (ſaith *Montanus*) of wandring, as is before remembred. And therefore doth *Stephanus*, the Greeke *Grammarian*, derive the *Hebrewes* or *Jewes*, from *Arabon*; having miſtaken the name of *Abraham*; who was the ſonne of *Heber*, in the ſixth deſcent. Their ancient names were firſt changed by the two grand-children of *Abram*: for after *Jacob*, otherwiſe *Iſrael*, the chiefe part were called *Iſrael*, another part after *Eſau* or *Edom*, *Edomites*; at length the remnant of *Jacob*, being moſt of the Tribe of *Juda*, honoured the name of *Judas*, the ſonne of *Jacob*, and became *Judæans* or *Jewes*: as alſo for a time in the name of *Ephraim* the ſon of *Joſeph*, the chiefe of the *Patriarches* of the ten Tribes, the reſt of the ten Tribes were comprehended: but were firſt rooted out when the Kingdome of *Iſrael* fell. The *Judæans* continued their names, though they ſuffered the ſame ſervitude not long after, under *Nabuchodonoſor*.

Cited by *Stephanus* in *Judaa*.

*Tert.in Apol.*

*Caleb.f.63.*

The governement which this Nation under-went, was firſt paternall: which continued till they ſerved the Egyptians. They were ſecondly ruled by their Captaines and Leaders, *Moſes* and *Joſua*, by a policie Divine. Thirdly, they ſubjected themſelves to Judges. Fourthly, they deſired a King, and had *Saul* for the firſt: Of whom, and his ſucceſſours, before we intreat, we are firſt to ſpeake of their Government under Judges, after the death of *Joſua*: with ſomewhat of the things of Fame in other Nations about theſe times.

## CHAP. XIII.

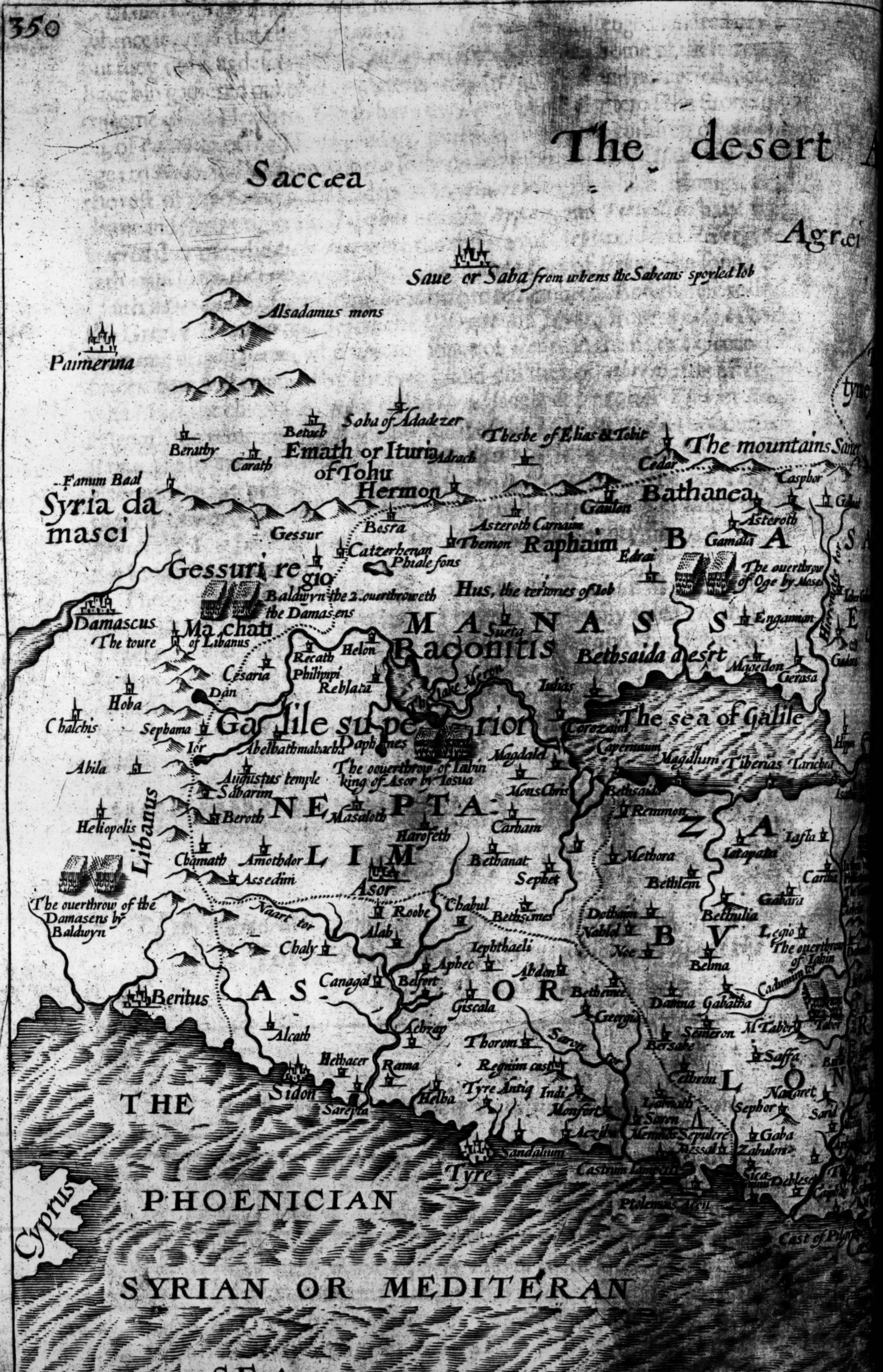
### *Of the memorable things that happened in the World, from the death of* Joſua *to the Warre of Troy: which was about the time of* Jephtha.

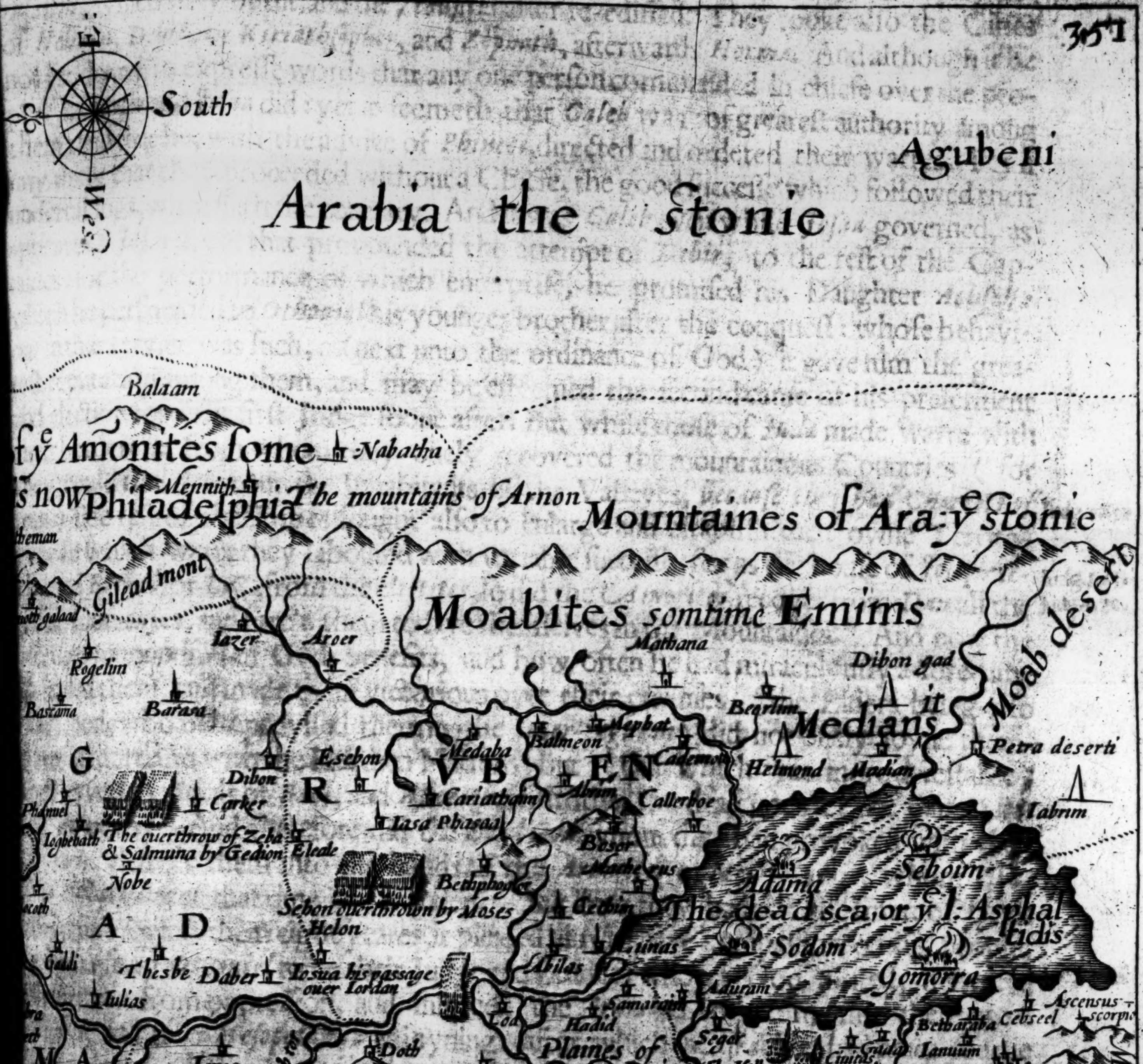
### §. I.

### *Of the* inter-regnum *after* Joſua's *death: and of* Othoniel.

WHen *Joſua* was now dead, who with the advice of the 70. Elders, and the high Prieſt, held authoritie over the people, & ordered that Common-weale: it pleaſed God to direct the Tribe of *Juda* (in whom th Kingdome was afterward eſtabliſhed) to undertake the Warre againſ the *Canaanites*, over whom (with Gods favour, and the aſſiſtance o *Simeon*) they became victorious.

In the firſt attempt which they made, they not onely ſlew tenne thouſan but made *Adonibezek* priſoner: the greateſt and cruelleſt Commander, both of th *Canaanites* and *Perizites*. This tyrants crueltie, as elſe where hath beene ſignified, the returned in the ſame kinde upon his owne head: and ſo by the torments which h now felt in his owne perſon (before no otherwiſe knowne unto him but by his ma cio


The desert
Saccæa
Agræ
Saue or Saba from whens the Sabeans spoyled Iob
Alsadamus mons
Palmerina
Soba of Adadezer
Betueh
Berathy
Carath
Emath or Ituria
of Tohu
Adrach
Thesbe of Elias & Tobit
Cedar
The mountains Sanir
Fanum Baal
Syria da masci
Hermon
Bathanea
Casphor
Gaulon
Asteroth
Gessur
Besra
Asteroth Carnaim
Themon
Raphaim
Edrai
Gamala
B A
Catzerheran
Phiale fons
Gessuri regio
Baldwyn the 2. ouerthroweth the Damasens
Hus, the terrines of Iob
The ouerthrow of Oge by Moses
Damascus
The toure of Libanus
Machati
M A N A S S E
Baconitis
Sueta
Bethsaida desert
Engannim
Magedon
Gerasa
Cesaria
Dan
Recath
Philippi
Helon
Reblata
Lake Meron
Iulias
Hoba
Chalchis
Sephama
Ior
Galile superior
Daphnes
Corozaim
The sea of Galile
Capernaum
Magdalum
Tiberias
Tarichea
Abelbathmabacha
The oouerthrow of Iabin king of Asor by Iosua
Magdalel
Abila
Augustus temple
Sabarim
Mons Chris
Bethsaida
Libanus
Heliopolis
Beroth
NEPTALIM
Masaloth
Remmon
Harofeth
Carham
ZABVLON
Iafia
Iotapata
Chamath
Amothdor
Assedim
Asor
Bethanat
Sephet
Methora
Bethlem
Carthe
Gabara
The ouerthrow of the Damasens by Baldwyn
Naart tor
Roobe
Chabul
Bethsemes
Dotham
Nabal
Noe
Bethulia
Legio
The ouerthrow of Iabin
Alab
Iephthaeli
Chaly
Aphec
Abdon
Belma
Canagal
Belfort
ASOR
Bethemec
Dumna
Gabatha
Berithus
Giscala
Georgia
Alcath
Achzip
Thoron
Sarepta tor
Semeron
M. Tabor
Bersabe
Saffa
Bethacer
Rama
Reguim cast
Celbron
Nazaret
Sidon
Sarepta
Helba
Tyre Antiq
Indi
Monfort
Lamnath
Sinim
Sephor
Gaba
Zabulon
Aceziba
Memnons Sepulcre
Messa
Sica
Sandalium
Tyre
Castrum Iamberti
Ptolemais Acon
Cast of Pilg
Cyprus
THE
PHOENICIAN
SYRIAN OR MEDITERAN
SEA
W. H. sc.


South
West
Agubeni
Arabia the stonie
Balaam
of y^e Amonites some
is now Philadelphia
Nabatha
Mennith
The mountains of Arnon
Mountaines of Ara: y^e stonie
Gilead mont
Moabites somtime Emims
Moab desert
Mathana
Dibon gad
Medians
Petra deserti
Iabrim
Iazer
Aroer
Rogelim
Barasa
Bastama
G
Medaba
Balmeon
Mephat
Cademoth
Bearlim
Helmond
Median
Esebon
R
VB
EN
Dibon
Carker
Cariathaim
Abarim
Callerhoe
Iasa Phasael
The overthrow of Zeba & Salmuna by Gedeon
Eleale
Nobe
Bethphogor
Sebon overthrown by Moses
Helon
Adama
Seboim
The dead sea, or y^e l. Asphaltidis
Sodom
Gomorra
A
D
Galdi
Iulias
Thesbe
Daber
Iosua his passage over Iordan
Abilas
Livias
Aduram
Segor
Betharaba
Ianum
Cebseel
Ascensus scorpio
M
A
Ianoc
Doth
Plaines of Jerico
Galgala
Almath
The Valley of blessing where the Moabites Ammonites & Idumeans slew each other when they came to invade Iehoshaphat
Desert of Ieruel
Nehsa
Arad
Rabba
Eder
Delem
Triphaia
Phaselum
Ephron
B
Bethel
Iericho
Giscalis
Anathot
Adomim
Herodium
Iethan
Thecua
Ziph
Iota
IV
DA
Cina
Iagur
Dimona
Mountains of Idumea
Bethel
Samaria
Sichem or Neapolis
Mount Ephraim
Gabaath
Sile
Naioth
IA
Bethera
Jerusalem
Bethzebara
Iezrael
Bethleem
Helon
Adoda
Cedes
EPH
RAIM
The burial of Ioseph
Iesleti
Gabaon
MI
N
The Valley of Raphaim
The Oak of Mamre
Hebron
Enachim
Canathberbe
The great battel between Zara k. of Arabia & Asa k. of Iuda
Ascna
Iethnan
Ziph
Pharaton
Thamnath
The Sepulcher of Iosua
Nebo
Bethsura
Bezec
Eglon
Elam
Ceila
Etam
Estemo
Bethoron sup.
Adarsa
Maspha
Iecrsael
Emmaus
Iarimoth
Zanoe
Iapbna
Etam Horma
Soco
Baloth
Eston
The overthrow of Nicanor by Iudas
Gaser
Helam
Azecha
Anbai
Leban
Aialon
Lachis
Modin
Selebin
Sarara
Sorec
Aen
Cariathsephor or Dabir
SI
Sama
Adar
Asmona
Gerar
Saron
Bethsames
The burials of y^e Machabees
Selim
Lebaoth
Siglak
Dumma
Bethphale
Caspin
Gethremmon
Iamnia
Lidda or Diospolis
Geth
DAN
Gabathon
Esthaol
Sarohen
Asan
Bersabe & y^e desert so cal.
Apollonia
Ioppe
The fountain of Ethiopia
Bethlebaoth
Baroth
Accaron
Azotus
Ascalon
ME
ON
Gaza
Besor
The sandy des.
Balaath
Maioma
Anthedo
THE ÆGYPTIAN SEA

cious imagination) made him confeſſe and acknowledge Gods judgements againſt himſelfe.

The tribes of *Juda* and *Simeon* did alſo maſter and poſſeſſe during this *inter-regnum* (or as ſome thinke, before the death of *Joſua*) the Cities of *Azotus*, *Askalon*, *Ekron* and *Hieruſalem*, which they burnt, and the *Jebuſites* after re-edified. They tooke alſo the Cities of *Hebron*, *Debir*, or *Kiriathſepher*, and *Zephath*, afterwards *Horma*. And although it be not ſet downe in expreſſe words that any one perſon commanded in chiefe over the people, as *Moſes* and *Joſua* did: yet it ſeemeth that *Caleb* was of greateſt authority among them: and that he, with the advice of *Phinees*, directed and ordered their warres. For if any think that they proceeded without a Chiefe, the good ſucceſſe which followed their undertakings, witneſſeth the contrary. And it was *Caleb* even while *Joſua* governed, as appeares, *Joſ.*10.39. that propounded the attempt of *Debir*, to the reſt of the Captaines: for the performance of which enterpriſe, he promiſed his Daughter *Achſah*: which he performed to *Othoniel* his younger brother after the conqueſt: whoſe behaviour in that ſervice was ſuch, as (next unto the ordinance of God) it gave him the greateſt reputation among them, and may be eſteemed the ſecond cauſe of his preferment and election for their firſt Judge ſoone after. But while thoſe of *Juda* made warre with their borderers, from whom they onely recovered the mountainous Countries (for they could not drive out the Inhabitants of the Valleyes, *becauſe they had Chariots of Iron.*) Judg.1.19. The reſt of the Tribes ſought alſo to enlarge and eſtabliſh their owne Territories. In which warre they laboured with variable ſucceſſe: Judg.1.25. for as the houſe of *Joſeph* recovered *Bethel*, or *Luz*, from the *Hittites*, ſo did the *Amorites* recover from *Dan* all the plaine Countries, Judg.1.30. and forc't them to ſave themſelves in the Mountaines. And now the *Iſraelites* unmindfull of Gods benefits, and how often he had miraculouſly a-fore-time defended them, and made them victorious over their enemies (the Elders being alſo conſumed, who better adviſed them in the *Inter-regnum*) did not onely joyne themſelves in marriage with the Heathen Nations: but (that which was more deteſtable) they ſerved the Idols of *Baal*, and *Aſteroth*, with other the dead gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*. And therefore did the *Lord God*, whom they had provoked with their *Idolatrie*, deliver them into the hands of the *Aramites* of *Meſopotamia*, whom *Chuſhan Riſhathaim* at that time commanded. But after they had felt the ſmart of Gods diſpleaſure againſt them eight yeares, it pleaſed him to have compaſſion on his people, and to raiſe up *Othoniel* to be their Judge and Leader: Judg.3.10. who by God aſſiſted, delivered his brethren from oppreſſion, and inforced the *Aramites* to returne into their owne *Deſarts*, and into *Meſopotamia* adjoyning: after which the *Iſraelites* had peace fourtie yeares, during all the time of *Othoniels* government. 2608. This *Othoniel* is thought by *Toſtatus* to have bin the younger brother of *Caleb*, 2648. for as much as in the booke of *Judges* he is twice called *Othoneil*, the ſonne of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* younger brother. Others doe rather interpret thoſe words [*Calebs* younger brother] as if they ſignified the meaneſt of his kindred. Indeed it is not likely that *Calebs* Daughter ſhould marrie with her owne Uncle; yet it followes not therefore that *Othoniel* ſhould have bin the meaneſt of the kindred. Wherefore we may better thinke that he was the Nephew of *Caleb*, (as ſome learned men expound it) and as the very words of Scripture ſeeme to enforce. For *Caleb* was the ſonne of *Jephunneth*, and *Othoniel* the ſonne of *Cenas*, *Calebs* younger brother; that is, he was not brother to *Caleb*, but his younger brothers ſonne; to whom it was not onely lawfull, but commendable to marry with his Couſin German *Calebs* daughter.

How long it was from the death of *Joſua* to the government of *Othoniel*, it cannot be found: but it ſeemes to have bin no ſhort time. For many Warres were made in that ſpace againſt the people of the Land. *Laiſh* was then taken (as is thought) by the *Danites*; and the beſt Writers are of opinion, that between the times of *Joſua* and *Othoniel* that civill Warre brake out betweene the *Benjamites* and the reſt of *Iſrael*, for the forcing to death of the *Levites* Wife. Judg.17 & 18. & 19. For it is written, that in thoſe dayes there was no King in *Iſrael*, but every man did that which was good in his owne eye. And as *Juda* led the people againſt the *Canaanites* during the *Inter-regnum*, ſo was he commanded to do againſt *Benjamin*, even by the Lord God, whoſe direction they craved, as wanting a Judge to appoint what ſhould be done; which ſheweth it to have bin when *Joſua* was dead, and before the government of *Othoniel*, eſpecially conſidering, that all other times wherein they wanted Governors, were ſpent under ſuch oppreſſion of ſtrangers, as would have given them no leave to have attempted ſuch a civill Warre, if their power had bin as great, as it was in the managing of this action; wherein they ſo weakened the body of their eſtate, by effuſion of bloud, that in many ages they could not bring into the field ſuch numbers as formerly they had muſtered againſt their bordering enemies.

## §.II.

### *Of the memorable things of this age in other Nations: and of the difficultie in the computation of times.*

THere lived in this Age of *Othoniel*, *Pandon* or *Pandareus*, according to *Homer*, the fift King of *Athens*; who began to rule in the twentieth yeare of *Othoniel*, and governed fortie yeares. He was Father to *Ericlheus*: his Daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, ſo greatly mentioned in fables.

*Cadmus* alſo about this time obtained *Thebes*: of whoſe Daughter *Semele* was borne *Dionyſius*, or *Liber Pater*: under whom *Linus* the *Muſician* lived. In his time alſo the Cities of *Melus*, *Paphus*, and *Tharſus* were built.

*Ida* and *Dactylus* flouriſhed in this age, who are ſaid to have found out the uſe of Iron: but *Geneſis* hath taught us the contrary, and that *Tubalcain* long before wrought cunningly both in Iron and Braſſe. Not long after this time, *Amphion* & *Zethus* governed *Thebes*: whom divers *Chronologers* find in *Ebuds* time. But S. *Auguſtine* making a repetition of thoſe fables, which were deviſed among the Grecians and other Nations, during the government of the Judges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whoſe parentage there is as little agreement. *Vives* upon the thirteenth Chapter of S. *Auguſtine de Civitate Dei*, and the eighteenth booke, hath gathered all the opinions of this mans progenie, where hee that deſires his pedigree may find it. *Lactantius* and *Euſebius* make him native of *Attica*: and the ſonne of *Eleuſius* King of *Eleuſina*: which *Eleuſius* by carefull induſtrie had fed the people of that Territorie in the time of a great famine. This, when upon the like occaſion *Triptolemus* could not performe, fearing the furie of the people, he fled thence by Sea in a kinde of Galley or long Boat, which carried in her Prow a graven or carved Serpent; who becauſe he made exceeding great ſpeed to returne and to relieve his people with Corne, from ſome neighbour Nation: it was fained by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the ayre.

Gen.4.12.
Whence came the name of *Vulcan* by *Aphæreſis* of the two firſt letters.
*Aug. de Civit. Dei, l.18.c.13.*

Whether the times of theſe Kings, which lived together with *Othoniel*, and after him, with the reſt of the Judges and Kings of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, be preciſely ſet downe, I cannot avow; for the *Chronologers*, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars; to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life: and therefore I deſire to be excuſed, if in theſe compariſons I erre with others of better judgement. For whether *Euſebius* and all that follow him, or his oppoſites (who make themſelves ſo converſant with theſe ancient Kings, and with the very yeare when they began to rule) have hit the marke of time, of all other the fartheſt off and moſt defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. Firſt, becauſe the Authors themſelves, from whom the ancienteſt *Chronologers* have borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their owne workes, but conjecture: Secondly, becauſe their owne diſagreement and contention in thoſe elder dayes, with that of our owne age among the labourers in times, is ſuch, as no man among them hath yet ſo edified any mans underſtanding, ſave his own; but that he is greatly diſtracted, after what patterne to erect his buildings.

This diſagreement is found not onely in the raignes of Heathen Kings and Princes; but even in the computation of thoſe times which the indiſputable authority of holy Scripture hath ſummed up, as in that of *Abrahams* birth; and after in the times of the *Judges* and the oppreſſions of *Iſrael*, in the times from the egreſſion to the building of *Salamons* Temple, in the Perſian Empire, the ſeventie Weekes, and in what not? Whereſoever the account of times may ſuffer examination, the arguments are oppoſite, and contentions are ſuch, as for ought that I ſee, men have ſought by ſo many wayes to uncover the Sunne, that the dayes thereby are made more darke, and the clouds more condenſed than before: I can therefore give no other warrant, than other men have done in theſe computations: and therefore that ſuch and ſuch Kings and Kingdomes tooke beginning in this or that yeare, I avow it no otherwiſe than as a borrowed knowledge, or at leaſt as a private opinion: which I ſubmit to better judgements. *Nam in priſcis rebus veritas non ad unguem quærenda; In ancient things we are not to require an exact narration of the truth*, ſayes *Diodore*.

## §. III.

### *Of* Ehuds *time, and of* Proſerpina, Orithya, Tereus, Tantalus, Tityus, Admetus, *and others that lived about thoſe times.*

AFter the death of *Othoniel*, when *Iſrael* fell backe to their former Idolatrie, God incouraged *Moab* to invade and ſuppreſſe them: to performe which he joyned the forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalec* unto his owne, and ſo (as all kinde of miſerie readily findeth out thoſe whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawne his helpe from, thereby to make them feele the difference betweene his grace and his diſpleaſure) theſe Heathen neighbouring Nations had an eaſie conqueſt over *Iſrael*, whom God himſelfe expoſed to thoſe perills, within which they were ſo ſpeedily folded up. In this miſerable eſtate they continued full eighteene yeares under *Eglon* King of the Moabites, and his confederates. Yet, as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his eares from their crying repentance: but raiſed up *Ehud* the ſon of *Gera* to deliver them: by which weake man, though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the juſtneſſe of his quarrell, and fearing that the Iſraelites were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of thoſe valiant Nations, he reſolved to attempt upon the perſon of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguiſh, he aſſured himſelfe of the following victory: eſpecially giving his Nation no time to reeſtabliſh their government, or to chooſe a King to command and direct them in the Warres. According to which reſolution, *Ehud* went on as an Embaſſadour to *Eglon*, loaden with preſents from the Iſraelites, as to appeaſe him, and obtaining private acceſſe upon the pretence of ſome ſecret to be revealed, he pierc't his body with a Poniard, made of purpoſe with a double edge: and ſhutting the doores of his cloſet upon him, eſcaped.

It may ſeeme that being confident of his good ſucceſſe, he had prepared the ſtrength of *Iſrael* in readineſſe. For ſuddenly after his returne, he did repaſſe *Jordan*, and invading the Territory of *Moab*, overthrew their Army conſiſting of 10000. able and ſtrong men: whereof not any one eſcaped. After which victorie, and that *Samgar* his Succeſſour had miraculouſly ſlaine 600. Philiſtims with an Oxe goade: the Land and People of *Iſrael* lived in peace unto the end of foureſcore yeares from the death of *Othoniel*, which terme expired in the Worlds yeare 2691.

In the dayes of *Ehud*, *Naomi* with *Elimelech* her husband, and with her two ſonnes, travailed into *Moab*, and ſo the ſtorie of *Ruth* is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the foureſcore yeares which are given to *Ehud*, it was that *Orcus* King of the *Moloſsions*, otherwiſe *Pluto*, ſtole *Proſerpina*, as ſhe walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hipponium* in *Sicilia*: or (according to *Pauſanias*) by the River *Cephiſus*, which *Pauſ. in Att.* elſewhere he calleth *Chemer*, if he meane not two diſtinct Rivers. This ſtealth being made knowne to *Pyrithous*, with whom *Hercules* and *Theſeus* joyned themſelves, they agreed together to recover her: but *Pluto* or *Orcus* (whom others call *Aidonius*) had (as they ſay) a very huge Dogge, which faſtened on *Pyrithous*, and tare him in peeces, and had alſo worried *Theſeus*, but that *Hercules* ſpeedily reſcued him, and by ſtrength tooke and maſtered the Dogge *Cerberus*: whereof grew the fable of *Hercules* his delivering *Theſeus* out of Hell. But *Zezes*, as I take it, hath written this ſtory ſomewhat more according to the truth. For *Theſeus* and *Pyrithous*, ſaith hee, attempted to ſteale *Proſerpina* Daughter to *Aidonius*, King of the Moloſſians, who had *Ceres* to Wife, the mother of *Proſerpina*: *Proſerpina* being a generall name alſo for all faire women. This purpoſe of theirs being knowne to *Aidonius*, *Theſeus* and *Pyrithous* were both taken; and becauſe *Pyrithous* was the principall in this conſpiracie, and *Theſeus* drawne on by a kinde of affection or inforcement, the one was given for food to *Aidonius* his great Dogge *Cerberus*, the other held priſoner, till *Hercules* by the inſtigation of *Euriſtheus* delivered him by ſtrong hand. The *Moloſsi* which *Stephanus* writes with a ſingle (*S*) were a people of *Epirus*, inhabiting neere the Mountaines of *Pindus*: of which Mountaines

*Oeta* is one of the moſt famous, where *Hercules* burnt himſelfe. The River of *Acheron* (which the Poets deſcribe to be in Hell) riſeth out of the ſame Hills. There is another Nation of the *Moloſsi* in *Theſſali:* but theſe are neighbours to the *Caſsiopæi*, ſaith *Plutarch* in his Greeke queſtions.

The rape of *Orithya*, the Daughter of *Ericthеus*, King of *Athens*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Ehud*. The Poets aſcribe this rape to the North-winde, becauſe *Thrace* is ſituate North from *Athens*. In this time alſo *Tereus* raviſhed *Philomela*, of which the fable was deviſed of her converſion into a Nightingale. For *Tereus* having married her ſiſter *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens* to ſee her ſiſter, forced her in her paſſage, and withall cut out her tongue, that ſhe might not complaine; perſwading *Progne* his Wife, that *Philomela* died in the mid-way: all which her brother in lawes mercileſſe behaviour towards her, *Philomela* expreſſed by her needle upon cloth, and ſent into *Progne*. In revenge whereof *Progne* cauſed her onely ſonne *Itys* to be cut in peeces, and ſet before *Tereus* her husband, ſo dreſt as it appeared to be ſome other ordinary food: of which when he had eaten his fill, ſhe cauſed his head, hands and feet, to be preſented unto him: and then fled away with ſuch ſpeed towards *Athens* where her Father *Pandion* yet lived, as the Poets fained, that ſhe was turned it to a Swallow. The place where it was performed, *Strabo* findes to be *Daulis* in *Phocis:* and the Tombe of *Tereus*, *Pauſanias* hath built neere the Rockes *Mergi*, in the Territorie of *Athens*. By which, as alſo by the name *Daulis*, where theſe things are ſuppoſed to have bin done (whence alſo *Philomela* is called *Daulias ales*) it appeares that it is true, which *Thucydides* notes by way of digreſſion in his *Peloponneſian* Warre, That this *Tereus* was not King in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odryſæ*, (as the Poets call him *Odryſius*) but that *Phocis* a Countrie in *Greece* not farre from *Attica*, a Citie whereof is called *Daulia*, was in *Pandions* time inhabited by *Thracians:* of which this *Tereus* was King: whence *Pandion*, to have amitie with his neighbours, made him his ſonne in law: as it is good to beleeve, ſaith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* King of *Athens* made that alliance with a neighbour King, from whom he might have ſuccour, rather than with any *Tereus*, that ſhould have held the Kingdome of *Odryſe*, which was greatly diſtant from thence. The occaſion that the Poets choſe a Swallow for *Progne* to be turned into, may ſeeme to have bin partly becauſe, as *Pauſanias* ſayes, *Daulide nec nidificant, nec habitant in tota circum regione Hirundines*; as if a Swallow, remembring the wrong that was there done to her, and her ſiſter, did for ever after hate that place.

*L. 9.*
*Pau.in Att.*

*Thuc.l.2.*

Neere this time *Melampus* (who is ſaid to have underſtood the voyces of Birds and Beaſts) flouriſhed, being alſo eſteemed for an excellent Phyſician. He reſtored to their former health the Daughters of *Prætus* King of the *Argives*, who (as the Poets pleaſe) were made mad by *Juno:* and thinking themſelves to be Kine, fled into the Woods, fearing to be conſtrained to the Plough: for in thoſe Countries where the ground was light, they did uſe often to plough with Kine.

*Pauſ.l.1.*
*Homer.Odiſſ.11.*

In the ſeven and fortieth yeare of *Ehud*, *Tros* began to raigne in *Dardania*, and gave it his owne name; about which time *Phemone* the chiefe Prieſt of *Apollo* in *Delpos*, deviſed the *Heroicall* Verſe.

*Pauſ.*

Of the ſame date was *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia:* whom *Euſebius* makes King of *Phrygia:* and alſo of that part of which the people were anciently *Maones*. Of *Tantalus* was deviſed the fable that ſome Poets have applied to the paſſion of love: and ſome to the covetous that dare not injoy his riches. *Euſebius* calls this *Tantalus* the ſon of *Jupiter*, by the *Nymph Pleta: Diaconus* and *Didymus* in *Zezes*, give him another Mother. He was ſaid to be the ſon of *Jupiter*, as ſome will have it; becauſe he had that Planet in his aſcendent, betokening wiſedome and riches. It is ſaid that when he made a feaſt to the *gods*, having nothing more precious, he cauſed his owne ſon to be ſlaine and dreſt to the banquet: of whom *Ceres* ate part of one of the ſhoulders: whereby was ſignified that thoſe men which ſeeke after Divine knowledge, preferre nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their owne children, of all elſe the moſt deareſt. And where it was deviſed, that he had alwayes Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet ſuffered the torment of hunger and thirſt, it was meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reaſon of his riches) in all delicacie of the world, yet his minde being otherwiſe and to higher deſires transported, he enjoyed no pleaſure at all by the reſt. Of whom *Ovid:*

*Euſeb.præp.Evan.l.2.Zezer hiſt.10.Chil.5.*

*Quærit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat*
Tantalus, *hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.*

Here *Tantalus* in water ſeekes for water, and doth miſſe
The fleeting fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This puniſhment, they ſay, was inflicted upon him, for that he diſcovered the ſecrets of the gods: that is, becauſe he taught wiſedome and vertue to mortall men: which ſtorie *Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly expreſt in Verſe. Others expound this fable otherwiſe, and ſay, That *Tantalus*, though he excelled in riches, yet being thirſtie of more abundance, was never ſatisfied. Of whom *Horace* againſt covetouſneſſe:

Tantalus *à labiis ſitiens fugientia captat*
*Flumina; quid rides? mutato nomine de te*
*Fabula narratur.*

The thirſting *Tantalus* doth catch at ſtreames that from him flee.
Why laugheſt thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceive where it is fained of *Tantalus*, that he gave the *Nectar* and *Ambroſia* of the gods to vaine and unworthy men, that he was therefore by them in that ſort puniſhed. Of which *Natalis* out of *Pindarus*:

*Immortalitatem quòd furatus,*
*Coetaneis convivis*
*Nectar Ambroſiamque dedit.*

Becauſe that ſtealing immortalitie,
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambroſia* give
To gueſts of his owne age, to make them live.

Whereby it was meant, that the ſecrets of Divinitie ought not to be imparted to the unpure Vulgar. For as the cleaneſt meates in a foule ſtomacke, are therein corrupted, ſo the moſt high and reſerved myſteries are often perverted by an uncleane and defiled minde.

*To you it is given* (ſaith *Chriſt in* Marke) *to know the myſterie of the Kingdome of God, but unto them that are without, all things bee done in parables.* So is it ſaid of him, that *hee expounded all things to his Diſciples apart.* And therefore doth *Gregorie Nazianzene* inferre upon a place of S. *Paul*: *Quod ſi* Paulo *licuiſſet effari ea, quorum ipſi cognitionem cœlum tertium & uſq; ad illud progreſſio ſuppeditavit, fortaſſe de Deo, nobis aliquid amplius conſtaret*; *If* Paul *might have uttered the things, the knowledge whereof the third heavens, and his going thither did bring unto him, peradventure wee might know ſomewhat more of God.*

Marke 4.11.
Marke 4.34.
Greg. in. Orat. de recta ratione diſp. de Deo
2 Cor. 12.

*Pythagoras*, ſaith *Revelin*, thought it not the part of a wiſe man, *Aſino lyram exponere, aut myſteria, quæ ita reciperet, ut Sus tubam, & fidem graculus, & unguenta Scarabæus: quare ſilentium indixit diſcipulis, ne vulgo divinorum arcana patefacerent, quæ meditando faciliùs quàm loquendo apprehendantur*; *To ſet an Aſſe to a harpe, or to learne myſteries: which he would handle as a Swine doth a Trumpet, or a Jay a viall, or Scarabies, and uncleane flies ſoveraigne oyntment. Wherefore he commanded ſilence to his diſciples, that they ſhould not diſcloſe divine myſteries to the common ſort, which are eaſier learned by meditation than by babbling.* And therefore did the Egyptians communicate their myſteries among their Prieſts in certaine *Hieroglyphick* letters, to the end that their ſecrets might be hidden from the Vulgar: and that they might beſtow the more time in the contemplation of their covered meanings.

But to proceed with the contemporaries of *Aod*, or *Ehud*, with him it is alſo ſaid, that *Tityus* lived whom *Apollo* ſlew, becauſe he ſought to force his Mother *Latona*. *Euphorion* hath it thus, that *Tityus* was the ſon of *Elara*, the Daughter of *Orchomenus*; which *Elara* being beloved of *Jupiter*, to avoyd *Juno's* revenge, he hid *Elara* in the earth, where ſhe was delivered of *Tityus*: whoſe Mother dying, and himſelfe therein nouriſhed, he was therefore called the ſon of the earth. *Pauſanias* ſpeaking of the grave of this Gyant, affirmes that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder lie of his ſtature out of *Homer*:

*Porrectuſquè novem* Tityus *per jugera terræ,*
*Aſsiduas atro viſcere paſcit aves.*

Hom.Od.11.

Nine furlongs ſtretcht lyes *Tityus*, who for his wicked deeds,
The hungry birds with his renewing liver daily feeds.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound; that *Apollo* killing this cruell and wicked Tyrant of *Panopea*, a Citie in *Phocis*, it was fained by the Poets to the terrour of others, that he was ſtill eaten in Hell by birds, and yet ſtill lived, and had his fleſh renewed.

*Admetus* King of *Theſſalie* lived alſo in this Age, whom it is ſaid that *Apollo* firſt ſerved as a Heard-man, and afterward for his excellent wit was by him advanced; but having ſlaine *Hyacinthus*, he croſt the *Helleſpont*, and fled into *Phrygia*: where together with *Neptune*, he was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his bread by working in bricke, for building of the walls of *Troy*, not by making the bricks leape into their places by playing on his Harpe: according to him in *Ovid*, which ſaith:

*Ilion aſpicies, firmataque turribus altis*
*Mœnia,* Apollineæ *ſtructa canore lyræ.*

Strong Ilion thou ſhalt ſee with walls and towers high,
Built with the harpe of wiſe *Apollo's* Harmonie.

Thus the Poets: but others, that he laboured with his hands, as hired in this worke. And that he alſo laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Megariens* witneſſe, ſaith *Pauſanias*.

Pauſ.in Att.

In theſe daies alſo of *Ehud*, or (as ſome finde it) in the dayes of *Deborah*, lived *Perſeus*, the ſonne of *Jupiter* and *Danae*, by whoſe Souldiers (as they ſailed out of *Peloponneſus*, to ſeeke their adventure on *Africa* ſide) *Meduſa*, the Daughter and Succeſſor of *Phorcus*, being weakely accompanied as ſhe hunted, neere the Lake *Tritan*, was ſurpriſed and ſlaine: whoſe beauty, when *Perſeus* beheld, he cauſed her head to be imbalmed, and carried into *Greece*: the beauty whereof was ſuch and ſo much admired, and the beholders ſo aſtoniſhed which beheld it, as thereof grew the fiction, that all that looked on *Meduſa's* head, were turned into ſtones.

*Triton* a Lake, of *Africa*, which *Plinie* calleth *Pallantias*. *Didym. in pereg. Hiſt.*

*Cecrops*, the ſecond of that name, and 7. King of *Athens*, and *Acriſius* the 13. or after *Euſebius*, the 14. King of the *Argives*, began alſo their raignes, as it is ſaid, in the time of this Judge: of which the firſt ruled 40. yeares, and the ſecond 31. yeares. Alſo *Bellerophon* lived in this age, being the ſonne of *Glaucus*, the ſonne of *Siſyphus*: who inticed by *Antea* or *Sthenobia*, the wife of *Prætus* of the *Argives*, to accompany her, but refuſing it, ſhe accuſed him to her husband that he offered to force her: whereupon *Prætus* ſent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about ſome affaires of weight, betweene him and his ſonne in law *Jobates*: giving ſecret order to *Jobates* to diſpatch him: but *Jobates* thinking it diſhonourable to lay violent hands on him, imployed him againſt *Chimæra*, a Monſter vomiting or breathing fire. Now the gods (as the report is) pittying his innocency, ſent him the winged Horſe *Pegaſus*, ſprung up of the bloud of *Meduſa*, formerly ſlaine by the ſouldiers of *Perſeus* in *Africa*, to tranſport him; a horſe that none other could maſter or bridle but *Minerva*: upon which beaſt *Bellerophon* over-came *Chimæra*: and performed the other ſervices given him in charge: which done, as he returned toward *Lycia*, the *Lycians* lay in ambuſh to have ſlaine him: but being victorious alſo over all thoſe, he arrived to *Jobates* in ſafetie: whom *Jobates* for his eminent vertues honoured, firſt with one of his Daughters: and afterward with his Kingdome: after which he grew ſo inſolent, as he attempted to flye up to heaven upon his *Pegaſus*: whoſe pride *Jupiter* diſdaining, cauſed one of his ſtinging flyes ſo to vexe *Pegaſus*, as he caſt off *Bellerophon* from his backe, into the Valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blinde; of which burthen *Pegaſus* being diſcharged (as the fable goeth) flew backe to heaven: and being fed in *Jupiters* owne ſtable, *Aurora* begg'd him of *Jupiter* to ride on before the *Sunne*. This tale is diverſly expounded; as firſt by ſome, That it pleaſeth God to relieve men in their innocent and undeſerved adverſitie, and to caſt downe thoſe which are too high minded: according to that which is ſaid of *Bellerophon*: that when he was expoſed to extreme hazzard, or rather certaine death, he found both deliverance and honour: but waxing over-

Euſeb.in Chro.

prou

proud and preſumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was againe throwne downe into the extremitie of ſorrow, and ever-during miſerie. Secondly by others, That under the name of *Chimæra*, was meant a cruell Pyrat of the Lycians, whoſe ſhip had in her prow a Lyon, a Goate in the mid-ſhip, and a Dragon in the ſtearne, of which three beaſts this Monſter *Chimæra* was ſaid to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* purſued with a kinde of Galley, of ſuch ſwiftneſſe, that it was called the flying Horſe: to whom the invention of ſayles (the wings of a ſhip) are alſo attributed. Many other expoſitions are made of this tale by other Authors: but it is not unlikely, that *Chimæra* was the name of a ſhip, for ſo *Virgil* calleth one of the greateſt ſhips of *Æneas*.

*Plutar. in claris mulier.*

*L.5. Æneid.*

*Ion* alſo, from whom the Athenians (being ignorant of the antiquitie of their parent *Javan*) derive their name of *Iones*, is ſaid to have bin about *Ehuds* time: *Homer* calls them *Jaones*, which hath a neere reſemblance to the word *Javan*. Perhaps it might be ſo that *Ion* himſelfe tooke name from *Javan*: it being a cuſtome obſervable in the Hiſtories of all times, to revive the ancient name of a fore-father, in ſome the principall of his iſſue.

*Homer in hym. ad Apoll.*

The invaſion of *India* by *Liber-Pater*, is by ſome reported as done in this age: but S. *Auguſtine* makes him farre more ancient: placing him betweene the comming out of Egypt, and the death of *Joſua*.

*L.ib.18.c.12.de ci.dei, l.18.c.13.*

About the end of the 80. yeares, aſcribed to *Ehud*, and *Samgar*, *Pelops* flouriſhed: who gave name to *Peloponneſus* in Greece, now called *Morea*.

## §. IIII.

### *Of* Debora *and her Contemporaries.*

AFter *Iſrael* had lived in peace and plenty to the end of theſe 80. yeares, they againe began to forget the giver of all goodneſſe, and many of thoſe being worne out, which were witneſſes of the former miſerie, and of Gods deliverance by *Ehud*; and after him by *Samgar*; the reſt began to returne to their former neglect of Gods commandements. For as Plentie and Peace are the parents of idle ſecuritie; ſo is ſecurity as fruitfull in begetting and bringing forth both danger and ſubverſion: of which all eſtates in the world have taſted by interchange of times. Therefore when their ſinnes were againe ripe for puniſhment, *Jabin* King of *Hazor*, after the death of *Ehud*, invaded the Territorie of *Iſrael*; and having in his ſervice 900. iron Chariots, beſides the reſt of his forces, he held them in ſubjection twenty yeares, till it pleaſed God to raiſe up *Deborah*, the Propheteſſe, who incouraged *Barac* to levie a force out of *Nepthalim*, and *Zabulon*, to incounter the Canaanites. That the men of *Nepthalim* were more forward than the reſt in this action, it may ſeeme to have proceeded partly from the authoritie that *Barac* had among them, being of the ſame Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grievance, which in them was more ſenſible than in others, becauſe *Hazor* and *Haroſeth* the chiefe holds of *Jabin*, were in *Nepthalim*. So in the dayes of *Jeptha* the Gileadites tooke the greateſt care, becauſe the Ammonites, with whom the Warre was, preſſed moſt upon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleaſed God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliver *Iſrael* from the Moabites: and by the counſaile and courage of a woman, to free them from the yoke of *Canaan*, and to kill the valiant *Siſera* by *Jael* the Kenites wife: ſo was it his will at other times, to worke the like great things by the weakeſt meanes. For the mighty Aſſyrian *Nabuchodonoſor*, who was a King of Kings, and reſiſtleſſe, he overthrew by his owne imaginations, the cauſers of his brutiſh melancholy: and changed his matchleſſe pride into the baſe humility of a Beaſt. And to approve that he is the Lord of all power, he ſometime puniſheth by inviſible ſtrength, as when he ſlaughtered the Armie of *Senacherib* by his Angell, or as he did the Egyptians in *Moſes* time: ſometime by dead bodies, as when he drowned *Pharao* by the waves of the Sea; and the Canaanites by haile-ſtones in the time of *Joſua*: ſometimes by the miniſterie of men, as when he overthrew the foure Kings of the Eaſt, *Chedorlaomer*, and his companions, by the houſhold ſervants of *Abraham*. He cauſed the Moabites and Ammonites to ſet upon their owne confederate the Army of the Edomites; and having ſlaine them, to kill one another in the ſight of *Jehoſaphat*: and of the like to theſe a volume of examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the Propheteſſe ſpeake unto *Barac* in theſe words: *But this journey that thou takeſt, ſhall not be for thine honour, for the*

2 Chron.20.

Judg.4.9.

*the Lord ſhall ſell* Siſera *into the hands of a Woman.* In which victorie all the ſtrength of the Canaanite *Jabin* fell to the ground, even to the laſt man; in the end of which Warre it ſeemeth that *Jabin* himſelfe alſo periſhed, as appeareth by the laſt Verſe of the fourth of *Judges.*

After all which, *Deborah* giveth thankes to God, and after the acknowledgement of all his powerfulneſſe, and great mercies, ſhe ſheweth the weake eſtate whereinto *Iſrael* was brought for their Idolatrie by the Canaanites, and other bordering Nations, in theſe Jud.5.v.18. words: *Was there a ſhield or ſpeare ſeene among forty thouſand of Iſrael?* She alſo ſheweth how the Iſraelites were ſevered and amaſed, ſome of them confined over *Jordan*, and Verſe 17. durſt not joyne themſelves to the reſt; as thoſe of *Reuben* in *Gilead*: that the Aſherites kept the Sea-coaſt, and forſooke their habitations towards the Land; and the children of *Dan*, who neighboured the Sea, crept into their ſhips for ſafetie, ſhewing thereby that all were diſperſed, and all in effect loſt. Shee then curſed the Inhabitants of *Meroz*, who dwelling neere the place of the battaile (belike fearing the ſucceſſe) came not out to aſſiſt *Iſrael*, and then bleſſeth *Jael* the wife of *Heber* the Kenite, who nailed *Siſera*, in her Tent: ſhewing the ancient affection of that race to the Iſraelites. For though the Familie of *Heber* were inforced in that miſerable time of ſubjection, to hold correſpondencie with *Jabin* the Canaanite, yet when occaſion offered them meanes, they witneſſed their love and faith to their ancient friends. Laſtly, ſhe derideth the Mother of *Siſera* who promiſed her ſon the victory in her owne hopes: and fancied to her ſelfe, and deſcribed the ſpoiles, both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For concluſion, ſhe directeth her praiſe & thankes to God onely victorious.

From the beginning of *Jabins* oppreſſion to the end of that peace, which *Deborah* and *Barac* purchaſed unto *Iſrael*, there paſſed 40. yeares. In which time the Kingdome of *Argos*, which had continued 544. yeares, was tranſlated to *Mycænæ*: The tranſlation of this Kingdome *Vives* out of *Pauſanias* writeth to this effect: After *Danaus*, *Lynceus* ſucceeded in *Argos*, after whom the children of *Abas* the ſonne of *Lynceus* divided the Kingdome: of which *Acriſius* being eldeſt, held *Argos* it ſelfe: *Prætus* his brother poſſeſt Pau.in Corinthiacis. *Ephyra* or *Corinth*, and *Tirynthos*, and other Cities, with all the Territorie towards the Sea, there being many monuments in *Tirynthos*, which witneſſe *Prætus* poſſeſſion, ſaith *Pauſanias*.

Now *Acriſius* was fore-told by an Oracle, that he ſhould be ſlaine by the ſonne of his Daughter *Danae*: whereupon he cauſed her to be incloſed in a Tower, to the end that no man might accompanie her. But the Lady being exceeding faire, it is fained that *Jupiter* turned himſelfe into a golden ſhower: which falling into her lap, begat her with childe: the meaning whereof was, that ſome Kings ſonne, or other worthy man, corrupted her Keepers with gold, and enjoyed her, of whom *Perſeus* was borne; who when he grew to mans eſtate, either by chance (ſaith *Cteſias*) or in ſhewing his grand-father the invention of the *diſcus*, or leaden ball, ſlew him unwillingly. After this *Perſeus*, to avoide the infamie of *Patricide* in *Argos*, changed Kingdomes with his Uncle *Prætus*: and built *Mycænæ*. This impriſonment of *Danae*, *Sophocles* reporteth otherwiſe: and that ſhe was incloſed in a brazen vault, under the Kings Hall with her Nurſe and Keepers. Upon this cloſe cuſtodie *Horace* hath this wittie obſervation:

*Incluſam* Danaen *turris ahenea,*
*Robuſtæq; fores, & vigilum canum*
*Triſtes excubiæ munierant ſatis*
*Nocturnis ab adulteris:*

*Si non* Acriſium *Virginis abditæ*
*Cuſtodem pavidum,* Jupiter *&* Venus
*Riſiſſent, fore enim tutum iter & patens*
*Converſo in pretium Deo.*

*Aurem per medios ire ſatellites,*
*Et perrumpere amat ſaxa, potentius*
*Ictu fulmineo,*

The brazen Tower with doores cloſe barr'd,
And watchfull bandogs frightfull guard,
Kept ſafe the maidenhead,
Of *Danae* from ſecret love:
Till ſmiling *Venus*, and wiſe *Jove*,
Beguil'd her Fathers dread
For chang'd into a golden ſhowre,
The god into her lap did poure
Himſelfe, and tooke his pleaſure.
Through guardes, and ſtonie walls to breake,
The thunder-bolt is farre more weake,
Than is a golden treaſure.

### *The firſt Kings of the* Argives *were theſe.*

*Inachus* the firſt King, who began to reigne in the firſt yeare of *Jacob*, and the 61. of *Iſaac*: from which time to the end of *Sthenelus*, *Caſtor* miſreckoneth 400. yeares. This Kingdome before the tranſlation, *Euſebius* accounteth to have ſtood 544. yeares, others but at 417. *Io* was the Daughter of this *Inachus*: whom the Egyptians called *Iſis*.

*Phoroneus*,
*Apis*,
*Argus*,
*Piraſus*,
*Phorbas*,
*Triopas*,
*Crotopus*,
*Sthenelus*,
*Danaus*,
*Lynceus*,
*Abas*,
*Acriſius*,
*Pelops*.

After the tranſlation to *Mycenæ*, *Mar. Scotus* findes theſe Kings:

*Perſeus*,
*Sthenelus*,
*Euryſtheus*,
*Atreus* and *Thyeſtes* { The ſonnes of *Pelops* by *Hippodamia*: *Atreus* by *Europe* had *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*.
*Agamemnon*,
*Ægyſthus*,
*Oreſtes*,
*Tiſamenus*,
*Penthilus* and
*Cometes*.

Of theſe Kings *Mercator* and *Bunting* leave out the two firſt, & the laſt: beginning with *Euryſtheus*: and ending with *Penthilus*. In *Tiſamenus* time the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponenſus*: of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of *Barac* and *Debora*, were *Midas*, who reigned in *Phrygia*: and *Ilus*, who built *Ilium*: with others mentioned in our *Chronologicall* table, as contemporaries with *Debora*.

## §. V.

### *Of* Gideon, *and of* Dædalus, Sphinx, Minos, *and others that lived in this age.*

D*Ebora* and *Barac* being dead, the Midianites aſſiſted by the Amalekites infeſted Iſrael. For when, under a Judge who had held them in the feare of the Lord, they had enjoyed any quiet or proſperity: the Judge was no ſooner dead, than they turned to their former impious idolatrie. Therefore now the neighbouring Nations did ſo maſter them in a ſhort time (the hand of God being with-held from their defence) as to ſave themſelves, they crept into caves of the mountaines, and other the like places of hardeſt acceſſe: their enemies poſſeſſing all the plaines and fruitfull vallies: and in harveſt time, by themſelves, and the multitude of their cattell, deſtroying all that grew up: covering the fields as thicke as graſſe-hoppers: which ſervitude laſted ſeven yeares.

Jud.6.

Then the Lord by his Angell ſtirred up *Gideon* the ſonne of *Ioaſh*, afterward called *Jerubbaal*: whoſe feare and unwillingneſſe, and how it pleaſed God to hearten him in his enterprize, it is both largely and preciſely ſet downe in the holy Scriptures: as alſo how it pleaſed God by a few ſelect perſons, namely 300. out of 32000. men, to make them know that he onely was the Lord of Hoſts. Each of theſe 300. by *Gideons* appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, inſtruments of more terrour than force, with which he gave the great Armie of their enemies an alarum: who hearing ſo loud a noyſe, and ſeeing (at the cracke of ſo many pitchers broken) ſo many lights about them, eſteeming the Armie of *Iſrael* to be infinite, and ſtrucken with a ſodaine feare, they all fled without a ſtroke ſtricken, and were ſlaughtered in great numbers: two of their Princes being made priſoners and ſlaine. In his returne the Ephramites began to quarrell with *Gideon*, becauſe he made warre without their aſſiſtance, being then greedy of glory, the victory being gotten: who (if *Gideon* had failed and fallen in the enterpriſe) would no doubt have held themſelves happy by being neglected. But *Gideon* appeaſing them with a milde anſwer, followed after the enemie, in which purſuite being tyred with travaile, and weary even with the ſlaughtering of his enemies, hee deſired reliefe from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end, that (his men being refreſhed) he might over-take the other two Kings of the Midianites: which had ſaved themſelves by flight. For they were foure Princes of the Nations, which had invaded and waſted *Iſrael*: to wit, *Oreb* and *Seeb*, which were taken already, and *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*; which fled.

Jud.6.v.5.

Jud.c.6.&.7.

*Gideon* being denied by them of *Succoth*, ſought the like reliefe from the Inhabitants of *Penuel*, who in like ſort refuſed to ſuccour him. To both of theſe places he threatned therefore the revenge, which in his returne from the proſecution of the other two Princes, he performed: to wit, that he would teare the fleſh of thoſe of *Succoth* with Thornes & Briars, and deſtroy the Inhabitants and Citie of *Penuel*. Now why the people of theſe two Cities ſhould refuſe reliefe to their brethren the Iſraelites, eſpecially after ſo great a victorie: if I may preſume to make conjecture, it ſeemes likely, firſt, that thoſe Cities ſet over *Jordan*, and in the way of all invaſions, to be made by the Moabites, Ammonites and Midianites, into *Iſrael*, had either made their own peace with thoſe nations, and were not ſpoiled by them; or elſe they knowing that *Zeba* and *Zalmunna* were eſcaped with a great part of their army, might feare their revenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and diſpoſitions of theſe men: as it is not rare to finde of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of men, eſpecially of thoſe which follow the warre, that both envie and maligne others, if they performe any praiſe-worthy actions, for the honour and ſafety of their owne Countrey, though themſelves may be aſſured to beare a part of the ſmart of contrary ſucceſſe. And ſuch malicious hearts can rather be contented that their Prince and Countrey ſhould ſuffer hazzard and want, than that ſuch men as they miſlike, ſhould be the authors or actors of any glory or good to either.

A place in *Baſan*, as it is thought. Jud.8.10.

Now *Gideon*, how or whereſoever it were that he refreſhed himſelfe and his weary and hungry Souldiers, yet he followed the opportunity, and purſued his former victory to the uttermoſt: and finding *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* in *Karkor* (ſuſpecting no further attempt npon them) he againe ſurpriſed them, and ſlaughtered thoſe 15000. remaining: having put to the ſword in the former attempt 120000. and withall he tooke *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* priſoners: whom becauſe themſelves had executed *Gideons* brethren before at *Tabor*, he cauſed them both to be ſlaine: or (as it is written) at their owne requeſt ſlew them with his owne hands, his Sonne whom he firſt commanded to doe it, refuſing it; and in his returne from the conſummation of this marveilous victory, he tooke revenge of the Elders of *Succoth*, and of the Citizens of *Penuel*: forgiving no offence committed againſt him, either by ſtrangers or by his brethren the Iſraelites. But ſuch mercy as he ſhewed to others, his owne children found ſoone after his death, according to that which hath beene ſaid before. The debts of crueltie and mercie are never left unſatisfied: for as hee ſlew the 70. Elders of *Succoth*, with great and unuſuall torments, ſo were his owne 70. ſons, all but one, murthered by his owne baſtard *Abimelec*: The like *Analogie* is obſerved by the *Rabbines*, in the greateſt of the plagues which God brought upon the *Egyptians*, who having cauſed the male children of the *Hebrewes* to be ſlaine, others of them to be caſt into the river and drowned: God rewarded them even with the like meaſure, deſtroying their owne firſt borne by his *Angel*, and drowning *Pharaoh* and his Armie in the red ſea. And hereof a world of examples might be given both out of the Scriptures and other Hiſtories.

In the end ſo much did the people reverence *Gideon* in the preſent for this victorie, and their owne deliverance, as they offered him the Soveraigntie over them, and to eſtabliſh him in the Government; which he refuſed, anſwering; *I will not raigne over you, neither ſhall my childe raigne over you, but the Lord ſhall, &c.* But he deſired the people that they would beſtow on him the golden eare-rings which every man had gotten. For the *Iſmaelites*, neighbours, and mixt with the *Midianites*, uſed to weare them: the weight of all which was a thouſand and ſeven hundred Shekles of gold, which makes of ours 2380. li. if we follow the account of the Shekle vulgar. And becauſe he converted that gold into an *Ephod*, a garment of gold, blew ſilke, purple, ſcarlet, and fine linnen, belonging to the High Prieſt onely, and ſet up the ſame in his owne Citie of *Ophra* or *Ephra*, which drew *Iſrael* to Idolatrie, the ſame was the deſtruction of *Gideon* and his houſe.

Jud.8.23.
Exod.28.
Jud.8.28.

There was another kind of *Ephod* beſides this of the High Prieſts, which the Levites uſed, and ſo did *David* when he danced before the *Arke*; and *Samuel*, while he was yet young, which was made of linnen onely.

Now if any man demand how it was poſſible for *Gideon* with 300. men to deſtroy 120000. of their enemies, and afterward 15000. which remained, wee may remember, that although *Gideon* with 300. gave the firſt alarme, and put the *Midianites* in rout and diſorder: yet all the reſt of the Armie came in to the ſlaughter, and purſuite: for it is written; *That the men of Iſrael being gathered together out of Nepthalie, and out of Aſher, and out of Manaſſe, purſued after the Midianites*: for this armie *Gideon* left in tents behinde him, when he went down to view the armie of his enemies, who with the noyſe of his 300. trumpets came after him to the execution.

Jud.7.23.

There lived with *Gideon*, *Ægeus*, the ſonne of *Pandion*, who raigned in *Athens*: *Euryſtheus* King of *Mycenæ*: *Atreus* and *Thyeſtes* the ſonnes of *Pelops*, who bare dominion over a great part of *Peloponneſus*, and after the death of *Euryſtheus*, the Kingdome of *Mycenæ* fell into the hand of *Atreus*. This is that *Atreus*, who holding his brother in jeealouſie, as an attempter, both of his Wife and Crowne, ſlew the children of *Thyeſtes*, and cauſing their fleſh to be dreſt, did therewith feaſt their father. But this crueltie was not unrevenged. For both *Atreus* and his ſonne *Agamemnon* were ſlaine by a baſe ſonne of *Thyeſtes*, yea the grand-children, and all the linage of *Atreus* dyed by the ſame ſword.

In *Gideons* time alſo thoſe things were ſuppoſed to have beene done, which are written of *Dedalus* and *Icarus*. *Dedalus*, they ſay, having ſlaine his Nephew *Attalus*, fled to *Minos*, King of *Crete*, for ſuccour; where for his excellent workmanſhip hee was greatly eſteemed, having made for *Minos* a *Labyrinth*, like unto that of *Egypt*. Afterward he was ſaid to have framed an artificiall Cowe for *Paſiphae* the Queene, that ſhee, being in love with a faire Bull, might by putting her ſelfe into the Cowe, ſatisfie her luſt; a thing no leſſe unnatural than incredible, had not that ſhameleſſe Emperour *Domitian* exhibited the like beaſtly ſpectacle, openly before the people of *Rome*, in his *Amphitheater*; of purpoſe, as may ſeeme, to verifie the old fable. For ſo it appeares by thoſe verſes of *Martial*, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abominable ſhew, as a goodly Pageant, in thoſe vicious times.

*Junctam Paſiphaen Dictæo credite Tauro*
*Vidimus, accepit fabula priſca fidem.*
*Nec ſe miratur Cæſar, longæva vetuſtas*
*Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.*

But concerning that which is reported of *Paſiphae*, *Servius* makes a leſſe unhoneſt conſtruction of it, thinking that *Dædalus* was of her counſaile, and her Pandar for the enticing of a Secretarie of *Minos* called *Taurus*, which ſignifieth a Bull, who begat her with childe; and that ſhe being delivered of two ſonnes, the one reſembling *Taurus*, the other her husband *Minos*, it was fained that ſhe was delivered of the Monſter *Minotaur*, halfe a Man, and halfe a Bull. But this practice being diſcovered, and *Dædalus* appointed to be ſlain, he fled out of *Crete* to *Cocalus* King of *Sicil*: in which paſſage he made ſuch expedition, as it was fained that he faſhioned wings for himſelfe and his ſonne to tranſport them. For whereas *Minos* purſued him with boats which had oares onely, *Dædalus* framed ſailes both for his owne boate, and for his ſonnes, by which he outwent thoſe that had him in chaſe. Upon which new invention, *Icarus* bearing himſelfe overbold, was overborne and drowned.

It is alſo written of *Dædalus*, that he made Images that could move themſelves, and go, becauſe he carved them with legs, armes, and hands; whereas thoſe that preceded him, could onely preſent the bodie and head of thoſe men, whom they carried to counterfait, and yet the workmanſhip was eſteemed very rare. But *Plutarch*, who had ſeene ſome of thoſe that were called the Images of *Dædalus*, found them exceeding rude.

*Herind. Plat. Pauſ. l.9.*

With *Gideon* alſo flouriſhed *Linus* the *Theban*, the ſon of *Apollo*, and *Terpſichore*, who inſtructed *Thamaris*, *Orpheus*, and *Hercules*. He wrote of the Creation, of the Sunne and Moones courſe, and of the generation of living Creatures, but in the end he was ſlaine by *Hercules* his ſcholler with his owne harpe.

*Strab. l.9.*

Againe, in this age thoſe things ſpoken of *Sphinx* and *Oedipus*, are thought to have bin performed. This *Sphinx* being a great robber by ſea and land, was by the *Corinthians* Armie, led by *Oedipus*, overcome. But that which was written of her propounding of riddles, to thoſe whom ſhee maſtered, was meant by the rockie and unacceſſible mountaine neere *Thebes*, which ſhe defended; and by *Oedipus* diſſolving her probleme, his victorie over her. She was painted with wings, becauſe exceeding ſwift, and with the bodie of a Lyon, for her crueltie. But that which *Palaphatus* reports of *Sphinx*, were more probable, did not the time diſprove it, for he calls her an *AmaZonite*, and the wife of *Cadmus*: who when by her helpe he had caſt *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) he married the ſiſter of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in deſpightfull part, with her own troope ſhe held the mountaine by *Thebes*, from whence ſhe continued a ſharpe warre upon the *Thebans*, till by *Oedipus* overthrowne. About this time did *Minos* thruſt his brother out of *Crete*, and held ſharpe war with the *Megarians* and *Athenians*, becauſe his ſon *Androgeus* was ſlaine by them. He poſſeſt himſelfe of *Megara*, by the treaſon of *Scylla*, Daughter of *Niſus* the King. He was long maſter of the ſea, and brought the *Athenians* to the tribute of delivering him every yeare ſeven of their ſons: which tribute *Theſeus* releaſed, as ſhalbe ſhewed, when I come to the time of the next Judge *Thola*. In the end he was ſlaine at *Camerinus* or *Camicus* in *Sicilia* by *Cocalus* the King, while he purſued *Dædalus*: and was eſteemed by ſome to be the firſt law-giver to thoſe Ilands.

*Ariſt. pol. l.2.*

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Antæus* the Gyant, who was ſaid to have 60. and odde cubits of length, which though *Plutarch* doth confirm, reporting that there was ſuch a bodie found by *Sertorius* the *Roman*, in *Lybia*, where *Hercules* ſlew *Antæus*: yet for my ſelfe I thinke it but a lowd lie. That *Antæus* was of great ſtrength and a cunning wreſtler, *Euſebius* affirmeth: and becauſe hee caſt ſo many men to the ground, he was fained to be the ſonne of the earth. *Plinie* ſaith, that he inhabited neere the gardens *Heſperides* in *Mauritania*. S. *Auguſtine* affirmes, that this *Hercules* was not of *Greece*, but of *Lybia*: and the *Hydra* alſo which he overcame, *Plato* expoundeth to be a ſubtle Sophiſter.

*Euſeb. in Chr.*

*Aug. de civ. dei. l.18. c.12.*

*Euſeb. in Chron.*

## §. VI.

### *Of the expedition of the Argonautes.*

ABout the eleventh yeare of *Gideon*, was the famous expedition of the *Argonautes*: of which many fabulous diſcourſes have been written, the ſum of which is this.

*Pelias* the ſon of *Neptune*, brother by the mothers ſide to *Æſon*, who was *Jaſons* father, raigning in *Jolcos* a town of *Theſſalie*, was warned by the *Oracle* of *Apollo* to take hee of him that wore but one ſhoe. This *Pelias* afterward ſacrificing to *Neptune*, invited *Jaſon* to him, who comming haſtily, loſt one ſhoe in paſſing over a brooke: whereupon *Pelias* demanded of him what courſe he would take (ſuppoſing he were able) againſt one of whom an Oracle ſhould adviſe him to take heed? to which queſtion when *Jaſon* had briefly anſwered, that he would ſend him to *Colchos* to fetch the golden Fleece, *Pelias* immediately commanded him to undertake that ſervice. Therfore *Jaſon* prepared for the voyage, having a ſhip built by *Argus* the ſonne of *Phryxus*, by the counſell of *Pallas*: wherein he procured all the braveſt men of *Greece* to ſaile with him: as *Typhis* the Maſter of the ſhip, *Orpheus* the famous Poet, *Caſtor* and *Pollux* the ſonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Telamon* and *Peleus* ſonnes of *Æacus*, and fathers of *Ajax* and *Achilles*, *Hercules*, *Theſeus*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two winged ſonnes of *Boreas*, *Amphiaraus* the great Soothſayer, *Meleager* of *Calidon* that ſlew the great wilde Boare: *Aſcalaphus* and *Jalmenus* or *Almenus* the ſonnes of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the laſt warre of *Troy*. *Laërtes* the father of *Ulyſſes*, *Atalanta* a warlike virgin, *Idas* and *Lynceus* the ſonnes of *Aphareus*, who afterwards in fight with *Caſtor* and *Pollux* ſlew *Caſtor*, and wounded *Pollux*, but were ſlaine themſelves: *Lynceus* by *Pollux*, *Idas* by *Jupiter* with lightning.

Theſe and many other went with *Jaſon* in the ſhip *Argo*: in whoſe prowe was a table of the Beech of *Dodona*, which could ſpeake. They arrived firſt at *Lemnos*; the women of which *Iland*, having ſlaine all the males, purpoſing to lead an *Amazonian* life, were nevertheleſſe contented to take their pleaſure of the Argonautes. Hence they came to the Country about *Cyzicus*: where dwelt a people called *Doliones*: over whom then raigned one *Cyzicus*: who entertained them friendly: but it ſo fell out, that looſing thence by night, they were driven by contrary winds back into his port, neither knowing that it was the ſame Haven, nor being known by the *Doliones* to be the ſame men: but rather taken for ſome of their bordering enemies: by which meanes they fell to blows, inſomuch that the Argonauts ſlew the moſt part of the *Doliones* together with their King *Cyzicus*: which when by day-light they perceived, with many teares they ſolemnized his funerall. Then departed they againe, and arrived ſhortly in *Myſia*, where they left *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* the ſon of *Elates*, who went to ſeeke *Hylas* the darling of *Hercules*, that was raviſhed by the *Nymphes*.

*Polyphemus* built a towne in *Myſia* called *Cios*, wherein he raigned. *Hercules* returned to *Argos*. From *Myſia* the Argonautes ſailed into *Bythinia*, which then was peopled by the Bebryces, the ancient Inhabitants of the Country, over whom *Amycus* the ſonne of *Neptune* was then King. Hee being a ſtrong man, compelled all ſtrangers to fight with him at whorlebats, in which kind of fight he had ſlaine many, and was now himſelfe ſlain by *Pollux*. The Bebryces in revenge of his death flew all upon *Pollux*, but his companions reſcued him, with great ſlaughter of the people. They ſayled from hence to *Salmydeſſus* a towne in *Thrace* (ſomewhat out of their way) wherin *Phineus* a Soothſayer dwelt, who was blind and vexed with the *Harpyes*. The *Harpyes* were ſaid to be a kinde of birds which had the faces of women, and foule long clawes, very filthy creatures, which when the table was furniſhed for *Phineus*, came flying in, and devouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did ſo defile the reſt, that they could not be endured. When therefore the Argonautes craved his adviſe, and direction for their voyage: you ſhal doe wel (quoth he) firſt of all to deliver me from the *Harpyes*, and then afterwards to aske my counſaile. Whereupon they cauſed the table to be covered, and meat ſet on; which was no ſooner ſet down than that preſently in came the *Harpyes* and played their accuſtomed pranks: when *Zetes* and *Calais* the winged yong men ſaw this, they drew their ſwords and purſued them through the air; ſome ſay that both the *Harpyes* and the yong men died of wearineſſe in the fight, & purſuit. But *Apollonius* ſaith that the *Harpies* did covenant with the youths, to doe no more harme to *Phineus*, and were therupon diſmiſſed. For this good turn *Phineus* gave them informations of the way, & advertiſed them withall of the dangerous rocks called *Symplegades*, which by force of winds running together, did ſhut up the paſſage: wherfore he willed them to put a Pigeon before them in the paſſage: & if that paſſed ſafe, then to adventure after her: if not, then by no means to hazard themſelves in vain. They did ſo, & perceiving that the Pigeon had only loſt a piece of her taile, they obſerved the next opening of the rocks, and then rowing with all their might, paſſed through ſafe, only the end of their poope was bruiſed.

From thence forward, (as the tale goeth) the *Symplegades* have ſtood ſtill: for the gods, ſay they, had decreed that after the paſſage of a ſhip, they ſhould be fixed. Thence the *Argonautes* came to the *Mariandyni*, a people inhabiting about the mouth of the river *Parthenius*, where *Lycus* the King entertained them curteouſly. Here *Idmon* a Southſayer of their company was ſlaine by a wilde Boare; alſo here *Typhis* dyed: and *Ancæus* undertooke to ſteare the ſhip. So they paſſed by the river *Thermodon*, and Mount *Caucaſus*, and came to the river *Phaſis*, which runs through the land of *Colchos*. When they were entred the haven, *Jaſon* went to *Æetes* the King of *Colchos*, and told him the Commandement of *Pelias*, and cauſe of his comming, deſiring him to deliver the golden Fleece; which *Æetes*, as the Fable goeth, promiſed to doe, if he alone would yoake together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, ſowe Dragons teeth, which *Minerva* had given to him, being part of thoſe which *Cadmus* did ſowe at *Thebes*. Theſe Bulls were great and fierce, and breathed out fire: *Vulcan* had given them to *Æetes*.

Whileſt *Jaſon* was in a great perplexity about this taſke, *Medæa* the daughter of *Æetes* fell into a moſt vehement love of him, ſo farre forth, that being excellent in *Magique*, ſhe came privily to him, promiſing her helpe if he would aſſure her of his marriage. To this *Jaſon* agreed, and confirmed his promiſe by oath. Then gave ſhe to him a medicine wherewith ſhe bad him to annoint both his body and his armour, which would preſerve him from their violence: further ſhe told him, that armed men would riſe out of the ground, from the teeth which he ſhould ſowe, and ſet upon him. To remedy which inconvenience, ſhe bad him throw ſtones amongſt them as ſoone as they came up thicke, whereupon they would fall together to blowes, in ſuch wiſe that he might eaſily ſlay them. *Jaſon* followed her counſaile; whereto when the event had anſwered, he againe demanded the Fleece. But *Æetes* was ſo farre from approving ſuch his deſire, that he deviſed how to deſtroy the *Argonautes*, and burne their ſhip; which *Medæa* perceiving, went to *Jaſon*, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung on an Oake in the grove of *Mars*, where, they ſay, it was kept by a Dragon that never ſlept. This Dragon was by the *Magique* of *Medæa* caſt into a ſleepe: ſo taking away the golden Fleece, ſhe went with *Jaſon* into the ſhip *Argo*; having with her, her brother *Abſyrtus*.

*Æetes* underſtanding the practiſes of *Medæa*, provided to purſue the ſhip, whom when *Medæa* perceived to be at hand, ſhe ſlew her brother, and cutting him in pieces, ſhe ſcattered his limbs in divers places; of which *Æetes* finding ſome, was faine to ſeeke out the reſt, and ſuffer his daughter to paſſe: the parts of his ſon he buried in a place, which thereupon he called *Tomi*; the *Greeke* word ſignifieth *Diviſion*. Afterwards he ſent many of his ſubjects to ſeeke the ſhip *Argo*, threatning that if they brought not backe *Medæa*, they ſhould ſuffer in her ſtead. In the meane while the *Argonautes* were driven about the Seas, and were come to the River *Eridanus*, which is *Po* in *Italie*.

*Jupiter*, offended with the ſlaughter of *Abſyrtus*, vexed them with a great tempeſt, and carryed them they knew not whither; when they came to the Ilands *Abſyrtides*, there the ſhip *Argo* (that there might want no incredible thing in this Fable) ſpake to them and ſaid, that the anger of *Jupiter* ſhould not ceaſe, till they came to *Auſonia*, and were cleanſed by *Circe*, from the murther of *Abſyrtus*. Now they thereupon ſayling betweene the coaſts of *Lybia* and *Gallia*, and paſſing through the Sea of *Sardinia*, and alongſt the coaſt of *Hetruria*, came to the Ile of *Æea*, wherein *Circe* dwelt, who cleanſed them. Thence they ſayled by the coaſt of the *Syrens*, who ſang to allure them into danger: but *Orpheus* on the other ſide ſang ſo well that he ſtayed them. Oncely *Butes* ſwamme out unto them, whom *Venus* raviſhed, and carryed to *Lylibæum* in *Sicilie* to dwell.

Having paſt the *Syrens*, they came betweene *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and the ſtragling rocks which ſeemed to caſt out great ſtore of flames and ſmoake. But *Thetis* and the *Nereides*, conveyed them ſafe through at the appointment of *Juno*. So they coaſted *Cicilie* where the beeves of the Sunne were, and touched at *Corcyra*, the Iland of the *Phæaces*, where King *Alcinous* raigned. Meane while the men of *Colchos*, that had beene ſent by *Æetes* in queſt of the ſhip of *Argo*, hearing no newes of it, and fearing his anger, if they fulfill'd not his will, betooke themſelves to new habitations: ſome of them dwelt in the mountaines of *Corcyre*, others in the Ilands *Abſyrtides*, and ſome comming to the *Phæaces*, there found the ſhip *Argo*, and demanded *Medæa* of *Alcinous*: whereto *Alcinous* made anſwer, that if ſhe were not *Iaſons wife*, they ſhould have her; but if ſhe were already married, he would not take her from her husband. *Arete*, the wife of *Alcinous*, hearing this, married them: wherefore they of *Colchos*, not daring to returne home, ſtayed with the *Phæaces*; ſo the *Argonautes* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this Iland *Minos* raigned, who had a man of braſſe given to him (as ſome of the Fablers ſay) by *Vulcan*. This man had one veine in his body reaching from the necke to the heele, the end whereof was cloſed up with a brazen naile; his name was *Talus*: his cuſtome was to runne thrice a day about the Iland for the defence of it. When he ſaw the ſhip *Argo* paſſe by, he threw ſtones at it; but *Medæa* with her Magique deſtroyed him. Some ſay that ſhe ſlew him by potions, which made him mad; others, that promiſing to make him immortall, ſhe drew out the naile that ſtopt his veine, by which means all his bloud ran out, and he died; others there are that ſay he was ſlaine by *Paan*, who wounded him with an arrow in the heele. From hence the *Argonautes* ſayled to *Ægina*, where they were fain to fight for freſh water. And laſtly, from *Ægina* they ſailed by *Eubœa* and *Locris* home to *Iolcos*, where they arrived, having ſpent foure whole moneths in the expedition.

Some there are that by this journey of *Iaſon*, underſtand the myſtery of the Philoſophers ſtone, called the golden Fleece, to which alſo, other ſuper-fine *Chymiſts* draw the twelve labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinkes that by the golden Fleece was meant a golden booke of Parchment, which is of ſheep-skin, and therefore called golden, becauſe it was taught therein how other mettals might be tranſmuted. Others would ſignifie by *Iaſon*, wiſedome, and moderation, which overcommeth all perils: but that which is moſt probable, is the opinion of *Dercilus*, that the ſtory of ſuch a paſſage was true, and that *Iaſon* with the reſt went indeed to rob *Colchos*, to which they might arrive by boat. For not far from *Caucaſus* there are certaine ſteep falling torrents which waſh downe many graines of gold, as in many other parts of the world; and the people there inhabiting uſe to ſet many fleeces of wooll in thoſe deſcents of waters, in which the graines of gold remaine, and the water paſſeth thorow, which *Strabo* witneſſeth to be true. The many rockes, ſtraits, ſands, and currents, in the paſſage betweene *Greece* and the bottome of *Pontus*, are Poetically converted into thoſe fiery buls, the armed men riſing out of the ground, the Dragon caſt aſleepe, and the like. The man of braſſe, the *Syrens*, *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, were other hazzards and adventures which they fell into in the *Mediterran* Sea, diſguiſed, as the reſt, by *Orpheus*, under Poeticall morals: all which *Homer* afterward uſed (the man of braſſe excepted) in the deſcription of *Ulyſſes* his travels on the ſame In-land ſeas.

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## §. VII.

## *Of* Abimelech, Tholan, *and* Jair, *and of the Lapythæ, and of* Theſeus, Hyppolytus, *&c.*

AFter the death of *Gideon*, *Abimelech* his baſe ſonne, begotten on a Concubine of the *Sechemites*, remembring what offers had beene made to his father by the people, who deſired to make him and his their perpetuall Princes; and, as it ſeemeth, ſuppoſing (notwithſtanding his fathers religious modeſty) that ſome of his brethren might take on them the Soveraignty, practiſed with the Inhabitants of *Sechem* (of which his mother was native) to make election of himſelfe; who being eaſily moved with the glory, to have a King of their owne, readily condeſcended: and the better to enable *Abimelech*, they borrowed 70. pieces of ſilver of their Idoll *Baalberith*, with which treaſure he hyred a company of looſe and deſperate vagabonds, to aſſiſt his firſt deteſtable enterpriſe, to wit, the ſlaughter of his 70. brethren, the ſonnes of *Gideon*, begotten on his wives, of which he had many; of all which none eſcaped but *Jotham* the youngeſt, who hid himſelfe from his preſent furie: all which he executed on one ſtone; a cruelty exceeding all that hath beene written of in any age. Such is humane ambition, a monſter that neither feareth God (though all-powerfull, and whoſe revenges are without date and for everlaſting) neither hath it reſpect to nature, which laboureth the preſervation of every being: but it rageth alſo againſt her, though garniſhed with beautie which never dyeth, and with love that hath no end. All other

Jud. 9. 4.

Verſe 5.

paſſions and affections, by which the ſoules of men are tormented, are by their contraries often-times reſiſted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth every vice, and is it ſelfe the childe and darling of *Satan*, looketh onely towards the ends by it ſelfe ſet downe, forgetting nothing (how fearefull and inhumane ſoever) which may ſerve it: remembring nothing, whatſoever juſtice, piety, right or religion can offer and alledge on the contrary. It aſcribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the errour or weakeneſſe of the undertakers, and rather praiſeth the adventure than feareth the like ſucceſſe. It was the firſt ſinne that the world had, and began in *Angels*: for which they were caſt into hell, without hope of redemption. It was more ancient than man, and therefore no part of his naturall corruption. The puniſhment alſo preceded his creation, yet hath the Divell, which felt the ſmart thereof, taught him to forget the one as out of date, and to practiſe the other, as befitting every age, and mans condition.

*Jotham*, the youngeſt of *Gideons* ſonnes, having eſcaped the preſent perill, ſought by his beſt perſwaſions to alienate the *Sechemites* from the aſſiſting of this mercileſs tyrant, letting them know, that thoſe which were vertuous, and whom reaſon and religion had taught the ſafe and happy eſtate of moderate ſubjection, had refuſed to receive as unlawfull, what others had no power to give, without direction from the King of kings: who from the beginning (as to his own peculiar people) had appointed them by whom and how to be governed. This he taught them by the Olive, which contented it ſelfe with its fatneſſe, the Figge-tree with its ſweetneſſe, and the Vine with the good juyce it had: the Bramble onely, who was moſt baſe, cut downe all the reſt, and accepted the Soveraigntie. He alſo foretold them by a Propheticall ſpirit, what ſhould befall them in the end, and how a fire ſhould come out of the Bramble, and conſume the Cedars of *Libanon*.

Now (as it is an eaſie matter to call thoſe men back whom rage without right led on) *Gaal* the ſon of *Ebed* withdrew the Citizens of *Sechem* from the ſervice of *Abimelech*: who therefore after ſome aſſaults entred the place, and maſtered it; and in concluſion fired the towne, wherein their Idoll *Baalberith* was worſhipped, and put all the people of all ſorts to the ſlaughter. Laſtly, in the aſſault of the Caſtle or Tower of *Teber*, himſelfe was wounded in the head with a ſtone throwne over the wall by a woman; and finding himſelfe mortally bruiſed, he commanded his own Page to pierce his body, thereby to avoid the diſhonour of being ſlaine by ſo feeble a hand.

While *Abimelech* uſurped the Government, the *Lapitha* and *Centaures* made warre againſt the *Thebans*. Theſe Nations were deſcended of *Apollo*, and were the firſt in thoſe parts that deviſed to manage horſes, to bridle and to ſit them: inſomuch as when they firſt came down from the mountaines of *Pindus*, into the plaines, thoſe which had never ſeene horſemen before, thought them creatures compounded of men and horſes; ſo did the *Mexicans* when *Ferdinando Cortes* the Spaniard firſt invaded that Empire.

*Palæphatus,l.1. de incredib.*

After the death of *Abimelech*, *Tholo* of *Iſſachar* governed Iſrael 23. yeares, and after him *Jair* the *Gileadite* 22. yeares, who ſeemes to be deſcended of *Jair* the ſonne of *Manaſſe*, who in *Moſes* time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the ſame after his owne name, *Havoth Jair*. For to this *Jair* there remained thirty of thoſe Cities which his anceſtor had recovered from the *Amorites*. Of theſe Judges, becauſe there is nothing elſe written, it is an argument that during all their times *Iſrael* lived without diſturbance and in peace.

Deut.3.14.
Num.32.41.

Jud.10.

2901.

When *Jair* judged *Iſrael*, *Priamus* began to raigne in *Troy*, who at ſuch time as *Hercules* ſacked *Ilium*, was carryed away captive with his ſiſter *Heſione* into *Greece*, & being afterward redeemed for ranſome, he rebuilt and greatly ſtrengthened and adorned *Troy*; and ſo farre enlarged his Dominions, as he became the ſupreme Lord in effect of all *Aſia* the leſſe. He married *Hecuba* the daughter of *Ciſſeus* King of *Thrace*, and had in all (ſaith *Cicero*) fiftie ſonnes, whereof ſeventeene by *Hecuba*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recover his aunt *Heſione*, took *Helena* the wife of *Menelaus*, the cauſe of the warre which followed.

*In Tuſc.*

*Theſeus* the tenth King of *Athens*, began likewiſe to raigne in the beginning of *Jair*: ſome writers call him the ſonne of *Neptune* and *Æthra*: but *Plutarch* in the ſtorie of his life, finds him begotten by *Ægeus*, of whom the *Grecian* ſea between it and *Aſia* the leſſe took name. For when *Minos* had maſtered the *Athenians*, ſo far as he forc't them to pay him ſeven of their ſonnes every yeare for tribute, whom he incloſed within a *Labyrinth*, to be devoured by the monſter *Minotaur*: becauſe belike the ſonnes of *Taurus*, which he begat on *Paſiphae* the Queene, had the charge of them: among theſe ſeven *Theſeus* thruſt himſelfe, not doubting by his valour to deliver the reſt, and to free the Countrie of that ſlaverie occaſioned for the death of *Androgeus*, *Minos* his ſonne.

And having poſſeſt himſelfe of *Ariadnes* affection, who was *Minos* daughter, he receïved from her a bottome of thred, by which he conducted himſelfe through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the *Labyrinth*, made in all like that of the Citie of *Crocodiles* in *Egypt*; by meane whereof having ſlaine *Minotaur*, he found a ready way to returne. But whereas his father *Ægeus* had given order, that if he came backe with victorie and in ſafetie, he ſhould uſe a white ſaile in ſigne thereof, and not that mournefull blacke ſaile under which they left the port of *Athens*: This inſtruction being either forgotten or neglected, *Ægeus* deſcrying the Shippe of *Theſeus* with a blacke ſaile, did caſt himſelfe over the Rockes downe into the Sea, afterward called of his name *Ægeum*.

One of the firſt famous acts of *Theſeus*, was the killing of *Scyron*, who kept a paſſage betweene *Megara* and the *Peloponneſian Iſthmos*, and threw all whom he maſtered into the Sea, from the high rockes. Afterward he did the like to *Cercyon*, by wreſtling, who uſed by that art to kill others. He alſo ridde the Countrie of *Procruſtes*, who uſed to bend downe the ſtrong limbes of two trees, and faſtned by cords ſuch as hee tooke, part of them to one, and part to the other bough, and by the ſpringing up tare them aſunder. So did he root out *Periphetes* and other miſchievous theeves and murtherers. He overthrew the Armie of the *Amazons*, who after many victories and vaſtations, entred the Territorie of *Athens*. *Theſeus* having taken their Queen *Hippolita* priſoner, begat on her *Hippolytus*; with whom afterward his mother in law *Phædra*, falling in love, and he refuſing to abuſe his fathers bed, *Phædra* perſwaded *Theſeus* that his ſon offered to force her: after which it is fained, that *Theſeus* beſought *Neptune* to revenge this wrong of his ſonnes by ſome violent death. *Neptune* taking a time of advantage, ſent out his Sea-Calves, as *Hippolytus* paſſed by the ſea ſhore, and ſo affrighted his horſes, as caſting the Coach over, he was (by being intangled therein) torne in pieces. Which miſerable and undeſerved deſtinie, when *Phædra* had heard of, ſhe ſtrangled her ſelfe. After which it is fained, that *Diana* intreated *Æſculapius* to ſet *Hippolytus* his pieces together, and to reſtore him to life: which done, becauſe he was chaſte, ſhe led him with her into *Italie*, to accompany her in her hunting, and field ſports.

It is probable that *Hippolytus*, when his Father ſought his life, thinking to eſcape by Sea, was affronted thereat, and did receive many wounds in forcing his paſſage and eſcape; which wounds *Æſculapius*, to wit, ſome ſkilfull Phyſician, or Chirurgion, healed againe: after which he paſſed into *Italie*, where he lived with *Diana*, that is, the life of a hunter, in which he moſt delighted. But of thoſe ancient prophane Stories *Plutarch* ſaith well, that as *Coſmographers* in their deſcriptions of the world, where they finde many vaſt places whereof they know nothing, fill the ſame with ſtrange Beaſts, Birds, and Fiſhes, and with *Mathematicall* lines; ſo doe the Græcian Hiſtorians and Poets imbroder and intermixe the tales of ancient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous diſcourſes. True it is, that *Theſeus* did many great things in imitation of *Hercules*, whom he made his patterne, and was the firſt that gathered the *Athenians*, from being diſperſed in thinne and ragged Villages: in recompence whereof, and for deviſing them Lawes to live under, and in order, he was by the beggarly, mutable, and ungratefull multitude, in the end baniſhed. Some ſay, *per Oſtraciſmum*, by the Law of Lottes, or names written on ſhells, which was a device of his owne.

He ſtole *Helen* (as they ſay) when ſhe was fiftie yeares old, from *Aphidna*, which City *Caſtor* and *Pollux* overturned, when they followed after *Theſeus* to recover their ſiſter. *Eraſiſtratus* and *Pauſanias* write, that *Theſeus* begot her with childe at *Argos*, where ſhe erected a Temple to *Lucina*: but her age makes that tale unlikely to be true, and ſo doth *Ovid*, *Non tamen ex facto fructum tulit ille petitum*, &c. The rape *Euſebius* findes in the firſt of *Jair*, who governed *Iſrael* 22. yeares, to whom ſucceeded *Jephta* or *Jepte* ſixe yeares, to whom *Ibzan*, who ruled ſeven yeares, and then *Habdon* eight yeares: in whoſe time was the fall of *Troy*. So, as if *Theſeus* had a childe by her in the firſt of *Jair*, (at

*Strab. lib. 9.*
*Pauſ. in Con.*
*In Epiſt. Helenæ*
Judg. 10. 3

which

*Bunt. Chron.*
*Euſeb. Chron.*
*Hal. l. 1.*

*Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 18 c. 19.*

which time we muſt count her no leſſe than fifteene yeares old; for the women did not commonly begin ſo young as they doe now) ſhe was then at leaſt two and fifty yeares old at the deſtruction of *Troy*: and when ſhe was ſtollen by *Paris*, eight and thirty: but herein the *Chronologers* doe not agree. Yet *Euſebius* and *Bunting*, with *Halicarnaſſeus*, doe in effect conſent, that the City was entred, and burnt in the firſt yeare of *Demophoon* King of *Athens*, the ſucceſſour of *Mneſtheus*, the ſucceſſor of *Theſeus*, ſeventeen dayes before the *Summer Tropique*; and that about the eleventh of *September* following, the *Trojans* croſt the *Helleſpont* into *Thrace*, and wintered there, and in the next ſpring that they navigated into *Sicilia*, where wintering the ſecond yeare, the next ſummer they arrived at *Laurentum*, and builded *Lavinium*. But S. *Auguſtine* hath otherwiſe, That when *Polyphides* governed *Sicyon*; *Mneſtheus*, *Athens*; *Tautanes*, *Aſſyria*; *Habdon*, *Iſrael*; then *Æneas* arrived in *Italie*, tranſporting with him in twenty ſhips the remainder of the *Trojans*: but the difference is not great: and hereof more at large in the ſtory of *Troy* at hand.

In *Sicyonia*, *Phaeſtus* the two and twentieth King, raigned eight years, beginning by the common account in the time of *Thola*. His ſucceſſors, *Adraſtus*, who raigned foure years, & *Polyphides*, who raigned thirteen, are accounted to the time of *Jair*; ſo is alſo *Mneſtheus* King of *Athens*, and *Atreus*, who held a great part of *Peloponneſus*. In *Aſſyria*, during the government of theſe two peaceable Judges, *Mitreus*, and after him *Tautanes*, raigned. In *Egypt*, *Amenophis*, the ſon of *Rameſes*, and afterwards *Annemenes*.

## §. VII.

### *Of the warre of* Thebes *which was in this age.*

IN this age was the warre of *Thebes*, the moſt ancient that ever Greek Poet or Hiſtorian wrote of: Wherefore the Roman Poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truly againſt the *Peripateticks*) that the world had a beginning, urgeth them with this objection.

———————*Si nulla fuit genitalis origo*
*Rerumq; & mundi, ſemperque æterna fuêre,*
*Cur ſupra bellum Thebanum, & funera Trojæ,*
*Non alias alii quoque res cecinere Poetæ?*

If all this world had no originall,
But things have ever bin as now they are:
Before the ſiege of *Thebes* or *Troyes* laſt fall,
Why did no Poet ſing ſome elder warre?

It is true that in theſe times *Greece* was very ſalvage, the inbabitants being often chaced from place to place, by the Captaines of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground whereon he dwelt his owne longer than he could hold it by ſtrong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercourſe they uſed little, neither did they plant many trees, or ſowe more corne than was neceſſary for their ſuſtenance. Money they had little or none, for it is thought that the name of mony was not heard of in *Greece*, when *Homer* did write, who meaſures the value of gold and braſſe by the worth in cattell; ſaying that the golden armour of *Glaucus* was worth an hundred Beeves, and the copper armour of *Diomedes* worth nine.

Robberies by land and ſea were common and without ſhame, and to ſteale horſes or kine was the uſuall exerciſe of their great men. Their townes were not many, whereof thoſe that were walled were very few, and not great. For *Mycena* the principall City in *Peloponneſus* was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that the reſt were proportionable: briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancie, and though in ſome ſmall townes of that halfe Ile of *Peloponneſus*, the Inhabitants might have enjoyed quietneſſe within their narrow bounds; as likewiſe did the *Athenians*, becauſe their Country was ſo barren, that none did care to take it from them: yet that the land in generall was very rude, it will eaſily appeare to ſuch as conſider what *Thucidydes* the greateſt of their Hiſtorians hath written to this effect, in the Preface to his Hiſtorie. Wherefore, as in theſe later times, idle *Chroniclers* uſe when they want good matter, to fill whole books with reports of great froſts, or dry ſummers, and other ſuch things which no man cares to reade; ſo did they who ſpake of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember onely the great floods which were in the times of *Ogyges* and *Deucalion*: or elſe rehearſe fables of men changed into birds, of ſtrange monſters, of adulterie committed by their gods, and the mighty men which they begat, without writing ought that ſavoured of humanitie before the time of the warre of *Thebes*: the briefe whereof is this.

*Oedipus* the ſonne of *Laius* King of *Thebes*, having bin caſt forth when he was an infant, becauſe an *Oracle* foretold what evill ſhould come to paſſe by him, did afterwards in a narrow paſſage, contending for the way, ſlay his owne father, not knowing either then or long after, who hee was. Afterward hee became King of *Thebes*, by marriage of the Queene *Jocaſta*, called by *Homer Epicaſte*: on whom, not knowing her to be his mother, hee begate two ſonnes, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in proceſſe of time, finding out by good circumſtances, who were his parents, hee underſtood the grievous murther and inceſt hee had committed, hee tore out his owne eyes for griefe, and left the Citie. His wife (and mother) did hang herſelfe. Some ſay that *Oedipus* having his eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly curſing his ſonnes, becauſe they ſuffered their father to bee caſt out of the Towne, and aided him not. Howſoever it were, his two Sonnes made this agreement, that the one of them ſhould raigne one yeare, and the other another yeare, and ſo by courſe rule interchangeably. But this appointment was ill obſerved. For when *Polynices* had after a yeares government reſigned the Kingdome to his Brother: or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had raigned the firſt yeare, hee refuſed to give over the rule to *Polynices*. Hereupon *Polynices* fledde unto *Argos*, where *Adraſtus* the Sonne of *Talaus* then raigned, unto whoſe palace comming by night, he was driven to ſeeke lodging in an out-houſe, on the backe-ſide.

*Hom.Odyſſ.*11.

There hee met with *Tydeus* the ſonne of *Oeneus*, who was fled from *Calydon*: with whom ſtriving about their lodging, hee fell to blowes. *Adraſtus* hearing the noiſe, came forth and tooke up the quarrell. At which time perceiving in the ſhield of *Tydeus* a Bore, in that of *Polynices* a Lion, hee remembred an olde Oracle by which hee was adviſed to give his two daughters in marriage to a Lyon and a Bore: and accordingly he did beſtow his daughter *Argia* upon *Tydeus*, and *Deipyle* upon *Polynices*; promiſing to reſtore them both to their Countreies. To this purpoſe levying an Army, and aſſembling as many valiant Captaines as hee could draw to follow him, hee was deſirous among others to carry *Amphiaraus* the ſonne of *Oicleus* a great Sooth-ſayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphiaraus*, who is ſaid to have foreſeene all things, knowing well that none of the Captaines ſhould eſcape, ſave onely *Adraſtus*, did both utterly refuſe to bee one in that expedition, and perſwaded others to ſtay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eriphyle* the Wife of *Amphiaraus*, offering unto her a very faire bracelet, upon condition that ſhee ſhould cauſe her Husband to aſſiſt him. The South-ſayer knowing what ſhould worke his deſtinie, forbad his wife to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the bracelet was in her eye ſo precious a Jewell, that ſhe could not refuſe it. Therefore whereas a great controverſie betweene *Amphiaraus* and *Adraſtus*, was by way of compromiſe put unto the deciſion of *Eriphyle*, either of them being bound by ſolemne oath to ſtand to her appointment: ſhee ordered the matter ſo, as a Woman ſhould that did love a bracelet better than her husband. Hee now finding that it was farre more eaſie to foreſee than avoide deſtiny, ſought for ſuch comfort as revenge might affoord him, giving in charge unto his ſonnes, that when they came to full age, they ſhould kill their mother, and make ſtrong warre upon the Thebanes.

Now had *Adraſtus* aſſembled all his forces, of which, the ſeven chiefe Leaders were himſelfe, *Amphiaraus*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (in ſtead of whom ſome name *Meciſteus*) all Argives, with *Polynices* the Theban, *Tideus* the Ætolian, and *Parthenopeus* the Arcadian, ſonne of *Meleager* and *Atalanta*. When the Army came to the Nemæan Wood, they met a woman, whom they deſired to helpe them to ſome water; ſhee having a childe in her armes, laied it downe, and led the Argives to a ſpring: but ere ſhee returned, a ſerpent had ſlaine the childe. This woman was *Hypſipyle* the daughter of *Thoas* the *Lemnian*, whom ſhee would have ſaved when the women of the Ile ſlew all the males by conſpiracie, intending to lead an *Amazonian* life. For ſuch her Piety the *Lemnian* wives did ſell her to *Pyrats*, and the *Pyrats* to *Lycurgus* Lord of the Country, about *Nemæa*, whoſe young ſonne *Opheltes* or *Archemorus* ſhe did nurſe, and loſt, as is ſhewed before. When upon the childes death ſhe hid her ſelfe for feare of her maſter, *Amphiaraus* told her ſonnes where they ſhould find her: and the *Argives* did both kill the Serpent which had ſlaine the childe, and in memorie of the chance, did inſtitute ſolemne funerall games called *Nemæan*, wherein *Adraſtus* wanne the prize with his ſwift horſe *Areon*, *Tydeus* with the whorlbats, *Amphiaraus* at running and quoiting, *Polynices* at wreſtling, *Parthenopæus* at ſhooting, and one *Laodocus* in darting. This was the firſt inſtitution of the *Nemæan* games, which continued after famous in *Greece* for very many ages. There are, who think that they were ordained in honour of one *Opheltus* a Lacedemonian. Some ſay by *Hercules* when he had ſlaine the *Nemæan* Lyon: but the common opinion agrees with that which is here ſet downe.

From *Nemæa* the *Argives* marching onwards arrived at *Citheron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them ſent Embaſſadour to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of Covenants between him and *Polynices*. This meſſage was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was throughly reſolved to hold what he had, as long as he could: which *Tydeus* perceiving, and intending partly to get honour, partly to trie what mettle was in the Thebans, he made many challenges, and obtained victorie in all of them, not without much envie and malice of the people, who layd fifty men in ambuſh to intercept him at his returne to the Army, of which fifty he ſlew all but one, whom he ſent backe to the Citie as a reporter and witneſſe of his valour. When the *Argives* underſtood how reſolved *Eteocles* was, they preſented themſelves before the Citie, and encamped round about it. *Thebes* is ſaid to have had at that time ſeven gates, which belike ſtood not far aſunder, ſeeing that the *Argives* (who afterward when they were very farre ſtronger, could ſcarce muſter up more thouſands than *Thebes* had gates) did compaſſe the Towne, *Adraſtus* quartered before the gate *Homoloides*, *Capaneus* before the *Ogygean*, *Tydeus* before *Crenis*, *Amphiaraus* at *Proëtis*, *Hippomedon* at *Anchais*, *Parthenopæus* at *Electa*, and *Polynices* at *Hypſiſta*. In the mean ſeaſon, *Eteocles* having armed his men, and appointed Commanders unto them, took adviſe of *Tireſias* the Soothſayer, who promiſed victory to the Thebans if *Menæcius* the ſonne of *Creon*, a principall man of the City, would vow himſelfe to bee ſlaine in honour of *Mars* the god of warre. So full of malice and pride is the Divell, and ſo envious at his Creators glory, that he not onely challengeth honour due to God alone, as oblations and ſacrifice with all Divine worſhip, but commandeth us to offer our ſelves and our children unto him, when he hath ſufficiently clowded mens underſtanding, and bewitched their wils with ignorance and blinde devotion. And ſuch abominable ſacrifice of men, maides, and children hath he exacted of the *Syrians*, *Carthaginians*, *Gals*, *Germans*, *Cyprians*, *Egyptians*, & of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or feare they were moſt filled with ſuperſtition. But as they grew more wiſe, ſo did he waxe leſſe impudent in cunning, though not leſſe malicious in deſiring the continuance of ſuch barbarous inhumanitie. For King *Diphilus* in *Cyprus* without advice of any *Oracle*, made the Idoll of that Country reſt contented with an Oxe in ſtead of a man. *Tiberius* forbad humane ſacrifices in *Afrike*, and crucified the Prieſts in the groves where they had practiſed them. *Hercules* taught the *Italians* to drown men of hay in ſtead of the living: yet among the ſalvages in the Weſt *Indies* theſe cruell offerings have been practiſed of late ages: which, as it is a ſufficient argument that *Satans* malice is onely covered and hidden by this ſubtiltie among civill people: ſo may it ſerve as a probable conjecture of the barbariſmes then raigning in *Greece*. For *Menæcius*, as ſoone as he underſtood that his death might purchaſe victory to his people, beſtowed himſelfe (as hee thought) upon *Mars*, killing himſelfe before the gates of the City. Then was a battaile fought, wherein the *Argives* prevailed ſo far at the firſt, that *Capaneus* advancing ladders to the wals, got up upon the rampart: whence, when he fell or was caſt down, or (as Writers have it) was ſtricken down by *Jupiter* with a thunder-bolt, the *Argives* fled. Many on each part were ſlain in this battell, which cauſed both ſides to deſire that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* might try out the quarrell in ſingle fight: whereto the two brethren according, ſlew each other.

Another battell was fought after their death, wherein the ſonnes of *Aſtacus* behaved themſelves very valiantly: *Iſmarus* one of the ſonnes ſlew *Hippomedon*, which was one of the ſeven Princes: ***Parthenopæus*** being another of the ſeven (who was ſaid to have bin ſo faire, that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was ſlain by ***Amphidicus***, or, as ſome ſay, by ***Periclymenus*** the ſonne of ***Neptune***: and the valiant ***Tydeus*** by ***Menalippus***: yet ere ***Tydeus*** died, the head of ***Menalippus*** was brought unto him by ***Amphiaraus***, which he cruelly tore open, and ſwallowed up the braines. Upon which fact, it is ſaid, that ***Pallas***, who had brought from ***Jupiter*** ſuch remedie for his wounds, as ſhould have made him immortall, refuſed to beſtow it upon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might have continued immortall, did periſh through the beaſtly rage that he ſhewed at his death.

The hoaſt of the ***Argives*** being wholly diſcomfited, ***Adraſtus*** and ***Amphiaraus*** fled: of whom ***Amphiaraus*** is ſaid to have beene ſwallowed quicke into the earth, neare to the river ***Iſmenus***, together with his Chariot, and ſo loſt out of mens ſight, being peradventure overwhelmed with dead carkaſſes, or drowned in the river: and his bodie never found, nor greatly ſought for. ***Adraſtus*** eſcaped on his good horſe ***Arion***, and came to ***Athens***; where ſitting at an Altar, called the Altar of Mercie, he made ſupplication for their aide to recover their bodies. For ***Creon*** having obtained the Governement of ***Thebes*** after the death of ***Eteocles***, would not ſuffer the bodies of the ***Argives*** to bee buried: but cauſed ***Antigone***, the onely daughter then living of ***Oedipus***, to bee buried quicke, becauſe ſhe had ſought out and buried the bodie of her brother ***Polynices***, contrary to ***Creons*** Edict. The ***Athenians*** condeſcending to the requeſt of ***Adraſtus***, did ſend forth an Armie under the conduct of ***Theſeus***, which tooke ***Thebes***, and reſtored the bodies of the ***Argives*** to Sepulture: at which time ***Evadne*** the wife of ***Capaneus*** threw her ſelfe into the funerall fire, and was burnt willingly with her Husband. But it little contented the ſonnes of thoſe Captaines which were ſlaine at ***Thebes***, that any leſſe revenge ſhould be taken of their fathers death, than the ruine of the Citie: wherefore tenne year after having levied forces, ***Ægialeus*** the ſonne of ***Adraſtus***, ***Diomedes*** of ***Tydeus***, ***Promachus*** of ***Parthenopæus***, ***Sthenelus*** of ***Capaneus***, ***Therſander*** of ***Polynices***, and ***Euripylus*** of ***Meciſteus***, marched thither under the conduct of ***Alcmæon***, the ſon of ***Amphiaraus***: with whom alſo went his bother ***Amphilocus***. ***Apollo*** promiſed victorie if ***Alcmæon*** were their Captain, whom afterward by another ***Oracle*** he commanded to kill his own mother.

When they came to the Citie, they were incountred by ***Laodamas*** the ſon of ***Eteocles*** then King of the ***Thebanes***, (for ***Creon*** was onely Tutor to ***Laodamas***) who though he did valiantly in the battell, and ſlew ***Ægialeus***, yet was hee put to the worſt, and driven to flie, or (according to ***Apollodorus***) ſlain by ***Alcmæon***. After this diſaſter the citizens began to deſire compoſition; but in the meane time they conveyed themſelves with their wives and children away from thence by night, and ſo began to wander up and downe, till at length they built the Town called ***Eſtiæa***. The ***Argives***, when they perceived that their enemies had quitted the Town, entring into it, ſacked it, threw down the walls, and laid it waſte; howbeit it is reported by ſome, that the Town was ſaved by ***Thirſander***, the ſon of ***Polynices***, who cauſing the Citizens to returne, did there raigne over them. That he ſaved the Citie from utter deſtruction, it is very likely, for he raigned there, and led the ***Thebans*** to the Warre of ***Troy***, which very ſhortly after enſued.

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## §. VIII.

### *Of* Jephta, *and how the three hundred yeares which he ſpeaketh of,* Jud.11.28. *are to be reconciled with the places,* Acts 13.20. 1 Reg.6.1. *together with ſome other things touching Chronologie about theſe times.*

After the death of ***Jair*** (neere about whoſe time theſe things hapned in ***Greece***, & during whoſe government, & that of ***Thola***, ***Iſrael*** lived in peace and inorder) they revolted again from the law and ſervice of God, and became more wicked & idolatrous than ever. For wheras in the former times they worſhipped ***Baal*** & ***Aſteroth***, they now became followers of all the Heathen nations adjoyning, and imbraced the idols of the ***Aramites***, of the ***Zidonians***, ***Moabites***, & ***Ammonites***: with thoſe of the ***Philiſtims***. And as before it pleaſed God to correct them by the ***Aramites***, by the ***Amalekites***, and ***Midianites***: ſo now he ſcourged them by the * ***Ammonites*** and afterward by the ***Philiſtims***.

Jud.10.
* The perſecution of the *Ammonites* laſted 18 yeares, and ended in the yeare of the World 2820. in which yeare *Jephta* began, Jud.11.

Now among the ***Iſraelites***, thoſe of ***Gilead*** being moſt oppreſt, becauſe they bordered upon the Amonites, they were inforc't to ſeek *Jephta*, whom they had formerly deſpiſed and caſt from them, becauſe he was baſe borne; but he (notwithſtanding thoſe former injuries) participating more of godly compaſſion than of divelliſh hatred and revenge, was content to lead the Gileadites to the Warre, upon condition that they ſhould eſtabliſh him their Governour after victorie. And when hee had diſputed with *Ammon* for the Land, diſproved *Ammons* right, and fortified the title of *Iſrael* by many arguments, the ſame prevailing nothing, he began the warre; and being ſtrengthened by God, overthrew them: and did not onely beate them out of the plaines, but forc't them over the Jud.11.33. mountaines of *Arabia*, even to *Minnith*, and *Abel* of the vineyards, Cities expreſt heretofore in the deſcription of the holy Land. After which victorie it is ſaid, that hee performed the vaine vow which he made, to ſacrifice the firſt living creature hee incountred, comming out of his houſe to meet him; which happened to be his owne daughter, and onely childe, who with all patience ſubmitted her ſelfe, and onely deſired two moneths time to bewaile her Virginitie on the mountaines of Gilead; becauſe in her the iſſues of her Father ended: but the other opinion, that ſhee was not offered, is more probable, *Bor.in Jud.* which *Borhaus* and others prove ſufficiently.

After theſe things the children of *Iſrael*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, either envious of *Jephta*'s victorie, or otherwiſe making way to their future calamitie, and to the moſt grievous ſlavery that ever *Iſrael* ſuffered, quarrelled with *Jephta*, that they were not called to the Warre, as before time they had conteſted with *Gideon*. *Jephta* hereupon inforced to defend himſelfe againſt their furie, in the incounter ſlew of them 42000. which ſo Jud.12. weakned the bodie of the Land, as the *Philiſtims* had an eaſie conqueſt of them all not long after. *Jephta*, after he had judged *Iſrael* ſixe yeares, died: to whom ſucceeded *Ibzan*, 2925. who ruled ſeven yeares: after him *Elon* was their Judge tenne yeares: in all which time 2942. *Iſrael* had peace. *Euſebius* findes not *Elon*, whom he calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approved in his time, this Judge was omitted.

Now before I goe on with the reſt, it ſhall be neceſſarie upon the occaſion of *Jephta*'s account of the times *Jud.* 11.28. (where he ſaies that *Iſrael* had then poſſeſt the Eaſt ſide of *Jordan* 300. years) to ſpeak ſomewhat of the times of the Judges, and of the differing opinions among the Divines and Chronologers: there being found three places of Scrip- Jud.11.28. tures touching this point, ſeeming repugnant or diſagreeing: the firſt is in this diſpute Act.13.20. betweene *Jephta* and *Ammon*, for the right and poſſeſſion of *Gilead*: the ſecond is that of 1 King.6.1. Saint *Paul*, *Acts* 13. the third is that which is in the firſt of *Kings*. *Jephta* here challengeth the poſſeſſion of *Gilead* for 300. years: Saint *Paul* giveth to the *Judges*, as it ſeems, from the end of *Joſua* to the laſt of *Heli*, 450. yeares. In the firſt of *Kings* it is taught, that from the departing of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, to the foundation of *Salomons* Temple, there were conſumed 480. years. To the firſt *Beroaldus* findeth *Jephta*'s 300. yeares to be but 266. yeares, to wit, 18. of *Joſua*, 40. of *Othoniel*, 80. of *Aod* and *Samgar*, 40. of *Debora*, *Id facit, numero certo pro incerto, propoſito.* 40. of *Gideon*, 3. of *Abimelech*, 23. of *Thola*, and 22. of *Jair*: But *Jephta* (ſaith *Beroaldus*) putteth or propoſeth a certaine number for an uncertaine: *Sic ut dicat annum agi prope trecenteſimum, ex quo nullus litem ea de re moverit Iſraeli*; *So he ſpeaketh* (ſaith he) *as meaning, that then it was about or wel-nigh the three hundreth yeare, ſince Iſrael poſſeſſed thoſe Countries, no man making queſtion of their right.* *Codoman* on the contrary findes more years than *Jephta* named by 65. to wit, 365. whereof 71. were ſpent in *Iſraels* captivitie, at ſeverall times, of which (as *Codoman* thinketh) *Jephta* forbare to repeate the whole ſumme or any great part, leſt the *Ammonite* ſhould have juſtly objected, that 71. of thoſe yeares the *Iſraelites* were in captivitie and vaſſals to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name three hundred yeares, it was enough for preſcription, he omitted the reſt.

To juſtifie this account of 365. yeares, beſides the 71. yeares of captivitie or affliction, to bee added to *Beroaldus* his 266. hee addeth alſo 28. yeares more, and ſo maketh up the ſumme of 365. Theſe 28. yeares hee findeth out thus: twenty yeares hee gives to the *Seniors* betweene *Joſua* and *Othoniel*: and where *Beroaldus* alloweth eighteene yeares to *Joſua* his government, *Codoman* accounts that his rule laſted 26. according to *Joſephus*; whereas Saint *Auguſtine* and *Euſebius* give him 27. *Melancthon* 32. The truth is, that this addition of 28. yeares is farre more doubtfull than the other of 71. But though wee admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of ſome part of the yeares of affliction (to wit, 34. yeares of the 71.) if wee adde them to the 266. yeares of *Beroaldus*, which reckoneth none of theſe, we have the juſt number of 300. yeares. Neither is it ſtrange that *Jephta* ſhould leave out more than halfe of the yeares of affliction: ſeeing, as it is already ſaid, the Ammonites might except againſt the 71. yeares, and ſay, that during theſe yeares, or at leaſt a good part of them, the Iſraelites had no quiet poſſeſſion of the Countries in queſtion. *Martin Luther* is the author of a third opinion, making thoſe 300. yeares remembred by *Jephta*, to bee 306. which odde yeares, ſaith hee, *Jephta* omitteth. But becauſe the yeares of every Judge, as they reigned, cannot make up the number of 306. but doe onely compound 266. therefore doth *Luther* adde to this number the whole time which *Moſes* ſpent in the Deſarts of Arabia Petræa; which forty yeares of *Moſes* added to the number which *Beroaldus* findeth of 266. make indeed 306.

But I ſee nothing in the Text to warrant *Luthers* judgement herein: for in the diſpute betweene *Jephta* and *Ammon* for the Land of Gilead, it is written in the perſon of *Ammon*, in theſe words: *Becauſe Iſrael tooke my Land, when they came up from Egypt, from Arnon unto Jaboc, &c. now therefore reſtore thoſe Lands quietly*; or in peace. So by this place it is plaine, that the time is not to be accounted from *Moſes* departure out of *Egypt*: but from the time that the Land was poſſeſt. For it is ſaid, *Quia cepit Iſrael terram meam, Behold Iſrael tooke my Land*: and therefore the beginning of this account is to be referred to the time of the taking: which *Jephta's* anſwer alſo confirmeth in theſe words: *When Iſrael dwelt in Heſhbon, and in her Townes, and in Aroer, and in her Townes, and in all the Cities that are by the coaſt of Arnon* 300. *yeares: why did ye not then recover them in that ſpace?* ſo as this place ſpeaks it directly, that *Iſrael* had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of Gilead 300. yeares: and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents that *Iſrael* had to poſſeſſe it, it ſeemeth ſomewhat ſtrained to mee: for we doe not uſe to reckon the time of our conqueſts in France, from our Princes intents or purpoſes, but from their victories and poſſeſſions.

Jud.11.28.

*Junius* neverthelesſe likes the opinion of *Luther*, and ſayes, that this time of 300. years hath reference, and is to take beginning from the firſt of *Jephta's* narration: when he makes a briefe repetition of *Moſes* whole journey: to wit, at the ſixteenth Verſe of the eleventh Chapter of *Judges*, in our tranſlation in theſe words: *But when Iſrael came up from Egypt, &c.* and therefore *Moſes* his 40. yeares (as he thinkes) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305. yeares: and not onely the time in which *Iſrael* poſſeſt Gilead, according to the Text, and *Jephta's* owne words: of which I leave the judgment to others; to whom alſo I leave to judge, whether we may not begin the 480. yeares, from the deliverance out of *Egypt* to the Temple, even from the firſt departure out of *Egypt*, and yet finde a more probable reconciliation of Saint *Pauls* and *Jephta's* account with this reckoning, than any of thoſe that as yet have been ſignified. For firſt, touching *Jephta's* three hundred yeares of poſſeſſion of the Eaſt ſide of *Jordan*, it is to be remembred, that for a good while before the Iſraelites poſſeſſed it, *Sehon* and *Og* had diſpoſſeſſed *Moab* and *Ammon* thereof: ſo that when the Iſraelites had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of poſſeſſion which they had, paſſed to Iſrael; and ſo *Jephta* might ſay that they had poſſeſſed thoſe Countries 300. years, reckoning 266. yeares of their own poſſeſſion, and the reſt of the poſſeſſion of the two Kings, *Sehon* and *Og*, whoſe right the Iſraelites had by the law of conqueſt.

*Junius* in the 11. of Judg. annot.

The ſecond place diſputed is this of S. *Paul*, *Act.* 13. that from the end of *Joſua*, to the beginning of *Samuel*, there paſt 450. yeares. And this place *Luther* underſtandeth alſo beſides the letter (as I find his opinion cited by *Functius Krentzhemius*, and *Beza*) for I have not reade his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of *Moſes*, to the laſt yeare of *Heli*, but 357. yeares: and this he doth the better to approve the times from the egreſsion out of *Egypt* to the building of the Temple, which in the firſt of *Kings* 6. is ſaid to be 480. yeares.

Read the 24. of *Joſua* and the 2 of Judg. 7. *Funct. Chron. fol.* 4. *Beza* in his annotations upon the 13. of the Act. v. 10.

Now foraſmuch as S. *Paul* (as it ſeemes) findes 450. yeares from the death of *Joſua*, to the laſt of *Heli*, and leaves but thirty yeares for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who governed 40. for *David* who ruled 40. and for *Salomon* who wore the Crown three whole yeares ere the the foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was errour in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece of Scripture of S. *Paul*: to wit, *Then afterward hee gave unto them Judges about* 450. *yeares, unto the time of* Samuel *the Prophet*: the words [*then afterward*] being clearely referred to the death, or after the death

Act. 13. 20.

of *Joſua*, as ſhall be hereafter proved. But where Saint *Luke*, rehearſing the words of Saint *Paul*, wrote 350. yeares (ſaith *Luther*) the Scribe in the tranſcription being deceived by the affinity of thoſe two Greek words, whereof the one ſignifieth 300. and the other 400. wrote *Tetracoſiois*, for *Triacoſiois*; 400. yeares for 300 yeares; and 450. for 350. This he ſeeketh to ſtrengthen by many arguments: to which opinion *Beza* in his great annotations adhereth. A contrary judgement to this hath *Codoman*: where *Luther* and *Beza* begin at *Moſes* death, he takes his account from the death of *Joſua*, and from thence to the beginning of *Samuel* he makes 430. yeares: to wit, of the *Judges* (not reckoning *Sampſons* yeares) 319. and of yeares of ſervitude and affliction under ſtrangers, 111. The reaſon why he doth not reckon *Sampſons* twenty yeares, is, becauſe he thinkes that they were part of the 40. yeares, in which the *Philiſtims* are ſaid to have oppreſſed Iſrael. For it is plaine, that during all *Sampſons* time they were Lords over Iſrael. So then of the Judges, beſides the 111. yeares of ſervitude, *Codoman* reckoneth (as I have ſaid) 319. yeares, which two ſummes put together, make 430. yeares. And whereas Saint *Paul* nameth 450. yeares, he finds 20. yeares to make up Saint *Pauls* number, to have bin ſpent after the death of *Joſhua* by the *Seniors*, before the Captivity of *Cuſhan*, or the election of *Othoniel*: which 20. yeares added to 430. make 450. according to Saint *Paul*. To approve this time of the Elders, he citeth two places of Scriptures, namely the 24. of *Joſua*, and the ſecond of *Judges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Iſrael ſerved the Lord all the dayes of* Joſhua, *and all the daies of the Elders that over-lived* Joſhua: ſo as to theſe times of the Elders, *Codoman* giveth 20. yeares, which make as before 450. according to Saint *Paul*. Neither would it breed any great difficulty in this opinion, if here alſo the 20. yeares of the *Seniors* between *Joſhua* and *Othoniel* ſhould be denied. For they which deny theſe yeares, and make *Othoniels* 40. to begin preſently upon the death of *Joſhua*, as in the beginning of this reckoning, they have 20. yeares leſſe than *Codoman*, ſo toward the end of it (when they reckon the yeares of affliction apart from the yeares of the *Judges*) in the number of *Sampſons* yeares, and of the forty yeeres of the *Philiſtims* oppreſſing the *Iſraelites*, they have 20. yeares more than *Codoman*. For they reckon theſe 40. yeares of oppreſſion all of them a-part from *Sampſons* 20. but *Codoman*, as is ſaid, makes *Sampſons* 20. to be the one halfe of the forty of the *Philiſtims* oppreſsions; ſo that if the 20. years of the *Seniors* be not allowed to *Codoman*, then he may reckon (as the letter of the Text ſeemes to inforce) that the *Philiſtims* in any *Inter-regnum*, before *Sampſon* judged Iſrael, vexed the Iſraelites 40. years, beſides the 20. while *Sampſon* was their Judge; and ſo the reckoning will come to 450. yeares between the end of *Joſua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, though we admit not of an *Inter-regnum* of the *Seniors* between *Joſua* and *Othoniel*: For, if the times of their affliction be ſummed, they make 111. yeares, to which if we adde the yeares of the Judges, which are 339. we have the juſt ſumme of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may ſeeme to be much more probable, than theirs that correct the Text, although we ſhould admit of their correction thereof, and read with them 350. for 450. For whereas they conceive that this time of 350. years, is to begin immediately, or ſoone after the death of *Moſes*: certainely the place of S. *Paul* doth evidently teach the contrary, though it be received for true that there was *vitium ſcriptoris* in the reſt. For theſe be Saint *Pauls* words: *And about the time of forty yeares, God ſuffered their manners in the wilderneſſe: And he deſtroyed ſeven Nations in the Land of Canaan, and divided their Land to them by lot. Then afterward hee gave unto them Judges about 450. yeares, unto the time of* Samuel *the Prophet*. So as firſt in the eighteenth verſe he ſpeaketh of *Moſes*, and of his yeares ſpent in the Wilderneſſe, then in the nineteenth verſe he commeth unto the acts of *Joſua*; which were, that he deſtroyed ſeven Nations in the land of *Canaan*, and divided their Land to them by lot. In the twentieth Verſe it followeth, *Then afterward hee gave them Judges about 450. yeares, &c.* and therefore to reckon from the death of *Moſes*, is wide of Saint *Pauls* meaning, ſo farre as my weak underſtanding can pierce it. The onely inconvenience of any weight in opinion of *Codoman* touching this place in the *Acts*, is, that it ſeemes irreconcileable with the account, 1 *Reg*. 6. 11. For if indeed there were ſpent 450. yeares between the end of *Joſua* and the beginning of *Samuel*, certainly there muſt needs be much more than 480. yeares between the beginning of the Iſraelites journeying from Egypt, and the foundation of the Temple by *Salomon*. To this difficulty

Jud.13.

Jud.15.11.

Joſ.14.1.

*Codoman* anſwereth, that theſe 480. yeares, 1 *Reg.* 6.1. muſt begin to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their journeying from Egypt, which he makes to be 25. yeares after the beginning of *Othoniels* government; from whence if wee caſt the yeares of the Judges, with the yeares of ſervitude (which ſummes, according to his account, of which we have already ſpoken, make 397. yeares) and ſo to theſe yeares adde the 40. of *Samuel*, and *Saul*, and the 40. of *David*, and the 3. of *Salomon*, wee ſhall have the juſt ſumme of 480. yeares. Neither is it hard (ſaith he) that the *annus egreſsionis*, 1 *Reg.* 6.1. ſhould be underſtood *egreſsionis non incipientis, ſed finitæ*, the yeere of their comming out of Egypt (for ſo it is in the originall) or the yeare after they came out of Egypt, may well be underſtood for the yeare after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandring from thence. For ſo wee finde that things which were done 40. yeares after they had ſet foot out of Egypt, are ſaid to have bin done in their going out of Egypt; as *Pſal.* 114. *When Iſrael came out of Egypt, Jordan was driven backe*. and *Deut.*4.45. *Theſe are the teſtimonies which* Moſes *ſpake when they came out of Egypt.* And thus farre it ſeemes we may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quum exiviſſent*, or *ab exitu finito*: for if *Junius*, *Deut.*4.45. doe well read *quum exiviſſent*, for *in exitu*, as it ſeemes that herein he doth well, why may not we alſo, to avoid contradiction in the Scripture, expound *ab exitu* to be, *poſtquàm exiviſſent?*

The next point to be cleered, is how their journeying ſhould be ſaid not to have had end untill the 25. yeare after the victory of *Othoniel*. To this *Codoman* anſwereth, that then it had no end till when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened not untill this time: at which time the Danites at length ſeated themſelves, as it is declared, *Jud.* 18. For doubtleſſe to this time the expedition may moſt conveniently be referred. Jud.18.1. And thus without any great inconvenience to him appearing, doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Jephta*, and S. *Paul*, with that in the firſt of *King.c.6.* Now wheras it is ſaid that the expedition of the Danites was when there was no King in Iſrael: to this *Codoman* anſwereth, that it is not neceſſary that we ſhould ſuppoſe that *Othoniel* lived all thoſe 40. yeares of reſt, of which *Jud.*3.11. ſo that by the 25. yeare after his victory, either he might have bin dead, or at leaſt, as *Gideon* did, he might have refuſed all ſoveraignty, and ſo either way it might truely bee ſaid that at this time (to wit, the 25. yeare after *Othoniels* victory) there was no King in Iſrael. This opinion of *Codoman*, if it were as conſonant to other Chronologers, grounding their opinions on the plaine Text, where it is indiſputable, as it is in it ſelfe round enough and coherent, might perhaps be received as good: eſpecially conſidering, that the ſpeeches of S. *Paul* have not otherwiſe found any interpretation, maintaining them as abſolutely true, in ſuch manner as they ſound, and are ſet downe. But ſeeing that he wanteth all helpe of authority, we may juſtly ſuſpect the ſuppoſition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being ſuch as the conſent of many Authors would hardly ſuffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman*, that the conqueſt of *Laiſh*, by the Tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the five and twentieth yeere of *Othoniel?* Or what other probability hath hee than his owne conjecture, to ſhew that *Othoniel* did ſo renounce the office of a Judge after five and twenty yeeres, that it might then be truely ſaid there was no King in Iſrael, but every man did that which was good in his owne eyes?

Now concerning the rehearſall of the law by *Moſes*, and the ſtopping of *Jordan*, they might indeed bee properly ſaid to have been, when Iſrael came out of Egypt; like as we ſay that King *Edward* the firſt was crowned when he came out of the holy Land, for ſo all journeies with their accidents commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they tend. But I thinke that hee can finde no ſuch phraſe of ſpeech in Scripture as limiteth a journey by an accident, or ſaith by converting the propoſition, when Jordan was turning back, Iſrael came out of Egypt. Indeed moſt unproper it were to give date unto actions commenced long after, from an expedition finiſhed long before, namely, to ſay, that King *Edward* at his arrivall out of Palæſtina did winne *Scotland*, or died at *Carlile*. How may we then beleeve that enterprize performed ſo many yeeres after the diviſion of the Land (which followed the conqueſt at the journeies end) ſhould be ſaid to have bin at the time of the departure out of Egypt? Or who will not thinke it moſt ſtrange, that the moſt notable account of time, ſerving as the onely guide for certaine ages in ſacred Chronologie, ſhould not take name and beginning from that illuſtrious deliverance out of *Egypt*, rehearſed often by God himſelfe among the principall of his benefits to *Iſrael*, whereof the very day and moneth are recorded in Scripture (as likewiſe are the yeare and moneth wherein it expired) and the forme of the yeare upon that occaſion changed; but ſhould have reference to the ſurprizing of a Town by ſixe hundred men, that robbed a Chappell by the way, and ſtole from thence Idols to be their guides, as not going to work in Gods name? For this accident whereupon *Codoman* buildeth, hath either no time given to it, or a time far different from that which he ſuppoſeth, and is indeed rather by him placed in ſuch a yeare, becauſe it beſt ſtood with his interpretation ſo to have it, than for any certainety or likelihood of the thing it ſelfe.

Wherefore we may beſt agree with ſuch as affirme that the Apoſtle S. *Paul* did not herein labour to ſet downe the courſe of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpoſe) but onely to ſhew that God, who had choſen Iſrael to be his people, delivered them out of bondage, and ruled them by *Judges* and *Prophets* unto the time of *Saul*, did raiſe up our *Lord Jeſus Chriſt* out of the ſeed of *David* the King, in whoſe ſucceſſion the Crowne was eſtabliſhed, and promiſe made of a Kingdome that ſhould have no end. Now in rehearſing briefly thus much which tended as a Preface to the declaration following (wherein he ſheweth Chriſt to have beene the true *Meſsias*) the Apoſtle was ſo farre from labouring to make an exact calculation of times (the Hiſtory being ſo well known & beleeved of the Jewes to whom he preached) that he ſpake as it were at large of the 40. yeares conſumed in the wilderneſſe, whereof no man doubted, ſaying, that God ſuffered their manners in the wilderneſſe about 40. yeares. In like manner he proceeded, ſaying, that from the diviſion of the Land unto the daies of *Samuel* the Prophet, in whoſe time they required to have a King, there paſſed about 450. yeares. Neither did he ſtand to tell them, that an hundred and eleven yeares of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339. yeares of the *Judges*: for this had bin an impertinent digreſſion from the argument which he had in hand. Wherefore it is not a work ſo needfull as laborious, to ſearch out of this place that which the Apoſtle did not here intend to teach, when the ſumme of 480. yeares is ſo expreſſely and purpoſely ſet downe.

Now that the words of S. *Paul* (if there be no fault in the copy through error of ſome Scribe) are not ſo curiouſly to be examined in matter of *Chronologie*, but muſt be taken, as having reference to the memory and apprehenſion of the vulgar, it is evident by his aſcribing in the ſame place 40. yeares to the reigne of *Saul*: whereas it is manifeſt that thoſe yeares were divided between *Saul* & *Samuel*, yea, that far the greater part of them were ſpent under the government of the Prophet, howſoever they are here included in the reigne of the King. As for thoſe that with ſo much cunning forſake the generall opinion, when it favoureth not ſuch expoſition as they bring out of a good minde, to help where the need is not overgreat; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The words of S. *Paul* were ſufficiently juſtified by *Beroaldus*, as having reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in thoſe dayes, that the 111. yeares of ſervitude were to be reckoned apart from the 339. yeares aſcribed to the *Judges*; which account the Apoſtle would not in this place ſtand to contradict, but rather choſe to ſpeake as the vulgar, qualifying it with a *quaſi*, where he ſaith *quaſi quadringentis & quinquaginta annis*, *As it were foure hundred and fifty yeares*. But *Codoman* being not thus contented, would needs have it be ſo indeed, and therefore diſ-joines the members to make the account even. In ſo doing he daſheth himſelfe againſt a notable Text, whereupon all Authors have builded, (as well they might and ought) that purpoſely and preciſely doth caſt up the yeares from the departure out of Egypt, unto the building of *Solomons* Temple, not omitting the very Moneth it ſelfe.

Act.13.

1 Kin.6.

Now (as commonly the firſt apprehenſions are ſtrongeſt) having already given faith to his owne interpretation of S. *Paul*, he thinketh it more needfull to finde ſome new expoſition for that which is of it ſelfe moſt plaine, and to examine his owne conjecture upon a place that is full of controverſie. Thus by expounding, after a ſtrange Methode, that which is manifeſt by that which is obſcure, he loſeth himſelfe in thoſe waies wherein before him never man walked. Surely if one ſhould urge him to give reaſon of theſe new opinions, he muſt needs anſwer, that *Othoniel* could not governe above 25. years, becauſe then was the taking of *Laiſh*, *at which time there was no King in Iſrael*; That the

*Danites* muſt needs have taken *Laiſh* at that time, becauſe elſe we could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the Temple to any action that might be termed the comming of Iſrael out of Egypt, without excluding the yeeres of ſervitude; And that the yeeres of ſervitude muſt needes be included; for that otherwiſe he himſelfe ſhould have ſpent his time vainely, in ſeeking to pleaſure S. *Paul* with an expoſition. Whether this ground be ſtrong enough to uphold a Paradoxe, I leave it to the deciſion of the judicious Reader.

And now to proceed in our ſtory. To the time of *Jephta* are referred the death of *Hercules*, the rape of *Helen* by *Paris*, and the proviſions which her husband *Menelaus*, reigning then in Sparta, and his brother *Agamemnon* King of Mycenæ, made for her recovery. Others referre this rape of *Helen* to the fourth yeere of *Ibzan*: from which time, if the warre of Troy (as they ſuppoſe) did not begin till the third of *Ailon* or *Elon*, yet the Greeks had ſixe yeeres to prepare themſelves: the rule holding not true in this War, *longa præparatio belli celerem affert victoriam; that a long preparation begets a ſpeedy victorie*: for the Greeks conſumed ten yeares in the attempt: and Troy, as it ſeemes, was entred, ſackt, and burnt in the third yeare of *Habdon*.

Three yeares after Troy taken, which was in the ſixt yeere of *Habdon*, *Aeneas* arrived in Italy. *Habdon* in the eighth yeare of his rule, died, after he had beene the Father of 40. ſonnes, and 30. grand-children. And whereas it is ſuppoſed, that the 40. yeeres of Iſraels oppreſſion by the Philiſtims (of which *Jud.* 13. *v.* 1.) took beginning from the ninth yeere of *Jair*, and ended with the laſt of *Habdon*: I ſee no reaſon for that opinion. For *Ephraim* had had little cauſe of quarrell againſt *Jephta*, for not calling them to war over Jordan, if the Philiſtims had held them in ſervitude in their own territories: and if *Ephraim* could have brought 42000. armed men into the field, it is not likely that they were then oppreſt: and had it been true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather have fought againſt the Philiſtims with ſo powerfull an Army for their owne deliverance, than againſt their own brethren the Iſraelites? but *Ammon* being overthrowne, it ſeemed at that time, that they feared no other enemy. And therefore theſe 40. yeers muſt either be ſupplied elſewhere, as in the time of *Sampſon*, and afterward: or elſe they muſt be referred to the *inter-regnum* between the death of *Habdon*, and the deliverance of Iſrael by *Sampſon*, ſuch as it was.

# CHAP. XIII.

## *Of the Warre of Troy.*

### §. I.

### *Of the Genealogy of the Kings of Troy, with a note touching the ancient Poets, how they have obſerved hiſtoricall truth.*

THe Warre at Troy with other ſtories hereupon depending (becauſe the ruine of this Citie, by moſt *Chronologers* is found in the time of *Habdon Judge* of *Iſrael*, whom in the laſt place I have mentioned) I rather chooſe here to treat of in one entire narration, beginning with the lineal deſcent of their Princes, than to breake the ſtory into pieces by rehearſing a-part in divers years, the diverſity of occurrents.

The Hiſtorie of the ancient Kings of Troy is uncertaine, in regard both of their originall, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that *Teucer* and *Dardanus* were the two founders of that Kingdome. This is the opinion of *Virgil*: which if he (as *Reineccius* thinks) tooke from *Beroſus*, it is the more probable: if *Annius* borrowed it of him, then it reſts upon the authority of *Virgil*, who ſaith thus:

*Creta* Jovis *magni medio jacet inſula Ponto:* Æneid. 3.
*Mons Idæus ubi, & gentis cunabula noſtræ.*

*Centum Urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna:*
*Maximus unde Pater (ſi ritè audita recordor)*
Teucrus *Rhæteas primùm eſt advectus ad oras:*
*Optavitq; locum regno. Nondum Ilium & arces*
*Pergameæ ſteterant: habitabant vallibus imis.*
*Hinc Mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiaq; æra,*
*Idæumq; nemus.*

In the maine Sea the Ile of Creete doth lye:
Whence *Jove* was borne, thence is our progeny.
There is mount Ida: there in fruitfull Land
An hundreth great and goodly Cities ſtand.
Thence (if I follow not miſtaken fame)
*Teucer* the eldeſt of our grand-ſires came
To the Rhœtean ſhores: and reigned there
Ere yet faire Ilion was built, and ere
The Towers of Troy: their dwelling place they ſought
In loweſt Vales. Hence *Cybels* rites were brought:
Hence *Corybantian Cymbals* did remove:
And hence the name of our *Idæan* grove.

Thus it ſeemeth by *Virgil*, who followed ſurely good authority, that *Teucer* firſt gave name to that Countrey, wherein he reigned ere Troy was built by *Dardanus*: of which *Dardanus* in the ſame booke he ſpeaks thus:

*Eſt locus, Heſperiam Graii cognomine dicunt:*
*Terra antiqua, potens armis atq; ubere glebæ,*
*Oenotrii coluere viri; nunc fama minores*
*Italiam dixiſſe, ducis de nomine gentem.*
*Hæ nobis propriæ ſedes: hinc* Dardanus *ortus:*
*Jaſiuſq; Pater, genus à quo principe noſtrum.*

*Heſperia* the *Græcians* call the place:
An ancient fruitfull Land, a warlike race,
*Oenotrians* held it: now the later progenie
Gives it their Captaines name, and calls it *Italy*;
This ſeat belongs to us, hence *Dardanus*,
Hence came the author of our ſtocke, *Jaſius*.

Alſo *Aeneid.l.7.*

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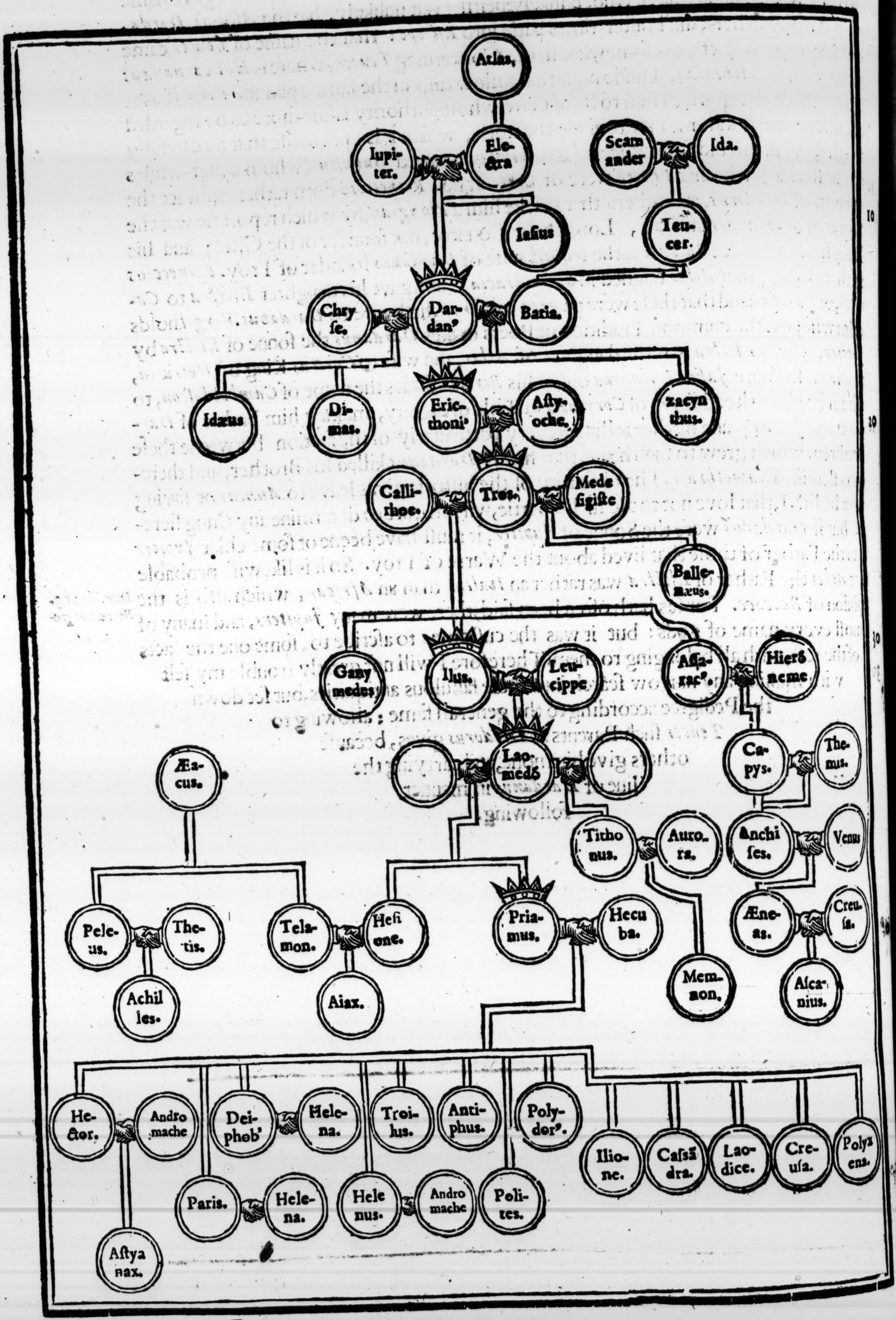
*Atq; equidem memini (fama eſt obſcurior annis)*
*Auruncos ita fere ſenes, hic ortus ut agris*
Dardanus *Idæus Phrygiæ penetravit ad urbes,*
*Threiciamq; Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.*
*Hinc illum Coryti Tyrrhena ab ſede profectum,*
*Aurea nunc ſolio ſtellantis regia cæli*
*Accipit, &c.*

Some old *Aruncans*, I remember well,
(Though time have made the ſame obſcure) would tell
Of *Dardanus*, how borne in *Italy*:
From hence he into *Phrygia* did flie.
And leaving *Tuſcaine* (where he earſt had place)
With *Corytus* did ſaile to *Samothrace*;
But now inthronized he ſits on high,
In golden Palace of the ſtarry skie.

But contrary to this, and ſo many Authors, approving and confirming it, *Reineccius* thinkes that theſe names, *Troes*, *Teucri*, and *Thraces*, are derived from *Tiras* or *Thira* the ſon of *Japhet*: and that the *Dardanians*, *Myſians*, & *Aſcanians*, mixt with the *Trojans*, were *Germane* Nations, deſcended from *Aſhkenaz*, the ſonne of *Gomer*: of whom the Countrie, Lake, and river of *Aſcanius* in *Aſia* tooke name. That *Aſhkenaz* gave name to thoſe places and people, it is not unlikely: neither is it unlikely, that the *Aſcanii*, *Dardani*, and many others, did in after-times paſſe into *Europe*: that the name of *Teucer* came of *Tyras*, the conjecture is ſomewhat hard. Concerning *Teucer*, whereas *Halicarnaſſæus* makes him an *Athenian*, I finde none that follow him in the ſame opinion. *Virgil* (as is before ſhewed) reporteth him to be of *Crete*, whoſe authority is the more to be regarded becauſe he had good meanes to finde the truth, which it is probable that he carefully ſought, and in this did follow, ſeeing it no way concerned *Auguſtus* (whom other-whiles he did flatter) whether *Teucer* were of *Crete* or no. *Reineccius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diodorus*, and others that thinke him a *Phrygian*, by which report he was the Sonne of *Scamander* and *Ida*, Lord of the Country, not founder of the Citie; and his Daughter or Neece *Batia* was the ſecond wife of *Dardanus* founder of Troy. *Reineccius* further thinkes that *Atlas* raigned in *Samothracia*, and gave his daughter *Electra* to *Corytus*, or *Coritus*: and that theſe were parents to *Chryſe*, firſt wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds otherwiſe; and the common Tradition of Poets makes *Dardanus* the ſonne of *Electra* by *Jupiter*, which *Electra* was the daughter of *Atlas*, and wife to *Coritus* King of *Hetruria*, to whom ſhe bare *Jaſius*. *Annius* out of his *Beroſus* findes the name of *Camboblaſcon*, to whom he gives the addition of *Corytus*, as a Title of dignity, making him Father of *Dardanus* and *Jaſius*; and further telling us very particularly of the faction betweene theſe Brethren, which grew to ſuch heate, that finally *Dardanus* killed his Brother, and thereupon fled into *Samothrace*. The obſcurity of the hiſtorie gives leave to *Annius* of ſaying what he liſt. I, that love not to uſe ſuch libertie, wil forbeare to determine any thing herein. But if *Dardanus* were the Sonne of *Jupiter*, it muſt have beene of ſome elder *Jupiter* than the Father of thoſe that lived about the Warre of Troy. So it is likewiſe probable that *Atlas* the Father of *Electra* was rather an *Italian* than an *African*, which alſo is the opinion of *Boccace*. For (as hath often been ſaid) there were many *Jupiters*, and many of almoſt every name of gods: but it was the cuſtome to aſcribe to ſome one the acts of the reſt, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my ſelf with making any narrow ſearch into theſe fabulous antiquities, but ſet down the Pedigree according to the generall fame; allowing to *Teucer* ſuch Parents as *Diodorus* gives, becauſe others give him none, and carrying the line of *Dardanus* in manner following.

*Deor. lib. 4. c. 3. Boccace de gen.*


Atlas.
Iupiter.
Electra
Scamander
Ida.
Iaſius
Teucer.
Chryſe.
Dardan⁹
Batia.
Idæus
Dimas.
Ericthoni⁹
Aſtyoche.
Zacynthus.
Callirhoe.
Tros.
Medeſigiſte
Ballemæus.
Ganymedes
Ilus.
Leucippe
Aſſarac⁹.
Hieroneme
Æacus.
Laomedō
Capys.
Themis.
Tithonus.
Aurora.
Anchiſes.
Venus
Peleus.
Thetis.
Telamon.
Heſione.
Priamus.
Hecuba.
Æneas.
Creuſa.
Achilles.
Aiax.
Memnon.
Aſcanius.
Hector.
Andromache
Deiphob⁹
Helena.
Troilus.
Antiphus.
Polydor⁹.
Ilione.
Caſſādra.
Laodice.
Creuſa.
Polyxena.
Paris.
Helena.
Helenus.
Andromache
Polites.
Aſtyanax.

Concerning the beginning and continuance, the Trojan Kingdome, with the length of every Kings reigne, I have choſen good Authors to be my guides, that in a Hiſtory, whereon depends the moſt ancient computation of times among the Greeks, I might not follow incertainties, ill cohering with the conſent of Writers, and generall paſſage of things elſewhere done. And firſt for the deſtruction of Troy, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that City whileſt it ſtood, it is reckoned by *Diodorus* to be 780. yeares more ancient than the beginning of the ninety fourth *Olympiad*. Whereas therefore 372. did paſſe betweene the beginning of the *Olympiads*, and the firſt yeare of the 94. it is manifeſt that the remainder of 780. yeares, that is 408. yeares went betweene the deſtruction of Troy, and the firſt inſtitution of thoſe games by *Iphitus*, if the authority of *Diodorus* be good proofe, who elſewhere tels us, that the returne of the *Heraclidæ*, which was 80. yeares after the fall of Troy, was 328. yeares before the firſt *Olympiad*.

*Diod.l.14.*

*Diod.in præf.*

Hereunto agrees the authority of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, who placing the foundation of *Rome* in the firſt of the ſeventh *Olympiad*, that is, foure and twenty yeares after the beginning of thoſe games, accounts it 432. later than the fall of Troy. *Solinus* in expreſſe words, makes the inſtitution of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*, whom he calleth *Iphiclus*, 480. yeares later than the deſtruction of Troy. The ſumme is eaſily collected by neceſſary inference out of divers other places in the ſame booke. Hereunto doth *Euſebius*, reckoning excluſively agree: and *Eratoſthenes* (as he is cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*) makes up out of many particulars, the ſame totall ſumme, wanting but one yeare, as reckoning likewiſe excluſively.

*Dionyſ.Halic. Antiq.l.2.*

*Solin.Polihiſt.c.2.*

*Euſeb.de rap.Evang.l.10 c.3.Cle. Alex.Strom.lib.1.*

The other collections of divers writers that are cited by *Clemens* in the ſame place, doe neither cohere any way, nor depend upon any collaterall hiſtory, by which they may be verified.

The deſtruction of Troy being in the yeare before the *Olympiads* foure hundred and eight: we muſt ſeeke the continuance of that from the beginning to the end, out of *Euſebius*, who leads us from *Dardanus* on-wards, through the reignes of foure Kings, by the ſpace of two hundred and five and twenty yeares, and after of *Priamus*, with whom alſo at length it ended. As for the time which paſſed under *Laomedon*, we are faine to doe as others have done before us, and take it upon truſt from *Annius* his Authors; beleeving *Manetho* ſo much the rather, for that in his account of the former Kings reignes, and of *Priamus*, he is found to agree with *Euſebius*, which may give us leave to thinke that *Annius* hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we need not to be very ſcrupulous: for ſeeing that no hiſtory or accompt of time depends upon the reigne of the former Kings, but onely upon the ruine of the Citie under *Priamus*, it may ſuffice that we are carefull to place that memorable accident in the due yeare.

True it is, that ſome objections appearing waighty, may be alledged in maintenance of different computations, which with the anſwers I purpoſely omit, as not willing to diſpute of thoſe yeares, wherein the Greeks knew no good forme of a yeare; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all writers, whereof this deſtruction of Troy was one of the moſt renowned.

The firſt enterpriſe that was undertaken by generall conſent of all Greece, was the laſt warre of Troy, which hath bin famous even to this day, for the numbers of Princes and valiant Commanders there aſſembled; the great battailes fought with variable ſucceſſe: the long indurance of the ſiege: the deſtruction of that great Citie: and the many *Colonies* planted in ſundry countries, as well by the remainder of the Trojans, as by the victorious Greeks after their unfortunate returne. All which things, with innumerable circumſtances of eſpeciall note, have bin delivered unto poſterity, by the excellent wits of many writers, eſpecially by the *Poems* of that great *Homer*, whoſe verſes have given immortality to the action, which might elſe perhaps have been buried in oblivion, among other worthy deeds, done both before and ſince that time. For it is true which *Horace* ſaith:

*Vixere fortes ante* Agamemnona
*Multi, ſed omnes illachrymabiles*
*Urgentur, ignotiq; longa*
*Nocte: carent quia vate ſacro.*

Many by valour have deſerv'd renowne
Ere *Agamemnon*; yet lye all oppreſt
Uuder long night, unwept for, and unknowne:
For with no ſacred Poet were they bleſt.

Yet ſo it is, that whilſt theſe writers have with ſtrange fables, or (to ſpeake the beſt of them) with Allegories farre ſtrained, gone about to enlarge the commendations of thoſe noble undertakers: they have both drawne into ſuſpicion that great vertue which they ſought to adorne, and filled after-ages with almoſt as much ignorance of the Hiſtory, as admiration of the perſons. Wherefore it is expedient that we ſeeke for the knowledge of ſuch actions, in Hiſtories; learning their qualities who did manage them, of Poets, in whoſe workes are both profit and delight: yet ſmall profit to thoſe which are delighted otherwiſe; but ſuch as can interpret their fables, or ſeparate them from the naked truth, ſhall find matter in Poems, not unworthy to be regarded of Hiſtorians. For thoſe things excepted which are gathered out of *Homer*, there is very little, and not without much diſagreement of Authors, written of this great warre. All writers conſent with *Homer*, that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris* the ſon of *Priamus*, was the cauſe of taking arms: but how he was hereunto emboldened, it is doubtfull.

## §. II.

### *Of the rape of* Helen: *and ſtrength of both ſides for the Warre.*

*Herodotus* fetcheth the cauſe of this rape from very farre; ſaying, That whereas the Phœnicians had raviſhed *Iö*, and carried her into Egypt, the Greeks, to be revenged on the Barbarians, did firſt raviſh *Europa*, whom they brought out of *Phœnicia* into Creta, and afterward *Medæa*, whom they fetcht from *Colchos*, denying to reſtore her to her father, till ſuch time as they might be ſatisfied for the rape of *Iö*. By theſe deeds of the Greeekes, *Paris* (as the ſame *Herodotus* affirmes) was emboldened to doe the like; not fearing ſuch revenge as enſued. But all this narration ſeemes frivolous. For what had the King of *Colchos* to doe with the injury of the Phœnicians? Or how could the Greekes, as in revenge of *Iö*, plead any quarrell againſt him, that never had heard the name of Phœnicians? *Thucydides*, a writer of unqueſtionable ſincerity, maketh it plaine, that the name of Barbarians was not uſed at all in *Homers* time, which was long after the warre of Troy: and that the Greeks themſelves were not then called all by one name, *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were unreaſonable to thinke, that they ſhould have ſought revenge upon all Nations, as barbarous, for the injury received by one: or that all people elſe ſhould have eſteemed of the Greeks, as of a people oppoſed to all the world; and that even then when as the Greekes had not yet one common name among themſelves. Others with more probability ſay, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the redelivery of *Heſione*, King *Priamus* his ſiſter, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and given to *Telamon*. This may have beene true: for *Telamon* (as it ſeemes) was a cruell man, ſeeing his owne ſonne *Teucer* durſt not come in his ſight, after the warre of *Troy*, but fled into Cyprus, onely becauſe his brother *Ajax* (which *Teucer* could not remedy) had ſlaine himſelfe. Yet, were it ſo, that *Heſione* was ill entreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely that *Priamus* her brother would ſeeke to take her from her husband, with whom ſhee had lived about thirty yeeres, and to whom ſhee had borne children which were to ſucceed in his Dominion. Whereupon I thinke that *Paris* had no regard either to the rape of *Europa*, *Medæa*, or *Heſtone*, but was meerely incited by *Venus*, that is, by his luſt, to doe that which in thoſe dayes was very common. For not onely Greeks from Barbarians, and Barbarians from Greeks, as *Herodotus* diſcourſeth; but all people were accuſtomed to ſteale women and cattell, if they could by ſtrong hand or power get them: and having ſtollen them, either to ſell them away in ſome farre Countrie, or keep them to their owne uſe. So did *Theſeus* and *Pirythous* attempt *Proſerpina*; and ſo did *Theſeus* (long before *Paris*) raviſh *Helen*. And theſe practices, as it appeares in *Thucydides*, were ſo common, that none durſt inhabite neere unto the Sea, for feare of pyracy, which was accounted a trade of life no leſſe lawfull than merchandiſe: wherefore *Tyndareus*, the father of *Helen*, conſidering the beauty of his daughter, and the rape which *Theſeus* had made, cauſed all her wooers, who were moſt of the principall men in Greece, to binde themſelves by ſolemne oath, that if ſhe were taken from her huſband, they ſhould with all their might helpe to recover her. This done, he gave free choice of a huſband to his daughter, who choſe *Menelaus*, brother to *Agamemnon*. So the cauſe which drew the Greeks unto Troy in revenge of *Helens* rape, was partly the oath which ſo many Princes had made unto her Father *Tyndareus*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping: for *Agamemnon*, beſides his great Dominions in Peloponneſus, was Lord of many Ilands: he was alſo rich in mony, and therefore the Arcadians were well contented to follow his pay, whom he embarked for Troy in his owne ſhips, which were more than any other of the Greek Princes brought to that expedition.

Thus did all Greece, either as bound by oath, or led by reputation and power of the two brethren, *Agamemnon*, and *Menelaus*; or deſirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterpriſe; take armes againſt the Trojans. The Greeks Fleet was (by *Homers* account) 1200. ſayle, or thereabouts: but the veſſels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build ſhips with deckes; onely they uſed (as *Thucydides* ſaith) ſmall ſhips, meet for robbing on the Sea; the leaſt of which carried fifty men, the greateſt 120. every man (except the Captaines) being both a Mariner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appeares that the Grecian army conſiſted of 100000. men or thereabout. This was the greateſt armie that ever was raiſed out of Greece: and the greatneſſe of this armie doth well declare the ſtrength and power of Troy, which ten whole yeares did ſtand out againſt ſuch forces: yet were the Trojans which inhabited the citie, not the tenth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* ſaid in the ſecond of *Homers Iliads*; but their followers and aides were very many and ſtrong. For all Phrygia, Lycia, Miſia, and the greateſt part of Aſia the leſſe, tooke part with the Trojans. The Amazons alſo brought them ſuccour. And *Rheſus* out of Thrace, and *Memnon* out of Aſſyria (though ſome thinke out of Æthiopia) came to their defence.

## §. III.

### *Of the Grecians journey, and Embaſſage to Troy, and of* Helena's *being detained in Egypt, and of the ſacrificing of* Iphigenia.

WHerefore the Greeks, unwilling to come to tryall of armes, if things might be compounded by treaty, ſent *Menelaus* and *Ulyſſes* Embaſſadors to *Troy*; who demanded *Helen*, and the goods were taken with her out of *Menelaus* his houſe. What anſwer the Trojans made hereunto it is uncertaine. *Herodotus* from the report of the Egyptian Prieſts, makes it very probable, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his returne to Troy. The ſumme of his diſcourſe is this.

*Paris* in his return with *Helena*, being driven by foule weather unto the coaſt of Egypt, was accuſed for the rape of *Helen* by ſome bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuary. *Proteus* then King of Egypt, finding the accuſation true by examination, detained *Helen*, and the goods taken with her, till her huſband ſhould require them: diſmiſſing *Paris* without further puniſhment, becauſe he was a ſtranger. When therefore the Greeks demanding *Helen*, had anſwer, that ſhe was in Egypt, they thought themſelves deluded, and thereupon made the warre, which ended with the ruine of Troy. But when after the City taken, they perceived indeed ſhe had not beene there, they returned home, ſending *Menelaus* to aske his wife of *Proteus*. *Homer* and the whole Nation of Poets (except *Euripides*) vary from this Hiſtory, thinking it a matter more magnificent, and more gracefull to their Poems, for the retaining of a faire Lady, than that they endured all by force, becauſe it lay not in their power to redeliver her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odyſſes*, *Homer* ſpeaks of *Menelaus* his being in Egypt, before he returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it were not eaſily believed that he made for pleaſure: and if he were driven thither by contrary Windes, much more may we thinke that *Paris* was likely to have bin driven thither by foule Weather. For *Paris* immediately upon the rape committed, was enforced to flye, taking ſuch Windes as he could get, and rather enduring any ſtorme, than to commit himſelfe to any Haven in the Greek Seas: whereas *Menelaus* might have put into any port in Greece, and there have remained with good entertainment, untill ſuch time as the Wind had come about, and ſerved for his Navigation.

One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirme the ſaying of the *Egyptian* Prieſts; which is, that if *Helen* had been at *Troy*, it had beene utter madneſſe for *Priamus* to ſee ſo many miſeries befall him, during the warre, and ſo many of his ſonnes ſlaine for the pleaſure of one, who neither was heire to the Kingdome (for *Hector* was elder) nor equall in vertue to many of the reſt. Beſides, it may ſeeme that *Lucian* ſpake not more pleaſantly than truely, when he ſaid that *Helen*, at the warre of *Troy*, was almoſt as old as Queene *Hecuba*, conſidering that ſhe had beene raviſbed by *Theſeus* the companion of *Hercules*, who tooke *Troy* when *Priamus* was very young; and conſidering further, that ſhe was ſiſter to *Caſtor* and *Pollux* (ſhe and *Pollux* being ſaid by ſome to have beene twinnes) who ſailed with the *Argonauts*, having *Telamon* the father of *Ajax* in their company, before the time that *Heſione* was taken; on whom *Telamon* begat *Ajax*, that was a principall Commander in the Trojan warre. But whether it were ſo that the *Trojans* could not, or would not reſtore *Helen*, ſo it was that the Ambaſſadours returned ill contented, and not very well entreated, for there wanted not ſome that adviſed to have them ſlaine. The Greekes hereupon incenſed, made all haſte towards *Troy*: at which time *Calchas* (whom ſome ſay to have been a Runnagate *Trojan*, though no ſuch thing be found in *Homer*) filled the Captaines, and all the Hoaſt with many troubleſome anſwers and divinations. For he would have *Agamemnons* daughter ſacrificed to appeaſe *Diana*, whoſe anger, he ſaid, withſtood their paſſage. Whether the young Lady were ſacrificed, or whether (as ſome write) the *goddeſſe* was contented with a Hinde, it is not needfull here to bee diſputed of. Sure it is, that the malice of the Divell, which awaits for all opportunities, is never more importunate, than where mens ignorance is moſt. *Calchas* alſo told the Greekes, that the taking of *Troy* was impoſſible, till ſome fatall impediments were removed: and that till ten yeares were paſt, the towne ſhould hold out againſt them. All which notwithſtanding, the Greekes proceeded in their enterpriſe, under the command of *Agamemnon*, who was accompanied with his Brother *Menelaus*: *Achilles* the moſt valiant of all the Greekes, his friend *Patroclus*, and his Tutor *Phœnix*; *Ajax* and *Teucer*, the ſonnes of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*, and his companion *Meriones*; *Neſtor* and his ſonnes *Antilochus* and *Thraſymedes*; *Ulyſſes*, *Mneſtheus* the ſonne of *Petreus*, Captaine of the *Athenians*; *Diomedes* the ſonne of *Tydeus*, a man of ſingular courage; the wiſe and learned *Palamedes*, *Aſcalaphus*, and *Jalmenus*, the ſonnes of *Mars*, who had ſailed with the *Argonauts*; *Philoctetes* alſo the ſonne of *Paan*, who had the arrowes of *Hercules*, without which *Calchas* ſaid, that the Citie could not be taken; *Ajax* the ſon of *Oileus*, *Peneleus*, *Thoas*, *Eumelus*, *Tyſandrus*, *Euripilus*, *Athamas*, *Sthenelus*, *Tlepolemus* the ſonne of *Hercules*; *Podalyrius*, and *Machon*, the ſonnes of *Æſculapius*; *Epeus*, who is ſaid to have made the wooden Horſe, by which the towne was taken; and *Proteſilaus*, who firſt leapt on ſhore, neglecting the *Oracle* that threatned death to him that landed firſt.

## §. IV.

### *Of the Acts of the Gracians at the ſiege.*

THeſe, and many other of leſſe note, arriving at *Troy*, found ſuch ſharpe entertainement, as might eaſily perſwade them to thinke that the warre would be more than one yeares worke. For in the firſt encounter, they loſt *Proteſilaus*, whom *Hector* ſlew, and many other, without any great harme done to the *Trojans*: ſave only that by their numbers of men, they wan ground enough to incamp themſelves in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principall impediment which the Greekes found, was want of victuals, which grew upon them by reaſon of their multitude, and the ſmalneſſe of their veſſels, wherein they could not carry neceſſaries for ſuch an Armie. Hereupon they were compelled to ſend ſome part of their men, to labour the ground in *Cherroneſſe*: others to rob upon the Sea for the reliefe of the Campe. Thus was the warre protracted nine whole yeares, and either nothing done, or if any skirmiſhes were, yet could the towne receive little loſſe by them, having equall numbers to maintain the field againſt ſuch Greekes as continued the ſiege, and a more ſafe retrait if the enemi got the better.

Wherefore *Ovid* ſaith, That from the firſt yeare, till the tenth, there was no fightin at all, & *Heraclide* commends as very credible, the report of *Herodicus*; that the Greek did not lye before *Troy* the firſt nine yeares: but onely did beare up and downe the ſea exerciſing their men, and inriching themſelves, and ſo by waſting the enemies countrie, did blocke up the towne, unto which they returned not, untill the fatall time drew neere when it ſhould be ſubverted.

This is confirmed by the enquirie which *Priamus* made, when the *Greeke* Princes came into the field, the tenth yeare, for he knew none of them; and therefore ſitting upon an high tower (as *Homer* tels) he learned their names of *Helen*: which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all have beene ſuppoſed that he ſhould be ignorant of them, if they had ſhewed themſelves before the towne ſo many yeares together. Betweene theſe relations of *Thucydides* and *Herodicus*, the difference is not much; the one ſaying, that a few of the *Greeks* remained in the Camp before *Troy*, whileſt the reſt made purveyance by land and by ſea: the other, that the whole armie did ſpend the time in waſting the ſea-coaſts. Neither doe the Poets greatly diſagree from theſe authors: for they make report of many townes and Ilands waſted, and the people carried into Captivitie; in which actions *Achilles* was imployed, whom the armie could not well, nor would have ſpared, if any ſervice of importance had beene to be performed before the Citie. Howſoever it was, this is agreed by generall conſent, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which *Troy* was taken, great booties were brought into the Campe, and a great peſtilence aroſe among the *Greeks*: which *Homer* ſaith, that *Apollo* ſent in revenge of his Prieſts daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refuſed to let goe, for any ranſome: but *Heraclides* interpreting the place, ſaith, that by *Apollo* was meant the Sunne, who raiſed peſtilent Fogs, by which the armie was infected, being lodged in a mooriſh piece of ground. And it might well be that the campe was over-peſtered with thoſe, who had beene abroad, and now were lodged all cloſe together: having alſo grounded their ſhips within the fortifications.

Hom. Iliad. 3.

About the ſame time aroſe much contention betweene *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the bootie, whereof *Agamemnon*, as Generall, having firſt choſen for his part a captive woman, and *Achilles* in the ſecond place choſen for himſelfe another, then *Ajax*, *Ulyſſes*, and ſo the reſt of the chiefe Captaines in order: When the Soothſayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnons* woman ſhould be reſtored to her father *Apollo*'s Prieſt, that ſo the Peſtilence might ceaſe, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage, and ſay, that hee alone would not loſe his part of the ſpoile, but would either take that which had beene given to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Ajax*, or to *Ulyſſes*. Hereupon *Achilles* defied him, but was faine to ſuffer all patiently, as not able to hold his Concubine by ſtrong hand, nor to revenge her loſſe otherwiſe than by refuſing to fight, or to ſend forth his Captaines. But the *Greeks*, encouraged by their Captains, preſented themſelves before the Citie without him and his troopes.

The *Trojans* were now relieved with great ſuccours, all the neighbour Countries having ſent them aide: partly drawne to that warre by their Commanders who aſſiſted *Priamus* for money, wherewith he abounded when the warre began (as appeares by his words in *Homer*,) or for love of himſelfe and his ſonnes, or hope of marriage with ſome of his many and faire daughters; partly alſo (as we may well gheſſe) incited by the wrongs received of the *Greekes* when they waſted the Countries adjoyning unto *Troy*. So that when *Hector* iſſued out of the towne, he was little inferiour to his enemies in numbers of men, or qualitie of their Leaders. The principall Captaines in the *Trojan* armie, were *Hector*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus*, and the other ſonnes of *Priamus*: *Æneas*, *Antenor*, and his ſonnes, *Polydamas*, *Sarpedon*, *Glaucus*, *Aſius*, and the ſonnes of *Panthus*, beſides *Rheſus*, who was ſlaine the firſt night of his arrivall; *Meminon*, Queene *Pentheſilea*, and others who came towards the end of the warre. Betweene theſe and the *Greeks* were many battels fought: the greateſt of which were, that at the tombe of King *Ilus* upon the Plain: and another at the very trenches of the Campe, wherein *Hector* brake through the fortifications of the *Greeks*, and began to fire their ſhips; at which time *Ajax*, the ſon of *Telamon*, with his brother *Teucer*, were in a manner the onely men of note that remaining unwounded, made head againſt *Hector*, when the ſtate of the *Greekes* was almoſt deſperate.

Another battell (for ſo antiquitie calls it) or rather the ſame renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who having obtained leave, drew forth *Achilles* troopes, relieving the wearie *Greekes* with a freſh ſupply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomædes*, *Ulyſſes*, and the reſt of the Princes, though ſore wounded, yet were driven to put on armour, and with helpe of *Patroclus*, repelled the *Trojans* very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was loſt, and his bodie, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought backe into the Campe: the armour of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torne from him by *Hector*. It was the manner of thoſe warres, having ſlaine a man, to ſtrip him and hale away his bodie, not reſtoring it without ranſome, if he were one of marke. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foot, ſlightly armed, and commonly followed the ſucceſſe of their Captaines; who rode not upon horſes, but in Chariots, drawne by two or three horſes, which were guided by ſome truſtie followers of theirs, which drave up and downe the field, as they were directed by the Captains, who by the ſwiftneſſe of their horſes preſenting themſelves where need required, threw firſt their Javelins, and then alighting, fought on foot, with ſwords and battel-axes, retiring into the ranks of footmen, or elſe returning to their Chariots when they found cauſe, and ſo began again with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were loſt or broken. Their armes defenſive were helmets, breſt-plates, boots of braſſe, or other mettall, and ſhields commonly of leather plated over. The offenſive were ſwords and battel-axes at hand; and ſtones, arrows or darts when they fought at any diſtance. The uſe of their Chariots (beſides the ſwiftneſſe) was to keep them from wearineſſe, whereto the leaders were much ſubject, becauſe of their armour, which the ſtrongeſt and ſtouteſt ware heavieſt: alſo that from them they might throw their Javelins downwards, with the more violence. Of which weapon I find not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were often driven to return to their tents for a new one when the old was gone. Likewiſe of armours they had little change or none; every man (ſpeaking of the chiefe) carried his own compleat, of which if any piece were loſt or broken, he was driven to repaire it with the like, if he had any fitting, taken from ſome Captaine whom he had ſlain, and ſtripped: or elſe to borrow of them that had by ſuch means gotten ſome to ſpare. Wheras therefore *Achilles* had loſt his armour which *Hector* (as is ſaid before) had taken from the bodie of *Patroclus*, he was fain to await the making of new, ere he could enter the fight: whereof he became very deſirous, that he might revenge the death of *Patroclus* his deare friend.

At this time *Agamemnon* reconciled himſelfe unto *Achilles*, not onely reſtoring his concubine *Briſeis*, but giving him very great gifts, and excuſing former matters as well as he might. In the next battell *Achilles* did ſo behave himſelfe, that he did not onely put the *Trojans* to the worſt, but alſo ſlew the valiant *Hector*, whom (if *Homer* may herein be beleeved) he chaced three times about the walls of *Troy*. But great queſtion may be made of *Homers* truth in this narration. For it is not likely that *Hector* would ſtay alone without the Citie (as *Homer* doth report of him) when all the *Trojans* were fled into it: nor that he could leape over the rivers of *Xanthus* and *Simois*, as he muſt have done in that flight: nor that the *Trojans*, perceiving *Hector* in ſuch an extremitie, would have forborne to open ſome of their gates and let him in. But this is reported onely to grace *Achilles*, who having (by what meanes ſoever) ſlaine the noble *Hector*, did not onely carry away his dead bodie, as the cuſtome then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thruſting leatherne thongs into them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragging him ſhamefully about the field, ſelling the dead bodie to his father *Priamus* for a very great ranſome. But his crueltie and covetouſneſſe were not long unrevenged; for he was ſhortly after ſlaine with an arrow by *Paris*, as *Homer* ſayes, in the Scæan Gate; or as others, in the Temple of *Apollo*, whither he came to have married *Polyxena* the daughter of *Priamus*, with whom he was too farre in love, having ſlaine ſo many of her brethren; and his bodie was ranſomed (as *Lycophron* ſaith) at the ſelfe-ſame rate that *Hectors* was by him ſold for. Not long after this, *Pentheſilea* Queen of the *Amazons* arrived at *Troy*, who after ſome proofe given of her valour, was ſlaine by *Pyrrhus* the ſon of *Achilles*.

## §. V.

### *Of the taking of Troy, the woodden Horſe, the Booke of* Dares *and* Dyctis, *the Colonies of the reliques of Troy.*

FInally, after the death of many worthie perſons on each ſide, the Citie was taken by night, as all Writers agree: but whether by the treaſon of *Æneas* and *Antenor*; or by a woodden Horſe, as the Poets, and common fame (which followed the Poets) have delivered, it is uncertaine. Some write that upon one of the gates of Troy, called *Scæa*, was the image of a horſe, and that the Greekes entring by that gate, gave occaſion to the report, that the Citie was taken by an artificial horſe. It may well be that with ſome wooden engine, which they called an horſe, they either did batter the wals, as the Romanes in after-times uſed to do with the Ramme or ſcaled the wals upon the ſudden, and ſo tooke the Citie. As for the hiding of men in the hollow bodie of a woodden horſe, it had bin a deſperate adventure, and ſerving to no purpoſe. For either the *Trojans* might have perceived the deceit, and ſlaine all thoſe Princes of Greece, that were incloſed in it (which alſo by ſuch as maintaine this report they are ſaid to have thought upon:) or they might have left it a few dayes without the Citie (for it was unlikely, that they ſhould the very firſt day both conclude upon the bringing it into the towne, and breake downe their wals upon the ſudden to doe it:) by which meanes they who were ſhut into it, muſt have periſhed for hunger, if they had not by iſſuing forth unſeaſonably diſcovered the invention. Whereas further it is ſaid, that this horſe was ſo high and great, that it could not bee brought into the towne through any of the gates, and that therefore the *Trojans* were faine to pull downe a part of their wall to make way for it, through which breach the *Greekes* did afterwards enter: it is hereby manifeſt, that the incloſing of ſo many principall men was altogether needleſſe, conſidering that without their helpe there was way ſufficient for the armie, ſo that the ſurpriſing of any gate by them was now to no purpoſe.

*John Baptiſta Gramay* in his Hiſtorie of *Aſia*, diſcourſing of this warre, ſaith that the *Greekes* did both batter the wals with a woodden engine, and were alſo let into the Citie by *Antenor*, at the *Scæan* gate: the towneſmen ſleeping and drinking without feare or care, becauſe the fleet of the *Grecians* had hoiſted ſaile, and was gone the day before to the Ile of *Tenedos*, thereby to bring the *Trojans* into ſecurity. That the Citie was betrayed, the books of *Dares* and *Dyctis* muſt prove, which whether we now have the ſame that were by them written, it may be ſuſpected; for ſurely they who have made mention of theſe writers in ancient times, would not, as they did, have followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictorie in moſt points to theſe two authors, without once taking notice of the oppoſition, which they having ſerved in that warre made againſt the common report: had it not beene that either thoſe bookes were even in thoſe times thought frivolous; or elſe contained no ſuch repugnancie to the other Authours as now is found in them.

Alſo concerning the number of men ſlaine in this warre, which *Dares* and *Dyctis* ſay to have beene above 600000. on the *Trojan* ſide, and more than 800000. of the *Greeks*, it is a report meerely fabulous; for as much as the whole Fleet of the *Greekes* was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their armie and deedes as much as he could, to bee ſomewhat leſſe than 1200. ſaile, and the armie therein tranſported over the *Greeke* ſeas, not much above 100000. men, according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common faſhion of men to extoll the deeds of their Ancients: for which cauſe both *Homer* magnified the Captaines of the *Greekes* that ſerved in the warre, and *Virgil* with others were as diligent in commending and extolling the *Trojans* and their Citie, from which the *Romanes* deſcended. Yea, the Athenians long after in the warre which *Xerxes* the Perſian King made againſt all *Greece*, did not forbeare to vaunt of the great cunning which *Mneſteus* the ſon of *Peteus* had ſhewed in marſhalling the *Grecian* army before *Troy*: whereupon, as if it had bin a matter of much conſequence, they were ſo proud, that they refuſed to yeeld unto *Gelon* King of almoſt all *Sicily*, the Admiralty of their Seas, notwithſtanding that he promiſed to bring 200. good fighting ſhips, and 30000. men for their defence.

The like vanitie poſſeſſed many other Cities of *Greece*, and many Nations in theſe parts of the world, which have ſtriven to bring their deſcent from ſome of the Princes that warred at *Troy*: all difficulties or unlikelihoods in ſuch their Pedigree notwithſtanding. But thoſe Nations which indeed, or in moſt probabilitie, came of the *Trojans*, were the *Albanes* in *Italie*; and from them the *Romans*, brought into that Country by *Æneas*: the *Venetians* firſt ſeated in *Padua*, and the Countrey adjoyning by *Antenor*: the *Chaonians* planted in *Epirus* by *Helenus*, the ſonne of King *Priamus*. To which *Hellanicus* addeth, that the poſteritie of *Hector* did aſſemble ſuch of the *Trojans* as were left, and reigned over them about *Troy*.

## §. VI.

### *Of the diſtreſſes and diſperſions of the Greekes returning from Troy.*

CONcerning the *Greeks*, they taſted as much miſerie as they had brought upon the *Trojans*. For *Thucydides* notes, that by reaſon of their long abode at the ſiege, they found many alterations when they returned: ſo that many were driven by their borderers from their ancient ſeats: many were expelled their Countries by faction: ſome were ſlaine anon after their arrivall: others were debarred from the Soveraigntie among the people, by ſuch as had ſtayed at home. The cauſe of all which may ſeeme to have beene the diſperſion of the Armie, which, weakned much by the calamities of that long warre, was of little force to repell injuries, being divided into ſo many pieces under ſeverall Commanders, not very well agreeing. For (beſides other quarrels ariſing upon the diviſion of the bootie, and the like occaſions) at the time when they ſhould have ſet ſaile, *Agamemnon* and his brother fell out, the one being deſirous to depart immediately, the other to ſtay and perform ſome ſacrifices to *Minerva*. Herupon they fell to hot words, halfe the fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the reſt of them ſailed to the Ile of *Tenedos*; where when they arrived, they could not agree among themſelves, but ſome returned backe to *Agamemnon*; others were diſperſed, each holding his own courſe. But the whole fleet was ſore vexed with tempeſts: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* ſaith) would not be perſwaded in haſte.

They who returned ſafe were *Neſtor* and *Pyrrhus*, whom *Oreſtes* afterwards ſlew: alſo *Idomeneus* and *Philoctetes*, who neverthelesſe, as *Virgil* tells, were driven ſoone after to ſeeke new ſeats: *Idomeneus* among the *Salentines*, and *Philoctetes* at *Petilia* in *Italie*. *Agamemnon* likewiſe returned home, but was forthwith ſlaine by his wife, and by the Adulterer *Ægyſthus*, who for a while after uſurped his Kingdome. *Menelaus* wandring long upon the Seas, came into *Egypt*, either with *Helen*, or (as may rather ſeeme) to fetch her. *Ulyſſes*, after ten years, having loſt all his company, got home in poore eſtate, with much ado recovering the maſterſhip of his own houſe. All the reſt either periſhed by the way, or were driven into exile, and fain to ſeek out new habitations.

*Ajax* the ſon of *Oileus* was drowned; *Teucer* fled into *Cyprus*; *Diomedes* to King *Daunus*, who was Lord of the *Japyges* in *Apulia*; ſome of the *Locrians* were driven into *Afrike*, others into *Italie*, all the Eaſt part whereof was called *Magna Gracia*, by reaſon of ſo many Towns which the *Greeks* were driven to erect upon that coaſt. Finally, it appeares in *Homer*, that the *Gracian* Ladies, whoſe husbands had bin at the war of *Troy*, were wont to call it, The place where the *Greekes* ſuffered miſerie, and the unluckie Citie not to be mentioned. And thus much for *Troy*, and thoſe that warred there: the overthrow of which Citie, as hath bin ſaid, happened in the time of *Habdon* Judge of *Iſrael*, whom *Sampſon*, after a variance or *Inter-regnum* for certaine yeares, ſucceeded.

13-1-46

# CHAP. XV.

## *Of* Sampſon, Eli, *and* Samuel.

## §. I.

### *Of* Sampſon.

2970. THE birth and acts of *Sampſon* are written at large in the 13.14.15. and 16. of *Judges*; and therefore I ſhall not need to make a repetition thereof. But theſe things I gather out of that Storie, First, that the *Angel of God* forbad the wife of *Manoah* the mother of *Sampſon*, to drinke Wine or ſtrong drink, or to eate any uncleane meat after ſhe was conceived with child; becauſe thoſe ſtrong liquors hinder the ſtrength, and as it were wither and ſhrinke the child in the mothers wombe. Though this were even the counſell of God himſelfe, and delivered by his Angell, yet it ſeemeth that many women of this age have not read, or at leaſt will not beleeve this precept: the moſt part forbearing nor drinks, nor meats, how ſtrong or uncleane ſoever, filling themſelves with all ſorts of wines, and with artificiall drinkes far more forcible: by reaſon whereof, ſo many wretched feeble bodies are borne into the world, and the races of the able and ſtrong men in effect decayed.

Secondly, it is to be noted, that the *Angel of God* refuſed the ſacrifice which *Manoah* would have offered him, commanding him to preſent it unto the Lord: and therefore thoſe that profeſſe divination by the helpe of Angels, to whom alſo they ſacrifice, may aſſuredly know that they are Divels who accept thereof, and not good Angels, who receive no worſhip that is proper to God.

Thirdly, this *Sampſon* was twice betrayed by his wives, to wit, by their importunitie and deceitfull teares: by the firſt he loſt but a part of his goods; by the ſecond his life. *Quem nulla vis ſuperare potuit, voluptas evertit: Whom no force could over-maſter, Voluptuouſneſſe overturned.*

Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in all deliver *Iſrael* from the oppreſſion of the *Philiſtims*; though in ſome ſort he revenged, and defended them: for notwithſtanding that he had ſlaine 30. of them in his firſt attempt, burnt their Corne in harveſt time, and given them a great overthrow inſtantly upon it: yet ſo much did *Iſrael* feare the *Philiſtims*, as they aſſembled 3000. men out of *Juda*, to beſiege *Samſon*, in the rock or mountaine of *Etam*, uſing theſe words: *Knoweſt not thou that the Philiſtims are rulers over us? &c.* After which they bound him, and delivered him unto the *Philiſtims*, for fear of their revenge; though he was no ſooner looſened, but he gave them another overthrow, and ſlew 1000. with the jawbone of an Aſſe.

Laſtly, being made blinde, and a priſoner by the treaſon of his wife, he was content to end his owne life, to be avenged of his enemies, when hee pulled downe the pillars of the houſe at the feaſt whereto they ſent for *Sampſon*, to deride him; till which time he bare his affliction with patience: but it was truely ſaid of *Seneca*; *Patientia ſæpe læſa vertitur in furorem; Patience often wounded is converted into furie:* neither is it at any time ſo much wounded by paine and loſſe, as by deriſion and contumelie.

## §. II.

## Of Eli, *and of the Arke taken; and of* Dagons *fall, and the ſending back of the Ark.*

THe Storie of *Eli* the Prieſt, who ſucceeded *Sampſon*, is written in the beginning of *Samuel*; who foretold him of the deſtruction of his houſe, for the wickedneſſe of his ſonnes, which he ſuppreſſed not, neither did he puniſh them according to their deſerts: whoſe ſins were horrible, both in abuſing the Sacrifice, & prophaning and polluting the holy places: though *Levi Ben Gerſon*, to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the women by the ſons of *Eli*, hath a contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleaſed God to caſt the *Iſraelites* under the ſwords of the *Philiſtims*; of whom there periſhed in the firſt encounter 4000. and in the ſecond battell 30000. footmen; among whom the ſons of *Eli* being ſlaine, their father (hearing the lamentable ſucceſſe) by falling from his chaire, brake his neck. He was the firſt that obtained the High-Prieſthood of the ſtock of *Ithamar* the ſon of *Aaron*, before whoſe time it continued ſucceſſively in the race of *Eleazar* the eldeſt brother of *Ithamar*: for *Aaron* was the firſt, *Eleazar* the ſecond, *Phinees* the ſon of *Eleazar* the third, *Abiſue* the ſon of *Phinees* the fourth, his ſon *Bocci* the fift, *Ozi* the ſon of *Bocci* the ſixt, and then *Eli*, as *Joſephus* and *Lyranus* out of divers Hebrew Authors have conceived. In the race of *Ithamar* the Prieſthood continued after *Eli* to the time of *Salomon*, who caſt out *Abiathar*, and eſtabliſhed *Sadock* and *Achimaas* and their ſucceſſours. The *Arke of God* which *Iſrael* brought into the field, was in this battell taken by the *Philiſtims*. For as *David* witneſſeth, *God greatly abhorred Iſrael, ſo that he forſooke the habitation of Shilo: even the Tabernacle where hee dwelt among men, and delivered his power into captivitie, &c.*

1 Sam.2.22.

1 Kin.2.27. and 1 Chron.6.

Pſal.78.

Now as it pleaſed God at this time, that the Arke whereby himſelfe was repreſented ſhould fall into the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Prieſts and people: ſo did he permit the Chaldæans to deſtroy the Temple built by *Salomon*; the Romans to overthrow the ſecond Temple; and the Turks to overthrow the Chriſtian Churches in Aſia and Europe. And had not the *Iſraelites* put more confidence in the ſacrament, or repreſentation, which was the Ark, than in God himſelfe, they would have obſerved his Lawes, and ſerved him onely: which whenſoever they did, they were then 1 Sam.5.6. victorious. For after the captivitie they had no Arke at all, nor in the times of the Macchabees: and yet for their pietie it pleaſed God to make that familie as victorious as any that guarded themſelves by the ſigne in ſtead of the ſubſtance. And that the Ark was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an enſigne, *David* witneſſed when hee fled from *Abſalon*. For when the Prieſts would have carried the Arke with him; he forbad it, and cauſed it to be turned into the Citie, uſing theſe words: *If I ſhall find favour in the* 2 Sam.15. *eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again: if not, let him doe to me as ſeemeth good in his eyes.*

The *Trojans* beleeved that while their *Palladium* or the image of *Minerva* was kept in *Troy*, the Citie ſhould never be overturned: ſo did the Chriſtians in the laſt fatall battell againſt *Saladine* carry into the field, as they were made beleeve, the very Croſſe whereon Chriſt died; and yet they loſt the battell, their bodies and the wood. But *Chryſoſtome* upon Saint *Matthew* (if that be his worke) giveth a good judgement, ſpeaking of thoſe that wore a part of Saint *Johns* Goſpell about their necks, for an amulet or preſervative: *Si tibi ea non proſunt in auribus, quomodò proderunt in Collo? If thoſe words doe not profit men in their eares*, (to wit, the hearing of the Goſpell preached) *how ſhould it profit them by hanging it about their neckes?* For it was neither the wood of the Ark, nor the wood of the Croſſe, but the reverence of the Father, that gave the one for a memorie of his Covenant; and the Faith in his Sonne, which ſhed his bloud on the other for redemption, that could or can profit them and us, either in this life or after it.

The *Philiſtims* returning with the greateſt victorie and glorie which ever they obtained, carried the *Arke of God* with them to *Azotus*, and ſet it up in the houſe of *Dagon* their Idoll: but that night the Idoll fell out of his place, from above to the ground, and lay under the Arke. The morning following they tooke it up, and ſet it up, and ſet it againe in his place. And it fell the ſecond time, and the head brake from the bodie, and the hands from the armes, ſhewing, that it had nor power nor underſtanding in the preſence of God; for the head fell off, which is the ſeate of reaſon and knowledge, and the hands (by which we execute ſtrength) were ſundred from the armes. For God and the divell inhabite not in one houſe, nor in one heart. And if this Idoll could not endure the repreſentation of the true God, it is not to be marvelled, that at ſuch time as it pleaſed him to cover his only begotten with fleſh and ſent him into the world, that all the Oracles, wherein the Divell derided and betrayed mortall men, loſt power, ſpeech and operation at the inſtant. For when that true light which never had beginning of brightneſſe, brake through the clouds of a Virgins body, ſhining upon the earth which had been long obſcured by Idolatrie, all thoſe foule and ſtinking vapours vaniſhed. *Plutarch* rehearſeth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god *Pan*, as he ſtileth him; where (as ignorant of the true cauſe) he ſearcheth his brains for many reaſons of ſo great an alteration: yet finds he none out but frivolous. For not only this old Divell did then die as he ſuppoſed, but all the reſt, as *Apollo, Jupiter, Diana*, and the whole rabble became ſpeechleſſe.

Now while the *Philiſtims* triumphed after this victorie, God ſtrooke them with the grievous diſeaſe of the *Hæmorrhoides*, of which they periſhed in great numbers. For it is written, that *the Lord deſtroyed them.* It was therefore by generall conſent ordered, that the Arke ſhould be removed from *Azotus* to *Gath* or *Geth*, another of the five great Cities of the *Philiſtims*; to prove, as it ſeemeth, whether this diſeaſe were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediately: but when it was brought to *Gath* and received by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortall. *For the hand of the* 1 Sam.5.9. *Lord was againſt this Citie with a very great deſtruction, and he ſmote the men of the Citie both ſmall and great, &c.* And being not yet ſatisfied, they of *Gath* ſent the Arke to *Ekron* or *Accaron*, a third Citie of the *Philiſtims*: but they alſo felt the ſame ſmart, and cryed out, that themſelves and their people ſhould be ſlain thereby; *For there was a deſtruction and death throughout all the Citie.* In the end, by the advice of their Prieſts, the Princes of the *Philiſtims* did not onely reſolve to returne the Arke, but to offer gifts unto the *God of Iſrael*, remembring the plague which had fallen on the *Egyptians*, when their hearts were hardned to hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his ſervice by ſtrong hand. Wherefore confeſſing the power of the *God of Iſrael* to be almightie, and that their owne Idols were ſubject thereunto, they agreed to offer a ſin offering, uſing theſe words; *So ye ſhall give glorie to the God of Iſrael, that he may take his hand from you, and from your gods, and from your land.* And what can be a more excellent witneſſing, than where an enemie doth approve our cauſe? according to *Ariſtotle*; *Pulchrum eſt teſtimonium, quo noſtra probantur ab hoſtibus.* So did *Pharao* confeſſe the living God, when he was plagued in *Egypt*: and *Nabuchodonoſor* and *Darius*, when they had ſeene his miracles by *Daniel*.

This counſell therefore of the Prieſts being imbraced, and the golden *Hæmorrhoides*, and the golden *Mice* prepared, they cauſed two milch kine to be choſen, ſuch as had not been yoaked, and a new Cart or Carriage to be framed: but they durſt not drive or direct it to any place certaine, thereby to make tryall whether it were indeed the hand of God that had ſtrucken them. For if the Arke of God were carried towards *Bethſhemeſh*, and into the territorie of *Iſrael*, then they ſhould reſolve that from God only came their late deſtruction. For the *Philiſtims* knew that the milch Kine which drew the Ark, could not be forced from their calves, but that they would have followed them whereſoever; much leſſe when they were left to themſelves, would they travel a contrary way. For in the darkeſt night in the world, if calves be removed from their dammes, the kine wil follow them through woods and deſarts by the foot, till they finde them. But the kine travelled directly towards *Bethſhemeſh*: and when they came into the fields thereof, to wit, of one *Joſua* of the ſame Citie, they ſtood ſtill there; which when the Princes of the *Philiſtims* perceived, they returned to *Ekron*. After which, God ſpared not his owne people the *Bethſhemites*, in that they preſumed to looke into the Arke. And becauſe they knew God and his commandements, and had beene taught accordingly; he ſtrooke them more grievouſly than he did the Heathen: for there periſhed of them fiftie thouſand and ſeventie. From hence the Arke was carried to *Kiriath-jearim*, and placed in the houſe of *Abinadab*; where it is written that it remained twentie years in the charge of *Eleazar* his ſon, untill *David* brought it to *Hieruſalem*.

Now whereas it is ſaid, that in the meane while the Arke was in *Nob*, *Miſpa*, and *Galgala*, it was the Tabernacle, which was at this time ſevered from the Arke, or at leaſt, it was for the [a] preſent occaſion brought to theſe places, and anon returned to *Kiriath-jearim*.

2 Sam 6.& 1 Chron.12.

[a] See in this book, c.12.§.1. in the margent.

## §. III.

### *Of* Samuel, *and of his Government.*

THeſe Tragedies overpaſt and ended, *Samuel*, to whom God appeared while hee was yet a childe, became now Judge and Governour of *Iſrael*. He was deſcended of the familie of [b] *Chore* or *Korach*. For *Levi* had three ſonnes; *Gerſon*, *Cheath*, and *Merari*: *Cheath* had *Amram* and *Izaar*; of *Amram* came *Moſes* and *Aaron*; of *Izaar*, *Chore*; and of the familie of *Chore*, *Samuel*. His father *Elcana* a Levite, was called an *Ephratæan*; not that the Levites had any proper inheritance, but becauſe he was of [c] Mount *Ephraim*, like as *Jeſſe*, *Davids* father, was called an *Ephratæan*, becauſe borne at *Ephrata*, or *Bethleem*. *Hannah* his mother being long fruitleſſe, obtained him of God by prayers and teares: it being an exceeding ſhame to the Jewiſh women to be called barren, in reſpect of the bleſſing of God both to *Abraham* that his ſeed ſhould multiply as the Stars of Heaven, and the ſands of the Sea; as in the beginning to *Adam*, *Increaſe and multiply, &c.* and in *Deuteronomie* the ſeventh; *There ſhall be neither male nor female barren among you.*

*Samuel* was no ſooner borne, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedicated him to God, and his ſervice; to which ſhe delivered him even from the dugge. For as the firſt borne of all that were called Nazarites, might be redeemed til they were five yeares old for five ſheckles, and betweene five years and twentie, for twentie ſheckles: ſo was it not required by the Law that any of the race of the Levites ſhould be called to ſerve about the Tabernacle, till they were five and twentie yeares old.

Saint *Peter* reckons in the *Acts* the Prophets from *Samuel*, who was the firſt of the writers of holy Scriptures, to whom uſually this name of a Prophet was given, & yet did *Moſes* account himſelfe ſuch a one; as in the 18. of *Deuteronomie*, *The Lord thy God will raiſe up unto thee a Prophet like unto mee, &c.* But hee is diſtinguiſhed from thoſe that preceded him, who were called *Seers*; as *beforetime in Iſrael, when a man went to ſeek an anſwer*,

[b] 1 Chro.6.22.

[c] Which Region was called *Ephrata*, as appeareth, Jud.12.5 whence for diſtinction we read Ruth 1 2. *Ephratæi è Bethlechemo Jehuda*, the town *Ephratha* which is *Bethlehem in Juda*, Gen.35.19. from the region of *Ephrata*, which is in Mount *Ephraim*, whence Pſal. 132.6. *Ephrata* is put for *Silo*, which was in the Tribe of *Ephraim*.

Ver.15.

1 Sam.9.

*anſwer of God, thus he ſpake; Come and let us goe to the Seer:* for hee that is now called a Prophet, was in old time called a Seer. And although it pleaſed God to appeare by his Angels to *Moſes*, as before to *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*; yet in the time of *Eli*, there was no manifeſt viſion; not that God had altogether with-drawne his grace from *Iſrael*: but as the Chaldæan Paraphraſt hath it, thoſe revelations before *Samuels* time, were more clouded and obſcure. The places wherein *Samuel* judged were *Matſpa* or *Mitſpa*, ſeated on a hill in *Benjamin* neere *Juda*: alſo *Gilgal* and *Bethel*, of which we have ſpoken elſewhere.

1 Sam.13. See in this book, c.12.§.1.

The *Philiſtims* taking knowledge of the aſſembly and preparation of Warre at *Mitſpa* in the beginning of *Samuels* government, gathered their Armie, and marched towards the Citie: at whoſe approach the *Iſraelites* ſtrucken with feare, and with the memorie of their former ſlaughters and ſervitude, beſought *Samuel* to pray to God for them; who was * then performing his ſacrifice when the *Philiſtims* were in view. But God being moved with *Samuels* prayers (as he was by thoſe of *Moſes*, when *Iſrael* fought againſt the *Amalekites* at their firſt entrance into *Arabia*:) it pleaſed him with thunder and tempeſt to diſperſe and beat downe the Armie of the *Philiſtims*, according to the prophecie of *Hanna*, *Samuels* Mother, *The Lords adverſaries ſhall be deſtroyed, and out of Heaven ſhall he thunder upon them, &c.* *Joſephus* affirmes, that a part of the *Philiſtims* were ſwallowed with an earthquake: and that *Samuel* himſelfe led the *Iſraelites* in the proſequution of their victorie. After which *Samuel* erected a Monument in memorie of this happy ſucceſſe, obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which *Joſephus* called *Lapidem fortem*: *Samuel*, *Ebenezer*, or the ſtone of aſſiſtance: and then following the opportunitie and advantage of the victorie, the *Iſraelites* recovered divers Cities of their own formerly loſt, and held long in the poſſeſſion of the *Philiſtims*, who for a long time after did not offer any invaſion or revenge. And the better to attend their purpoſes, and to withſtand any of their attempts, the *Iſraelites* made peace with the *Amorites*, or *Canaanites*, which lay on their backes, and to the North of them, that they might not be aſſaulted from divers parts at once; having the *Philiſtims* towards the Weſt and Sea-coaſt, the *Canaanite* toward the North and Eaſt, and the *Idumite* on the South. The eſtate being thus ſettled, *Samuel* for the eaſe of the people gave audience and judgment in divers places by turnes, as hath beene elſewhere ſaid.

* *Plutarch* reports of *Numa* the ſecond King of Rome, that when as he was ſacrificing, it was told him that the enemies approached, he nothing diſmaied, anſwered, *Ego autem ſacrifico.*

1 Sam.2.10.

# Chap. XVI.

## Of SAUL.

### §. I.

### *Of the deliberation to change the government into a Kingdome.*

BUT when age now began to over-take *Samuel*, and that hee was not able to undergoe the burthen of ſo carefull a government, hee put off from himſelfe the weight of the affaires on his ſonnes, *Joel* and *Abijah*, who judged the people at *Beerſheba*, a Citie, the very utmoſt towards the South of *Judæa*. And as the place was inconvenient and farre away, ſo were themſelves no leſſe removed from the juſtice and vertue of their Father: For the thirſt of covetouſneſſe, the more it ſwalloweth, the more it drieth, and deſireth, finding taſte in nothing but gaine; to recover which, they ſet the Law at a price, and ſold Juſtice and Judgement to the beſt Chapmen. Which when the Elders of *Iſrael* obſerved, and ſaw that *Samuel* as a naturall man (though a Prophet) could not ſo well diſcerne the errours of his owne, they prayed him to conſent to their change of government, and to make them a King, by whom they might be judged as other Nations were; who might alſo leade them to the Warre, and defend them againſt their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable ſucceſſe which followed the rule of *Eli* his ſons, when thoſe of *Samuel* by their firſt bloſſomes promiſed to yeeld fruit no leſſe bitter, they ſaw no way to put the government from out his race, whom they ſo much reverenced, but by the choyce of a King.

In a cauſe of ſo great conſequence and alteration, *Samuel* ſought counſaile from God: which ſurely he did not for the eſtabliſhing of his owne Sonnes; who being as they were, God would not have approved his election. Now as it appeares by the Text, this ſpeech or motion diſpleaſing him, he uſed his beſt arguments to dehort them: which when he perceived to be over-feeble, he delivered unto them from Gods revelation, the inconveniences and miſeries which ſhould befall them. And yet, all which he foreſhewed was not intolerable, but ſuch as hath beene borne, and is ſo ſtill by free conſent of the ſubjects towards their Princes. For firſt he makes them know, that the King will uſe their ſonnes in his owne ſervice to make them his Horſe-men, Chariotters, and Footmen; which is not onely not grievous, but by the Vaſſals of all Kings, according to their birth and condition, deſired: it being very agreeable to ſubjects of the beſt qualitie to command for the King in his Warres; and to till the ground no leſſe proper and appertaining to thoſe that are thereto bred and brought up: ſo are likewiſe the offices of women-ſervants to dreſſe meate, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it is threatned, *He will take your Feelds and your Vineyards, and your beſt Olive trees, and give them to his ſervants*; with other oppreſſions: this hath given, and gives daily occaſion to ſuch as would be ruled by their own diſcretion, to affirme that *Samuel* deſcribeth here unto them the power of a King governed by his owne affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others upon further examination conſtrue this Text farre otherwiſe, as teaching us what Subjects ought with patience to bear at their Soveraigns hand. The former opinion is grounded firſt upon that place of *Deuteronomie*, where God foreſheweth Deut.1. this change of government from Judges to Kings; and after he had forbidden many things unto the Kings; as many wives, covetouſneſſe, and the like: he commandeth that the Kings which were to raigne over *Iſrael*, ſhould write the Law of *Deuteronomie*, or cauſe it to be written: and to ſhew how greatly the King ſhould honour the Law, he addeth, *It ſhall be with him, and he ſhall reade therein all the dayes of his life; that he may learne to feare the Lord his God, and to keepe all the words of this Law, and theſe ordinances for to doe them: that he may prolong his dayes in his Kingdome, he and his Sonnes.* But to take away any other mans field, ſay they, is contrary to the Lawes of God, in the ſame booke written. For it is ſaid, *That which is juſt and right ſhalt thou follow, that thou mayſt* Deut.6. *live.* Now if it be not permitted to carry away grapes more than thou canſt eat out of another mans vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much leſſe lawfull to take the vineyard Deut.23.24. it ſelfe from the owner, and give it to another. Neither are the words of the Text (ſay Loyſe. they) ſuch as doe warrant the Kings of *Iſrael*, or make it proper unto them, to take at will any thing from their vaſſals. For it is not ſaid that it ſhall be lawfull for the King, or the King may doe this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your ſonnes: and againe, This ſhall be the manner of the King that ſhall raigne over you. God thereby foreſhewing what power, ſevered from pietie (becauſe it is accountable to God onely) will doe in the future. And hereof we finde the firſt example in *Achab*, who tooke from *Naboth* both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to the truſt which God had put in him, of governing well his people. For God commanded, *That his people ſhould be judged with* Deut.16. *righteous judgement*. Wherefore, though the King had offered unto *Naboth* compoſition, as a Vineyard of better value, or the worth in money, which he refuſed: yet becauſe he was falſly accuſed, and unjuſtly condemned (though by colour of law,) how grievouſly *Achab* was puniſhed by God, the Scriptures tell vs. Neither was it a plea ſufficient for *Achab* againſt the all-righteous God, to ſay that it was done without his conſent, and by the Elders of *Iſrael*. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a living Law, even as *David* teſtifieth of himſelfe: *Poſuiſti me in caput gentium*: For this of S. *Auguſtine* is very true: *Simulata innocentia, non eſt innocentia: ſimulata æquitas, non eſt æquitas: ſed duplicatur peccatum in quo eſt iniquitas & ſimulatio; Fained innocence, and fained equitie, are neither the one nor the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled, in which there is both iniquitie & diſſimulation.* Such in effect is their diſputation, who thinke this place to containe the deſcription of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary ſide, as they are many and forcible, ſo are they well knowne to all; being excellently handled in that Princely diſcourſe of *The true Law of free Monarchies*: which Treatiſe I may not preſume to abridge, much leſſe here to inſert. Only thus much I will ſay, That if practice doe ſhew the greatneſſe of authoritie, even the beſt Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael* were not ſo tyed by any lawes, but that they did whatſoever they pleaſed in the greateſt things; and commanded ſome of their owne Princes and of their owne brethren to be ſlaine without any triall of law, being ſometime by Prophets reprehended, ſometime not. For though *David* confeſſed his offence for the death of *Uriah*, yet *Salomon* killing his elder brother and others, the ſame was not imputed to him as any offence.

That the ſtate of *Iſrael* ſhould receive this change of government, it was not onely
Gen.49. fore-told by *Moſes* in *Deuteronomie*, but perceived by *Jacob* in this Scripture: *The Scepter*
Gen.15. *ſhall not depart from Juda, &c.* It was alſo promiſed by God to *Abraham* for a bleſſing:
Gen 17. For it was not onely aſſured that his iſſues ſhould in number equall the ſtarres in heaven, but that Kings ſhould proceed of him: Which ſtate ſeeing it is framed from the patterne of his ſole rule, who is Lord of the Univerſall; and the excellency thereof in reſpect of all other governments, hath beene by many judicious men handled and proved, I ſhall not need to over-paint that which is garniſhed with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the Judges every man hath obſerved what civill warre *Iſrael* had: what outragious ſlaughters they committed upon each other: in what miſerable ſervitude they lived for many yeares: and when it fared beſt with them, they did but defend their owne Territories, or recover ſome parts thereof formerly loſt. The Canaanites dwelt in the beſt vallies of the Countrie. The *Ammonites* held much of *Gilead* over *Jordan*; the *Philiſtims* the Sea-coaſts; and the *Jebuſites Hieruſalem* it ſelfe, till *Davids* time: all which that King did not onely conquer and eſtabliſh, but hee maſtered and ſubjected all the neighbour Nations and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vaſſals. But whether it were for that the *Iſraelites* were moved by thoſe reaſons, which allure the moſt of all Nations to live under a Monarch, or whether by this meanes they ſought to be cleered
1 Sam.8. from the ſonnes of *Samuel*, they became deafe to all the perſwaſions and threats which *Samuel* uſed, inſiſting upon this point, that they would have a King, both to judge them and defend them: whereunto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to conſent, he ſent every man to his owne Citie and abiding.

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## §.II.

## *Of the election of* Saul.

AFter that *Samuel* had diſmiſſed the aſſembly at *Mizpah*, he forbare the election of a King, till ſuch time as hee was therein directed by God: who foretold him the day before, that he would preſent unto him a man of the Land of *Benjamin*, whom he commanded *Samuel* to annoint. So *Samuel* went unto *Ramath Sophim*, to make a feaſt for the entertainment of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promiſes) and *Saul* alſo having wandred divers dayes to ſeeke his fathers Aſſes, at length, by the advice of his ſervant, travelled towards *Ramath* to find a Seer or Prophet, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to finde his beaſts. In which journey it pleaſed God (who doth many times order the greateſt things by the ſimpleſt paſſages and perſons) to elect *Saul*, who ſought an Aſſe and not a kingdome: like as formerly it had pleaſed him to call *Moſes*, while he fed the ſheepe of *Jethro*; and after to make choice of
1 Sam.16. *David* the youngeſt of eight ſons, and by the Scriptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beaſts; and changed his ſheephooke into a Scepter, making him of all other the moſt victorious King of *Juda* and *Iſrael*. So *John* and *James* were taken from caſting their nets, to become fiſhers of men, and honoured with the titles of Apoſtles: a dignitie that died not in the grave, as all worldly Honours doe; but permanent and everlaſting in Gods everlaſting kingdome.

When *Samuel* was entred into *Ramath*, hee prepared a banquet for the King, whom hee expected and ſtayed his arrivall at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God ſhewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the ſame whom hee had foretold him of, that hee ſhould rule the people of God. *Saul* finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Judge of *Iſrael*, much leſſe knowing the Honour which attended him, asked *Samuel* in what part of the Citie the *Seer* dwelt; *Samuel* anſwered, that himſelfe was the man hee ſought, and prayed *Saul* to goe before him to the high place, where *Samuel* ſetting him according to his degree, above all that were invited, conferred with him afterwards of the affaires of the kingdome, and of

Gods graces to be beſtowed on him;and the morning following annointed him King of Iſrael.

After this he told him all that ſhould happen him in the way homeward,that two men ſhould incounter him by *Rahels* Sepulchre, who ſhould tell him that his Aſſes were found, and that his Fathers cares were changed from the feare of loſing his beaſts, to doubt the loſs of his ſon: that he ſhould then meet three other men in the plain of *Tabor*; then a companie of Prophets:and that he ſhould be partaker of Gods Spirit,and prophecie with them: and that thereby his condition and diſpoſition ſhould be changed from the vulgar,into that which became a King elected and favoured by God.

But the Prophets here ſpoken of,men indued with ſpirituall gifts,were not of the firſt and moſt reverenced number, who by divine revelation foretold things to come, reprehended without feare the errors of their Kings;and wrought miracles;of which number were *Moſes*,*Joſua*,*Samuel*,& after them *Gad*,*Nathan*,*Abias*,*Elias*,*Eliſæus*,*Eſay*,*Jeremie*, and the reſt;for theſe Prophets,ſaith S.*Chryſoſtome*,*Omnia tempora percurrunt*,*præterita*; *præſentia*,*& futura*: but they were of thoſe of whom S.*Paul* ſpeaketh, 1 *Cor.*14.14.who inriched with ſpirituall gifts,expounded the Scriptures and the Law.

*Chryſ.in Pſ.43.*

At Miſpeth *Samuel* aſſembled the people, that he might preſent *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his owne Uncle therewith, when he asked him what had paſt betweene him and *Samuel*: for either he thought his eſtate not yet aſſured,or elſe that it might be dangerous for him to reveale it,till he were confirmed by generall conſent. When the Tribes were aſſembled at *Mizpeth*,the generall opinion is,that he was choſen by lot. *Chimhi* thinkes by the anſwer of * *Urim* and *Thummim*: that is,by the anſwer of the Prieſt, wearing that myſterie upon his breaſt when he asked counſell of the Lord. But the caſting of lots was not only much uſed among the *Jewes*,but by many others,if not by all nations. The Land of promiſe was divided by lot: God commanded lots to be caſt on the two Goats,which ſhould be ſacrificed,and which turned off: a figure of Chriſts ſuffering,and our deliverance, for whoſe garments the *Jewes* alſo caſt lots. *Cicero*,*Plautus*,*Pauſanias*,and others,have remembred divers ſorts of lots, uſed by the *Romanes*,*Grecians*,and other Nations: as in the diviſion of grounds or honours; and in things to be undertaken: the two firſt kinds were called Diviſorie; the third,Divinatorie; and unto one of theſe three all may be reduced: all which kinds,howſoever they may ſeem chancefull,are yet ordered & directed by God: as in the *Proverbes*: *The lot is caſt into the lap,but the whole diſpoſition is of the Lord.* And in like ſort fell the kingdome of Iſrael on *Saul*, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gave *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* withdrew himſelfe in modeſtie,as both *Joſephus* conſtreus it,and as it may be gathered by his former anſwers to *Samuel*, when he acknowledged himſelfe the leaſt of the leaſt Tribe. But *Samuel* inlightened by God,found where *Saul* was hidden,and brought him among the people,and he was taller than all the reſt by the ſhoulders. And *Samuel* made them know that he was the choſen king of Iſrael,wherupon all the multitude ſaluted him King, and prayed for him; yet ſome there were that envied his glorie(as in all eſtates there are ſuch)who did not acknowledge him by offring him preſents,as the maner was: of whom *Saul*,to avoyd ſedition,tooke no notice.

* The *Urim* and *Thummim* in the ornaments of the High Prieſt, were inſerted within the dectoral,which therefore was *duplicatum*: they were placed in the pectorall over againſt the heart of the High Prieſt.It is plain that they were not the precious ſtones, nor any thing made by the artificers. See Exod.38.1

*Cic.de divin.*

*Pauſ.in Meſ.*

1 Sam.10.

## §. III.

### *Of the eſtabliſhing of* Saul *by his firſt victorie.*

NO ſooner was *Saul* placed in the kingdome,but that he received knowledge that *Nahas* King of the *Ammonites* prepared to beſiege *Jabes Gilead*: which nation ſince the great overthrow given them by *Jephta*, never durſt attempt any thing upon the *Iſraelites*, till the beginning of *Saul* his rule. And although the *Ammonites* did alwayes attend upon the advantage of time, to recover thoſe Territories which firſt the *Amorite*, and then *Iſrael* diſpoſſeſt them of; which they made the ground of their invaſion in *Jephta*'s time; yet they never perſwaded themſelves of more advantage than at this preſent. For firſt,they knew that there were many of the *Iſraelites* that did not willingly ſubmit themſelves to this new King: ſecondly,they were remembred that the *Philiſtims* had not long before ſlaine 34000. of their men of Warre: and beſides had uſed great care and policie that they ſhould have no Smithes to make them ſwords or ſpears: neither was it long before, that of the *Bethſhemeſites*, and places adjoyning, there periſhed by the hand of God more than 50000. and therefore in theſe reſpects, even occaſion it ſelf invited them to inlarge their Dominions upon their borderers: *Jabes Gilead* being one of the neereſt. Beſides, it may further be conjectured, that the *Ammonites* were imboldened againſt *Jabes Gilead*, in reſpect of their weakeneſſe: ſince the *Iſraelites* deſtroyed Jud.21. a great part of them, for not joyning with them againſt the *Benjamites*: at which time they did not only ſlaughter the men and male-children, but tooke from them their young women, and gave them to the *Benjamites*: and therefore they were not likely to have been increaſed to any great numbers: and if they had recovered themſelves of this great calamitie, yet the *Ammonite* might flatter himſelf with the opinion, that *Iſrael*, having for long time been diſarmed by the *Philiſtims*, was not apt to ſuccour thoſe whom they had ſo deepely wounded and deſtroyed. But contrariwiſe, when the tidings came to *Saul* of their danger, and that the *Ammonites* would give them no other condition to ranſome themſelves, but by pulling out their right eies, by which they ſhould be utterly diſabled for the Warre, as elſewhere hath beene ſpoken: *Saul*, both to value himſelfe in his firſt yeares reigne, and becauſe perchance he was deſcended of one of thoſe 400. Maids taken from the *Gileadites*, and given to the *Benjamites*, gave order to aſſemble the forces of *Iſrael*, hewing a yoake of Oxen into pieces, and ſending them by meſſengers over all the coaſts, proteſting thus: *That whoſoever came not forth after* Saul *and after* Samuel, *ſo ſhould his Oxen be ſerved*: threatning the people by their goods, and not by their lives at the firſt. Seven dayes had *Saul* to aſſemble an Armie, by reaſon that the *Gileadites* had obtained the reſpite of theſe ſeven dayes to give *Nahas* the Ammonite an anſwer: who, could they have obtained any reaſonable condition, were contented to have ſevered themſelves from *Iſrael*, and to become Vaſſals and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the meane while *Saul* aſſembled the forces which repaired unto him at *Bezec*, neere *Jordan*, that hee might readily paſſe the river; which done, he might in one day with a 1 Sam.11.8. ſpeedie march arrive at *Jabes*, under the Hills of *Gilead*.

The Armie by *Saul* led, conſiſting of three hundred and thirtie thouſand, he returned an anſwer to thoſe of *Jabes*, that they ſhould aſſure themſelves of ſuccour by the next day at noon. For, as it ſeemeth, *Saul* marched away in the latter part of the day, & went on all night; for in the morning watch he ſurprized the armie of *Nahas* the *Ammonite*. And to the end that he might ſet on them on all ſides, he divided his forces into three parts, putting them to the ſword untill the heate of the day, and the wearineſſe of *Sauls* troope inforced them to give over the purſuit. Now the *Ammonites* were become the more careleſſe and ſecure, in that thoſe of *Jabes* promiſed the next morning to render themſelves and their Citie to their mercie. After this happie ſucceſſe, the people were ſo farre in love with their new King, that they would have ſlain all thoſe *Iſraelites* that murmured againſt his election, had not himſelfe forbidden and reſiſted their reſolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent lovers of the proſperous, and baſe Vaſſals of the time that flouriſheth; and as deſpightfull and cruell without cauſe againſt thoſe, whom any miſadventure, or other worldly accident hath throwne down.

1 Sam.11. After the Armie removed, *Samuel* ſummoned the people to meet at *Gilgal*, where *Saul* was now a third time acknowledged, and, as ſome Commenters affirme, anointed King: 1 Sam.12. and here *Samuel* uſed an exhortation to all the Aſſemblie, containing precepts, and a rehearſall of his owne Juſtice, during the beginning of his government to that day. After *Saul* had now raigned one year before he was eſtabliſhed in *Gilgal*, or *Galgala*, he ſtrenthened himſelfe with a good guard of 3000. choſen men, of which he aſſigned 1000. to attend on *Jonathan* his ſonne at *Gibeah*, the Citie of his nativitie: the reſt he kept about his owne perſon in *Micmas*, and in the Hill of *Bethel*.

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### §. IIII.

### Of Sauls *diſobedience in his proceedings in the Warres with the Philiſtims and Amalekites, which cauſed his finall rejection.*

JOnathan with his ſmall Armie or Regiment that attended him, taking a time of advantage, ſurprized a Garriſon of *Philiſtims*: the ſame, as ſome thinke, which *Saul* paſt by, when he came from *Rama*, when he was firſt annointed by *Samuel*, which they thinke to have beene *Cariath-jearim*: becauſe a place where the *Philiſtims* had a *Garriſon*. 1.*Sam*. 10. is called the hill of God, which they underſtand of *Cariath-jearim*: but *Junius* underſtands this Garriſon to have beene at *Gebah* in *Benjamin* neere *Gibha*, where *Jonathan* abode with his thouſand followers. Howſoever, by this it appeareth that the *Philiſtims* held ſome ſtrong places, both in the times of *Samuel*, and of *Saul*, within the Territorie of *Iſrael*: & now being greatly inraged by this ſurprize, they aſſembled thirty thouſand armed Chariots, & ſixe thouſand Horſe, wherewith they invaded *Judæa*, and incamped at *Machmas* or *Michmas*, a Citie of *Benjamin*, in the direct way from *Samaria* to *Hieruſalem*, and in the middeſt of the Land betweene the Sea and *Jordan*. With this ſudden invaſion the *Iſraelites* were ſtrucken in ſo great a feare, as ſome of them hid themſelves in the caves of the mountaines; others fledde over *Jordan* into *Gad* and *Gilead*: *Saul* himſelfe with ſome 2000. men of ordinarie, and many other people, ſtaid at *Galgala* in *Benjamin*, not farre from the paſſage of *Joſua* when he led *Iſrael* over *Jordan*. Here *Saul* by *Samuels* appointment was to attend the comming of *Samuel* ſeven dayes: but when the laſt day was in part ſpent, and that *Saul* perceived his forces to diminiſh greatly, he preſumed (as ſome expound the place 1.*Sam*.13.9.) to exerciſe the office which appertained not unto him, and to offer a burnt offering and a peace offering unto God, contrary to the *Eccleſiaſticall* Lawes of the *Hebrewes*, and *Gods* Commandements: others expound the word, *obtulit*, in this place, by *obtulit per Sacerdotem*, and ſo make the ſinne of *Saul* not to have beene any intruſion into the Prieſts office, but firſt a diſobedience to Gods Commandement, in not ſtaying according to the appointment, 1.*Sam*.10.8. ſecondly a difference or miſtruſt in Gods helpe, and too great relying upon the ſtrength of the people, whoſe departing from him he could not beare patiently; and laſtly, a Contempt of the holy Prophet *Samuel*, and of the helpe which the prayers of ſo godly a man might procure him. But whatſoever was his ſinne, notwithſtanding his excuſes, hee was by *Samuel* reprehended moſt ſharply, in termes unfitting his eſtate, had not extraordinary warrant beene given to *Samuel* ſo to doe, from God himſelfe; at which time alſo *Samuel* feared not to let him know, that the Kingdome ſhould bee conferred to another (a man after Gods owne heart) both from *Saul* and his poſteritie.

1 Sam.13.5.

1 Sam.c.13.

Verſe 14.

After this, *Samuel* and *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, where *Saul*, when hee had taken view of his armie, found it to conſiſt of 600. men: for the moſt were fled from him and ſcattered, yea and among thoſe that ſtaid, there was not any that had either ſword or ſpeare, but *Saul* and his ſonne *Jonathan* onely. For the *Philiſtims* had not left them any *Smith* in all *Iſrael*, that made weapons; beſides, they that came to *Saul*, came haſtily, and left ſuch weapons and armour as they had behind them in their garriſons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* ſhould bee able the yeere before, or in ſome part of this very yeere, to ſuccour *Jabes Gilead* with 300. and thirty thouſand men, if there had not now beene any yron weapon to defend themſelves withall, ſave onely in the hand of *Saul* & *Jonathan* his ſonne. But howſoever, all the reſt of the people were formerly diſarmed by the *Philiſtims*, & all thoſe crafteſmen carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left unto the *Iſraelites* only files to ſharpen and amend ſuch ſtuffe as ſerved for the Plough, & for nought elſe: yet that they had ſome kind of armes, it is manifeſt, or elſe they durſt not have attempted upon the *Philiſtims* as they did. And it is not ſaid in the Text that there was not any ſword in all *Iſrael*, but onely that there was not any found among thoſe 600. ſouldiers which ſtayed with *Saul* after *Samuels* departure: and it ſeemeth that when *Samuel* had ſharpely reprehended *Saul*, that his owne guards forſooke him, having but 600. remaining of his 3000. ordinarie ſouldiers, & of all the reſt that repaired unto him, of which many were fledde from him before *Samuel* arrived.

1 Sam.13 19.

1 Sam.13.21.

With this ſmall troope he held himſelf to his owne citie of *Gibeah*, as a place of more ſtrength, & better aſſured unto him, than *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obſcure how it ſhould come to paſſe that the *Philiſtims* ſhould thus diſarme the moſt part of the *Iſraelites*, howſoever in the time of *Samuel* much had beene done againſt them. For the victories of *Samuel* were not got by ſword or ſpeare, but by thunder from Heaven: and when theſe crafteſmen were once rooted out of the Cities of *Iſrael*, no marvell if they could not in a ſhort peace under *Samuel* be replanted againe. For this tyrannie of the *Philiſtims* is to bee underſtood, rather of the precedent times, than under *Samuel*: and yet under him is to bee thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policy, not ſuffering their artificers to teach the *Iſraelites*, and ſo even to the times of *Saul* kept them from having any ſtore of armour. The ſame policy did *Nabuchodonoſor* uſe after his Conqueſt in *Judæa: Dionyſius* in *Sicilie*; & many other Princes elſe-where in all ages. But theſe loſt weapons in part the *Iſraelites* might repaire in *Gilead*, for over *Jordan* the *Philiſtims* had not invaded. The reſt of their defences were ſuch as antiquity uſed and their preſent neceſſity miniſtred unto them; to wit, clubs, bowes, and ſlings. For the *Benjamites* exceeded in caſting ſtones in ſlings: and that theſe were the naturall weapons, and the firſt of all nations, it is manifeſt; and ſo in the firſt of *Chronicles* the 12. Chapter it is written of thoſe that came to ſuccour *David* againſt *Saul*, while he lurked at *Siklag*, *That they were weaponed with bowes, and could uſe the right and the left hand with ſtones*; and with a ſling it was that *David* himſelfe ſlew the Gyant *Goliah*.

While the State of *Iſrael* ſtood in theſe hard termes, the *Philiſtims* having parted their army into three troopes, that they might ſpoile & deſtroy many parts at once; *Jonathan*, ſtrengthened by *God*, and followed with his Eſquire onely, ſcaled a mountaine, whereon 1 Sam.14.12. a company of *Philiſtims* were lodged: the reſt of their army (as may bee gathered by the ſucceſſe) being incamped in the plaine adjoyning. And though hee were diſcovered before he came to the hill top, and in a kinde of deriſion, called up by his enemies: yet he ſo behaved himſelfe, as with the aſſiſtance of God he ſlew 20. of the firſt *Philiſtims* that he encountred. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarme, and being ignorant of the cauſe, fled away amazed altogether. In which confuſion, feare, and jealouſie, they ſlaughtered one another in ſtead of enemies: whereupon thoſe *Hebrewes* which became of their partie, becauſe they feared to be ſpoiled by them, tooke the advantage of their deſtruction, and ſlew of them in great numbers. And laſtly, *Saul* himſelfe taking knowledge of the rout and diſorder, together with thoſe *Iſraelites* that ſhrouded themſelves 1 Sam. 14. in mount *Ephraim*, ſet upon them, and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a moſt happie and glorious victory over them. Heere was that propheſie in *Deuteronomie* fulfilled by *Jonathan*, *That one of thoſe which feared God, ſhould kill a thouſand, and two of them ten thouſand.*

This done, the ſmall army of *Iſrael* made retrait from the purſuit. And although *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take food til the evening, yet his ſonne *Jonathan*, being infeebled with extreme labour and emptineſſe, taſted a drope of hony in his paſſage: for which *Saul* his father would have put him to death, had not the people delivered him from his crueltie.

The late miraculous victorie of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, ſeemes to have reduced unto the *Philiſtims* remembrance their former overthrow, likewiſe miraculous in the dayes of *Samuel*; ſo that for ſome ſpace of time they held themſelves quiet. In the meane while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, undertooke by turnes all his bordering enemies; 1 Sam.14. namely, the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, & the *Arabians* of *Zobah*, againſt all which he prevailed. He then aſſembled all the forces he could make, to wit, 210000. men, and receiving the commandement of God by *Samuel*, he invaded *Amalec*, waſting and deſtroying all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Deſart* belonging to the *Amalekites*, from *Havilah* towards *Tigris* unto *Shur*, which bordereth *Aegypt*; in which warre he tooke *Agag* their King priſoner. But whereas he was inſtructed by *Samuel* to follow this Na- Exod.17. tion without compaſſion, becauſe they firſt of all attempted *Iſrael*, when they left *Aegypt* in *Moſes* time: he notwithſtanding did not only ſpare the life of *Agag*, but reſerved the beſt of the beaſts and ſpoile of the Countrie, with pretence to offer them in ſacrifice to the living God. Therefore did *Samuel* now a ſecond time make him know that God would caſt him from his royall eſtate, to which he was raiſed when he was of baſe condition, and, as the Text hath it, *little in his owne eyes*. And though the offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voyce of God by *Samuel*, had there beene no former precept to that effect: yet ſeeing *Saul* could not bee ignorant how ſeverely it pleaſed God to injoyne the *Iſraelites* to revenge themſelves upon that Nation, he was in all unexcuſable. For God had commanded that the *Iſraelites ſhould put out the remembrance* Deut.25.15. *of* Amalec *from under heaven*. For the cruelty which the predeceſſors of this *Agag* uſed againſt the *Iſraelites*, eſpecially on thoſe which were over-wearied, faint, ſicke, and aged people, was now to bee revenged on him, and his Nation above 400. yeeres afterward and now hee was to pay the debt of bloud, which his forefathers borrowed from

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the innocent: himſelfe having alſo ſinned in the ſame kinde, as theſe words of *Samuel* witneſſe: *As thy ſword hath made other women childleſſe, ſo ſhall thy mother be childleſſe among other women*; 1 Sam.15.33. at which time *Samuel* himſelfe (after he had been by many bootleſſe intreaties perſwaded to ſtay a while with *Saul*) did cut *Agag* in pieces before the Lord in *Gilgal*, and ſoone after he departed to *Ramath*, *and came no more to ſee* Saul *untill the day of his death.*

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## §. V.

### *Of the occurrents betweene the rejection of* Saul *and his death.*

NOw while *Samuel* mourned for *Saul*, God commanded him to chooſe a King for *Iſrael*, among the ſonnes of *Iſhai*: which *Samuel* (doubting the violent hand of *Saul*) feared in a ſort to performe, till it pleaſed God to direct him, how hee might avoid both the ſuſpition, and the danger. And if *Samuel* knew that it was no way derogating from the providence of God, that by his cautious care and wiſedome hee ſought to avoid the inconveniences or dangers of this life: then do theſe men miſtake the nature of his divine ordinance, who neglecting the reaſon that God hath given them, do no otherwiſe avoid the perills and dangers thereof, than as men ſtupefied in the opinion of fate or deſtinie, neglecting either to beg counſaile at Gods hands by prayer, or to exerciſe that wiſedome or foreſight, wherewith God hath enriched the minde of man for his preſervation. Neither did the all-powerfull God (who made and could deſtroy the world in an inſtant) diſdaine here to inſtruct *Samuel*, to avoid the fury of *Saul*, by the accuſtomed cautious waies of the world.

Of the ſonnes of *Iſhai*, *Samuel*, by God directed, made choice of *David*, the youngeſt, having refuſed *Eliab*, the firſt born: who though he were a man of a comely perſon and great ſtrength; yet unto ſuch outward appearance, the Lord had no reſpect. For as it is written, *God ſeeth not as man ſeeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart.* 1 Sam.16. He alſo refuſing the other ſixe brethren, made choice of one whom his father had altogether neglected, and left in the field to attend his flocke; for of him *the Lord ſaid to* Samuel, *Ariſe and anoint him, for this is he*: which done, *Samuel* departed and went to *Ramath*. Neither was it long after this that *Saul* began to ſeeke the life of *David*: in which bloody minde he continued till he died, overcome in battell by the *Philiſtims*.

The *Philiſtims* having well conſidered (as it ſeems) the increaſe of *Saul* his power through many victories by him obtained, whilſt they had ſitten ſtill & forborn to give impediment to his proſperous courſes, thought it good to make new tryall of their fortune, as juſtly fearing that the wrongs, which they had done to *Iſrael*, might be repaied with advantage, if ever opportunity ſhould ſerve their often injured neighbours againſt them, as lately it had done againſt *Moab*, *Ammon*, and the reſt of their ancient enemies. Now for the qualitie of their Souldiers, and all warlike proviſions, the *Philiſtims* had reaſon to thinke themſelves equall, if not ſuperiour to *Iſrael*. The ſucceſſe of their former wars had for the moſt part been agreeable to their own wiſhes: as for late diſaſters, they might, according to humane wiſedome, impute them to ſecond cauſes; as to a tempeſt happening by chance, and to a miſtaken alarm, whereby their Armie, poſſeſſed with a needleſſe feare, had fallen to rout. Having therefore muſtered their forces, and taken the field, encamping ſo neare to the Armie which King *Saul* drew forth againſt them, that they could not eaſily depart without the trial of a battel, each part kept their ground of advantage for a while, not joining in groſſe, but maintaining ſome skirmiſhes, as refuſing both of them to paſſe the Valley that lay betweene their Camps. Juſt cauſes of feare they had on both ſides; eſpecially the *Philiſtims*, whoſe late attempts had bin confounded by the angry hand of God. Upon this occaſion perhaps it was, that they ſought to decide the matter by ſingle combat, as willing to try in one mans perſon, whether any ſtroake from heaven were to be feared. *Goliah* of *Gath*, a ſtrong Giant, fearing neither God nor Man, undertooke to defie the whole Hoſte of *Iſrael*, provoking them with deſpightfull words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hand; offering condition, that the partie vanquiſhed in Champion, ſhould hold it ſelfe as overcome in groſſe, and become vaſſall unto the other. This gave occaſion to young *David*, whom *Samuel* by Gods appointment had annointed, to make a famous entrance into publike notice of the people. For no man durſt expoſe himſelfe to encounter the great ſtrength of *Goliah*, untill *David* (ſent by his father of an errand to the campe) accepted the combat, and obtained the victorie, without other armes, offenſive or defenſive, than a ſling, wherewith he overthrew that haughty Gyant, and after with his owne ſword ſtrooke off his head. Hereupon the Philiſtims, who ſhould have yeelded themſelves as ſubjects to the Conquerour, according to the covenant on their owne ſide propounded, fled without ſtay; and were purſued and ſlaughtered even to their owne gates. By this victory the *Philiſtims* were not ſo broken, that either any of their Townes were loſt, or their people diſcouraged from infeſting the Territories of Iſrael. But *David*, by whom God had wrought this victorie, fell into the grievous indignation of his Maſter *Saul*, through the honour purchaſed by his well-deſerving. For after ſuch time as the ſpirit of God departed from *Saul*, and came upon *David*, hee then became a cruell Tyrant, faithleſſe, and irreligious. Becauſe the high Prieſt *Abimilech* fedde *David* in his neceſsitie with hallowed bread, and armed him with a ſword of his owne conqueſt, taken from *Goliah*; *Saul* not only by his wicked *Edomite Doeg* murthered this *Abimelech* and 85. Prieſts of *Nob*, but alſo hee deſtroyed the Citie, *and ſmote with the edge of the ſword both man and woman, both childe and ſuckling, both Oxe and Aſſe, and ſheepe.* And he that had compaſsion on *Agag* the Amalekite, who was an enemie to God and his people, and alſo ſpared and preſerved the beſt of his Cattell, contrarie to the Commandement and Ordinance of God, both by *Moſes* and *Samuel*; had not now any mercie in ſtore for the innocent, for the Lords ſervants, the Prieſts of Iſrael. Yea, hee would have ſlaine his owne ſonne *Jonathan*, for pitying and pleading *Davids* innocencie; as alſo once before for taſting the hony, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his fathers unreaſonable commination. The companions of crueltie are breach of faith towards men, and impiety towards God. The former hee ſhewed in denying *David* his daughter, whom he had promiſed him: and againe in taking her away from him to whom hee had given her; alſo in that when as *David* had twice ſpared his life in the Territory of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice ſworn to do him no hurt, and confeſſed his errours, yet he ſought ſtill to deſtroy him, by all the meanes he could. His impietie towards God he ſhewed, in that hee ſought counſell of the Witch of Endor, which was the laſt preparative for his deſtruction. For whereas when he ſought counſell from God, he had bin alwaies victorious: from the Oracle of the Divel this ſucceſſe followed, that both himſelfe, and his three ſons, with his neareſt & faithfull ſervants, were all ſlaughtered by the Philiſtims: his bodie with the bodies of his ſons (as a ſpectacle of ſhame and diſhonour) were hung over the walles of Bethſan: and there had remained till they had found buriall in the bowels of ravenous birds, had not the gratefull Gileadites of Jabes ſtolne their carcaſſes thence, and interred them. This was the end of *Saul*, after he had governed Iſrael, together with *Samuel*, 40. yeares, & by himſelfe after *Samuel* 20. years, according to *Cedrenus*, *Theophilus* and *Joſephus*. But yet it ſeemeth to me, that after the death of *Samuel*, *Saul* did not rule very long: For in the beginning of the 25. chapter, it is written, that *Samuel* died: and in the reſt of the ſame chapter the paſſages are written of *David*, *Nabal*, and *Abigail*, after which the death of *Saul* quickly enſued.

1 Sam.16.13.

1 Sam.22.18.

1 Sam.24.23.

Acts.13.21.
*Cedren.pa.69.*
*Theoph.l.3.p.3.*
*Joſeph.l,28.*

An exceeding valiant man he was, and gave a faire entrance to all thoſe victories which *David* afterward obtained; for he had beaten the Ammonites with their neighbouring Nations; cruſht the Syrians, and their adherents; broken the ſtrength of the Amalekites; and greatly waſted the power and pride of the Philiſtims.

## §. VI.

### *Of ſuch as lived with* Samuel *and* Saul; *of* Hellen *and* Hercules, *and of their iſſues: upon occaſion of the* Dores, *with the* Heraclidæ, *entring* Peloponneſus *about this time.*

IN the ſecond yeare of *Samuel*, according to *Euſebius*, was *David* borne: after *Codoman*, later, and in the ninth yeare: after *Bunting* in the tenth. For *David*, ſaith hee, was thirtie yeares old when hee began to reigne: whence it followeth, that hee was borne in the tenth of the fortie yeares, which are given to *Samuel* and *Saul*. About the eleventh yeare of *Samuel*, *Æneas Silvius* the ſonne of *Poſthumus* beganne his reigne over the Latines in Alba, who governed that State one and thirtie years. There are who place before him *Latinus Silvius*, as brother to *Poſthumus*, calling him the fifth from *Æneas*, and fourth King of *Alba*, whereof I will not ſtand to diſpute. In the eleventh of *Samuel*, *Dercilas* ſate in the Throne of *Aſſyria*, being the one and thirtieth King; he ruled that Empire fortie yeares. In this age of *Samuel* the *Dores* obtained *Peloponneſus*, and at once with the *Heraclidæ*, who then led and commanded the Nation, poſſeſt a great part thereof 328. years before the firſt *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus* and *Eratoſthenes*. For all Greece was anciently poſſeſſed by three Tribes or Kindreds, *viz*. the *Iönians*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians*: at length it was called *Hellas*, and the people *Hellenes* of *Hellen* the ſonne of *Deucalion*, Lord of the Countrie of *Pibiotis* in *Theſſalie*. But before the time of this *Hellen*, yea and long after, *Greece* had no name common to all the inhabitants, neither were the people called *Hellenes*, till ſuch time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the plantation of many *Colonies*, and ſundry great victories obtained, the iſſues of *Hellen* had reduced much of the Countrie under their obedience, calling themſelves generally by one name, and yet every ſeverall Nation after ſome one of the poſteritie of *Hellen*, who had raigned over it. And becauſe this is the fartheſt antiquitie of *Greece*, it will not be amiſſe to recount the Pedigree of her firſt planters.

*Iapetus* (as the Poets fable) was the ſon of Heaven and Earth, ſo accounted, either becauſe the names of his Parents had in the Greeke tongue ſuch ſignification: or perhaps for his knowledge in *Aſtronomie* and *Philoſophie*.

*Iapetus* begat *Prometheus*, and *Ephimetheus*: of whom all men have read that have read Poets. *Prometheus* begat *Deucalion*: and *Epimetheus*, *Pyrrha*; *Deucalion* & his wife *Pyrrha* reigned in *Theſſalie*, which was then called *Pyrrha* (as *Cretenſis Rhianus* affirmeth) of *Pyrrha* the Queene. In *Deucalions* time was that great floud, of which we have ſpoken elſewhere. *Deucalion* begat *Hellen*: whoſe ſonnes were *Xuthus*, *Dorus*, and *Æolus*: of *Dorus* and *Æolus*, the *Dores* and *Æolians* had name. The *Æoles* inhabited *Bœotia*. The *Dores* having firſt inhabited ſundrie parts of *Theſſalie*, did afterward ſeat themſelves about *Parnaſſus*, and finally became Lords of the Countries about *Lacedæmon*: *Xuthus* the eldeſt ſonne of *Hellen*, being baniſhed by his brethren, for having diverted from them to his owne uſe ſome part of their Fathers goods, came to *Athens*: where marrying the Daughter of King *Ericthbeus*, he begat on her two ſonnes, *Achæus* and *Ion*. Of theſe two, *Achæus*, for a ſlaughter by him committed, fledde into *Peloponneſus*: and ſeating himſelfe in *Laconia*, gave name to that region: from whence (as ſome write) he afterwards departed; and levying an Armie, recovered the Kingdome of his Grandfather in *Theſſalie*.

*Ion* being Generall for the *Athenians* when *Eumolpus* the *Thracian* invaded *Attica*, did obtaine a great victorie, and thereby ſuch love and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their State into his hands. He divided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing every one to ſome occupation, or good courſe of life. When the people multiplied, he planted *Colonies* in *Sycionia*, then called *Ægialos* or *Ægialia*: In which Countrie *Solinus* then reigning, thought it ſafer to give his Daughter *Helice* in mariage to *Ion*, and make him his Heire, than to contend with him. So *Ion* married *Helice*, and built a Towne called by his Wives name in *Ægialia*, where he and his poſterity reigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gave to that Land denomination. But in after times the *Dores* aſſiſting the Nephewes of *Hercules*, invaded *Peloponneſus*, and overcomming the *Achæans*, poſſeſſed *Laconia*, and all thoſe parts which the *Achæi* had formerly occupied. Hereupon the *Achæi* driven to ſeeke a new ſeat, came unto the *Iones*, deſiring to inhabit *Ægialia* with them, and alledged in vaine that *Ion* and *Achæus* had beene brethren. When this requeſt could not be obtained, they ſought by force to expell the *Ionians*, which they performed; but they loſt their King *Tiſamenes*, the ſon of *Oreſtes* in that warre.

Thus were the *Iones* driven out of *Peloponneſus*, and compelled to remove into *Attica*, from whence after a while they ſailed into *Aſia*, and peopled the Weſterne coaſt thereof; on which they built twelve Cities, inhabited by them, even to this day, at the leaſt without any univerſall or memorable tranſmigration. This expedition of the *Iones* into *Aſia* hath beene mentioned of all which have written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140. yeares after the warre of *Troy*, and 60. yeares after the deſcent of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponneſus*. Theſe *Heraclidæ* were they of whom the Kings of *Sparta* iſſued; which race held that Kingdome about 700. yeares. Of their Father

*Hercules* many ſtrange things are delivered unto us by the Poets, of which ſome are like to have beene true, others perhaps muſt be allegorically underſtood. But the moſt approved Writers thinke that there were many called *Hercules*, all whoſe exploits were by the *Greeks* aſcribed to the ſonne of *Alcmena*, who is ſaid to have performed theſe 12. great labours..

Firſt, he ſlew the *Nemæan* Lyon: ſecondly, he ſlew the ſerpent *Hydra*, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: the third was the overtaking a very ſwift Hare: the fourth was the taking of a wild Bore alive, which hanted mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcadia*: the fiſt was the cleanſing of *Augias* his Oxe-ſtall in one day, which he performed by turning the River *Alpheus* into it: the ſixt was the chaſing away of the Birds from the Lake *Stymphalis*: the ſeventh was the fetching a Bull from *Crete*: the eight was the taking of the Mares which *Diomedes* King of *Thrace* fed with humane fleſh: the ninth was to fetch a Girdle of the *Queen* of the *Amazons*: the three laſt were, to fetch *Gerions* Beeves from *Gades*; the golden Apples of the *Heſperides*; and *Cerberus* from Hell. The *Mythologicall* interpretation of theſe I purpoſely omit, as both overlong to bee here ſet downe, and no leſſe perplexed than the labours themſelves. For ſome by *Hercules* underſtand Fortitude, Prudence, and Conſtancy, interpreting the Monſters, Vices. Others make *Hercules* the *Sunne*, and his travailes to bee the twelve ſignes of the *Zodiac*. There are others who apply his workes hiſtorically to their owne conceits; as well aſſured, that the expoſition cannot have more unlikelihood, than the fables: that hee tooke *Elis*, *Pylus*, *OEchalia*, and other Townes, being aſſiſted by ſuch as either admired his vertues, or were beholding unto him. Alſo that hee ſlew many Theeves and Tyrants, I take to be truely written, without addition of Poeticall vanitie. His travailes through moſt part of the world, are, or may ſeeme, borrowed from *Hercules Libycus*. But ſure it is that many Cities of *Greece* were greatly bound to him: for that hee (bending all his indeavours to the common good) delivered the Land from much oppreſsion. But after his death, no citie of *Greece* (*Athens* excepted) requited the vertue and deſerts of *Hercules*, with conſtant protection of his Children, perſecuted by the King *Euryſtheus*. This *Euryſtheus* was Sonne of *Sthenelus*, and grand-childe of *Perſeus*; hee reigned in *Mycena*, the mightieſt City then in Greece. He it was that impoſed thoſe hard tasks upon *Hercules*, who was bound to obey him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murther, which in his madneſs he had committed upon his own children; but as others ſay, becauſe he was his Subject and Servant: wherefore there are who commend *Euryſtheus* for employing the ſtrength of *Hercules* to ſo good a purpoſe. But it is ſo generally agreed by the beſt Writers, that *Hercules* was alſo of the ſtocke of *Perſeus*, and holden in great jealouſie by *Euryſtheus* becauſe of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous ſervices, wherein hee was imployed, ſo that he grew great in reputation and power through all Greece; and had by many Wives and Concubines above threeſcore Children. Theſe Children *Euryſtheus* would faine have got into his power, when *Hercules* was dead: but they fled unto *Ceyx* King of *Thracinia*, and from him (for he durſt not withſtand *Euryſtheus*) to *Athens*. The *Athenians* not onely gave them entertainment, but lent them aid, wherewith they encountred *Euryſtheus*. *Iolaus* the brothers ſon of *Hercules*, who had aſſiſted him in many of his travels, was captaine of the *Heraclidæ*. It is ſaid of him, that being dead hee obtained leave of *Pluto* to live againe till hee might revenge the injuries done by *Euryſtheus*: whom when he had ſlaine in battell, hee died againe. It ſeemes to me, that whereas he had led Colonies into *Sicily*, and abode there a long time forgotten: he came againe into Greece to aſſiſt his couſins, and afterwards returned backe. When the *Peloponneſians* underſtood that *Euryſtheus* was ſlaine, they tooke *Atreus* the Sonne of *Pelops* to their King: for he was rich, mighty, and favoured of the People. Againſt him the *Heraclidæ* marched under *Hyllus*, the ſonne of *Hercules*. But to avoid effuſion of blood, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* ſhould fight with *Echenus* King of the *Tegeatæ*, a people of *Arcadia*, who aſſiſted *Atreus*; with condition, that if *Hyllus* were victor, he ſhould peaceably enjoy what he challenged as his right: otherwiſe the *Heraclidæ* ſhould not enter *Peloponneſus* in an hundred yeares. In that combat *Hyllus* was ſlaine, and the *Heraclidæ* compelled to forbeare their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned under *Ariſtodemus* (as the beſt authority doth ſhew, though ſome have ſaid that they came under the conduct of his children) and brought with them the *Dores*, whom they planted in that countrey, as is before ſhewed, having expelled the *Achæi*, over whom the iſſue of *Pelops* had reigned after the death of *Euryſtheus* foure generations.

## §. VII.

### *Of* Homer *and* Heſiod, *and many changes in the world, that happened about this age.*

ABout this time that excellent learned Poet *Homer* lived, as many of the beſt *Chronologers* affirme. He was by race of the *Mæones*, deſcended (as *Functius* imagineth) of *Beroſus* his *Anamæon*, who gave name to that people. But this *Functius* imagineth *Homer* the Poet to have beene long after theſe times, raſhly framing his *Æra* according to [a] *Archilochus* in the tract, or rather fragment *de temporibus*; and makes ſeven more of this name to have flouriſhed in divers Cities in *Greece*. Whence, perhaps, ſprang the diverſitie of opinions, both of the time and of the native Citie of *Homer*. According to this *Archilochus*, *Functius* finds *Homer* about the time of *Manaſſe* King of *Juda*, and *Numa* of *Rome*. He was called *Meleſigenes* from the place of his birth, and at length *Homer*, becauſe blinde men follow a guide, which ſignification among others, is in the verbe ὁμηρεῖν: for this *Homer* in his latter time was blinde. * *Clemens Alexandrinus* recites many different opinions touching the queſtion of the time when *Homer* lived. So alſo [b] *Aulus Gellius*, and *Tatianus Aſſyrius* in his Oration *ad gentes*. *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* flouriſhed 950. yeares before the *Conſulſhip* of *Marcus Vinutius*: which *Mercator* caſteth up in the worlds yeare 3046. and after *Troy* taken, about 260. yeares: and about 250. yeares before the building of *Rome*; making him to have flouriſhed about the time of *Jehoſaphat* King of *Juda*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Tatianus* above named, mention Authors that make him much ancienter. The difference of which authors in this point is not unworthy the Readers conſideration, that by this one inſtance hee may gheſſe of the difficultie, and ſo pardon the errours in the computations of ancient time: ſeeing in ſuch diverſitie of opinions a man may hardly finde out what to follow. For *Crates* the *Grammarian* (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gave being to *Homer* about 80. yeares after *Troy* taken, neere the time that the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponneſus*: and * *Eratoſtenes* after *Troy* 100. yeares. *Theopompus* 500. yeares after the armie of *Greece*, ſailed into *Phrygia* for the warre of *Troy*. *Euphorion* makes him contemporarie with *Gyges*, who began to raigne in the 18. *Olympiad* (which was 45. yeares after *Rome* was built) and *Soſibius* ſaith, that he was 90 yeares before the firſt *Olympiad*: which hee ſeekes to prove by the times of *Charillus* and his ſonne *Nicander*; *Philochorus* placeth him 180. after *Troy*: *Ariſtarchus* 140. in the time of the ſeating of the *Colonies* in *Ionia*. *Apollodorus* affirmes that he lived while *Ageſilaus* governed *Lacedæmon*; and that *Lycurgus* in his young yeares, about 100. years after the *Ionian* plantations, came to viſit him, neere 240 yeares after *Troy* taken. *Herodotus* findes *Homer* flouriſhing 622. yeares before *Xerxes* enterpriſe againſt the *Grecians*: which *Beroaldus* accounteth at 168. yeares after the *Trojan* war. *Euſebius* ſeems to make him to have beene about the time of *Joas* King of *Juda*, 124. yeares before *Rome* built: though elſewhere in his *Chronologie* hee notes that ſome place him in the time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *David*, and others in other ages. In his *Evangelicall* Preparation, where out of *Tatianus Aſſyrius* he citeth ſundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* lived, he reckoneth many other *Greeke* writers more ancient than *Homer*; as *Linus*, *Philammon*, *Epimenides*, *Phemius*, *Ariſtæus*, *Orpheus*, *Muſæus*, *Thamyras*, *Amphion*, and others.

*Funct.Chro fol.* 11.*col.D.*

[a] This Author ſet out with *Beroſus* and others, firſt at *Baſil*, and after with *Fryer Annius* his Comment at *Antwerpe*, is *incertæ fidei.*

*Naucler.f.*147. placeth *Homer* in the 32. generation in the time of *Samuel*.

* *Stromatum l.* 5.

[b] *Nat.Attic.l.*3. *c.*11.*item.l.*17. *c.*21.

* As both *Cle. Alex.* and *Tatian.Aſſyr.* report his opinion *rerum Phil.*43. *Roſ.in diſc.temporum.Phil.in com.in Archilog.*

*Her.in vita Ho.*

Now whether *Homer* or *Heſiodus* were the elder, it is alſo much diſputed. *Aulus Gellius* reports that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirme, that *Homer* preceded *Heſiod*: and on the contrary, that *Luc. Accius* the Poet, and *Ephorus* the Hiſtorian, make *Heſiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. *Varro* leaves it uncertaine which of theſe learned fablers was firſt borne: but he findes that they lived together ſome certaine yeares, wherein hee confirmes himſelfe by an *Epigram*, written upon a Trevit, and left by *Heſiod* in Helicon.

*Noct.Attic.l.*3. *c.*11.

*Var. de imag.l.*1.

*Nep.in Chron.*

*Caſſ.l.*1.*annal.*

*Cornelius Nepos* reports that they both lived 160. yeares before *Rome* built: while the *Silvii* reigned in *Alba*, about [a] 140. yeares after the fall of *Troy*. [b] *Euthymenes* finds them both 200. yeares after *Troy* taken, in the time of *Acaſtus* the ſonne of *Pelias*, King of

[a] This number *Mercator* corrects and reads 240. for it.

[b] *Euthy. in Chr. apud.Clem. Alex. Strom.* 5.

of *Theſſaly*. For my ſelfe, I am not much troubled when this Poet lived; neither would I offend the Reader with theſe opinions, but only to ſhew the uncertainty and diſagreement of Hiſtorians, aſwell in this particular, as in all other queſtions and diſpute of time. For, the curioſitie of this mans age is no leſſe ridiculous, than the inquiſition why he began his *Iliads* with the word *Menin*, as perhaps containing ſome great myſterie. In deriſion whereof *Lucian* faining himſelfe to have beene in Hell, and to have ſpoken with *Homer*, there asked him the cauſe why he began his booke with that word: who anſwered, That he began in that ſort, becauſe it came in his head ſo to doe.

It ſeemeth that *Senyes*, or, after *Macrobius*, *Senemires* ruled *Egypt* at this time: for *Tanepherſobris* was his ſucceſſour, who preceded *Vaphres*, father in law to *Salomon*.

*Euſeb.& Caſſ. in Chron.*

About the end of *Sauls* government, or in the beginning of *Davids* time, according to *Caſſiodorus*, the *Amazones* with the *Cymmerians* invaded *Aſia*, *Latinus Sylvius* then ruling in *Italy*. And beſides the overthrow of that famous ſtate of *Troy* (which fell 103. yeares before *Davids* time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the world, not onely by reaſon of thoſe Northerne Nations: but there ſprung up ſomewhat nearly together, ſixe Kingdomes into greatneſſe, not before erected. In *Italy* that of the *Latines*: in the South part of Greece, thoſe of *Lacedæmon*, *Corinth*, and the *Achai*. In *Arabia*, *Syria Soba*, and *Damaſcus*, the *Adads* made themſelves Princes, of which there were ten Kings, which began and ended with the Kings of *Iſrael* in effect: and ſomewhat before theſe, the State of the *Iſraelites* having now altered the forme of government, began to flouriſh under Kings, of which *David*, in a few yeares, became maſter of all thoſe neighbouring nations, who by enterchange of times had ſubjected the *Judæans*, corrupted their religion, and held them under in a moſt abject and grievous ſlavery; to wit, the *Edumæans*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Ituræans*, and the reſt of the *Arabians*, with the *Philiſtims*, *Jebuſites*, *Geſhurites*, *Machathites*; all which acknowledged *David* for their Soveraigne Lord, and paid him tribute.

# CHAP. XVII.

## *Of* David.

### §. I.

### *Of* Davids *eſtate in the time of* Saul.

THe hazzards which *David* ranne into while he was yet onely deſigned King, and lived as a private man, expecting the Empire, were very many. The firſt perſonall act of fame, was his killing of *Goliah* in the view of both armies, whereby hee became knowne to *Saul*, and ſo highly affected of *Jonathan* the ſonne of *Saul*, that hee loved him as his owne ſoule: In ſo much as when *Saul* ſought to perſwade his ſonne that *David* would aſſuredly be the ruine of his houſe, and eſtate, and offered him violence when he pleaded his cauſe; *Jonathan* could never bee perſwaded, never forc't, nor ever wearied from the care of *Davids* life, and well doing. It was not long after this ſignall act of *David*, but that *Saul* became exceeding jealous of him, though he were become as his houſhold ſervant, and his Eſquire, or Armor-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an evill ſpirit, was adviſed to procure ſome cunning Muſician to play before him upon the Harpe; whereby it was thought that hee might finde eaſe; which came to paſſe accordingly. He entertained *David* for this purpoſe, and began to favour him, giving him a place of Command among the men of warre. But the jealous Tyrant ſoone waxed wearie of his good affection, and ſought to kill *David*, being thereunto moved onely through envie of his vertue. This paſſion firſt brake forth in the midſt of his raving fit, at which time he threw a ſpeare at *David* that was then playing on his Harpe to doe him eaſe.

*Cenſ.c.12.& 14.*

*Cenſorinus* remembreth one *Aſclepius* a Phyſician, who practiſed the curing of the Frenzie, by the like Muſicke: and tempered thereby thoſe diſeaſes which grew from paſſion. That *Pythagoras* did alſo the like by ſuch a kinde of harmony, *Seneca* in his third booke of anger witneſſeth. But the madneſſe of *Saul* came from the cauſe of cauſes:

and was thereby incurable, howſoever it ſometimes left him, and yeelded unto that Muſicke, which God had ordained to be a meane of more good to the Muſician than to the King.

*Saul* having failed in ſuch open attempts, gave unto *David* the Command over 1000. ſouldiers to confront the *Philiſtims* withall. For he durſt not truſt him as before, about his perſon, fearing his revenge. Now the better to cover his hatred towards him, hee promiſed him his daughter *Merab* to wife: but having married her to *Adriel*, he gave to *David* his yonger daughter *Michol*, but with a condition, to preſent him with an hundred foreskins of the *Philiſtims*: hoping rather (in reſpect of the valour of that Nation) that the *Philiſtims* would take *Davids* head, than hee their foreskinnes. This hope failing, when as now *Davids* victories begat new feares and jealouſies in *Saul*, hee practiſed with *Jonathan*, and afterwards with his owne hands attempted his life, but his purpoſes were ſtill fruſtrated. After all this he ſought to murther him in his owne houſe, but *Michol* his wife delivered him. So *David* ſought *Samuel* at *Ramah*, and being purſued by *Saul*, fled thence unto *Nob* in *Benjamin*, to *Abimeleck*, then to *Achis* the *Philiſtim*, Prince of *Geth*: where to obſcure himſelfe, he was forc't to counterfeit both ſimplicitie and diſtraction. But being ill aſſured among the *Philiſtims*, he covered himſelfe in the *Cave of Adullam*: and after conveying ſuch of his kinsfolkes as were not fit to follow him, into *Moab*, he hid himſelfe in the *deſarts of Ziph*, *Maon*, and the hils of *Engaddi*, where hee cut off the lap of *Sauls* garment, and ſpared his life: as he did a ſecond time in the *deſart of Ziph*, after his paſſage with *Nabal* and *Abigail*. After which hee repaired to *Achis of Geth* the ſecond time, and was kindly entertained, in regard of the hatred with which his maſter *Saul* was knowne to proſecute him.

1 Sam.19.
1 Sam.21.
1 Sam.24.
1.Sam.29.
*Janſen.in Pſal.*

Of *Achis David* obtained * *Siglag* in *Simeon*, pretending to invade Judæa: but he bent his forces another way, and ſtrooke the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of Iſrael, letting none live to complaine upon him. *Achis* ſuppoſing that *David* had drawne bloud of his owne Nation, thought himſelfe aſſured of him: and therefore preparing to invade Iſrael, ſummoneth *David* to aſſiſt him, who diſſembling his intent, ſeemeth very willing thereto. But the reſt of the *Philiſtim* Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his diſpoſition, liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himſelfe to *Siglag*. At his return he found the towne burnt, his two wives, with the wives and children of his people, taken by the *Amalekites*: Hereupon his followers mutined, but God gave him comfort, and aſſurance to recover all againe: which he did.

* It ſeemeth that *Simeon* never obtained *Siglag* till this time, for it is ſaid in the 1 of Sam. c.27.v.6. therefore *Siglag* pertaineth unto the King of *Juda* unto this day.

This armie of the *Philiſtims* commanded by *Achis*, encountred *Saul* at *Gilboa*, in which he and his three ſonnes were ſlaine. The newes, with *Sauls* Crowne and bracelets, were brought to *David* at *Siglag*, in his return from being victorious over *Amaleck*, by a man of the ſame Nation, who avowed (though falſly) that himſelfe at *Sauls* requeſt had ſlaine him. *David*, becauſe he had accuſed himſelfe, made no ſcruple to cauſe him to bee ſlaine at the inſtant: and the ſooner, becauſe the probabilities gave ſtrong evidence withall. Otherwiſe it followeth not that every man ought to be beleeved of himſelfe to his owne prejudice, For it is held in the law; *Confeſſio reorum non habenda eſt pro explorato crimine, niſi approbatio alia inſtruit religionem cognoſcentis. The priſoners confeſſion muſt not be taken for an evidence of the crime, unleſſe ſome other proofe informe the conſcience of the Judge.* For a man may confeſſe thoſe things of himſelfe, that the Judge by examination may know to bee impoſſible. But becauſe it is otherwiſe determined in the title *de cuſtodia reorum l. ſi confeſſus, & in cap. de pœnis l. qui ſententiam*, therefore doth the Gloſſe reconcile theſe two places in this ſort: *Si quis in judicio ſponte de ſeipſo confiteatur, & poſteà maneat in confeſſione, id eſt ſatis. If any man in judgement doe confeſſe of himſelfe, of his owne accord, and after doth perſevere in his confeſſion, it is enough.* That *David* greatly bewailed *Saul*, it is not improbable; for death cutteth aſunder all competition: and the lamentable end that befell him being a King, with whom in effect the ſtrength of Iſrael alſo fell, could not but ſtirre up ſorrow, and move compaſſion in the heart of *David*.

2 Sam.1.
In *F. de quæſt.l.1.*

The victorie which the Philiſtims had gotten, was ſo great, that ſome Townes of the Iſraelites, even beyond the river of Jordan, were abandoned by the inhabitants, and left unto the enemie, who tooke poſſeſſion of them without any reſiſtance made. Wherefore it may ſeem ſtrange, that a Nation ſo warlike and ambitious as were the Philiſtims, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and ſeeke to make the Conqueſt entire.

Moſt like it ſeemes, that the civill warre immediately breaking out between *David* and the houſe of *Saul*, wherein *Juda* was divided from the reſt of *Iſrael*, gave them hope of an eaſie victory over both; and thereby cauſed them to attempt nothing at the preſent, leſt by ſo doing they ſhould enforce their diſagreeing enemies to a neceſſary reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part ſhould conſume the other, by which meanes both the victors, and the vanquiſhed, would become a prey to the violence of ſuch as had beaten them, when their forces were united.

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## §. II.

### *Of the beginning of* Davids *reigne, and the warre made by* Abner *for* Isboſeth.

2 Sam.2.

Eccleſ.9.

AFter the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commanded for *Saul* in the warre, ſought to advance *Isboſeth* (or *Jeboſtus*, according to *Joſephus*) though he had no right to the Kingdome of *Iſrael*: for *Mephiboſeth* the firſt ſon of *Jonathan* lived. Againſt this *Abner* and *Isboſeth*, *David* made a defenſive warre, till *Abner* paſt *Jordan*, and entred the border of *Juda*; at which time he ſent *Joab* with ſuch forces as he had, to reſiſt *Abner*: *Isboſeth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *David* in *Hebron*. The armies encountred each other neere *Gibeon*, where it ſeemeth that *Abner* made the offer to trie the quarrell by the hands of a few; like to that Combate betweene the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Argives*, remembred by *Herodotus*, 300. being choſen of each Nation, of which number three perſons were onely left unſlaine. The like tryall by a farre leſſe number was performed by the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*, for the *Romans* and *Latines*. The ſame challenge *Goliah* the *Philiſtim* made, whom *David* ſlew: a cuſtome very ancient. *Edward* the third offered the like tryall in his own perſon to the French King; and *Francis* the French King to *Charles* the Emperour. There were twelve choſen of each part, in this warre of *David* with the houſe of *Saul*, to wit, ſo many of *Benjamin*, and as many of *Juda*: whoſe force and valour was ſo equall, as there ſurvived not any one to challenge the victory. But the quarrell ſtaid not here; for the Army of *Juda* preſt *Abner* in groſſe, and brake him. Three hundreth and ſixty men of *Abners* companions were ſlaine, and but twenty of *Juda*; whereof *Aſahel* the brother of *Joab* was one: who when he would needs purſue *Abner*, and by *Abners* perſwaſions could not be moved to quit him, he was forced to turne upon him, wounded him to death with the ſtroake of his ſpeare. For though *Aſahel* were an excellent foot-man, and, as it is written in the Text, as light as a wilde *Roe*, and, as *Joſephus* reporteth, contended not onely with men, but with horſes; and hoped to have gotten great fame if hee could have maſtered *Abner* (who, as *Aſahel* perſwaded himſelfe, had by being overthrowne, and flying away, loſt his courage) yet here it fell out true, *That the race is not to the ſwift.*

Verſe 10.

That this civill warre laſted two yeares, we finde it written in the ſecond of *Samuel*, the ſecond Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is againe made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter reſteth ſtill in diſpute, and ſome of the *Rabbines* conceive that *Isboſeth* had then raigned two yeares, when this was written, the Warre as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the party of *Isboſeth* after this, and till ſuch time as there grew jealouſie betweene him and *Isboſeth* for *Sauls* Concubine: neither did the death of *Isboſeth* inſtantly follow; but how long after the murther of *Abner* it happened, the ſame doth not certainly appeare.

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## §. III.

### *Of the death of* Abner *ſlaine by* Joab, *and of* Isboſeth *by* Rechab *and* Baanah.

2.Sam.3.27.

2 Sam.3.39.

Verſe 29.

A*Bner*, reconciled to *David*, was anon by *Joab* murdered; for *Joab* could not endure a companion in *Davids* Favour, and in the commandement of his forces; by which he was growne ſo powerfull, as *David* forbare to call him to account: for thus much he confeſſeth of himſelfe; *I am this day weake, and theſe men, the ſonnes of* Zerviah, *be too hard for me.* In this ſort *David* complained after *Abners* death; and to make it cleare that he hated this fact of *Joab*, hee followed him with this publike imprecation; *Let the bloud fall on the head of* Joab, *and on all his fathers houſe: and let them* *be ſubject to ulcers, to the leproſie, to lameneſſe, to the ſword, and to povertie, &c.* For could any thing have withſtood the ordinance of *God*, this murther committed by *Joab* might greatly have indangered *Davids* eſtate, *Abner* being the mouth and truſt of all the reſt of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This miſchance therefore *David* openly bewailed, ſo that all *Iſrael* perceived him to be innocent of that fact. The place which *Abner* held, being Generall of the men of warre, was of ſuch importance, that the Kings themſelves were faine to give them great reſpect, as hath beene already ſhewed more at large. This office *Joab* held in the armie of *Juda*, and thought himſelfe worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtaine the whole Kingdome. For he was neere to *David* in kindred, and had beene partaker of all his adverſitie; wherefore hee did not thinke it meete, that an old enemy ſhould in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeede hee was by nature ſo jealous of his dignity and place, that hee afterward ſlew *Amaſa* his owne kinſman and the Kings, upon the ſame quarrell, taking it in high diſdaine to ſee him joyned with himſelfe as captaine of the hoſte of *Juda*; much leſſe could hee brooke a ſuperiour; and ſuch a one as had ſlaine his brother, and beene beaten himſelfe in battell. But howſoever *Joab* did hate or deſpiſe *Abner*, *David* eſteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great man in *Iſrael*, excuſing the overſight by which he might ſeeme to have periſhed, by affirming that he died not like a foole, nor a man vanquiſhed, *But as a man falleth before wicked men, ſo* (ſaid he) *diddeſt thou fall.* And certainly it is no error of wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him whom a ſtronger hand deſtroyed unawares, or whom ſubtilty in free truſt bringeth to confuſion. For all under the *Sunne* are ſubject to worldly miſeries and miſadventures. Howſoever *Isboſeth* meant to have dealt with *Abner*, yet when he heard of his death, hee deſpaired greatly of his eſtate, and with him all *Iſrael* were poſſeſt with great feare: inſomuch as two of *Isboſeths* own Captaines, *Rechab* and *Baanah*, murthered *Isboſeth*, and preſenting his head to *David*, received the ſame reward that the *Amalekite* lately did, for pretending to the have ſlaine *Saul*. *Isboſeth* being dead, all the Elders of *Iſrael* repaired to *David* at *Hebron*, where hee was he third and laſt time annointed by generall conſent.

2 Sam. 3. Verſe 34.

2 Sam. 4.

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## §. IV.

### *Of the flouriſhing time of* Davids *Kingdome, the taking of Jeruſalem, with two overthrowes given to the Philiſtims, and the conduction of the Arke to the City of* David.

WHen *David* was now eſtabliſhed in the Kingdome, his firſt enterpriſe was upon the *Jebuſites*, who in deriſion of his force, & confident in the ſtrength of the place (as is thought) manned their wals with the blinde and lame of their Citie; which *David* ſoone after entred, all their other forces notwithſtanding. For having maſtered the fort of *Zion* (which was afterward the Citie of *David*) hee became Lord of *Hieruſalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Jebuſites*, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of *Moſes* and *Joſua*, and after them almoſt 400. yeares. There are who expound this place otherwiſe: *Except thou take away the blind & the lame, thou ſhalt not come in hither.* For ſome think that it was meant by the *Idols* of the *Jebuſites*: others, that it had reference to the Covenant made long before with *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*: the one blinde by nature and age, the other made lame by wreſtling with the Angel, and that therefote till thoſe (that is, till that Covenant) be broken, *David* ought not to moleſt them. But for my ſelfe, I take it with *Joſephus*, that they armed their wals with certaine impotent people at firſt, in ſcorne of *Davids* attempt. For they that had held their Citie about 400. yeares againſt all the children of Iſrael, *Joſua*, the *Judges*, and *Saul*, did not doubt but to defend it alſo againſt *David*.

2 Sam. 5.

When he had now poſſeſt himſelfe of the very heart and Center of the Kingdome, and received congratulatory Embaſſadours and preſents from *Hiram* King of *Tyre*: he entertained divers other concubines, and married moe wives, by whom he had ten ſons in Jeruſalem, and by his former wives, he had ſixe in Hebron where he reigned 7. yeares.

The *Philiſtims* hearing that *David* was now annointed King, as wel of *Juda* as of *Iſrael*, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warm in his ſeat. And being encountred by *David* at two ſeverall times in the *Valley of Rephaim*, or of the *Giants*, they were at both times overthrowne. After which he called the place *Baalperazim*.

2 Sam. 5.

Then *David* aſſembled 30000. choice *Iſraelites* to conduct the *Arke of God* from the houſe of ***Abinadab*** in ***Gibea*** to the Citie of ***David***; which buſineſſe was interrupted by the death of ***Uzzah*** the ſonne of ***Abinadab***, whom the Lord ſlew for preſuming to touch the ***Arke***, though it were with intent to ſtay it from taking harme, when it was ſhaken. But after three yeers it was with great ſolemnity brought into the Citie with ſacrifices, muſicke, dances, and all ſignes of joyfulneſſe, in which ***David*** himſelfe gladly bare a part. Hereupon ***Michol*** derided him for dancing before the ***Arke***, & afterward told him in ſcorne, *That he was uncovered as a foole in the eyes of the maidens his ſervants*; namely, that hee forgat his regall dignity both in apparell and behaviour; and mixed himſelfe among the baſe multitude, dancing as fooles doe in the wayes and ſtreetes: not that ſhee diſliked ***Davids*** behaviour (as I take it) though ſhe made it the colour of her deriſion; but rather the aboundant griefe, which this ſpectacle ſtirred up, beholding the glory of her husband to whom ſhe was delivered laſtly by force, and remembring the miſerable end of her father and brethren, out of whoſe ruines ſhe conceived that the ſonne of ***Iſhai*** had built this his greatneſſe: together with the many new wives and concubines imbraced ſince his poſſeſſion of ***Jeruſalem***, made her breake out in thoſe deſpitefull tearmes, for which ſhe remained barren to her death.

1 Chro.c.3.

This done, ***David*** conſulted with the Prophet ***Nathan*** for the building of the Temple or houſe of ***God***: but was forbidden it, becauſe he was a man of warre, and had ſhed bloud. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all deteſt homicide; having threatned, not in vaine, that he would require the bloud of man, at the hand of man and beaſt. The wars which ***David*** had made were juſt, and the bloud therein ſhed was of the enemies of God, and his Church: yet for this cauſe it was not permitted that his hands ſhould lay the foundation of that holy Temple. Hereby it appeares how greatly thoſe Princes deceive themſelves, who thinke by bloud-ſhed & terrour of their warres, to make themſelves in greatneſſe like to the ***Almighty***, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercy & goodneſſe, or ſeeke the bleſſedneſſe promiſed by our ***Saviour*** unto the peace-makers.

Now although it was not pleaſing to the Lord to accept a Temple of ***Davids*** founding, yet was his religious intent ſo well accepted, that hereupon he received both a confirmation of the Kingdome to him and his heires, and that happie promiſe of the everlaſting Throne, that ſhould be eſtabliſhed in his ſeede.

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## §. V.

### *The overthrow of the Philiſtims and Moabites.*

2 Sam.8.v.1.

SOone after this ***David*** overthrew the ***Philiſtims***, which made them altogether powerleſſe, and unable to make any invaſion upon ***Iſrael*** in haſte. For it is written, ***Accepit frænum Amgaris è manu Philiſthæorum***; which place our ***Engliſh Geneva*** converts in theſe words, And ***David tooke the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the Philiſtims***. The Latine of ***Junius*** giveth another and a better ſenſe; for by that bridle of ***Amgar*** was meant the ſtrong Citie of ***Gath***, or ***Geth***, and ſo the ***Geneva*** hath it in the marginall note. This Citie of ***Gath*** was the ſame which was afterward ***Dio-Cæſarea***, ſet on the frontier of ***Palaſtina*** at the entrance into ***Judæa*** and ***Ephraim***. From thence they made their incurſions, and thereinto their retrait in all their invaſions; which being taken by ***David*** and demoliſhed, there was left no ſuch frontier towne of equall ſtrength to the ***Philiſtims*** on that part. The hill whereon ***Geth*** or ***Gath*** ſtood, the ***Hebrews*** call ***Ammæ***, whereof & of the word ***Gar*** is made ***Amgar***, of which ***Plinie*** in his firſt book, and chap.13. This expoſition is made plaine and confirmed in the firſt of ***Chro.*** the 18.

*Junius* in c.8. of the 2. of *Sam*,

There was no nation bordering the ***Jewes*** that ſo greatly afflicted them as the ***Philiſtims*** did, who before the time of ***Saul***, (to the end they might not ſharpen any weapon againſt them) did not leave one Smith in all their Cities and Villages of that kinde, but inforc'd them to come downe into their territorie, for all yron worke whatſoever they needed; ſo as the ***Iſraelites*** till this time of ***David*** were ſeldome free from paying tribute to the ***Philiſtims***.

1 Sam. 13.

After this he gave them foure other overthrowes: but the war of the ***Moabites*** and ***Arabians*** came betweene. In the firſt of which he was indangered by ***Iſhbi-benob***, the head of whoſe ſpeare weighed 300. ſhekles of braſſe, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time ***Abiſhai*** ſuccoured ***David*** & ſlew the ***Philiſtim***, whereupon the Counſellors and Captaines of *David* (leſt the light of Iſrael might by his loſſe be quenched) vowed that he ſhould not thenceforth hazzard himſelfe in any battaile. The ſecond and third incounter and overthrow of the *Philiſtims* was at *Gob*, a place neere *Geſar*, and the laſt at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better aſſured of the *Philiſtims* by the taking of *Geth*, he invaded *Moab*, from whom notwithſtanding in his adverſitie hee ſought ſuccour, and left his parents with him in truſt. But whether it were the ſame King or no, it is not knowne. 2 Sam.21.v.17.

The *Rabbines* faine that *Moab* ſlew thoſe kinsfolkes of *David*, which lived under his protection in *Sauls* time; but queſtionleſſe *David* well knew how that Nation had bin alwayes enemies to Iſrael, and tooke all the occaſions to vexe them that were offered. And he alſo remembred that in the 23. of *Deut*, God commanded Iſrael not to ſeek the peace or proſperity of the Moabites; which *David* well obſerved, for he deſtroyed two parts of the people, leaving a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, hee led his army by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria Zobah*, the region of *Adadezer* the ſon of *Rehob* King thereof. The place is ſet down in the deſcription of the holy Land: to which I referre the Reader.

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## §. VI.

### *The warre which* David *made upon the Syrians.*

IT is written in the Text: David *ſmote alſo* Hadadezer, *&c. as hee went to recover his border at the river Euphrates.* Now whether the words (*as hee went to recover his border*) bee referred to *David* or *Hadadezer*, it is not agreed upon. *Junius* thinkes that the article (*hee*) hath relation to *David*, who finding *Tohu* oppreſt by *Hadadezer*, overthrew the one, and ſuccoured the other. But the ancient and moſt received opinion, that this recovery hath reference to the Syrian, is more probable. For if *David* had intended any ſuch enterprize towards *Euphrates*, he was in farre better caſe to have proceeded after his victory than before: ſeeing that (*Adadezer* being taken) hee had now left no enemie on his back, either to purſue him, to take victuals and ſupplies from him, or to ſtop the paſſages of the mountaines upon him at his returne.

Againe, ſeeing *David* was either to paſſe through a part of *Arabia* the deſart, or by the plaines of *Palmyrena*, his army conſiſting of footmen, for the moſt, if not all: He had now both horſe and chariots good ſtore to carry his proviſions through thoſe uncultived places, by which hee was to have marched before hee could have reached *Euphrates* or any part thereof. But wee finde that *David* returned to Jeruſalem, after he had twice overthrowne the Syrian army, not bending his courſe towards the river *Euphrates*, but ſeeking to eſtabliſh his purchaſes already made. Whereby it may appeare, that it was the Syrian, and not King *David*, that was going to inlarge his border, as afore is ſaid.

The King of Syria, Damaſcena, & of Damaſcus, whereof that region is ſo called, hearing that *Adadezer* was overthrown by the Iſraelites, fearing his own eſtate, & the loſſe of his own country which adjoined to *Syria Zoba* of *Hadadezer*, ſent for an Army of Aramites or Syrians to his ſuccour: but theſe, as it appeareth, came too late for *Adadezer*, and too ſoone for themſelves: for there periſhed of thoſe ſupplies 22000. This King of Damaſcus, *Joſephus* (out of *Nicholaus* an ancient Hiſtorian) calleth *Adad*, who was alſo of the ſame name and family as all thoſe other *Adads* were: which now began to grow up in greatneſſe, and ſo continued for ten deſcents, till they were extinguiſhed by the Aſſyrians, as is ſhewed heretofore. *David* having now reduced Damaſcus under his obedience, left a garriſon therein, as he did in Edom: having alſo ſackt the adjoyning Cities of Betah, & Berathi, belonging to *Adadezer*, of which cities *Ptolomie* calleth *Betah*, *Tauba*: and *Berathi* he nameth *Barathena*. *Tohu* or *Thoi*, whoſe country of *Hamath* joyned to *Adadezer* (as in the deſcription of the holy Land the Reader may perceive) ſent his ſon *Joram* to congratulate this ſucceſſe of *David*: partly becauſe he had war with *Adadezer*, & partly becauſe he feared *David* now victorious. He alſo preſented *David* with veſſels of gold, ſilver, and braſſe; all which, together with the golden ſhields of the Aramites, and 2 Sam. 8.

the beſt of all the ſpoiles of other Nations, *David* dedicated unto God at his returne. *Junius* tranſlated the words (*Clypeos aureos*) by *Umbones*, as if all the parts of the targets were not of gold, but the boſſes only. The *Septuagint* call them bracelets: *Aquila*, golden chains. But becauſe *Roboam* made ſhields of braſſe in place of theſe of *Adadezer*, at ſuch time as *Shicah* the Egyptian ſackt the Temple of Jeruſalem, it may be gathered thereby that thoſe of *Adadezer* were golden ſhields.

2 Sam. 1.

This done, *David* ſent Embaſſadours to *Hanum* King of the Ammonites, to congratulate his eſtabliſhment in his fathers Kingdome: for *David*, in the time of his affliction under *Saul*, had beene relieved by *Nahaſh*, the father of *Hanum*. But this *Ammonite* being ill adviſed, and over-jealous of his eſtate, uſed *Davids* meſſengers ſo barbarouſly, and contemptuouſly (by curtailing their beardes, and their garments) as hee thereby drew a warre upon himſelfe, which neither his owne ſtrength, nor all the aydes purchaſed, could put off or ſuſtaine. For notwithſtanding that hee had waged three and thirtie thouſand Souldiers of the Amalekites, and their confederates; to wit, of the vaſſalls of *Adadezer* twentie thouſand, and of *Maachah* and *Iſhtob* thirteene thouſand (for which hee disburſed a thouſand talents of ſilver) yet all theſe great Armies, together with the ſtrength of the Ammonites, were by *Joab* and his brother *Abiſhai* eaſily broken and put to ruine: and that without any great loſſe or ſlaughter at that time. And it is written, that when the Aramites fled, the Ammonites alſo retraited into their Cities, the one holding themſelves within the walles, the other in their deſarts adjoyning, till *Joab* was returned to Jeruſalem.

*Maachah* the North part of *Traconitis* remembered in Deut. 3. 14.
*Iſhtob* or *Thob* a country neere *Gad* under the rockes of *Arnon*.
2 Sam. 10.

*Hadadezer* hearing that *Joab* had diſmiſſed his Armie, aſſembled his forces againe, and ſent all the Companies that hee could levie out of *Meſopotamia*; who under the command of *Shobach* paſſed *Euphrates*, and incamped at *Helam*, on the South ſide thereof. *David* hearing of this new preparation, aſſembled all the ableſt men of Iſrael, and marched towards the Syrian Armie in Palmyrena, not yet entred into Arabia; to wit, at Helam, a place no leſſe diſtant from Damaſcus, towards the Northeaſt, than Jeruſalem was towards the Southweſt. Now *David* (ſpeaking humanely) might with the more confidence goe on towards *Euphrates* (which was the fartheſt-off journey that ever hee had) becauſe hee was now Lord of Damaſcus, which lay in the midway. Hee alſo poſſeſt himſelfe of * Thadmor or Palmyrena, which *Salomon* afterward ſtrongly fortified; and this Citie was but one dayes journey from Helam, and the river Euphrates. So had hee two ſafe retraites, the one to Thadmor, and the next from thence to Damaſcus. In this encounter betweene *David* and the Syrians, they loſt 40000. horſemen, and 700. chariots, together with *Shobach* Generall of their armie. The Chronicles call theſe 40000. Souldiers footmen, and ſo *Junius* converts it, and ſo is it very probable. For the Armie of Iſrael conſiſting of footmen, could hardly have ſlaughtered 40000. horſemen, except they quitted their horſe and fought on foote. So are the chariots taken in this battell, numbred at 7000. in the firſt of *Chronicles* the ninth; in which number, as I conceive, all the Souldiers that ſerved in them, with the conductors, are included: ſo as there dyed of the Syrians in this warre againſt *David*, before hee forc'd them to tribute, 100000. footemen, beſides all their horſemen and waggoners, and beſides all thoſe that *Joab* ſlew, when they fled at the firſt encounter, together with the Ammonites, before *Rabbah*. Notwithſtanding all which, the Adads in following ages gathered ſtrength againe, and afflicted the Kings of Juda often: but the Kings of Iſrael they impoveriſhed even to the laſt end of that State.

*Helam* or *Chelam* which *Ptolomy* calleth *Alamatha* neere the foords of *Euphrates*.
2 Sam. 10.

* See c. 18. §. 2.

*David* having now beaten the Arabians and Meſopotamians, from the partie and confederacy of *Ammon*: He ſent out *Joab* the Lievtenant of his Armies to forrage and deſtroy their territorie, & to beſiege *Rabbah*, afterward *Philadelphia*, which after a while the Iſraelites maſtered and poſſeſt. The Kings Crowne which weighed a talent of gold, garniſhed with precious ſtones, *David* ſet on his owne head, and carried away with him the reſt of the riches and ſpoile of the Citie. And though *David* ſtayed at Jeruſalem, following the war of *Uriah* his wife, till ſuch time as the Citie was brought to extremity, and ready to be entred: yet *Joab* in honour of *David* forbare the laſt aſſault, & entrance thereof, till his maſters arrivall. To the people he uſed extreme rigour (if wee may ſo call it being exerciſed againſt heathen Idolaters,) for ſome of them hee tare with harrowes, ſome he ſawed aſunder, others he caſt into burning kills, in which he baked tyle and bricke.

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## §. VII.

### Of Davids troubles in his reigne, and of his forces.

BUt as victory begetteth ſecuritie, and our preſent wordly felicity a forgetfulneſſe of our former miſeries, and many times of God himſelfe the giver of all goodneſſe: ſo did theſe changes, in the fortune and ſtate of this good King, change alſo the zealous care which formerly hee had to pleaſe God in the preciſe obſervation of his Lawes and Commandements. For having now no dangerous apparent enemie (againſt whom hee was wont to aſke counſaile from the Lord) hee began to bee adviſed by his owne humane affections and vaine deſires. For hee was not onely ſatisfied to take *Uriahs* wife from him, and to uſe her by ſtealth; but hee imbrodered his adultery with *Uriahs* ſlaughter, giving order to his truſtie ſervant *Joab* to 2 Sam. 11.15. marſhall him in the front or point of thoſe Iſraelites, which gave an aſſault upon the ſuburbs of Rabba, when there was not as yet any poſſibility of prevailing. And that which could no leſſe diſpleaſe God than the reſt, hee was content that many others of his beſt ſervants and ſouldiers ſhould periſh together with *Uriah*, hoping thereby to cover his particular ill intent againſt him. After which hee began by degrees to fall from the higheſt of happineſſe, and his dayes then to come were filled with joyes and woes interchangeable, his troden-downe ſorrowes began againe to ſpring, and thoſe perils which he had pulled up by the rootes (as hee hoped) gave him an after-harveſt of many cares and diſcontentments. And if it had pleaſed GOD to take the witneſſe of *Davids* own mouth againſt him, as *David* himſelf did againſt the Amalekite, which pretended to have ſlain *Saul*, hee had then appeared as worthy of reprehenſion as the other was of the death hee ſuffered. For when *Nathan* the Prophet propounded unto him his owne errour in the perſon of another, to wit, of him that tooke the poore mans ſheepe that had none elſe, the bereaver being Lord of many: Hee then vowed it to the living Lord, that ſuch a one ſhould die the death. And hereof, although it pleaſed God to pardon *David* for his life, which remiſſion the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced: yet hee delivered him Gods juſtice together with his mercy in the tenour following; *Now therefore* 2 Sam. 12.9.10 *the ſword ſhall never depart from thy houſe, &c. becauſe thou haſt taken his wife to be thy wife, & haſt ſlaine Uriah with the ſword of the children of Ammon.* Soone after this, *David* loſt the childe of adulterie which he begot on *Berſheba*. Secondly, his own ſonne *Amnon*, being in love with his halfe ſiſter *Thamar*, by the advice of his couſin-german the ſonne of *Shimeah Davids* brother, poſſeſt her by force: which when he had performed, he thruſt her from him in a careleſſe and deſpitefull manner. Two yeares after which foule and inceſtuous act, *Abſalom* cauſed him to be murthered, at the feaſt of his ſheepeſhearing: not perchance in revenge of *Thamars* raviſhment alone; but having it in his heart to uſurpe the Kingdome, in which, becauſe hee could not in any ſort bee aſſured of *Amnon*, he thought his affaires greatly advanced by his deſtruction. So the one brother having raviſhed his owne ſiſter, and then deſpiſed her; the other after a long diſſembled malice firſt made his owne brother drunken, and then ſlaughtered him, which done, he fled away, and lived under the ſafeguard of *Talmai* King of Geſſur, neere Damaſcus, 2 Sam. 13. who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King. Thirdly, when *Abſalom* by the invention of *Joab* (but chiefly becauſe of the great affection of *David* towards his ſonne) was brought againe, firſt to the Kings favour, and then to his preſence; he began inſtantly to practiſe againſt *David* his father, ſeeking by the pretence of 2 Sam. 14. common juſtice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his fathers equitie, to win unto himſelfe a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction, threatned by the Lord as a puniſhment of *Davids* ſinne.

The company which *Abſalom* gathered at the firſt were but 200. men: which he carried 2 Sam. 15. with him from Jeruſalem to Hebron, pretending, though impiouſly, the performance of a vow to God. There when *Achitophel* repaired unto him, & many troupes of

people from all places, he proclaimed himſelf King,& was by the people(whoſe hearts
God had turned from their lawfull Prince ) accepted ſo readily,that *David* doubting to
be ſet upon on the ſuddaine, durſt not truſt himſelfe in his owne Citie of Jeruſalem,nor
in any other walled towne for feare of ſurpriſe: but incamped in the fields and deſarts
with ſome 600. of his guard, and few elſe. The Prieſts hee left in Jeruſalem with the
Arke of God, from whom hee deſired to bee advertiſed of thoſe things that chanced; to
whom he directed *Huſhai* his truſtie friend, & ſervant, praying him to make himſelfe in
2 Sam.15. all his outward actions and counſells of *Abſaloms* party and confederacy, thereby the
better to diſcover nnto him the purpoſes of *Achitophel*, a revolting Counſailor, whoſe
practices he greatly doubted. And now when treaſon was in faſhion, *Ziba* alſo ſought to
betray his maſter *Mephiboſeth* the ſonne of *Jonathan*: And *Shimei* of the houſe of *Saul*
(the fire of whoſe hatred *Davids* proſperity had ſmothered,but his adverſity illightned)
holding himſelfe upon the advantage of a mountaine ſide,caſt ſtones at *David*,and moſt
2 Sam.16. deſpightfully curſed him to his face: but *David* attending no private revenges, forbad
*Abiſhai* to purſue him for the preſent, yet left him among others in the roll of his revenge,
to his ſonne *Salomon*. *Abſalom* being now poſſeſt of Jeruſalem, was adviſed by
*Achitophel* to uſe his fathers concubines in ſome ſuch plublique place, as all Iſrael might
aſſure themſelves, that hee was irreconcilable to his father: whereof being perſwaded,
they would then reſolvedly adhere to *Abſalom* and his cauſe, without feare of being
2 Sam.17. given up upon a reconciliation betweene them. This ſalvage and impious (though crafty
counſaile) *Achitophel* indeede urged for his owne reſpect,as fearing that this rebellion
might take end to his deſtruction; who moſt of all other inflamed *Abſalom* againſt
his father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *David*: *I will raiſe*
2 Sam. c.12. v.11. *up evill againſt thee out of thine owne houſe, and will take thy wives before thine eyes*, and
*give them unto thy neighbour, and hee ſhall lye with thy wives in the ſight of the Sunne*: *for*
*thou diddeſt it ſecretly, but I will doe this thing before all Iſrael, and before the Sunne*. Hee
alſo gave advice to *Abſalom*, that himſelfe with an armie of 12000. men might bee imployed
at the inſtant for the ſurprizing of *David*; which had willingly beene imbraced
2 Sam.17.v.14. by *Abſalom*, had not *Huſhai Davids* faithfull ſervant given counter-advice, and ſwayed
it: perſwading *Abſalom* that it was fitter and more ſafe for him with all the ſtrength of
Iſrael to purſue his father, than by ſuch a troope, which *Davids* valour and thoſe of
his attendans might either indanger or reſiſt. This delay in *Abſalom*, and advantage of
time gained by *David*, was indeede, after God, the loſſe of the one,and delivery of the
2 Sam.17.23. other. Whereupon *Achitophel* rightly fearing(by the occaſion fore-ſhewed)the ſucceſſe
which followed, diſpoſed of his owne eſtate, and then forſooke both the party and the
care of *Abſalom*, and of his owne life.

*David* being advertiſed of this enterprize againſt him, marched away all night, and
paſt Jordan, poſſeſſing himſelf of Mahanaim in the Tribe of *Gad*: the ſame wherein *Iſboſeth*
himſelf in the war againſt *David* after *Sauls* death ſeated himſelf. To which place
there repaired unto him *Shobi* the ſonne of *Nahaſh* the Ammonite, whom *David* loved,
the ſame which *Joſephus* calleth *Shiphar*. And though it bee greatly diſputed, what this
*Shobi* was, yet the moſt generall and propable opinion makes him a ſecond brother to
*Hanum*, whom *David* for his fathers ſake eſtabliſhed in the Kingdome, after *Hanums*
overthrow: in thankfulneſſe whereof hee relieved *David* in this his extremity. There
came alſo to *Davids* aſſiſtance *Machir* of *Lodabar*, Guardian in former times to *Mephiboſeth*,
and among others *Barzillai* the Gileadite, who willingly fed *David* and all his
companie.

In the meane time both the King and *Abſalom* prepared to fight; *Abſalom* made *Amaſa*
Commander of the armie of Iſrael, the ſame place which *Joab* held with *David*; an
office next the King himſelfe, like unto that of the Majors of the Palace anciently in
France. *David*, perſwaded by his company, ſtayed in Mahanaim, & diſpoſed the forces
he had to *Joab*, *Abiſhai*, and *Ittai*, giving them charge in the hearing of all that iſſued out
of the port of Mahanaim, that they ſhould ſpare the life of *Abſalom*. But *Joab*, beſides
that hee was very cruell by nature, remembred that *Abſalom* had lately diſpoſed of his
government to *Amaſa*, and therfore the victory being obtained, and newes brought him
2 Sam.18.14. that *Abſalom* hung by the haire of his head on a tree, when hee could not perſwade the
meſſenger to returne and kill him, hee himſelfe with his owne ſervants diſpatcht him.

It appeared alſo by the ſequell that *Joab* affected *Adonijah* whom he afterward acknowledged, *David* yet living; and fearing the diſpoſition of *Abſalom*, he imbraced the pre- 2 Sam.18. ſent advantage offered.

Hereof, together with newes of the victorie, when knowledge was brought to *David*, hee mourned and ſorrowed, not only as a man that had loſt a ſonne, but as one that had out-lived all his worldly joyes, and ſeene every delight of life interred. For hee ſo hid himſelfe from his people, as thoſe which hoped for honour and reward after ſo great a victorie, covered themſelves alſo in the citie, as if they had committed the greateſt offences, and had rather deſerved death than recompence. Whereupon *Joab* preſenting himſelfe before *David*, perſwaded him to diſſemble his ſorrow for the preſent, and to ſhew himſelfe to the armie. For firſt, he told him that he had diſcountenanced his faithfull ſervants, who had that day preſerved his life; inferring that nothing could bee more dangerous to a King, than not onely not to acknowledge ſo great a love and conſtancie in his people, who being but few in number, did yet reſolvedly expoſe themſelves to great perils for his ſake: but on the contrarie, grieve and lament at their good ſucceſſe. For, no doubt, they might all have bought their peace of *Abſalom* at an eaſie rate. Secondly, he urged that it was generally beleeved, that he loved his enemies & hated his friends; and that hee witneſſed by this his mourning, that he had not any reſpect of his Princes, and others his faithfull ſervants, but would more have joyed if they had all periſhed, and Abſalom lived, than in the victory by their faithfulneſſe and approved valour gotten.

Laſtly, he uſed this prevalent argument, That if the King came not out and ſhewed himſelfe publickly to his men of warre, that they would all that very night abandon him, and returne: concluding with this fearefull threatning, *And that will bee worſe unto* 2 Sam.19. *thee than all the evill that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto*. By theſe over-bold and arrogant ſpeeches (though perchance uttered with a good intent) *Joab* raiſed *David* from his bed of ſorrow, and brought him to the gates of the citie among the people, whom he aſſured of his love and affection, eſpecially *Amaſa*, who commanded the armie of *Abſalom*, to whom he promiſed the office of Lievtenantſhip; the ſame which *Abſalom* had given him, and which *Joab* now enjoyed. For *David* doubted, that if *Amaſa* were not ſatisfied, he might draw from him a great part of the ſtrength of Iſrael, now under his commandement.

This done, the King marched towards Jordan homeward, where in his paſſage hee 2 Sam.19.23. pardoned *Shimei*, who had lately reviled him to his face: but this remiſſion was but externall, as appeared afterward. Hee alſo accepted of *Mephiboſheth* his excuſe, whom *Ziba* had falſly accuſed and betrayed.

He alſo intreated *Barzillai* the Gileadite, his late liberall Oaſt, to follow him to Jeru- 2 Sam.19.38. ſalem, that hee might reward his ſervice done him; who excuſing himſelfe by his age, appointed his ſonne *Chimham* to attend the King.

At Gilgal on this ſide Jordan, all the Tribes aſſembled, and after ſome contention which of them ought to have moſt intereſt in David, the Armie brake, and David returned to Jeruſalem. But Sheba the ſon of Bichri, a Benjamite, of the faction of the houſe of Saul, finding ſome diſcontent among the Iſraelites, withdrew them from David, as from a ſtranger in whom they had no intereſt, and it ſeemeth that many of the people of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but Juda, bare ſtill a good affection to the iſſues of their firſt King. David imployed his reconciled Captaine Amaſa, to give him contentment, and to witneſſe his truſt, as alſo becauſe hee conceived that Amaſa had intereſt in thoſe revolts of Iſrael more than Joab had. Hee received commandement from David to aſſemble the Armie within three dayes, which hee foreſlowed: but being onward on his way, Abiſhai, Joabs brother, was ſent after him, with Davids guard and beſt Souldiers, whom alſo Joab accompanied: and overtaking Amaſa neere Gibeon, pretending to imbrace him, gave him a wound, whereof hee fell dead, being no leſſe jealous of Amaſa than he was of Abner, whom he murdered in the ſame manner, and out of the ſame impatient ambition. This done, hee purſued Sheba; and finding him incloſed in Abel, aſſaulted the citie with that furie, that the citizens by the perſwaſions 2 Sam.20.10. of a wiſe woman there inhabiting, cut off Sheba his head, and flung it to Joab over the walls: which done, he retraited his Armie to Jeruſalem, and commanded, as before, all 2 Sam.20.22. the Hoſt of Iſrael.

The next act of David, was the delivery of Sauls ſons or kinſmen to the Gibeonites, whom thoſe citizens hung up in revenge of their fathers crueltie. David had knowledge from the *Oracle of God*, that a famin which had continued on the land three yeers; came by reaſon of Saul and his houſe, to wit, for the ſlaughter of the Gibeonites: and therefore hee willingly yeelded to give them this ſatisfaction, both becauſe he had warrant from God himſelfe, as alſo, if wee may judge humanely, to rid himſelfe of Sauls line, by whom he and his might, aſwell in the preſent as in the future, bee greatly moleſted and indangered; only he ſpared Mephiboſheth the ſonne of Jonathan, both for the love he bare to his father, and for his oath and vow to God.

2 Sam.21. Now whereas it is written in the Text, *The King took the two ſonnes of Riſpah, whom ſhe bare unto Saul, and the five ſonnes of Michol the daughter of Saul, whom ſhe bare to Adriel, and delivered them to the Gibeonites:* Junius calls this Michol the ſiſter of her that was Davids wife, ſhee whom Saul married to Phaltiel: but Michol here named, had Adriel to her husband; the ſame which is named Merab in the firſt of Samuel the eighteenth, who was firſt promiſed to David when hee ſlew Goliah in the valley of Raphaim: and becauſe it is written that Michol loved David, which perchance Merab did not, whether David had any humane reſpect in the delivery of her children, it is onely knowne to God.

Now where the Geneva nameth Michol for Merab the wife of Adriel: the better tranſlation were out of the Hebrew word here uſed, having an eclipſis or defect, and ſignifieth, as I am informed, one of the ſame kinred, as in the 19. verſe of the ſame one and twentieth chapter it is ſaid of Goliah; *whoſe ſpeare was weightie as a Weavers beame*, when as by the ſame eclipſis it muſt bee underſtood by the brother of Goliah; Goliah himſelfe being formerly ſlaine.

As by the death of Sauls children God ſecured the houſe of David, leaving no head unto rebellion: ſo did hee ſtrenghthen both the King and Nation againſt forreine enemies by the valour of many brave Commanders, the like of whom, for number & qualitie, that people of Iſrael is not knowne to have had at any time before or after. Thirty Captaines of thouſands there were, all men of marke, and great reputation in warre. Over theſe were ſixe Coronels, whoſe valour was ſo extraordinarie, that it might be well held as miraculous. Theſe Coronels had ſome difference of place and honour, which ſeemeth to have beene given upon meere conſideration of their vertue. For Abiſhai the brother of Joab, who in the warre againſt the Ammonites & Aramites was Lievtenant, and commanded halfe the armie, could not attaine to the honour of the firſt ranke, but was faine to reſt contented with being principall of the three Coronels of the ſecond order, notwithſtanding his neerneſſe of bloud unto the King, the flouriſhing eſtate of his owne houſe, and his well approved ſervices. All theſe Coronels and Captaines, with the Companies belonging to them, may ſeeme to have beene ſuch as were continually retained, or at the leaſt kept in readines for any occaſion, conſidering that the numbers which were muſtered and drawne out, if need required, into the field, very farre exceeded thirtie thouſand, yea, or thirty times as many. They were moſt of them ſuch as had followed the King in Sauls time, and been hardned with his adverſities. Others there were very many, and principall men in their ſeverall Tribes, that repaired unto him after the death of Saul; but theſe Captaines and Coronels, (who with Joab, that was
2 Sam.23.39. Generall of all the Kings forces, make up the number of 37.) were the ſpeciall men of warre, and reckoned as Davids Worthies. The long reigne of David, as it is knowne to have conſumed many of theſe excellent men of warre, ſo may it probably be gheſſed to have waſted the moſt of thoſe whoſe deaths we finde no-where mentioned. For the ſonnes of Zervia, who had beene too hard for David, were worne away, and only Joab left in the beginning of Salomon, who wanted his brother Abiſhai to ſtand by his ſide in his laſt extremity.

By the actions forepaſſed in the time of David, it is gathered, that hee had reigned now 33. yeares or thereabouts, when the poſterity of Saul was rooted out, ſo that he enjoyed about ſeven yeeres of entire quiet and ſecuritie, wherein it pleaſed God to remove all impediments that might have troubled the ſucceſſion of Salomon in his fathers throne. In this time alſo David having eſtabliſhed all things in Juda and Iſrael, and the borders thereof, he againe diſpleaſed God by numbring the people, as in oſtentation of his power: in which hee employed Joab, with other Captaines of his Armie, who after nine moneths and twentie dayes travell, returned with the account & regiſter of all the people, able and fit to beare Armes, and they amounted to the number of thirteen hundred thouſand, beſides Levi and Benjamin, 2 Sam.24. 1 Chr.21. whereof in Juda and the cities thereof five hundred thouſand, and in Iſrael eight hundred thouſand.

For this, when by the Prophet Gad he was offered from God the choice of three puniſhments, whereof he might ſubmit himſelfe to which he pleaſed; to wit, ſeven yeeres famine; three moneths warre, wherein he ſhould be unproſperous in all attempts, and be chaſed by his enemies; or a generall peſtilence to laſt three daies: David made choice to bow himſelf under the hand of God only, and left himſelfe ſubject to that cruell diſeaſe, which hath no compaſſion or reſpect of perſons, of which there periſhed 70. thouſand. And hereby hee hath taught all that live, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof he giveth this divine reaſon, *For his mercies are great*. 2 Sam.24.

## §. VII.

## *Of the laſt acts of* David; Adonijahs *faction*; *the revenge upon* Joab *and* Shimei.

LAſtly, when he grew weake and feeble, and paſt the acts and knowledge of women, hee was yet adviſed to lie in the armes of a young and well complexioned maiden, to keepe him warme. In this his weake eſtate of bodie, when hee was in a manner bed-rid, Adonijah his eldeſt ſonne (Ammon and Abſalom being now dead) having drawn unto his partie that invincible, renowned and feared Joab, with Abiathar the Prieſt, began manifeſtly to prepare for his eſtabliſhment in the Kingdome after his father. For being the eldeſt now living of Davids ſonnes, and a man of goodly perſonage, Salomon yet young, and borne of a mother formerly attainted with adulterie, for which her name was omitted by S. Matthew (as Beda, Hugo, Thomas, and others ſuppoſe) hee preſumed to carrie the matter without reſiſtance. Hereof when David had knowledge by Berſabe the mother of Salomon, who did put him in minde of his faithfull promiſe, that Salomon her ſon ſhould reigne after him (Nathan the Prophet affirming the ſame thing unto the King, and ſeconding her report of Adonijah his preſumption) the King calling unto him Zadoc the Prieſt, Nathan the Prophet, and Benajah the Captaine of his guard, gave charge and commiſſion to anoint Salomon, and to ſet him on the Mule whereon himſelfe uſed to ride in his greateſt ſtate: which done, Salomon, attended, and ſtrongly guarded by the ordinarie and choice men of warre, the Cherethites and Pelethites, ſhewed himſelfe to the people. Theſe tidings being reported to Adonijah, he preſently abandoned his aſſiſtants, and for the ſafety of his life, he held by the horns of the Altar, whom for the preſent Salomon pardoned. After this, David had remaining two eſpeciall cares, whereof hee was deſirous to diſcharge his thoughts; 1 Reg.3. the one concerning the peace of the land, which might bee diſturbed by ſome rebellion againſt Salomon; the other concerning the building of the Temple, which he ſought by all meanes to advance, and make the buſineſſe publick. To bring theſe intentions to good effect, he ſummoned a Parliament, conſiſting of all the Princes of Iſrael, the Princes of the ſeverall Tribes, all the Captaines and Officers, with all the mightie, and men of 1 Chr.28,1. power; who did repaire unto Jeruſalem.

In this aſſembly the King ſtood up, and ſignified his purpoſe of building the Temple, 2 ſhewing how the Lord had approved the motion. Herein he took occaſion to lay open his owne title to the Crowne, ſhewing that the Kingdome was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of Juda (as Jacob in his bleſſing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himſelfe was pleaſed to make choyce of him among all his fathers ſonnes. In like manner he ſaid that God himſelfe had appointed Salomon by name to bee his ſucceſſor: whereupon hee earneſtly charged both the people and his ſonne to conforme themſelves unto all that God had commanded, and particularly to goe forward in this worke of the Lords houſe, which Salomon was choſen to build. 1 Chr.29. Then produced he the patterne of the worke, according to the forme which God himſelfe had appointed; and ſo laying open his owne preparations, hee exhorted all others to a voluntarie contribution.

The Kings propoſition was ſo well approved by the Princes and people, that whereas hee himſelfe had given three thouſand talents of gold, and ſeven thouſand of ſilver, they added unto it ſeven thouſand of gold, & ten thouſand of ſilver, beſides braſſe, iron, and jewels, heartily rejoycing in the advancement of ſo religious a worke. This buſineſſe being ſo well diſpatched, a ſolemne feaſt with great ſacrifice was made, at which time *Salomon* was againe anointed King, and received fealtie of all the Princes & people of the Land, & of all the Princes his brethren, the ſonnes of King *David*. *Salomon* being thus eſtabliſhed King, his Father *David* finding himſelfe even in the hands of death, firſt exhorted his ſonne to exerciſe the ſame courage and ſtrength of minde, which himſelfe had done in all his attempts: and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterprizes, hee uttered theſe mighty words; *Take heed to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walke in his wayes, and keepe his ſtatutes, and his commandements, and his judgements, and his teſtimonies, as it is written in the Law of* Moſes, *&c.* to the performance of which, GOD faſtened the ſucceſſion, and proſperity of his iſſues. For this done (ſaith GOD himſelfe) *Thou ſhalt not want one of thy poſterity to ſit upon the Throne of Iſrael.*

1 King.2.3.

1 King.1.20.

Secondly, hee adviſed him concerning *Joab*, who out of doubt had ſerved *David* from the firſt aſſault of *Jeruſalem* to the laſt of his warres, with incomparable valour and fidelitie, ſaving that he faſtened himſelfe to *Adonijah* (his maſter yet living) & thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath never left cruelty unrevenged, ſo was it his will that *Joab* ſhould drinke of the ſame cup, whereof he hath enforced other men to taſte, & ſuffer the ſame violence which himſelfe had unjuſtly ſtrooken others withall, *Qui gladio percutit, gladio peribit:* for he had bereaved *Abner* & *Amaſa* of their lives, having againſt the one the pretence onely of his brothers ſlaughter, whom *Abner* had ſlaine in the time of warre, and could not avoid him: againſt the other but a meere jealouſie of his growing great in the favour of *David*. And though *Joab* aſſured himſelfe that *Abner* & *Amaſa* being dead, there was none left either to equall him or ſupplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked men) raiſed up *Benhajah* the ſonne of *Jehojadah*, to pull him from the Sanctuary, and to cut him in peeces. For *David* giveth this cauſe to *Salomon* againſt *Joab*, that he ſlwe the Captaines of the hoſte of *Iſrael*, and ſhed bloud of battell in peace; and to this apparent & juſt cauſe, it is not improbable but that *David* remembred the ill affection of *Joab* towards *Salomon*, which *Joab* made manifeſt by the untimely ſetting up of *Adonijah*, *David* yet living. Some other offence *Joab* had committed againſt *David*, of which in theſe words he put his ſonne *Salomon* in minde; *Thou knoweſt alſo what* Joab *the ſonne of* Serviah *did to me, &c.* Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Abſalom*, contrary to the Kings deſire, or by the proud words uſed to him when hee mourned in *Mahanaim* for *Abſalom*; or whether it were the publiſhing of *Davids* letter unto him for the killing of *Uriah*, thereby to diſgrace *Salomon* as deſcended of ſuch a mother, the Scriptures are ſilent. True it is, that thoſe great men of warre doe oftentimes behave themſelves exceeding inſolently towards their Princes, both in reſpect of their ſervice done, as alſo becauſe they flatter themſelves with an opinion, that either their maſters cannot miſſe them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kinde of pride hath overthrowne many a worthy man otherwiſe deſerving great honour and reſpect.

1 King.2.

1 King.2.

He alſo gave order to *Salomon* to rid himſelf of *Shimei*, who not long before had caſt ſtones at *David*, and curſed him to his face. And albeit by reaſon of his oath and promiſe *David* ſpared *Shimei* all the time himſelfe lived, yet being duſt and in the grave, he ſlew him by the hand of *Salomon* his ſonne. Hence it ſeemeth that King *Henry* the ſeventh of England had his patterne, when he gave order to *Henry* the Eight to execute *Pool* as ſonne as himſelfe was buried, having made promiſe to the King of Spaine when he delivered *Pool* unto him, that while hee lived hee would never put him to death, nor ſuffer violent hands to bee laid upon him.

1 King.2.

And yet did not the execution of *Joab* yeeld unto *Salomon* any ſuch great profit or aſſurance as he hoped for. For he found a young *Adad* of Idumæa, and *Reſin* of Damaſcus to vexe him: who, as the Scriptures witneſſe, were emboldened to enterprize upon *Salomon*, hearing that *David* ſlept with his fathers, and that *Joab* the Captaine of the Hoſt was dead. Now when *David* had reigned in all fortie yeares, to wit, in Hebron 7. yeers, and in Jeruſalem three and thirty, he died.

1 King.11.

For his perſon, he was of ſmall ſtature, but exceeding ſtrong. For his internall gifts and graces, hee ſo farre exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailtie apart, hee was ſaid by God himſelfe to bee a man according to his owne heart. The Pſalmes which hee wrote witneſſe his pietie and his excellent learning: of whom *Hierome* to

*Paulinus:* David Simonides *noſter*, Pindarus, *&* Alcæus, Flaccus, *quoque* Catullus, *&* Serenus, *Chriſtum lyra perſonat, & in decachordo Pſalterio ab inferis ſuſcitat reſurgentem;* David (ſaith he) *our* Simonides, Pindarus, Alcæus, Horace, Catullus *and* Serenus, *hee playeth Chriſt on his harpe, and one a ten ſtringed Pſalter hee raiſeth him up riſing from the dead.* And being both a King and a Prophet, he foretelleth Chriſt more lightſomly and lively than all the reſt.

The booke of the Pſalmes, ſaith *Glycas*, was divided, ordered and diſtinguiſhed by *Ezekias*: but whether all the Pſalmes were written by *David*, it is diverſly diſputed. For *Athanaſius*, *Cyprian*, *Lyranus*, and others conceive divers Authors anſwering the titles of the ſeverall Pſalmes, as *Moſes*, *Salomon*, and the reſt hereafter named; and that only 73. Pſalmes were compoſed by *David* himſelfe, namely, thoſe which are intituled *ipſius David.* For the 50. and the 72. with the ten that follow, are beſtowed on *Aſaph* the ſon of *Barachia*, eleven other on the ſonnes of *Korath*; and eleven are aſcribed to *Moſes*, to wit, the 89. and the ten following, and ſo they are intituled in the old Hebrew Copies, though the vulgar and Septuagint (three excepted) ſtile them otherwiſe. The ſuppoſed nine Authors of theſe Pſalms which *David* wrote not, *Sixt. Senenſis* nameth as followeth; *Salomon*, *Moſes*, (whom *Aben Ezra*, contrary to *Hierome*, maketh one of *Davids* ſingers) *Aſaph*, *Ethan-Eziachi*, *Eman-Eziaira*, *Idithum*, and the three ſonnes of *Chore.* But S. *Chryſoſtome* makes *David* the ſole Author of all the Pſalmes, & ſo doth S. *Auguſtine*, reaſoning in this manner: Although (ſaith hee) ſome there are that aſcribe thoſe Pſalms onely to *David*, which are over-written *ipſius David*, and the reſt intituled *ipſi David*, to others, this opinion (ſaith he) *Voce Evangelica Salvatoris ipſius refutatur, ubi ait quòd ipſe* David *in ſpiritu Chriſtum dixerit eſſe ſuum Dominum, quoniam Pſalmus* 109. *ſic incipit, Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede à dextris meis, &c.* The voyce of the Goſpell refutes this opinion, where it ſaith, that *David* himſelfe in the ſpirit called Chriſt his Lord, becauſe the 109. Pſalme begins thus: *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, &c.* Laſtly, his teſtimonies are uſed both by Chriſt and the Apoſtles, and hee was as a patterne to all the Kings and Princes that ſucceeded him.

*Athan. in ſynop.*
*Hier. epiſt.* 134.
*Lyran. in exp.* 1. *Pſal.*

*Vide Sixt. Senen. Bil. ſanct. l.* 1. *fol.* 10. *&* 11.
*Aug. de Civit. Dei l.* 13 *c.* 14.

His Story and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, *Samuel*, *Nathan* and *Gad*, as it is in the firſt of *Chron.* 29. *verſ.* 19. For the ſeverall parts of the books of *Samuel* which intreat chiefly of *David*, were as it ſeemes, written by theſe three holy men.

*Conſtantine Manaſſes* hath an opinion, that the Trojans during the time of the ſiege ſought for ſuccour from *David*, and that hee ſtayed neuter in that warre. But it ſeemeth that *Manaſſes* did miſcaſt the time twixt *David* & the Trojan warre. For it is generally received that Troy fell between the times of *Abdon* and *Samſon* Judges of Iſrael, about the worlds yeere 2848. and *David* died in the yeere 2991.

*Cap.* 7. §. 6 7.
In his Annales tranſlated out of Greeke into Latin by *Joannes Leunolaius.*

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## §. IX.

## *Of the treaſures of* David *and* Salomon.

His treaſures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 22. of the firſt of *Chronicles*, that he left *Salomon* for the building of the Temple a hundred thouſand talents of gold, and a thouſand thouſand talents of ſilver, and of braſſe and yron paſſing all weight, which is more than any King in the world poſſeſt beſides himſelfe, and his ſonne, to whom hee left it. For it amounteth to three thouſand three hundred thirty & three cartload, & a third of a cartload of ſilver, allowing two thouſand weight of ſilver or ſixe thouſand pound ſterling to every cartload, beſides threeſcore and ſeventeene millions of French Crownes, or of our money twenty three millions and a thouſand pound: a matter, but for the teſtimony of the Scriptures, exceeding all beleefe. For that any riches were left him, it doth not appeare, ſeeing that the Judges had not any treaſure, nor any ſoveraign power to make levies: but when they went to the wars they were followed by ſuch voluntaries as the ſeverall tribes by turns gave them: ſeeing alſo that *Saul* who was of a meane parentage, & perpetually vexed and invaded by the Philiſtims, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his Territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part poſſeſt by his enemies.

*Verſ.* 14.

Therfore it were not amiſſe to conſider how *David* within the ſpace of not very many yeeres, might amaſſe up ſuch mighty treaſures. For though parſimony be it ſelfe a

great revenue, yet needs there muſt have been ſome other great meanes. It ſeemes that he made the uttermoſt profit of all that he had, that was profitable. *Euſebius* in his 9. booke and laſt chapter *de Præparatione Evangelica*, citeth the words of *Eupolemus*, who reporteth that *David*, among other preparations for the Temple, built a Navie in *Melanis* (or, as *Villalpandus* corrects it, *Achanis*) a citie of Arabia, and from thence ſent men to digge for gold in the Iland Urphe, which *Ortelius* thinks was Ophir, though *Eupolemus* in this place of *Euſebius* (erring perhaps in this circumſtance) ſaith that this Iland is in the red Sea: from whence, ſaith this *Eupolemus*, they brought gold into Jury. *Pineda l.* 4. *de Rebus Salomonis, c.* 1. thinkes that *David* did this way alſo enrich himſelfe, and citeth this teſtimonie of *Eupolemus*: & yet certainly *David* had many other wayes to gather riches. Much land doubtleſſe he gained by conqueſt from the Canaanites & Philiſtims, beſides thoſe fruitfull vallies neere Jordan in Trachonitis and Baſan, and the beſt of Syria, and other countries bordering the Iſraelites. Theſe demaines belike hee kept in his own hands, and with his infinite number of captives, which he took in his warres, which were not able to redeeme themſelves, husbanded thoſe grounds for his greateſt advantage. For it is written, 1. *Chro.* 17. that *Jehonathan* was over his treaſures in the field, in the villages, in the cities, in the townes; that *Ezri* was over the labourers that tilled his ground; *Simei* over the vineyards, and *Sabdi* over the ſtore of the wine; *Baal Hanan* over the olive trees, and *Joaſh* over the ſtore of the oyle: alſo that hee had heardſ-men that had charge over his cattell, both in the high lands and in the plaines, over his Sheepe, Camels and Aſſes. And this cuſtome of enriching themſelves by husbanderie and cattell, the ancient Kings every where held, both before and after *Davids* time. For wee
Gen. 47. reade of *Pharaoh*, that hee ſpake to *Joſeph* to appoint ſome of his brethren or of their
2. Chron. 26. ſervants, to be rulers over his cattell. Wee reade of *Uzzia*, that hee loved husbandrie, had much cattell, and plough-men, and dreſſers of Vines: likewiſe wee reade it in all Greeke Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did ſpecially conſiſt in their Herds and Flocks; whereof it were needleſſe to cite *Augeas* and *Admetus*, or any other for examples, the rule holdirg true in all. Now concerning *David* it is not unlikely, but that thoſe captives which were not imployed in husbandrie, were many of them uſed by him in all ſorts of gainfull profeſſions, as the ancient Romanes in like manner uſed their ſlaves.

To theſe profits (beſides the tributes and impoſitions, which doubtleſſe were great, and beſides the innumerable preſents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily ſent him, by *Tohu* and others) wee may adde the great ſpoiles which hee found in the Cities and Countries which hee conquered: alſo the head money which was gathered *per legem capitationis; By the law of capitation, or head money*, every man rich or poore paying halfe a ſickle of the Sanctuary, which is about as much as foureteene pence, and ſo in all it amounted to a wondrous ſumme in that Kingdome: wherein one
1 Chron. 21. thouſand thouſand five hundred and ſeventie thouſand fighting men were numbred by *Joab*. Now although this law of capitation bee thought by ſome verie learned, not to have beene perpetuall (which opinion of theirs neverthéleſſe they confeſſe is againſt the Hebrew expoſitions) yet *David* upon this occaſion is not unlikely to have put it in practiſe. And by theſe meanes might hee bee able to leave thoſe huge treaſures to *Salomon*. Yet it may ſeeme that this great maſſe of gold and ſilver left by *David*, the leaſt part was his owne in private; and ſo will it appeare the leſſe wonderfull that hee left ſo much. Of his owne liberalitie we finde, that hee gave to the building of the Temple three thouſand talents of gold, and ſeven thouſand talents of ſilver: a great ſumme, but holding a very ſmall proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to conſider, that the treaſures of the Sanctuarie it ſelfe were exceeding great, as needs they muſt have beene, having received continuall encreaſe, without any loſſe or diminution ever ſince the time of *Moſes* and *Joſuah*. The revenues of the Sanctuarie (beſides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defrayed the daily expences, and maintained the Prieſts and Levites) were partly raiſed out of the head money before mentioned; partly out of the ſpoiles
Numb. 31.27. gotten in warre. For all the bootie was divided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers bad one, and the people which remained at home, had the other halfe; whereby all the countrey received benefit of the victory, yet ſo, that the Souldiers had a farre greater proportion than the reſt, as being fewer, and therefore receiving more for every ſingle ſhare.

Out of this purchaſe was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fiftie, of that which the people received, and one in five hundred, of that which was given to the Souldiers; namely, one hundred and one thouſand part of the whole bootie. So in the ſpoile of *Midian*, thirty two thouſand woman being taken, the armie had ſixteene thouſand of them for ſlaves, and the Congregation had other ſixteene thouſand; but out of the ſixteene thouſand given to the Armie, were exempted two and thirty for the Lords tribute. Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twenty. By this meanes, the leſſer that the Armie was which had expoſed it ſelfe to danger, the greater profit had every Souldier; but when it conſiſted of many hands, they who remaining at home were faine to undergoe more than ordinarie travaile in domeſticall affaires, did receive by ſo much the greater portion. But the Lords tribute was alwayes certaine, yea many times it was increaſed, either by ſome eſpeciall commandement, as when all the gold, and ſilver, and other mettalls found in *Jericho*, were conſecrated unto God; or by thankefulneſſe of the Rulers and People, as when after the victorie obtained againſt the Midianites without the loſſe of one man, all Jewells, Bracelets, Earerings, and the like, were offered up, as voluntarie preſents.

Num.31.40.

Ioſ.6.19.

Num.31.50.

Now howſoever the Iſraelites were many times oppreſſed, & troden down by other Nations, yet were not theſe treaſures robbed or ſpoiled; for the enemies never gat poſſeſſion of the Tabernacle that was in *Shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwiſe bee, than that the wealth of the Sanctuarie muſt have bin exceeding great; as containing above one hundreth part of all the money and other goods found by the Iſraelites in the whole Land of *Canaan*; and of all that was purchaſed by ſo many victories, as they obtained againſt the bordering Nations. For that this treaſurie was not defrauded of the due portion, it is evident; ſeeing that before the time of *David* and his Lievtenant *Joab*, it is recorded that *Saul* and *Abner*, and before them *Samuel*, had uſed to dedicate of the ſpoiles obtained in war, to maintaine the houſe of the Lord: the like whereof may be well preſumed of the former Judges and Captaines of other Ages. Certaine it is, that the Conqueſt of *David* brought into the Land far greater abundance of riches, than any former victories had purchaſed, thoſe of *Joſua* perhaps excepted: but theſe vaſt ſummes of an hundred thouſand Talents of ſilver, may ſeeme rather to have bin made up, by the addition of his winnings and liberalitie, to the treaſures laid up in many former Ages, than to have beene the meere fruits of his owne induſtrie.

1 Chron.c.26. v.27.&28.

Now concerning the riches of *Salomon*, it is more manifeſt how he gathered them; for he received of yeerely revennues with his tributes *666*. Talents of gold, beſides the Cuſtomes of Spices. He had alſo ſix rich Returnes from the Eaſt India, which greatly increaſed his ſtore. For his ſhips performed that voyage every three yeeres, and he began that trade in the two and twentieth yeere of his reigne, and ruled fortie yeeres. Beſides this, all Judæa and Iſrael were now maſtered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borderers, the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, of *Damaſcena*, of *Palmyrena*, of *Ituræa*; all of *Idumæa*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, paid him tribute; as likewiſe did the Hittites, who with the Perizzites, Hevites, ebuſites, and other races of the Canaanites, were not as yet extinguiſhed, though ſubjected.

A Talenr of gold is 770. french crowns.

1 King.10.14.

1 King.c.9. v.20. & 10. v.29.

Into this flouriſhing eſtate was the Kingdome of Iſrael reduced by *David*, who after 40. yeers reigne, and 70. yeers of life, dyed in a good age, full of dayes, riches, & honour, and was buried in the Citie of *David*. It is written by *Joſephus* that there was hid in *Davids* Tombe a marvailous quantitie of treaſures, inſomuch as *Hyrcanus* (who firſt of the *Chaſmanæi*, or race of Maccabees, called himſelfe King) one thouſand and three hundred yeers after, drew thence three thouſand Talents, to rid himſelf of *Antiochus* then beſieging *Jeruſalem*; & afterward *Herod* opening another Cell, had alſo an exceeding maſſe of gold and ſilver therein. And it was an ancient cuſtome to burie treaſure with the dead. So the Peruvians and other Americans did the like, which being diſcovered by the Spaniards, they inriched themſelves by nothing ſo much in their firſt Conqueſt. That *Salomon* did burie ſo much treaſure in his fathers grave, it would hardly be beleeved, in regard of the great exactions with which hee was faine to burthen the people, notwithſtanding all the riches which hee got otherwiſe, or which were left unto him: were it not withall conſidered that his want of mony grew from ſuch magnificent imployments. Particularly of the Sepulchre of *David* the Scriptures have no mention, but onely the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*, as of an honourable place of buriall. Yet the

1 Chro.29.28.

*Ioſep, Ant.lib 7.*

*Peregrinat. Hieroſol.D.N. Ch.Radz. Epiſt.2.*

Monuments of theſe Kings, as ( by relation of the Duke of *Ulika* ) they remained within theſe thirty yeeres, and are like to remaine ſtill, are able to make report credible of the coſt beſtowed upon them.

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## §. X.

### *Of the Philiſtims, whom* David *abſolutely maſtered: and of ſundry other contemporaries with* David.

OF the *Philiſtims*, whoſe pride *David* was the firſt that abſolutely maſtered, in this concluſion of *Davids* time ſomewhat heere may bee ſpoken.

*Iſid. l.9 19.*
*Ioſ. l.1. Ant. 17.*

They deſcended of *Caſloim*, who, according to *Iſidor* and *Joſephus*, was one of the ſonnes of *Miſraim*, and was ſurnamed *Philiſtim*, as *Eſau* was ſurnamed *Edom*, and *Jacob Iſrael*. There were of them five Cities or pettie principalities, namely, *Azotus*, or *Aſdod*, *Gaza* or *Aczaph*, *Aſcalon*, *Geth* or *Gath*, and *Accaron*. It ſeemeth that *Caſloim* was the firſt founder of this nation, becauſe of his kindred on either hand, the Canaanites and the Egyptians.

1 Sam. 6.

Gen. 20.

The firſt King of theſe *Philiſtims*, which the Scriptures have named, was that *Abimelech* which loved *Sara*, *Abrahams* wife.

The ſecond *Abimelech* lived at once with *Iſaac*, to whom *Iſaac* repaired in the time of famine, *Abimelech* then reſiding at *Gerar* in the border of *Idumæa*; which *Abimelech* fancied *Iſaac* his wife, as his father had done *Sara*.

Gen.26.

After *Abimelech* the ſecond, the *Philiſtims* Kings are not remembred in the Scriptures, till *Davids* time: perhaps the government was turned into *Ariſtocraticall*. For they are afterwards named Princes of the *Philiſtims*, howſoever *Achis* be named King of *Gath*, the ſame to whom *David* fled, and who againe gave him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Sauls* time.

Iud. 16.
1 Sam. 18.29.
1 Sam. 21. 11.
1 King. 2.

After him we reade of another *Achis* who lived with *Salomon*, to whom *Shimei* travelled to fetch backe his fugitive ſervant, what time the ſeeking of his ſervant was the loſſe of his life. *Jeremie* the Prophet ſpeaketh of the Kings of *Palæſtin* or *Philiſtim*. *Amos* nameth the King of *Aſcalon*: *Zacharias*, a King of *Gaza*. The reſt of the warres of the *Philiſtims* are remembred in the Catalogue of the *Judges*, of *Saul* and *David*, and therefore I ſhall not need to collect the particulars in this place.

There lived at once with *David*, the third of the *Silvii* King of *Alba*, called *Latinus Silvius*, who is ſaid to have ruled that part of Italy fiftie yeers. And about his fourteenth yeere *Codrus* the laſt King of the *Athenians* died, to whom ſucceeded the firſt Prince of thoſe, who being called after *Medon*, *Medontidæ*, without regall name governed *Athens* during their life.

The reaſons which moved the *Athenians* to change their government, were not drawn from any inconvenience found in the rule of ſoveraignty, but in honor of *Codrus* only. For when the *Græcians* of *Doris*, a region between *Phocis*, & the mountain of *Oeta*, ſought counſaile from the Oracle, for their ſucceſſe in the warres againſt the *Athenians*, it was anſwered, that then undoubtedly they ſhould prevaile and become Lords of that State, when they could obtaine any victorie againſt the Nation, and yet preſerve the *Athenian* King living. *Codrus* by ſome intelligence being informed of this anſwer, withdrew himſelfe from his owne forces, and putting on the habit of a common ſouldier, entred the Campe of the *Dorians*, and killing the firſt hee encountred, was himſelfe forthwith cut in pieces.

*Eupales* the 31. King of *Aſſyria*, which others account but the 30. began to rule that Empire, about the 13. yeere of *David*, and held it 38. yeeres.

Neere the ſame time began *Ixion* the ſecond King of the *Heraclidæ*, the ſonne of *Euriſthenes* in *Corinth*; and *Agis* the ſecond of the *Heraclidæ* in *Lacedæmon*: in honour of which *Agis*, his ſucceſſours were called *Agidæ*, for many yeeres after. Hee reſtored the *Laconians* to their former libertie: hee overcame the Citizens of *Helos* in *Laconia*, who had refuſed to pay him tribute: hee condemned them and theirs to perpetuall ſlaverie; whereof it came, that all the *Meſſenians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called *Helots*.

In like ſort from the *Sclavi* came the world *Slave*. For when that Nation iſſuing out of *Sarmatia*, now called *Ruſsia*, had ſeized upon the country of *Illyria*, & made it their owne by conqueſt, their victory pleaſed them ſo highly, that therupon they called themſelves by a new name, *Slavos*, which is in their language *glorious*. But in after times (that warmer Climate having thawed their northerne hardineſs, and not ripened their wits) when they were trodden down, and made ſervants with their neighbours; the *Italians* which kept many of them in bondage, began to call all their bondmen *Slaves*, uſing the word as a name of reproach: in which ſenſe it is now current through many countries.

Other Chronologers make this *Agis*, the third King of *Sparta*, and ſomewhat later, about the 23. yeare of *David*, and ſay, that *Acheſtratus* was the fourth King of this race, the ſame whom *Euſebius* calls *Labotes*, and ſets him in the thirteenth yeare of *Salomon*.

*Euſeb. in Chro.*

In the tenth yeare of *Acheſtratus*, *Androclus* the third ſonne of *Codrus*, aſſiſted by the *Iones*, built *Epheſus* in *Caria*, who after the adjoyning of the Ile of *Samos* to his territorie, was ſlaine by the *Carians*, whoſe countrie he uſurped. He was buried (ſaith *Pauſanias*) in one of the gates of *Epheſus* called *Magnetes*, his armed Statua being ſet over him. *Strabo* reports that after *Androelus* had ſubdued the *Ionians* (the next province to *Epheſus* on the ſea coaſt of *Aſia* the leſſe) he inlarged his Dominions upon the *Æoles*, which joyneth to *Ionia*: and that his poſteritie governed the Cities of *Epheſus* and *Erythræ* by the name of *Baſilidæ* in *Strabo* his own time. Of the expedition of the *Iones* how they came hither out of *Peloponneſus*, I have * ſpoken already upon occaſion of the return of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponneſus*, wherein, with the *Dores*, they expelled the *Achai*, and inhabited their places in that land: though this of the *Iones* ſucceeded that of the *Heraclidæ* 100. yeares.

The Eaſt gate of *Epheſus* toward *Magneſia* upon the river *Mæander*.

*Ariſt. l. 5. pol. c. 6.*

* See *Ch.* in this 17. *Ch.* 9. 1. *poſt medium.*

The Citie of *Epheſus* became exceeding famous: firſt, for the Temple of *Diana* therein built, which had in length 425. foot, and 220. in breadth, ſuſtained with 127. pillars of marble, of 70. foot high: whereof 27. were moſt curiouſly graven, and all the reſt of choyce marble poliſht, the worke being firſt ſet out by *Cteſiphon* of *Gnoſſos*. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the firſt that received the Chriſtian faith, of which *Timothie* was Biſhop; to whom, and to the *Epheſians*, Saint *Paul* wrote his Epiſtles ſo intituled. The other Citie poſſeſt by *Androclus* in *Æolis*, was alſo univerſally ſpoken of by reaſon of *Sibylla*, ſurnamed *Erythræa*: who lived 740. yeares before Chriſt was born. S. *Auguſtine* avoweth that a Roman Proconſul ſhewed him in an ancient *Greeke* copie certaine verſes of this Propheteſſe: which began (as S. *Auguſtine* changed them into Latine) in theſe words: *Jeſus Chriſtus Dei Filius, Salvator*; *Jeſus Chriſt Son of God, the Saviour.*

*Plin. l. 2. c. 58. & l. 7. c. 37.*

About the time that *Joab* beſieged *Rabba* in *Moab*, *Vaphres* began to govern in *Egypt*, the ſame that was father in law to *Salomon*, whoſe Epiſtles to *Salomon*, and his to *Vaphres*, are remembred by *Euſebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21. of *David*, was the Citie of *Magneſia* in *Aſia* the leſſe founded, the ſame which is ſeated upon the river *Mæander*, where *Scipio* gave the great overthrow to *Antiochus*. In this territorie are the beſt horſes of the leſſer *Aſia* bred, whereof *Lucan*:

*Et Magnetũ equis, Minyæ gens cognita remis.*

About the ſame time *Cuma* in *Campania* was built by the inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, according to *Servius*, with whom *Strabo* joyneth the *Cumæans* of *Æolis*, ſaying, that to the one of theſe people the government was given, with condition that the other ſhould give name to the citie. Of this *Cuma* was *Ephorus* the famous ſcholler of *Iſocrates*.

*Serv. in Aeneid. 3. Strabo l. 5.*

*Euſebius* and *Caſſiodor* finde the building of *Carthage* at this time, to wit, in the 31. yeare of *David*, but much miſtaken. For the father of *Dido* was *Metinos* the ſon of *BadeZor*, brother to *JeZabel*, who married *Achab* King of *Iſrael*; and between the death of *David*, and the firſt of *Achab*, there were waſted about 95. years.

In this time alſo *Acaſtus* lived, the ſecond of the *Athenian* Princes after *Codrus*, of which there were thirteen in deſcent before the State changed into a Magiſtracie of ten years. Some writers make it probable, that the *Æolians*, led by *Graus*, the grand nephew of *Oreſtes*, poſſeſt the Citie and Iland of *Thebes* about this time. In the 32. yeare of *David*, *Hiram* began to reigne in *Tyre*, according to *Joſephus*, who ſaith that in his twelfth yeare *Salomon* began the worke of the Temple. But it is a familiar errour in *Joſephus*, to miſreckon times, which in this point he doth ſo ſtrangely, as if hee knew not how at all to caſt any accompt. For it is manifeſt, that *Hiram* ſent meſſengers, and Cedars unto *David*, ſoone after his taking of *Jeruſalem*, which was in the very beginning of *Davids* reigne over *Iſrael*, when as yet hee had reigned onely ſeven yeares in *Hebron* over the houſe of *Juda*. Wherefore it muſt needs be that *Hiram* had reigned above 30.

*Euſeb. in Chro. Herod. in vit. Hom. & Strab. l. 14. Ant. 8. & cont. Ap. l. 1.*

2 Sam. 5.

yeares before *Salomon* ; unleſſe more credit ſhould bee given to thoſe Tyrian records which are cited by *Joſephus*, than to the plaine words of Scripture contradicting them. For, that it was the ſame *Hiram* which lived both with *David* and with *Salomon*, the Scriptures make it plainely manifeſt.

* * *

# Chap. XVIII.

## Of SALOMON.

### §. I.

### *Of the eſtabliſhing of* Salomon : *of birthright, and the cause of* Adonijah's *death, and of* Salomons *wiſedome.*

SALOMON, who was brought up under the Prophet *Nathan*, began to reigne over Juda and Iſrael, in the yeare of the World 2991. He was called *Salomon* by the appoyntment of God : hee was alſo called *Jedidda*, or *Theophilus* by *Nathan*, becauſe the Lord loved him.

*Hiram* King of Tyre, after *Salomons* anoynting, diſpatched Embaſſadors toward him, congratulating his eſtabliſhment : a cuſtome between Princes very ancient. Whence we reade that *David* did in like ſort ſalute *Hanum* King of the Ammonites, after his obtaining the Kingdome.

2 Sam. 10.

The beginning of *Salomon* was in blood, though his reigne were peaceable. For ſoone after *Davids* death, he cauſed his brother *Adonijah* to be ſlaine by *Benaiah* the ſonne of *Jehojada*, taking occaſion from *Adonijah* his deſiring by *Berſheba*, that the young maide *Abiſhag* (which lay in *Davids* boſome in his latter dayes, to keep him warme) might be given to him. Whatſoever hee pretended, it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder brother, and ſought the Kingdome contrary to the will of *David*, whom God enclined towards *Salomon*. And yet it is ſaid that a word is enough to the wiſe, and he that ſees but the claw may know whether it be a Lion or no : ſo it may ſeeme that to the quick-ſighted wiſedome of *Salomon*, this motion of *Adonijabs*, was a demonſtration of a new treaſon. For they which had bin Concubines to a King, might not after be touched but by a King: whence *Achitophel* wiſhed *Abſalom* to take his fathers Concubines as a part of the Royaltie. And *David* after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not give them to any other, but ſhut them up, and they remained widowed until their death. And this it ſeemes was the depth of *Isboſheths* quarrell againſt *Abner*, for having his fathers Concubine. And ſome ſignification of this cuſtome may ſeeme too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *David* ; *I have given thee thy Maſters houſe, and thy Maſters wives.* And in the words of *Saul* upbraiding *Jonathan*, that he had choſen *David* to the ſhame of the nakedneſſe of his Mother. Hereupon perhaps was ſome reference to this purpoſe of *Adonijah*, to marrie with her that was alwaies preſent with *David* in his latter daies, and who belike knew all that was paſt, for the conveying of the Kingdome to *Salomon*. There may be divers further occaſions ; as either that he would learn ſuch things by her as might be for the advantage of his ambition, or that he would perſwade her to forge ſome ſtrange tale about *Davids* laſt Teſtament, or any thing elſe that might prejudice the title of *Salomon*.

2 Sam. 16. 21.

2 Sam. 2. 3.

1 Sam. 20. 30.

As for the right of an elder brother which *Adonijah* pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of Nations, & with the cuſtomes of the Jewes : yet the kings of the Jewes were ſo abſolute, as they did therin, & in all elſe, what they pleaſed. Some examples alſo they had (though not of Kings) which taught them to uſe this paternall authority in transferring the birthright to a younger ſonne : namely of *Jacobs* diſheriting *Ruben*, and giving the birthright (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to *Joſeph* : of whom he made two tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *David*, it appeareth by the words of *Berſabe* & *Nathan* to *David*, and of *Jonathan* to *Adonijah*. For, as for popular election, that it was neceſſary to confirme, or that the refuſall of the people had authority to fruſtrate the

1 Kings 2. 15.

Deuter. 21. 15. *Filium exoſe agnoſcito, dando ei portionem duorũ: nam ipſius eſt jus primogenitorum.*

1 Reg. 1. 17. & 20. 29. & 34.

1 Kin. 1. 1. v. 20. & 27.

elder brothers right to the Kingdome, it now here appeares in the ſtories of the Jewes. It is ſaid indeed that the people made *Saul* King at Galgal: that is, they acknowledged 1 Sam. 11. 14. and eſtabliſhed him. For that he was King long befpre, no man can doubt. In like manner elſewhere the phraſe of chuſing or making their King, is to be expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they ſhould not make themſelves a King, it is ſaid, *Thou ſhalt make* Deut. 17. 30. *him King whom the Lord ſhall chuſe.*

But to proceed with the acts of *Salomon*: at the ſame time that hee put *Adonijah* to death, he rid himſelfe alſo of *Joab*, and three years after of *Shimei*, as *David* had adviſed him: he diſplaced alſo the Prieſt *Abiathar*, who tooke part with *Adonijah* againſt him: but in reſpect of his office, and that he followed *David* in all his afflictions, and becauſe 1 King. 2. he had borne the *Arke of God* before his Father, he ſpared his life. And thus being eſtabliſhed in his Kingdome, he tooke the daughter of *Vaphres* King of Egypt to Wife: for ſo *Euſebius* out of *Eupolemus* cals him. He offered a thouſand ſacrifices at Gibeon, where God appearing unto him in a dreame, bade him aske what he would at his hands; *Salomon chooſeth Wiſedome, which pleaſed God. And God ſaid unto him, Becauſe thou haſt asked this thing, and haſt not asked for thy ſelf long life, neither haſt thou asked riches for thy ſelfe, nor haſt asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I have done according to thy words*: by which wee may informe our ſelves, what deſires are moſt pleaſing to God, and what not. For the coveting after long life in reſpect of our ſelves, cannot but proceede of ſelfe-love, which is the root of all impiety: the deſire of private riches is an affection of covetouſneſſe, which God abhorreth; to affect revenge, is as much as to take the ſword out of Gods hand, and to diſtruſt his juſtice. And in that it pleaſed God to make *Salomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in minde of his brothers ſlaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from *David*, or from the Law of God; but becauſe *Salomon* deſired wiſedome onely, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleaſed God to give him withall that which he deſired not. *And I have alſo given thee* (ſaith God) *that which thou haſt not asked, both riches and honour.* This gift of wiſedome our Commentators ſtretch to almoſt all kindes of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and living creatures, the Scripture teſtifieth; though no doubt the chiefe excellencie of *Salomons* 1 King. 4. 33. wiſedome, was in the knowledge of governing his Kingdome: whence, as it were 1 King 3. 9. for an example of his wiſedome, the Scripture telleth how ſoone he judged the controverſie between the two harlots.

## §. II.

### *Of* Salomons *building and glorie.*

HEe then entred into league with *Hiram* King of Tyre, from whom he had much of his materials for the Kings palace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof he had received a double charge, one from his father *David*, and another from God. For like as it is written of *David*, that *He called* Salomon *his ſonne, and* 1 Chr. 22. 6. *charged him to build a houſe for the Lord God of Iſrael*: ſo doth *Toſtatus* give the force of a Toſt. 9. 26. in 1 Chron. divine precept to theſe words, *Behold, a ſon is born unto thee; &c. He ſhall build an houſe for my Name.*

He began the worke of the Temple in the beginning of the fourth yeare of his reigne, 1 King. 6. at which time alſo he prepared his fleete at Eſiongaber to trade for gold in the Eaſt Indies, that nothing might be wanting to ſupply the charge of ſo great a worke. For, that the Temple was in building while his fleets were paſsing to and fro, it is manifeſt. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the Almaggim trees brought from Ophir. Of this moſt glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the forme and example was 1 Chr. 28. 19. given by God himſelf) many learned men have written; as *Salmeron*, *Montanus*, *Ribera*, *Barradas*, *Azorius*, *Villalpandus*, *Pineda*, and others, to whom I refer the Reader.

For the cutting and ſquaring of the Cedars which ſerved that building, *Salomon* employed 30. thouſand Carpenters, 10. thouſand every month by courſe: he alſo uſed 80. thouſand Maſons in the mountain, and 70. thouſand labourers that bare burdens, which it is conceived, he ſelected out of the Proſelites, beſides three thouſand three hundred 1 King 5. maſters of his worke; ſo as he paid and imployed in all, one hundred eighty three thouſand and three hundred men; in which number the Sidonians, which were farre more

1 King.5.9.

1 King.5.11.

ſkilfull in hewing timber than the Iſraelites, may (as I thinke) be included. For *Hiram* cauſed his ſervants to bring downe the Cedars and Firres from Libanon to the ſea, and thence ſent them in raffes to Joppe, or the next port to Jeruſalem. For in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the ſecond Chapter, it is plaine, that all but the thirtie thouſand Carpenters, and the over-ſeers, were ſtrangers, and as it ſeemeth the vaſſals of *Hiram*, and of *Vaphres* King of Egypt. In recompence of all this timber and ſtone, *Salomon* gave *Hiram* twenty thouſand meaſures of wheate, and twenty meaſures of pure oyle yearely. *Euſebius* out of *Eupolemus* in the ninth booke of his preparation, the laſt Chapter, hath left us a Copie of *Salomons* Letter to *Suron* (which was the ſame as *Huram* and *Hiram*) King of Tyre in theſe words:

REx Salomon Suroni, *Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phœneciæ regi, Amico paterno ſalutem. Scias me à Deo magno* David *patris mei regnum accepiſſe, cumque mihi pater præcepit templum Deo, qui terram creavit, condere, ut etiam ad te ſcriberem præcepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à te ut artifices atque fabros ad ædificandum Templum Dei mittere velis.*

KIng Salomon *to King* Suron, *of Tyre, Sydon, & Phœnicia King, and my fathers friend, ſendeth greeting. You may underſtand that I have recived of the great God of my father* David, *the Kingdome: and when my father commanded mee to build a Temple to God which created heaven and earth, hee commanded alſo that I ſhould write to you: I write therefore to you, and beſeech you, that you would bee pleaſed to ſend mee Artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.*

To which the King *Suron* made this anſwer.

SUron, *Tyri, Sydonis, & Phœniciæ Rex,* Salomoni *Regi ſalutem. Lectis literis, gratias egi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam ſcribis fabros, miniſtroſq; ad condendum Templum eſſe tibi mittendos, miſi ad te millia hominum octaginta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Judæa, virum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Curabis igitur ut neceſſariis non egeant, & Templo Dei condito, ad nos redeant.*

Joſ.ant.l.8.c.2.

SUron *of Tyre, Sydon and Phœnicia King, to King* Salomon *greeting: When I read your letters, I gave God thankes who hath inſtalled you in your fathers kingdome. And becauſe you write that Carpenters and Workmen may bee ſent to build Gods Temple, I have ſent you fourescore thouſand men, and a Maſter-builder, a Tyrian, borne of a Jewiſh woman, a man admirable in building. You will be carefull that all neceſſaries be provided for them, and when the Temple of God is built, that they come home to us.*

1 King.5.from the 1.v.to the 9.

The Copies of theſe letters were extant in *Joſephus* time, as himſelfe affirmeth, and to be ſeene (ſaith he) *Tàm in noſtris quàm in Tyriorum annalibus, as well in our owne as in the Tyrian annals.* But he delivereth them ſomewhat in different termes, as the Reader may finde in his Antiquities. But were this intercourſe betweene *Salomon* and *Hiram* either by meſſage or by writing, it is ſomewhat otherwiſe delivered in the Scriptures, than either *Eupolemus* or *Joſephus* ſet it downe, but ſo, that in ſubſtance there is little difference betweene the one and the other.

The like letter in effect *Salomon* is ſaid to have written to *Vaphres* King of Egypt, and was anſwered as from *Hiram*.

But whereas ſome Commenters upon *Salomon*, find that *Hiram* King of Tyre, and *Vaphres* King of Egypt, gave *Salomon* the title of *Rex magnus*, and cite *Eupolemon* in *Euſebius*, I do not finde any ſuch addition of *magnus* in *Euſebius*, in the laſt chapter of that ninth book; neither is it in *Joſephus* in the eighth book and ſecond chapter of the Jewes Antiquities: it being a vaine title uſed by ſome of the Aſſyrian and Perſian Kings, and uſed likewiſe by the Parthians, and many other after them, inſomuch as in later times it grew common, and was uſurped by meane perſons in reſpect of the great *Hermes* the firſt, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightineſſe.

Joſ.ant.l.8.c.2.

After the finiſhing and dedication of the Temple and houſe of the Lord, *Salomon* fortified Jeruſalem with a treble wall, and repaired Hazor which had beene the ancient Metropolis of the Canaanites, before *Joſua's* time: ſo did he Gaza of the Philiſtims: he built Berothon, Gerar, & the Millo or munition of Jeruſalem. For *Pharaoh* (as it ſeemeth in favour of *Salomon*) came up into the edge of Ephraim; and took Gerar, which place the Canaanites yet held, and put them to the ſword, and burnt their Citie. The place and Territory he gave *Salomons* wife for a dowrie. And it is probable, that becauſe *Salomon* was then buſied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the war, that he entreated his father in law to rid him of theſe neighbours, which *Pharaoh* performed. But he thereby taught the Egyptians to viſit thoſe parts againe before they were ſent for; and in his ſon *Rehoboams* time *Sheſhack* this mans ſucceſſor did ſack Jeruſalem it ſelfe.

*Salomon* alſo built Megiddo in Manaſſe, on this ſide Jordan, and Balah in Dan: alſo Thadmor, which may be either *Ptolomies* Thamoron in the deſart of Juda, or (as *Joſephus* thinks) Palmira in the deſart of Syria; which Palmyra, becauſe it ſtood on the utmoſt border of *Salomons* dominion to the northeaſt of Libanus, and was of *Davids* conqueſt when he wan Damaſcus; it may ſeem that *Salomon* therfore beſtowed thereon the moſt coſt, and fortified it with the beſt Art that that age had. *Joſephus* cals this place Thadamora, by which name (ſaith he) given by *Salomon*, the Syrians as yet call it. *Hierom* in his booke of Hebrew places, cals it Thermeth. In after times, when it was rebuilt by *Adrian* the Emperour, it was honoured with his name, and called Adrianopolis. In reſpect of this great charge of building, *Salomon* raiſed tribute through all his Dominions, beſides an hundred and twenty talents of gold received from *Hirams* ſervants; *Salomon* offered *Hiram* twenty townes in or neare the upper Galilee, but becauſe they ſtood in an unfruitfull and mariſh ground, *Hiram* refuſed them, and therefore was the territory called Chabul.

*Joſ.l.8.ant.c.2.*

*Joſ.l.8.ant.c.2.*

Theſe townes, as it is ſuppoſed, lay in Galilee of the Gentiles, *Non quod Gentes ibi habitarent: ſed quia ſub ditione regis Gentilis erat, Not that it was poſſeſt by the Gentiles* (ſaith *Nauclerus*) *but becauſe it was under the rule of a King that was a Gentile.* Howſoever it were, it is true that *Salomon* in the 21. yeare fortified thoſe places which *Hiram* refuſed, Further, he made a journey into Syria Zobah, and eſtabliſhed his tributes; the firſt & laſt warre (if in that expedition he were driven to fight) that he made in perſon in all his life. He then viſited the border of all his dominions, paſſing from Thadmor to the North of Palmyrena, and ſo to the Deſarts of Idumæa, from whence he viſited Eziongaber and Eloth the uttermoſt place of the South of all his Territories, bordering to the red ſea: which Cities I have deſcribed in the Story of *Moſes*.

## §. III.

*Of* Salomons *ſending to Ophir, and of ſome ſeeming contradictions about* Salomons *riches; and of* Pineda's *conceit of two ſtrange paſſages about Affricke.*

HEre *Salomon* prepared his Fleet of ſhips for India, with whom *Hiram* joyned in that voyage, and furniſhed him with Mariners and Pilots, the Tyrians being of all other the moſt expert ſea-men. From this part of Arabia which at this time belonged to Edom, and was conquered by *David*, did the Fleet paſſe to the Eaſt India, which was not farre off, namely, to Ophir, one of the Iſlands of the Molucca's, a place exceeding rich in gold: witneſſe the Spaniards, who notwithſtanding all the abundance which they gather in Peru, doe yet plant in thoſe Iſlands of the Eaſt at Manilia, and recover a great quantity from thence, and with leſſe labour than they do in any one part of Peru, or new Spaine.

The returne which was made by theſe Ships amounted to foure hundred and twenty talents, but in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the eighth, it is written 450. talents: whereof 30. talents went in expence for the charge of the Fleet, and wages of men; and 420. talents, which makes five and twenty hundred and twenty thouſand Crownes, came cleere. And thus muſt thoſe two places bee reconciled. As for the place 1. *Reg.* 10. 14. which ſpeaketh of ſixe hundred ſixty and ſixe talents of gold; that ſumme, as I take it, is of other receipts of *Salomons* which were yearely, and which came to him beſides thoſe profits from Ophir.

My opinion of the land of Ophir, that it is not Peru in America (as divers have thought) but a Countrey in the Eaſt Indies; with ſome reaſon why at thoſe times they could not make more ſpeedy returne to Jeruſalem from the Eaſt Indies, than in three years; and that Tharſis in Scripture is divers times taken for the Ocean, hath been already declared in the firſt booke.

*c.8.§.9.10.* 3.
*Lib 4 de rebus Salomonis c.6. & 15.*

Only it remaineth that I ſhould ſpeake ſomewhat of *Pineda* his ſtrange conceits, who being a Spaniard of Bætica, would faine have Gades or Calis-malis, in old times called Tarteſſus, which is the Southweſt corner of that Province, to bee the Tharſis from whence *Salomon* fetcht his gold; for no other reaſon, as it ſeemes, but for love of his own countrey, and becauſe of ſome affinity of ſound betweene Tharſis and Tarteſſus. For whereas it may ſeeme ſtrange that it ſhould be three years ere they that took ſhip in the red ſea, ſhould return from the Eaſt Indies to Jeruſalem, this hath been in part anſwered already. And further the intelligent may conceive of ſundry lets, in the digging and refining of the metall, and in their other trafficke, and in their land-carriages between Jeruſalem and the red ſea, and perhaps alſo elſewhere: ſo that wee have no need to make *Salomons* men to goe many thouſand miles out of their way to Gades, round about all Affrick, that ſo they might be long a comming home.

For the direct way to Gades (which if *Salomon* and the Iſraelites knew not, the Tyrians which went with them, could not have been ignorant of) was along the Mediterran ſea, and ſo (beſides many wonderfull inconveniences, and terrible navigation in rounding Affrica) they ſhould have eſcaped the troubleſome land-carriage betweene Jeruſalem and the red ſea, through dry, deſart, and the theeviſh Countryes: and within 30. mile of Jeruſalem at Joppe, or ſome other haven in *Salomons* own Country, have laden and unladen their ſhips.

But this direct courſe they could not hold (ſaith *Pineda*) becauſe the huge Iſland of Atlantis, in largeneſſe greater than all Affrick and Aſia, being ſwallowed up in the Atlantick Ocean, hindred *Salomons* ſhips from paſſing through the ſtraits of Gibraltar: for this hee alledgeth *Plato in Timæo*. But that this calamity happened about *Salomons* time, or that thereby the Straits of Gades were filled with mud, and made unpaſſable, that there could be no comming to Gades by the Mediterran ſea: or that this indraught where the ſea runneth moſt violently, and moſt eaſily ſcoureth his channell, ſhould be filled with mud, and not alſo the great Ocean in like manner, where this huge Iland is ſuppoſed to have ſtood: or that *Salomons* ſhips being in the red ſea, ſhould neglect the golden Mines of the Eaſt Indies (which were infinitely better and neater to the red ſea, than any in Spain) to ſeeke gold at Cadyz by the way of compaſsing Affrica; it is moſt ridiculous to imagine. For the Spaniard himſelfe that hath alſo the rich Peru in the Weſt, fortifieth in the Eaſt Indies, and inhabites ſome part thereof, as in Manilia, finding in thoſe parts no leſſe quantity of gold (the ſmall territory which hee there poſſeſſeth conſidered) than in Peru.

*De rebus Sal.l.4.10.11.*
As it appeares he tooke a ſhip at *Japho* or *Joppe.c.1.v.2.*

The ſame *Pineda* hath another ſtrange paſſage round about all Affrica, which elſwhere he dreames of: ſuppoſing whereas *Jonas* ſailing to Tharſis the Citie of Cicilia, was caſt out in the Mediterran ſea, and taken up there by a Whale, that this Whale in three dayes ſwimming above twelve thouſand Engliſh miles along the Mediterran ſeas, and ſo through the ſtraights of Gades, and along all the huge ſeas round about Affrica, caſt up *Jonas* upon the ſhore of the Red Sea, that ſo he might have perhaps ſome ſixe miles the ſhorter (though much the worſe) way to Ninive. This conceit he grounds onely upon the ambiguity of the word *Suph*, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the Red ſea (as if we ſhould call it *mare algoſum, the ſea full of weeds*) for the red ſea. But in *Jonas c.2.5.* it is generally taken in the proper ſignification for weeds, and not as *Pineda* would have it, who in this place againſt his owne rule (which elſewhere he giveth us) ſuppoſeth ſtrange miracles without any need. For this long voyage of the Whale, finiſhed in three daies, is a greater miracle, than the very preſervation of *Jonas* in the belly of the Whale: and therefore ſeeing there is no neceſſity of this miracle, we ſend it back unto him, keeping his owne rule, which in this place hee forgets; *Miracula non ſunt multiplicanda.* And againe, *Non ſunt miracula gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio nova fingenda*; *Miracles are not to be multiplied without neceſsitie, nor delivered without cauſe, nor fained at pleaſure.* Therefore we leave this man in his dreames, which (were hee not otherwiſe very learned and judicious) might be thought unworthy the mentioning. But to proceed with our ſtorie of *Salomon.*

The Queene of *Saba's* comming from farre to *Salomon*, (as it ſeemes, from Arabia fœlix, & not, as ſome think, from Ethiopia) and her rich preſents, and *Salomons* reciprocall magnificence, and his reſolving of her difficult queſtions; thoſe are ſet downe at large in the Text. But herein *Joſephus* is greatly miſtaken, who calls this Queen of *Saba*

*Nicaules*, the ſucceſſor (ſaith hee out of *Herodotus*) of thoſe thirty and eight Egyptian Kings which ſucceeded *Meneus* the founder of Memphis; adding, that after this Egyptian, and the father in law of *Salomon*, the name of *Pharaoh* was left off in Egypt. For as it is elſewhere proved that the Queene was of Arabia, not of Egypt and Ethiopia; ſo were there other *Pharaohs* after the father in law of *Salomon*. Yea, above three hundred yeares after *Salomon*, *Pharaoh Necho* ſlew *Joſias* King of Juda. *Joſ.ant.*8.1.2. 2 *King.c.*23.& 2 *Chro* c.25. *Jer.c.*46.*v.*2.

It is alſo written of *Salomon*, that he kept in garriſons fourteene thouſand Chariots, and twelve thouſand horſemen; that hee ſpent in Court every day thirty meaſures of fine flower, threeſcore meaſures of wheate, one hundred ſheepe, beſides ſtags and fallow deare, bugles and fowle; foure thouſand ſtalles of horſes he had for his chariots and other uſes, and for the twelve thouſand horſemen of his guard. For, the ten thouſand ſtalles in the firſt of *Kings* the fourth, are to bee taken but for ſo many horſes, whence in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the ninth, it is written but foure thouſand ſtals or teemes, and in every teeme ten horſes, as *Junius* and the *Geneva* underſtand it. He was ſaid to be wiſer than any man, yea than were *Ethan* the Ezrahite, than *Heman*, *Chalcal*, or than *Darda*; to which *Junius* addeth a fiſt, to wit, *EZrack*. For the *Geneva* maketh *Ethan* an Ezrahite by Nation. *Joſephus* writes them, *Athan*, *Æman*, *Chalceus* and *Donan* the ſonnes of *Hemon*. Hee ſpake three thouſand Proverbes, and his ſongs were one thouſand and five, whereof either the moſt part periſhed in the Captivity of Babylon, or elſe becauſe many acts of *Salomons* were written and kept among the publike Records of Civill cauſes, and not Eccleſiaſticall, therefore they were not thought neceſſary to bee inſerted into Gods Booke. 1 *King*4.31.

## §. IIII.

### *Of the fall of* Salomon, *and how long he lived.*

NOw as he had plenty of all other things, ſo had hee no ſcarcity of women. For beſides his ſeven hundred Wives, hee kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting that God had commanded that none of his people ſhould accompany the daughters of Idolaters) he tooke Wives out of Egypt, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Zidon and Heth: and when hee fell a doting, his Wives turned his heart after other gods, as Aſteroth of the Zidonians, Milcom or Molech of the Ammonites, and Chemoſh of Moab.

Theſe things God puniſhed by *Adad* of Idumæa, *ReZin* of Damaſcus, and by *Jeroboam* his owne ſervant, and one of the maſters of his workes, who by the ordinance of God tare from his ſonne *Roboam*, ten of the twelve parts of all the territory he had. *Deus dum in peccatores animadvertit, aliorum peccatis utitur, quæ ipſe non fecit:* God in punſhing ſinners, uſeth the ſins of others, which he himſelfe wrought not. *P.Mart.in reg.*

In the reigne of *Salomon* (as in times of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings with other workes of magnificence, and that great Indian voyage already mentioned. Fortie yeeres he raigned; how many he lived, it is not written, and muſt therefore be found only by conjecture. The moſt likely way to gheſſe at the truth in this caſe is, by conſidering the actions of *David* before and after *Salomons* birth, whereby we may beſt make eſtimation of the yeers which they conſumed, and conſequently learne the true, or moſt likely yeere of his nativity. Seaven yeeres *David* reigned in Hebron: in his eighth yeere he tooke Jeruſalem, and warred with the Philiſtims, who alſo troubled him in the yeere following. The bringing home of the Arke ſeemes to have been in the tenth yeere of *David*, and his intention to build the Temple in the yeere enſuing, at which time hee had ſufficient leiſure, living in reſt. After this he had warres with the Philiſtims, Moabites, Aramites and Edomites, which muſt needs have held him five yeeres, conſidering that the Aramites of Damaſco raiſed warre againſt him, after ſuch time as hee had beaten *HadadeZar*; and that in every of theſe warres, he had the entire victorie. Neither is it likely, that theſe ſervices occupied any longer time, becauſe in thoſe dayes and places there were no wintering campes in uſe, but at convenient ſeaſons of the yeare Kings went forth to warre, diſpatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their armies, partly upon the ſpoyle of the enemies countrey, partly upon the private proviſion which every ſouldier made for himſelfe. The 17. yeare of *David*, in which he tooke *Mephiboſheth* the ſon 2 *King.*7.*v.*1. 2 *Sam.c.*11.*v.*1. 1 *Sam.c.*17.*v.*17 & 18.

of *Jonathan* into his Court, appeareth to have paſſed away in quiet; and the yeare following to have begun the warre with *Ammon*; but ſomewhat late in the end of Summer perhaps, it came to tryall of a battell (for *Joab* after the victorie, returned immediately to Jeruſalem) the cauſes and preparations for that warre, taking up all the Summer. *Davids* perſonall expedition againſt the *Aramites*, wherein he brought all the tributaries of *AdadeZer* under his owne allegeance, appeares manifeſtly to have beene the next yeares worke, wherein he did cut off all meanes of ſuccour from the Ammonites; all Syria, Moab and Idumæa being now at his owne devotion. By this reckoning it muſt have been the 20. yeare of *Davids* reigne, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which he ſent forth *Joab* to beſiege *Rabba*, and finiſhed the warre of *Ammon*: wherein alſo fell out the matter of *Uriahs* wife. So one halfe of *Davids* reigne was very proſperous: in the other halfe hee felt great ſorrow, by the expectation, execution, and ſad remembrance of that heavie judgement laid upon him by God for his foule and bloudy offence.

Now very manifeſt it is, that in the yeare after the death of that child which was begotten in adultery, *Salomon* was borne, who muſt needes therefore have beene nineteene years old or thereabout when he began to reign at the deceaſe of his father, as being begotten in the 21. year of his fathers reigne, who reigned in all forty.

This account hath alſo good coherence with the following times of *David*, as may be collected out of enſuing Actions: for two years paſſed ere *Abſolon* ſlew his brother *Ammon*; three yeares ere his father pardoned him, and two years more ere he came into the Kings preſence. After this he prepared horſes and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which ſeemes to have been one years work. So the rebellion it ſelfe, with all that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by *Sheba*, the death of *Amaſa* and the reſt, may well ſeeme to have been in the 30. year of *Davids* reigne.

Whether the three yeares of famine ſhould be reckoned apart from the laſt yeares of war with the Philiſtims, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needfull to conjecture. Plaine enough it is, that in the ten remaining years of *David* there was time ſufficient, and to ſpare, both for the three yeares of famine, for foure yeares of warre, and for numbring the people, with the peſtilence enſuing; as alſo for his owne laſt infirmitie, and diſpoſing of the Kingdome. Yet indeed it ſeemes that the warre with the Philiſtims was but one yeares worke, and ended in three or foure fights, of which the two or three former were at Gob or Nob neare unto Gezer, and the laſt at Gath. This warre the Philiſtims undertooke, as it ſeemeth, upon confidence gathered out of the tumults in Iſrael, and perhaps emboldened by *Davids* old age: for he fainted now in the battell, and was afterwards hindered by his men from expoſing himſelfe unto danger any more. So *David* had ſixe or ſeven yeares of reſt, in which time it is likely that many of his great men of Warre dyed (being of his owne age) whereby the ſtirring ſpirit of *Adonijah* found little ſuccour in the broken party of *Joab* the ſonne of *Zervia*.

At this time it might both truly be ſaid by *David* to *Salomon*, *Thou art a wiſe man*; and by *Salomon* to God, *I am but a yound childe*: for nineteene years of age might well agree with either of theſe two ſpeeches. 1 Kin.2.9.& 3.7.

¶. Neverthelesſe there are ſome that gather out of *Salomons* profeſsing himſelfe a child, that he was but eleven yeares old when he began to reigne. Of theſe *Rabbi Salomon* ſeems the firſt Author, whom other of great learning and judgement have herein followed: grounding themſelves perhaps upon that which is ſaid of *Abſolons* rebellion, that it was after forty yeares, which they underſtood as yeares of *Davids* reigne. But whereas *Rehoboam* the ſonne of *Salomon* was 41. yeares old when he began to reigne, it would follow hereby that his father had begotten him, being himſelfe but a childe of nine or ten yeares old; the difference betweene their ages being no greater, if *Salomon* (who reigned 40. yeares) were but eleven yeares old when his reigne began. To avoyd this inconvenience, *Joſephus* allowes 80 yeares of reigne to *Solomon*; a report ſo diſagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needes no confutation. Some indeed have in favour of this opinion, conſtrued the words of *Joſephus*, as if they included all the yeares of *Salomons* life. But by ſuch reckoning he ſhould have beene 40. yeares old at his Fathers death; and conſequently ſhould have beene borne long before his Father had wonne *Jeruſalem*; which is a manifeſt untruth. Wherefore the 40. yeares 2 Sam.15.7.

remembred in *Abſolons* rebellion, may either ſeeme to have reference to the ſpace betweene *Davids* firſt anoyntment, and the trouble which God brought upon him for his wickedneſſe, or perhaps be read (according to *Joſephus*, *Theodoret*, and the Latine tranſlation) foure yeares; which paſſed between the returne of *Abſolon* to Jeruſalem, and his breaking out.

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## §. V.

## *Of* Salomons *writings.*

THere remaine of *Salomons* workes, the *Proverbs*, the *Preacher*, and the ſong of *Salomon*. In the firſt hee teacheth good life, and correcteth manners; in the ſecond, the vanity of humane nature; in the third, he ſingeth as it were the Epithalamion of Chriſt and his Church. For the Book intituled, The wiſedome of *Salomon*, (which ſome give unto *Salomon*, and ſome make the elder *Philo* the Author thereof) *Hierome* and many others of the beſt learned make us thinke it was not *Salomon* that wrote it. *Stylus libri ſapientiæ* (ſaith Hierome) *qui* Salomonis *inſcribitur*, *Græcam redolet eloquentiam*; *The Stile of the Booke of wiſedome, which is aſcribed to* Salomon, *ſavoureth of the Grecian eloquence*; and of the ſame opinion was S. *Auguſtine*, and yet he confeſſeth in the nineteenth Booke and twentieth Chapter of the Citie of God, that the Authour of that Booke hath a direct foretelling of the paſſion of Chriſt in theſe words: *Circumveniamus juſtum, quoniam inſuavis eſt nobis, &c. Let us circumvent the righteous, for he is unpleaſing to us, he is contrary to our doings, he checketh us for offending againſt the Law, he makes his boaſt to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himſelfe the ſonne of the Lord, &c.* and ſo doth the courſe of all the following words point directly at Chriſt. The Books of *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Proverbs* and *Cantica Canticorum*, *Rabbi Moſes Kimchi* aſcribeth to *Iſay* the Prophet. *Suidas* & *Cedrenus* report, that *Salomon* wrote of the remedies of all diſeaſes, and graved the ſame on the ſides of the Porch of the Temple, which (they ſay) *Ezechias* pulled downe, becauſe the people, neglecting helpe from God by prayer, repaired thither for their recoveries.

*Hier. ad Cromatium.*

*Sap.* 2.

*S. Sen. fol.* 62.

*Reinecc. in Jul. Hiſt.*

Of *Salomons* Bookes of Invocations, and Inchantments to cure diſeaſes, and expell evill ſpirits, *Joſephus* hath written at large, though (as I conceive) rather out of his owne invention, or from ſome uncertaine report, than truly.

He alſo ſpeaketh of one *Eliazarus*, who by the roote in *Salomons* ring diſpoſſeſt divers perſons of evill ſpirits in the preſence of *Veſpaſian*, and many others, which I will not ſtand to examine.

Certainely ſo ſtrange an example of humane frailtie hath never been read of as this King: who having received wiſedome from God himſelfe, in honour of whom, and for his onely ſervice, he built the firſt and moſt glorious Temple of the world: he that was made King of Iſrael and Judæa, not by the law of Nature, but by the love of God, and became the wiſeſt, richeſt, and happieſt of all Kings, did in the end, by the perſwaſion of a few weake and wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and forſake the Lord of all the world, and the giver of all goodneſſe, of which hee was more liberall to this King, than to any that ever the world had. Of whom *Syracides* writeth in this manner: Salomon *reigned in a peaceable time, & was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that he might build a houſe to his Name, and prepare the Sanctuary for ever; How wiſe waſt thou in thy youth, and waſt filled with underſtanding, as with a floud? Thy minde covered the whole earth, and hath filled it with grave and darke ſentences. Thy name went abroad in the Iles, and for thy peace thou waſt beloved, &c.* but thus hee concludeth: *Thou didſt bow thy loynes to Women, and waſt overcome by thy body; thou didſt ſtaine thine honour, and haſt defiled thy poſteritie, and haſt brought wrath upon thy children, and felt ſorrow for thy folly*, cap. 27.

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## §. VI.

## *Of the Contemporaries of* Salomon.

NEare the beginning of *Salomons* reigne, *Ageſilaus* the third of the *Heraclidæ* in Corinth; *Labotes* in Lacedæmon; and ſoon after *Silvius Alba* the fourth of the Silvii, ſwayed thoſe Kingdomes: *Laoſthenes* then governing Aſſyria: *Agaſtus* and *Archippus* the ſecond and third Princes after *Codrus*, ruling the Athenians.

In the ſixe and twentieth of *Salomons* reigne, *Hiram* of Tyre dyed, to whom *Baliaſtrus* ſucceeded, and reigned ſeventeen years, after *Mercators* account; who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his ſons. *Joſephus* gives him fewer years. *Theophilus Antiochenus* againſt *Antolicus* finds *Bozorius* the next after *Hiram*, if there be not ſome Kings omitted betweene the death of *Hiram* and the reigne of *Bozorius*.

*Vaphres* being dead, about the twentieth of *Salomon*, *Seſac* or Shiſhak (as our Engliſh Geneva termes him) began to govern in Egypt, being the ſame with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Soſachis*; *Joſephus*, *Suſac*; *Cedrenus*, *Suſeſinus*; *Euſebius* in the colume of the Egyptian Kings, *Smendes*; and in that of the *Hebrewes*, *Suſac*. *Joſephus* in the eighth of his Antiquities, reproveth it as an errour in *Herodotus*, that he aſcribeth the Acts of *Suſac* to *Seſoſtris*, which perchance *Herodotus* might have done by compariſon, accounting *Seſac* another *Seſoſtris*, for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and vertues of King *Seſoſtris* I have ſpoken already in the ſtory of the Egyptian Princes: onely in this hee was reproved, that hee cauſed foure of his captive Kings to draw his Caroch, when he was diſpoſed to be ſeene, and to ride in triumph: one of which foure, ſaith *Eutropius*, at ſuch time as *Seſoſtris* was carried out to take the aire, caſt his head continually backe upon the two foremoſt wheeles next him; which *Seſoſtris* perceiving, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion: to whom the captive King anſwered, that in thoſe he beheld the inſtability of all worldly things; for that both the loweſt part of the wheele was ſuddenly carryed about, and became the higheſt, and the upmoſt part was as ſuddenly turned downward, and under all: which when *Seſoſtris* had judiciouſly weighed, he diſmiſſed thoſe Princes, and all other from the like ſervitude in the future. Of this *Seſoſtris*, and that hee could not bee taken for *Seſac*, I have ſpoken at large in that part of the Egyptian Kings preceding.

*Hiſt. Miſcel.l.17.*

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## Chap. XIX.

### *Of* Salomons *Succeſſors untill the end of* Jehoſaphat.

#### §. I.

*Of* Rehoboam *his beginnings: the defection of the ten Tribes, and* Jeroboams *Idolatrie.*

Rehoboam the Sonne of *Salomon* by *Nahama* an Ammoniteſſe, now forty yeares old, ſucceeded his Father *Salomon*, and was annointed at Sichem, where the ten Tribes of Iſrael were aſſembled: who attended a while the returne of *Jeroboam* as yet in Egypt, ſince he fled thither fearing *Salomon*. After his arrivall the people preſented a Petition to *Rehoboam*, to be eaſed of thoſe great Tributes laid on them by his Father. *Sic enim firmius ei fore Imperium, ſi amari mallet quàm metui*; *So ſhould his Empire* (ſaith *Joſephus*) *bee more aſſured, if hee deſired rather to bee beloved than feared:* whereof hee tooke three dayes to deliberate before his anſwer; of whom therefore it could not be ſaid as of *David*, that hee was wiſer than all his Teachers. For as of himſelfe he knew not how to reſolve, ſo had hee not the judgement to diſcerne of counſels; which is the very teſt of wiſedome in Princes, and in all men elſe. But notwithſtanding that hee had conſulted with thoſe grave and adviſed men, that ſerved his Father, who perſwaded him by all meanes to ſatisfie the multitude: hee was tranſported by his familiars and favourites, not onely to continue on the backes of his ſubjects thoſe burdens which greatly cruſht them; but (vaunting falſly of greatneſſe exceeding his Fathers) he threatned in ſharpe, or rather in terrible termes, to lay yet heavier, and more unſupportable loades on them. But as it appeared in the ſucceſſe, thoſe younger adviſers greatly miſtooke the nature of ſeverity, which without the temper of clemency is no other than cruelty it ſelfe: they alſo were ignorant that it ought to bee uſed for the helpe, and not for the harme of ſubjects. For what is the ſtrength of a King left by his people? and what cords or fetters have ever laſted long, but thoſe which have been

*Ant.l.8.c.3.*

twiſted and forged by love onely ? His witleſſe paraſites could well judge of the Kings diſpoſition: and being well learned therein, though ignorant in all things elſe, it ſufficed and enabled them ſufficiently for the places they held. But this anſwer of *Rehoboam* did not a little advance *Jeroboams* deſignes. For being fore-told by the Prophet *Achiah* of his future advancement, theſe the Kings threats (changing the peoples love into furie) confirmed and gave courage to his hopes. For he was no ſooner arrived, than elected King of Iſrael: the people cryed out, What portion have we in *David*? wee have no inheritance in the Sonne of *Iſhai*. Now though themſelves, even all the Tribes 2 Sam.5.1. of Iſrael, had conſented to *Davids* anointing at Hebron the ſecond time, acknowledgeing that they were his bones and his fleſh: yet now after the manner of rebels, they forgat both the bands of nature, and their dutie to God; and, as all alienate reſolved hearts doe, they ſerved themſelves for the preſent, with impudent excuſes. And now over-late, and after time, *Rehoboam* ſent *Adoram*, one of the Taxers of the people, a man moſt hatefull to all his Subjects, to pacifie them: whom they inſtantly beate to death with ſtones. Whereupon the King affrighted, got him from Sichem with all ſpeede, and re- 1 King.12.21. covered Jeruſalem, where preparing to invade Iſrael, with an hundred and fourеſcore thouſand choſen men, *Shimei* in the perſon of God commanding to the contrary, all was ſtayed for the preſent. In the meane time *Jeroboam* the new King fortified Sechem on this ſide, and Penuel on the other ſide of Jordan; and fearing that the Union and exerciſe of one Religion would alſo joyne the peoples hearts againe to the Houſe of *David*, and having in all likelihood alſo promiſed the Egyptians to follow their Idolatry, hee ſet up two Calves of gold for the children of Iſrael to worſhip, impiouſly perſwading them that thoſe were the Gods, or at leaſt by theſe hee repreſented thoſe Gods which delivered them out of Egypt: and refuſing the ſervice of the Levites, hee made Prieſts fit for ſuch gods. It muſt needes bee that by baniſhing the Levites which ſerved *David* and *Salomon* through all Iſrael, *Jeroboam* greatly enriched himſelfe: as taking into his hands all thoſe Cities which were given them by *Moſes* and *Joſua*; for, as it is written, *The Levites left their ſuburbs, and their poſſeſsion, and came to Juda, &c.* This irreligious policie of *Jeroboam* (which was the foundation of an Idolatry that never could be rooted out untill Iſrael for it was rooted out of the Land) was by prophecy and miracles impugned ſufficiently when it firſt began; but the affections maintaining it, were ſo ſtrong, that neither Prophecie nor Miracle could make them yeeld. *Jeroboam* could not 1 Kin.13.4. be moved now by the Authority of *Ahia*, who from the Lord had firſt promiſed unto him the Kingdome; nor by the withering of his owne hand as hee ſtretched it over the Altar, which alſo clave aſunder according to the ſigne, which the man of God had given him by the commandement of God, who againe recovered and cured him of Verſe 5. that defect; Verſe 6. yet he continued as obſtinate an Idolater as before, for he held it the ſafeſt courſe in policie to proceed as he had begun. This impious invention of *Jeroboam*, who forſooke God, and the Religion of his forefathers, by God and his Miniſters taught them, was by a moderne Hiſtorian compared with the policies of late Ages; obſerving well the practice of his Nation, being an Italian borne. *Sic qui hodie* (ſaith hee) *politici vocantur, & propria commoda præſenteſq; utilitates ſibi tanquam ultimum finem conſtituunt, cauſam quam vocant ſtatus in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipſa tuenda, promovenda, conſervanda, amplianda, nihil non faciendum putant. Si injuria proximo irroganda, ſi juſtitiæ honeſtatiſq; leges ſubvertendæ, ſi religio ipſa peſſundanda, ſi deniq; omnia jura divina & humana violanda, nihil intentatum, nil per fas nefaſq; relinquendum cenſent; cuncta ruant, omnia pereant, nihil ad ipſos, modo id, quod è re ſua eſſe ſibi perſuadent, obtineant, ac ſi nullus ſit qui talia curet, caſtigareve poſſit Deus: So they who are now called Polititians, propounding to themſelves, as their utmoſt end and ſcope, their owne commoditie and preſent profit, are wont to alledge the caſe of ſtate forſooth, as the principall point to bee regarded: for the good of the ſtate, for advancing, preſerving, or encreaſing of the ſtate, they thinke that they may doe any thing. If they meane to oppreſſe their neighbour, to overturne all lawes of juſtice and honeſtie, if Religion it ſelfe muſt goe to wracke, yea if all rights of God and man muſt be violated, they will try all courſes, be it right, bee it wrong, they will doe any thing; let all goe to ruine, what care they, ſo long as they may have what they would; as who ſhould ſay, there were no God that would offer to meddle in ſuch matters, or had power to correct them.*

Indeede this allegation of *raggione del ſtato*, did ſerve as well to uphold, as at the firſt it had done to bring in this vile Idolatry of the ten Tribes. Upon this ground *Ama-* Amos 7.13. *Zia* the Prieſt of Bethel counſelled the Prophet *Amos* not to prophecie at Bethel: *For* (ſaith hee) *it is the Kings Court*. Upon this ground even *Jehu* that had maſſacred the 2 King. 10.16. Prieſts of *Baal*, in zeale for the Lord, yet would not in any wiſe depart from that poli- 2 Kings 10.20. tique ſinne of *Jeroboam* the ſonne of *Nebat*, which made Iſrael to ſinne. It was reaſon of ſtate that perſwaded the laſt famous *French King Henry* the fourth to change his Religion, yet the Proteſtants whom he forſooke, obeyed him, but ſome of the Papiſts whom hee followed, murdered him. So ſtrongly doth the painted vizzor of wiſe proceeding delude even thoſe that know the foule face of impietie lurking under it: and behold the wretched ends that have ever followed it; whereof *Jehu* and all the Kings of Iſrael had o and were themſelves very great examples.

## §. II.

### *Of* Rehoboam *his impietie; for which he was puniſhed by* Seſac: *of his end and Contemporaries.*

WHile *Jeroboam* was occupied in ſetting up his new Religion, *Rehoboam* on the other ſide, having now little hope to recover the Provinces loſt, ſtrengthened the principall places remaining with all endeavour; for he fortified 2 Chro.12. and victualled fifteene Cities of Juda and Benjamin: not that he feared *Jeroboam* alone, but the Egyptians, to whom *Jeroboam* had not only faſtned himſelfe, but withall invited them to invade Judæa: laying perchance before them the uncountable riches of *David* and *Salomon*, which might now be eaſily had, ſeeing ten of the twelve Tribes were revolted, and become enemies to the Judæans. So as by thoſe two waies (of late years often trodden) to wit, change of Religion, and invitation of forraigne force, *Jeroboam* hoped to ſettle himſelfe in the ſeate of Iſrael, whom yet the powerfull God for his Idolatry in few yeares after rooted out, with all his. *Rehoboam* having alſo, as he thought, 1 King. 14.13. by fortifying divers places, aſſured his eſtate, forſooke the law of the living God, and made high Places, and Images, and Groves on every high Hill, and under every green Tree.

And therefore in the fifth yeare of his reigne, *Seſac* or *Shiſhac* before ſpoken of, being 2 Chro.12.3. now King of Egypt, and with whom, as well *Adad* of Idumæa, as *Jeroboam*, were famili- *Joſ. Ant. 8.c.4.* ar, and his inſtruments; entred Judæa with twelve thouſand Chariots, and threeſcore thouſand Horſe, beſides foot-men, which *Joſephus* numbers at foure hundred thouſand. This Armie was compounded of foure Nations: Egyptians, Lubæans, Succæans, and Cuſites. The Lubæans were Lybæans, the next bordering Region to Egypt, on the weſt-ſide. The Cuſites were of Petræa, and of the deſart Arabia, which afterward followed 2 Chro.12. *Zerah* againſt *Aſa* King of Juda. The Succæans according to *Junius* his opinion, were of 2 King.14. Succoth, which ſignifieth Tents: he doth ſuppoſe that they were the Troglodi- *Annot. in* 12. Chro. tæ, mentioned often in *Plinie*, *Ptolomie*, and other Authors. The Troglodites inhabited not farre *Plin. lib.6.c.29.* from the bankes of the red Sea, in 22. degrees from the line Northward, about ſixe hun- *Ptol. Aſiæ tab.3.* dred engliſh miles from the beſt and Maritimate part of Egypt: and therefore I doe not thinke that the Succims or Succæi were thoſe Troglodita, but rather thoſe Arabians Ca. 47.v.13. which *Ptolomie* cals *Arabes Ægyptii*, or *Ichthyophagi*, which poſſeſſe that part of Egypt between the mountaines called *Alabaſtrini*, and the red Sea, far nearer Egypt, and readier to be levied than thoſe removed Savages of the Troglodita.

With this great and powerfull Army, *Seſac* invaded Judæa, and (beſides many other ſtrong Cities) wan Jeruſalem it ſelfe; of which, and of the Temple, and Kings houſe, he took the ſpoyle, carrying away (beſides other treaſures) the golden ſhields which *Salomon* had made, in imitation of thoſe which *David* recovered from *AdadeZer*, in the Syrian war: theſe *Rehoboam* ſupplyed with Targets of braſſe, which were fit enough to guard a King of his quality: whom *Syracides* calleth, The fooliſhneſſe of the people.

From this time forward the Kings of Egypt claimed the ſoveraignty of Judæa, and held the Jewes as their Tributaries: *Seſac*, as it ſeemes, rendring up to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may be gathered out of the Word of God, where premiſing the deliverance of Juda after their humiliation, he doth notwithſtanding leave them under the yoke of Egypt, in theſe words: *Neverthleſſe they* (to wit, the Judæans) *ſhall b his ſervants*, that is, *the ſervants of* Seſac.

Aft

After this overthrow and diſhonour, **Rehoboam** reigned twelve yeeres, and his loſſes received by *Seſac*, notwithſtanding, he continued the warre againſt *Jeroboam* all his life time. After his death *Jeroboam* governed Iſrael foure yeeres.

**Rehoboam** lived 58. yeers, and reigned 17. his ſtory was written at large by *Shemeiah* and *Hiddon* the Prophets, but the ſame periſhed with that of *Nathan*, and the reſt.

With *Rehoboam, Archippus*, & *Terſippus*, the third and fourth *Archontes* or Governors for life after *Codrus*, governed in Athens. *Abdaſtrartus*, or *Abſtrartus*, in Tyre. *Doriſthus* the fift of the Heraclidæ in Sparta, according to *Euſebius* (others make him the ſixt) and *Priminas* the fourth in Corinth. Over the Latines reigned *Sylvius Alba*, *Sylvius Atys*, the fourth and fift of the Sylvii.

Euſeb. Chron.

About the 12. of *Rehoboam*, *Abdaſtrartus* King of Tyre was murthered by his Nurſes ſons, or foſter-brethren, the elder of which uſurped the Kingdome twelve yeeres.

Towards his latter times *Periciades*, or *Pyrithiades*, began to govern Aſſyria, the 34. King thereof: and not long after *Aſtartus*, the ſon of *Baleaſtartus*, recovered the Kingdome of Tyre from the Uſurpers.

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## §. III.

### *Of the great battaile betweene* Jeroboam *and* Abia; *with a Corollarie of the examples of Gods judgements.*

ABijah the ſonne of *Rehoboam*, inherited his Fathers Kingdome, and his vices. He raiſed an Armie of foure hundred thouſand, with which hee invaded *Jeroboam*, who encountred him with a double number of eight hundred houſand: Both Armies joyned neere to the Mount Ephraim, where *Jeroboam* was utterly overthrowne, and the ſtrength of Iſrael broken: for there fell of that ſide five hundred thouſand; the greateſt overthrow that ever was given or received of thoſe Nations. *Abijah* being now maſter of the field, recovered Bethel, Jeſhanah, and Ephron. Soon after which diſcomfiture, *Jeroboam* died: who reigned in all 22. yeers. *Abijah*, the better to ſtrengthen himſelfe, entred into league with *Heſion*, the third of the Adads of Syria; as may bee gathered out of the 2. of *Chron.* he raigned but three yeeres, and then died: the particulars of his acts were written by *Iddo* the Prophet, as ſome part of his Fathers were.

2 Chron. 16.23.

Here wee ſee how it pleaſed God to puniſh the ſinnes of *Salomon* in his ſon *Rehoboam*: firſt, by an Idolator and Traitor: and then by the ſucceſſor of that Egyptian, whoſe daughter *Salomon* had maried, therby the better to aſſure his eſtate, which while he ſerved God, was by God aſſured againſt all and the greateſt neigbouring Kings; and when he forſooke him, it was torne aſunder by his meaneſt Vaſſals. Not that the Father wanted ſtrength to defend him from the Egyptian *Seſac*; For the ſon *Abijah* was able to levie foure hundred thouſand men, and with the ſame number he overthrew eight hundred thouſand Iſraelites, and ſlew of them five hundred thouſand; God giving ſpirit, courage, and invention, when, and where it pleaſeth him. And as in thoſe times the cauſes were expreſt, why it pleaſed God to puniſh both Kings and their People: the ſame being both before, and at the inſtant delivered by Prophets; ſo the ſame juſt God, who liveth and governeth all things for ever, doth in theſe our times give victory, courage, and diſcourage, raiſe, and throw downe Kings, Eſtates, Cities, and Nations, for the ſame offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the preſent: for which reaſon, in theſe and other the afflictions of Iſrael, alwayes the cauſes are ſet downe, that they might be as preſidents to ſucceeding ages. They were puniſhed with famine in *Davids* time for three yeeres, *For Saul and his bloudy houſe, &c.* And *David* towards his latter end ſuffered all ſorts of afflictions, and ſorrowes in effect, for *Uriah*. *Salomon* had ten Tribes of twelve torne from his ſon for his Idolatrie. *Rehoboam* was ſpoiled of his riches and honour by *Seſac* of Egypt, becauſe the people of Juda mades images, high places, and groves, &c. and becauſe they ſuffered Sodomites in the Land. *Jeroboam* was puniſhed in himſelfe and his poſterity, for the golden Calves that hee erected. *Joram* had all his ſonnes ſlaine by the Philiſtims, and his very bowels torne out of his body by an excoriating flixe, for murthering his brethren. *Ahab* and *Jezebel* were ſlaine, the bloud of the one, the body of the other eaten with dogges, for the falſe accuſing and killing of *Naboth*: So alſo hath God puniſhed the ſame and

2 Sam. 21. 1.

the like ſinnes in all after-times, and in theſe our dayes by the ſame famine, plagues, warre, loſſe, vexation, death, ſickneſſe, and calamities; howſoever the wiſe men of the world raiſe theſe effects no higher than to ſecond cauſes, and ſuch other accidents, which, as being next their eyes and eares, ſeeme to them to worke every alteration that happeneth.

## §. IV.

### *Of* Aſa *and his Contemporaries.*

2 Chron. 14.

TO *Abijah* ſucceeded *Aſa*, who enjoyed peace for his firſt ten yeeres, in which time hee eſtabliſhed the Church of God, breaking downe the altars dedicated to ſtrange gods, with their images, cutting downe their groves, and taking away their high places. He alſo ſpared not his owne mother, who was an Idolatreſſe, but depoſing her from her regency, brake her Idoll, ſtampt it, and burnt it. Hee alſo fortified many Cities, and other places, providing (as provident Kings do) for the troubles of war in the leaſure of peace. For not long after hee was invaded by *Zerah*, who then commanded all the Arabians bordering Judæa, and with ſuch a multitude entred the territorie of *Aſa*, as (for any thing that I have read) were never aſſembled of that Nation, either before or ſince. For it is written, that there came againſt the Judæans, *Zerah* of Æthiopia, with an hoſte of ten hundred thouſand, and three hundred Chariots, which *Aſa* encountred with an Armie of five hundred and fourescore thouſand, levied out of thoſe two Tribes of Juda and Benjamin, which obeyed him, and with which hee overthrew this fearefull multitude, and had the ſpoile both of their Cities and Campes.

2 Chro. 15. 16.

2 Chron. 14. 9.

That this *Zerah* was not an Æthiopian, I have * proved already, and were it but the length betweene Æthiopia and Judæa, and the ſtrong flouriſhing Regions of Egypt interjacent (who would not ſuffer a million of ſtrangers to paſs through them) it were ſufficient to make it appeare how fooliſh the opinion is, that theſe invaders were Æthiopians. But in that the Scriptures acknowledge that Gerar was belonging to *Zerah*, and the cities thereabouts were ſpoiled by the Judæans, in following their victory, as places belonging to *Zerah*, and that all men know that Gerar ſtandeth upon the torrent of Beſor, which *David* paſt over when he ſurprized the Amalekites or Arabians; this proveth ſufficiently, that *Zerah* was leader of the Arabians, & that Gerar was a frontier town ſtanding on the uttermoſt South-border of all Judæa, from all parts of Æthiopia ſixe hundred miles. Alſo the ſpoiles which *Aſa* tooke, as the cattell, camels, and ſheepe, whereof he ſacrificed five thouſand, ſhew them to be Arabians adjoyning, and not far off, and not unknown Æthiopians. And if it bee objected that theſe deſart countries can hardly yeeld a million of men fit for the wars, I anſwer, that it is as like that Arabia Petræa, and the Deſart, which compaſſe two parts of the holy Land, ſhould yeeld ten hundred thouſand, as that two Tribes of the twelve, ſhould arme five hundred & foureſcore thouſand. Beſides, it anſwereth to the promiſe of God to *Abraham*, that theſe Nations ſhould exceede in number; for God ſpake it of *Iſmael*, that hee would make him fruitfull, and multiply him exceedingly, that hee ſhould beget twelve Princes, &c.

* In the former booke, c.4. §.14. *item*, c.8. §.10. * 6.

2 Chron. 14.

*Baaſha* a King of Iſrael began to reigne in the third of *Aſa*, and fearing the greatnes of *Aſa* after his great victory, entertained *Benhadad* King of Syria, of the race of *Adadezer*, to joyne with him againſt *Aſa*; and to the end to block him up, he fortified Rama, which lieth in the way from Jeruſalem towards Samaria.

2 Chro. 16. v. 1.

This warre began according to the letter of the Scriptures in the 36. yeere of *Aſa* his reigne: but becauſe in the firſt of Kings the 16. it is ſaid that *Baaſha* died in the 26. yeere of *Aſa*; therefore could not *Baaſha* begin this war in the 35. of *Aſa* his reign, but in the 35. yeer of the diviſion of Juda & Iſrael; for ſo many yeers it was from the firſt of *Rehoboam*, who reigned 17. yeers, to the 16. of *Aſa*. It may ſeeme ſtrange, that *Aſa* being able to bring into the field an Army of five hundred & foureſcore thouſand good Souldiers, did not eaſily drive away *Baaſha*, and defeat him of his purpoſes, the victories of *Abia* againſt *Jeroboam*, and of *Aſa* himſelfe againſt *Zerah*, being yet freſh in minde, which might well have emboldened the men of Juda, and aſmuch diſheartened the enemies. Queſtionleſſe there were ſome important Circumſtances, omitted in the Text, which cauſed *Aſa* to fight at this time with money. It may be that the imployment of ſo many hundred thouſands of hands, in the late ſervice againſt *Zerah*, had cauſed many mens private buſineſſes to lye undiſpatched, whereby the people being now intentive to the culture of their lands & other trades, might be unwilling to ſtir againſt the Iſraelites, chooſing rather to winke at apparent inconvenience, which the building of Rama would bring upon them in after-times. Such backwardneſſe of the people might have deterred *Aſa* from adventuring himſelf with the leaſt part of his forces, & committing the ſucceſs into the hands of God. Howſoever it were, he took the treaſures remaining in the temple, with which he waged *Benhadad* the Syrian againſt *Baaſha*, whoſe employments *Benhadad* readily accepted, and brake off confederacy with *Baaſha*. For the Iſraelites were his borderers and next neighbours, whom neither himſelfe (after his invaſion) nor his ſucceſſors after him ever gave over, till they had made themſelves maſters of that Kingdome. So *Benhadad* being now entred into Nepthalim, without reſiſtance, hee ſpoyled divers principall Cities thereof, & inforced *Baaſha* to quit Rama, & to leave the ſame to *Aſa*, with all the materials which hee had brought thither, to fortifie the ſame: which done, *Benhadad*, who loved neither party, being loden with the ſpoiles of Iſrael, and the treaſures of Juda, returned to Damaſcus. After this, when *Hanani* the Prophet reprehended *Aſa*, in that he now relyed on the ſtrength of Syria, and did not reſt himſelfe on the favour and aſſiſtance of God, he not only cauſed *Hanani* to be impriſoned, but he began to burden and oppreſſe his people, and was therefore ſtrooken with the grievous paines of the gout in his feet, wherewith after he had been two yeeres continually tormented, he gave up the ghoſt when he had reigned 41. yeeres.

2 Chron. 16. 4.

1 King. 15.

2 Chron. 16.

There lived with *Aſa*, *Ageſilaus* the ſixt of the Heraclidæ, & *Bacis* the fift King of the ſame race in Corinth, of whom his ſucceſſors were afterward called Bacidæ: *Aſtartus*, & *Aſtarimus* were Kings in Tyre. *Aſtarimus* took revenge on his brother *Phelletes*, for the murther of *Ithobalus* Prieſt of the goddeſſe *Aſtarta*, whom *Salomon* in dotage worſhipped. *Atys* and *Capys* ruled the Latines: *Pirithiades* & *Ophrateus* the Aſſyrians: *Terſippus* and *Phorbas* the Athenians: *Chemmis* reigned in Egypt; who dying in the 36. yeere of *Aſa*, left *Cheops* his ſucceſſour, that reigned fifty ſixe yeeres, even to the 16. of *Joas*.

Euſeb. in Chron.

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## §. V.

### *Of the great alteration falling out in the ten Tribes during the reigne of* Aſa.

IN the reigne of *Aſa* the Kingdome of Iſrael felt great and violent commotions, which might have reduced the ten Tribes unto their former allegeance to the houſe of *David*, if the wiſedome of God had not otherwiſe determined. The wickedneſſe of *Jeroboam* had, in his latter dayes, the ſentence of heavie vengeance laid upon it, by the mouth of *Ahia*, the ſame Prophet which had foretold the diviſion of Iſrael, for the ſinne of *Salomon*, and his reigne over the ten Tribes. One ſon *Jeroboam* had among others, in whom onely God found ſo much piety, as (though it ſufficed not to with-holde his wrath from that Family) it procured unto him a peaceable end; an honourable teſtimony of the peoples love, by their generall mourning and lamentation at his death, and (wherein he was moſt happy) the favourable approbation of God himſelfe.

After the loſſe of this good ſon, the ungodly father was ſoon taken away: a miſerable creature, ſo conſcious of his vile unthankefulneſſe to God, that he durſt not ſuffer his owne name to bee uſed in conſulting with an holy Prophet, aſſured of the ruine hanging over him and his, yea of Gods extreme hatred; yet forbearing to deſtroy thoſe accurſed Idols that wrought his confuſion. So loath he was to forſake his worldly wiſedome, when the world was ready to forſake him, and all belonging to him, his hatefull memory excepted.

*Nadab* the ſon of *Jeroboam*, reigned in the ſecond and third yeeres of *Aſa*, which are reckoned as two yeeres, though indeed his fathers laſt yeere of two and twenty did run along (how farre is uncertaine) with the ſecond of *Aſa*, whoſe third yeere was the firſt of *Baaſha*, ſo that perhaps this *Nadab* enjoyed not his Kingdome one whole yeere. Hee did not alter his fathers courſes, neither did God alter his ſentence. It ſeemes that hee little feared the judgements denounced againſt his fathers houſe: for as a Prince that

1 King. 15. 25.

was ſecure of his owne eſtate, he armed all Iſrael againſt the Philiſtims, & beſieged one of their Townes. There (whether it were ſo, that the people were offended with his ill ſucceſſe, and recalled to mind their grievous loſſe of five hundred thouſand under *Jeroboam*, counting it an unluckie family to the Nation; or whether by ſome particular indiſcretion, he exaſperated them) ſlaine he was by *Baaſha*, whom the Army did willingly accept for King in his ſtead. *Baaſha* was no ſooner proclaimed King, than hee began to take order with the houſe of *Jeroboam*, that none of them might moleſt him, putting all of them, without mercy, to the ſword. That he did this for private reſpects, & not in regard of Gods will to have it ſo, it is evident by his continuing in the ſame form of Idolatry which *Jeroboam* had begun. Wherefore he received the ſame ſentence from God that had been laid upon *Jeroboam*; which was executed upon him alſo in the ſame ſort. He began to infeſt *Aſa*, by fortifying Ramah; but waſt diverted from thence by the Syrian *Benhadad*, who did waſt his Countrie, deſtroying all the Land of *Nepthalim*. Foure and twenty yeeres hee raigned, and then dying, left the Crowne to *Ela* his ſon; who enjoyed it, as *Nadab* the ſon of *Jeroboam* had done, two yeeres current, perhaps not one compleat.

*Ela* was as much an Idolater as his father: and withall a riotous perſon. Hee ſent an Army againſt Gibbethon, the ſame town of the Philiſtims, before with *Nadab* the ſon of *Jeroboam* periſhed; but he ſate at home the whileſt, feaſting & drinking with his Minions, whereby hee gave ſuch advantage againſt himſelfe, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, an ambitious man, remaining with the King at Tirza, finding his Maſter ſo diſſolute, and his behaviour ſo contemptible, conceived hope of the like fortune as *Baaſha* had found, by doing as *Baaſha* had done. Wherefore he did ſet upon *Ela* in his drunkenneſſe, and ſlew him. Preſently upon which fact, hee ſtiled himſelfe King of Iſrael: and began his reigne with maſſacring all the houſe of *Baaſha*; extending his cruelty not onely to his children, and kinsfolke, but unto all his friends in Tirza. Theſe newes were quickly blowne to the Campe at Gibbethon, where they were not welcommed according to *Zimri* his expectation. For the Souldiers in ſtead of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitor: and being led by *Omri*, whom they ſaluted King, they (quitting the ſiege of Gibbethon) preſented themſelves before Tirza; which in ſhort ſpace they may ſeeme to have forced. *Zimri* wanting ſtrength to defend the City, not courage to keepe himſelfe from falling alive into his enemies hands, did ſet fire on the Palace, conſuming it and himſelfe together to aſhes. Seven dayes he is ſaid to have reigned: accounting (as is moſt likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the Campe. For *Zimri* was alſo an idolater, *Walking in the way of* Jeroboam; & therfore is likely to have had more time wherein to declare himſelfe, than the reigne of ſeven dayes, and thoſe conſumed partly in murthering the friends of *Baaſha*, partly in ſeeking to have defended his own life. After the death of *Ela*, there aroſe another King to oppoſe the faction of *Omri*; whereby it may ſeeme, that *Zimri* had made his party ſtrong, as being able to ſet up a new head, who doubtleſſe would never have appeared, if there had not beene ready to his hand, ſome ſtrength, not unlikely to reſiſt and vanquiſh the Army, which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new Competitor of *Omri*, held out, I doe not finde; onely it appeares that his ſide was decayed, and ſo he died, leaving no other Succeſſor than his concurrent.

1 King. 16.19.

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## §. VI.

### *A conjecture of the cauſes hindering the re-union of Iſrael with Juda, which might have beene effected by theſe troubles.*

ANie man that ſhall conſider the ſtate of Iſrael in thoſe times, may juſtly wonde how it came to paſſe, that either the whole Nation, wearied with the calamitie already ſuffered under theſe unfortunate Princes, and with the preſent civil warres, did not returne to their ancient Kings, and re-unite themſelves with the migh Tribes of Juda and Benjamin; or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppreſſed f ctions, did not call in *Aſa*, but rather choſe the one to endure a deſperate neceſſi of yeelding, or burning himſelfe, the other to languiſh away, as a man forſaken; th to have recourſe unto a remedy, ſo ſure, ſo ready, and ſo honourable. To ſay th GOD was pleaſed to have it ſo, were a true, but an idle anſwer (for his ſecret wil

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the cauſe of all things) unleſſe it could be proved, that he had forbidden *Aſa* to deale in that buſineſſe, as he forbad *Rehoboam* to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the reſtraint laid by God upon *Rehoboam*, did only binde his hands from attempting the ſuppreſſion of that preſent inſurrection, it appeares by the Warre continued betweene Iſrael and Juda, ſo many yeers following: wherein *Abia* ſo farre prevailed, that he wan a great bataile, and recovered ſome Townes belonging to the other Tribes, which hee annexed to his own Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly look into the ſecond cauſes, moving the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to ſuffer any thing under new upſtarts, rather than to caſt their eyes upon that Royall houſe of *David*, from which the ſucceſſion of five Kings in lineall deſcent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly have beene laid upon the meane beginnings thereof. To thinke that *Omri* had prevented his Competitors in making peace with *Aſa*, were a conjecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not onely an Idolater, *but did worſe than all that were before him*; which as it might ſerve alone to prove, that *Aſa*, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, ſo the courſe which he profeſſed to take at the very firſt, of revenging the maſſacre committed upon the family and friends of *Baaſha*, (*Aſa* his mortall enemy) gives manifeſt reaſon, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, ſhould more juſtly than he have expected the friendſhip of *Juda* in that quarrel. Wherfore, in ſearching out the reaſon of this backwardnes in the ten Tribes (which was ſuch, that they may ſeeme to have never thought upon the matter) to ſubmit themſelves to their true Princes; it were not amiſs to examine the cauſes, moving the people to revenge the death of *Ela*, an idle drunkard, rather than of *Nadab* the ſon of *Jeroboam*, who followed the wars in perſon, as a man of ſpirit & courage. Surely it is apparent, that the very firſt defection of the ten Tribes, was (if we look upon humane reaſon) occaſioned by deſire of breaking that heavie yoke of bondage wherewith *Salomon* had galled their neckes. Their deſire was to have a King that ſhould not oppreſſe them; not to have no King at all. And therfore when the arrogant follie of *Rehoboam* had cauſed them to renounce him, they did immediatly chooſe *Jeroboam* in his ſtead, as a man likely to afford that liberty unto them, for which he had contended in their behalfe. Neither were they (as it ſeemes) herein altogether deceived. For his affectation of popularity appears in his building of decayed Towers, and in the inſtitution of his new deviſed idolatry; where he told the people, that it was too much for them, to travaile ſo far as to Jeruſalem. But whether it were ſo, that his moderation, being voluntary, began to ceaſe, towards the latter end of his reign, and in the reigne of his ſon, when long time of poſſeſſion had confirmed his title, which at the firſt was onely good by courteſie of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in ſuch caſes) were more offended by ſome prerogatives of a King, that hee ſtill retained in his owne hands, than pleaſed with his remiſſion of other burdens: it is cleerly apparent, that the whole army of all Iſrael joyned with *Baaſha*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*, and eradication of *Jeroboams* houſe.

1.King.16.25.

Now the reign of *Baaſha* himſelf, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) every way unfortunate; his labour and coſt at Rama was caſt away; the other ſide of his Kingdom harried by the Syrians; neither did he win that one town of Gibbethon from the Philiſtims, but left that buſineſſe to his ſon, who likewiſe appeares an unprofitable ſluggard. Wherefore it muſt needs bee, that the favour of the people toward the houſe of *Baaſha* grew from his good forme of Civill government, which happely he reduced to a more temperate method than *Jeroboam* ever meant to doe. And ſurely he that ſhall take pains to look into thoſe examples, which are extant of the different courſes, held by the Kings of Iſrael and Juda, in adminiſtration of juſtice, will finde it moſt probable, that upon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued ſo averſe from the line of *David*; as to thinke all adverſity more tolerable, than the weighty Scepter of that houſe. For the death of *Joab* and *Shimei* was indeede by them deſerved; yet in that they ſuffered it without forme of judgement, they ſuffered like unto men innocent. The death of *Adonijah* was both without judgement, and without any crime objected, other than the Kings jealouſie: out of which by the ſame rule of arbitrary juſtice (under which it may bee ſuppoſed that many were caſt away) hee would have ſlaine *Jeroboam* (if hee could have caught him) before he had yet committed any offence; as appeares by his confident returne out of Egypt, like one that was knowne to have endured wrong, having not offered any.

2 Chron.24.21.

2 King.21.16.

2 King.6.31.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, *Jehoram* did upon his brethren, & upon ſundry of his greateſt men; as alſo *Joaſh* did ſo put to death *Zachariah* the ſon of *Jehojada*, who had made him King, *even in the court of the houſe of the Lord: and* Manaſſes *did ſhed innocent bloud exceeding much, till hee repleniſhed Jeruſalem from corner to corner;* and this was imputed to him as another fault; *beſides his ſinne, wherewith he made Juda to ſinne.* Contrariwiſe, among the Kings of Iſrael we finde no monument of ſuch arbitrary proceeding, unleſſe perhaps the words of *Jehoram* the ſonne of *Ahab* (which were but words) may be taken for an inſtance, when he ſaid, *God doe ſo to mee, and more alſo, if the head of* Eliſha *the ſonne of* Shaphat *ſhall ſtand on him this day:* whereby it is not plaine whether hee meant to kill him without more adoe, or to have him condemned as a falſe Prophet, that had made them hold out againſt the Aramites, till they were faine to eate their owne children; which he thought a ſufficient argument to prove, that it was not Gods purpoſe to deliver them. The death of *Naboth* ſheweth rather the liberty which the Iſraelites enjoyed, than any peremptory execution of the Kings will. For *Naboth* did not feare to ſtand upon his owne right, though *Ahab* were even ſicke for anger; neither was hee for that cauſe put to death, as upon commandement, but made away by conſpiracie, the matter being handled after a judiciall forme, which might give ſatisfaction to the people, ignorant of the device, though to God it could not.

2 King.19.10.

2 King.10.4.

The murther of the Prophet is continually aſcribed to *Jezabel*, an impudent woman, and not unto the King her husband. Neither is it certaine, that there was no Law made whereby their lives were taken from them; but certaine it is, that the people being idolaters, were both pleaſed with their death, & laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the Kings of Juda (ſuch as are regiſtred) prove them to uſe a more abſolute maner of command, than the Kings of the ten Tribes. Neither doe their ſufferings witneſſe the contrary. For of thoſe which reigned over Juda, from the diviſion of the Kingdome, to the captivity of the ten Tribes, three were ſlaine by the people, and two were denied a buriall amongſt their anceſtors. Yea, the death of *Ahazia* and his brethren, ſlaine by *Jehu*, with the deſtruction of all that Royall ſeed of *Athalia*, did not (for ought that we can read) ſtirre up in the people any ſuch thirſt of revenge, as might by the ſuddenneſſe and uniformity teſtifie the affection to bee generall, and proceeding from a loving remembrance of their Princes: unleſſe we ſhould thinke that the death of *Athalia*, after ſeven yeeres reigne, were occaſioned rather by the memory of her ill purchaſing, than by the preſent ſenſe of her tyrannicall abuſing the government, whereon ſhe had ſeiſed. On the other ſide, ſuch of the Kings of Iſrael as periſhed by treaſon (which were ſeven of the twenty) were all ſlaine by conſpiracie of the great men, who aſpired by treaſon to the Crowne: the people being ſo far from embruing their hands in the bloud of their Soveraignes, that (after *Nadab*) they did never forbeare to revenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in their power; nor approve the good ſucceſſe of treaſon, unleſſe feare compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being throughly revenged upon other two, namely the death of *Ela* and *Zacharia*, upon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who traiterouſly got and uſurped, for a little while, their places; onely three of the ſeven remaine, whoſe ends how the people tooke, it may be doubtfull. Though indeede it is preciſely ſaid of the ſlaughter, committed on *Ahabs* children by *Jehu*, that the people durſt not fight with him that did it, becauſe *they were exceedingly affraid:* and the ſame feare might be in them at the death of *Peka*, whoſe hiſtory (as others of that time) is curſorily paſſed over. The like may be pronounced, and more abſolutely, of the Kings of *England*, that never any of them periſhed by fury of the people, but by treaſon of ſuch as did ſucceed them; neither was there any motive urging ſo forcibly the death of King *Edward* and King *Richard* when they were in priſon, as feare leſt the people ſhould ſtirre in their quarrell. And certainly (howſoever all that the Law cals treaſon, bee interpreted, as tending finally to the Kings deſtruction) in thoſe treaſonable inſurrections of the vulgar, which have here moſt prevailed, the fury of the multitude hath quenched it ſelfe with the bloud of ſome great Officers; no ſuch rebellions, howſoever wicked and barbarous otherwiſe, thirſting after the ruine of their naturall Soveraigne, but rather forbearing the advantages gotten upon his Royall perſon: which if any man impute unto groſſe ignorance, another may more charitably, and I thinke, more truely, aſcribe to a reverent affection. Wherefore that fable of *Briareus*, who, being looſened by *Pallas*, did with his 100. hands give aſſiſtance to *Jupiter*, when all the reſt of the gods conſpired againſt him, is very fitly expounded by Sir *Francis Bacon*, as ſignifying that Monarches need not to feare any curbing of their abſolutenes by mighty ſubjects, as long as by wiſedome they keep the hearts of the people, who will bee ſure to come in on their ſide. Though indeed the Storie might very well have borne the ſame interpretation, as it is rehearſed by *Homer*, who tells us that *Pallas* was one of the conſpiracie, and that *Thetis* alone did marre all their practice, by looſening *Briareus*. For a good forme of government ſufficeth by it ſelfe to retaine the people, not onely without aſſiſtance of a laborious Wit, but even againſt all devices of the greateſt and ſhrewdeſt Politicians: every Sheriffe and Conſtable, being ſooner able to arme the multitude, in the Kings behalfe, than any over-weening Rebell, how mighty ſoever, can againſt him.

This declaration of the peoples love, being ſeldome found in Juda, makes it very likely, that the rule it ſelfe of government there was ſuch, as neither gave occaſion of contentment unto the ſubjects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the Kings. Upon which reaſons it may ſeem that the multitude was kept uſually diſarmed. For otherwiſe it would have beene almoſt impoſſible, that *Athalia* the ſiſter of *Ahab*, a ſtranger to the Royall bloud of Juda, ſhould by the onely authority of a Queene-mother have deſtroyed all the ſeed of *David*, and uſurped the Kingdome very neere 7. yeeres, without finding any reſiſtance. Yea when *Jehojada* the high Prieſt had agreed with the Captains and principall men of the Land to ſet up *Joaſh* their lawfull King, whereunto the whole nation were generally well affected; hee was faine to give to theſe Captaines and their men, *the ſpeares and the ſhields that were King* Davids, *& were in the houſe of the Lord*. But we need not enter into ſuch particulars. Queſtionleſſe, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their duty toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their owne choice or admiſſion, holding the Crowne by a more uncertaine tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reaſon, why the ten Tribes did never ſeeke to returne to their ancient Lords: but after the deſtruction of their ſixe firſt Kings, which died in the reigne of *Aſa*, admitted a ſeventh of a new family, rather than they would conſubject themſelves with thoſe of Juda and Benjamin, under a more honourable, but more heavie yoke.

So *Aſa* having ſeen the death of 7. Kings of Iſrael, died himſelfe after one and fortie yeeres reigne, leaving *Jehoſaphat* his ſonne to deale with *Ahab* the ſonne of *Omri*, who was the eighth King over the ten Tribes.

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## §. VII.

### *Of* Jehoſaphat *and his contemporaries.*

*Jehoſaphat*, who ſucceeded *Aſa*, was a Prince religious and happy; hee deſtroyed all the Groves, Altars, and high places dedicated to idolatry, and ſent teachers to all places and people wanting inſtruction; he recovered the tribute due unto him by the Arabians and Philiſtims: from the one he had ſilver, from the other ſheepe & goates to the number of fifteene thouſand & foure hundred. The numbers of men of war were more than admirable; for it is written that *Adnah* had the command of three hundred thouſand, *Jehohanam* of two hundred and foureſcore thouſand, and *Amaſia* of two hundred thouſand; alſo that he had, beſides theſe in Benjamin, of thoſe that bare ſhields, which we call *Targetiers*, and of Archers under *Eliada*, two hundred thouſand, & under the commandement of *Jehozabad* a hundred and foureſcore thouſand: which numbred together make eleven hundred and ſixty thouſand, all which are ſaid to have waited upon the King beſides his garriſons.

2 Chron. 17.

That Juda & Benjamin, a territory not much exceeding the Countie of Kent, ſhould muſter eleven hundred and ſixtie thouſand fighting men, it is very ſtrange, and the number farre greater than it was found upon any other view. *Joab* in *Davids* time found five hundred thouſand: *Rehoboam* found but an hundred and foureſcore thouſand: *Abia* foure hundred and eight thouſand: *Aſa* five hundred and foureſcore thouſand: *Amazia* inrolled all that could beare armes, & they amounted to three hundred thouſand. Surely,

2 Sam. 24. 4.

whereas it is written that when news was brought to *Jehoſaphat* that Moab & Ammon were entred his territory to the Weſt of Jordan, and that their numbers were many, he feared ( to wit ) the multitude; it is not likely that he would have feared even the army of *Xerxes*, if he could have brought into the field 11. hundred and 60. thouſand fighting men, leaving all his ſtrong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion( referring my ſelfe to better judgement) that theſe numbers ſpecified in the ſecond of *Chronicles* the 17. diſtributed to ſeverall Leaders, were not all at one time, but that the 300. thouſand under *Adnab*, and the 200. and foureſcore thouſand under *Jehohanam*, were afterward commanded and muſtered by *Amaſiah*, *Eliada*, and *Jehoſabad*: for the groſſe and totall is not in that place ſet downe, as it was under the other Kings formerly named. Againe, as the aides which *Jehoſaphat* brought to *Ahab* did not ſhew that he was a Prince of extraordinary power, ſo the Moabites & Ammonites which he feared, could never make the one halfe of thoſe numbers, which he that commanded leaſt among *Jehoſaphats* Leaders had under him.

This mighty Prince, notwithſtanding his greatneſſe, yet he joyned in friendſhip with *Ahab* King of Iſrael, who had married that wicked woman *Jezabel*. Him *Jehoſaphat* viſited at Samaria, and cauſed his ſon *Joram* to marry *Athalia*, this *Achabs* daughter.

*Ahab* perſwaded *Jehoſaphat* to aſſiſt him in the Warre againſt the Syrians, who held the City of Ramoth Gilead from him, & called together foure hundred of his Prophets, or Baalites, to foretell the ſucceſſe: who promiſed him victory. But *Jehoſaphat* beleeved nothing at all in thoſe diviners, but reſolved firſt of all to conferre with ſome one Prophet of the Lord God of Iſrael. Hereupon *Achab* made anſwer that he had one called *Michaiah*, but he hated that Prophet, becauſe he alwayes foretold of evill, and never of any good towards him. Yet *Michaiah* was ſent for to the King; but by the way the meſſenger prayed him to conſent with the reſt of the Prophets, and to promiſe victory unto them as they did. But *Michaiah* ſpake the truth, and repeated his viſion to both the Kings, which was, that *God asked who ſhall perſwade* Ahab, *that hee may goe up and fall at Ramoth Gilead?* to whom a ſpirit that ſtood before the Lord anſwered, that hee would enter into his Prophets, & be in them a falſe ſpirit to delude. For as it is ſaid by Chriſt: *Non enim vos eſtis qui loquimini, ſed ſpiritus patris veſtri loquitur in vobis*: It is not you that ſpeake, but the Spirit of your Father ſpeakes in you: ſo in a contrary kinde did the devill in the Prophets of *Baal*, or Satan, incourage *Achab* to his deſtruction. And as *P. Martyr* upon this place well obſerveth, theſe evill ſpirits are miniſters of Gods vengeance, & are uſed as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes ſometime imploy. For as it pleaſeth God by his good Angels, to ſave & deliver from deſtruction, of which the Scriptures have many examples: ſo on the contrary, it is by the evill that hee puniſheth and deſtroyeth; both which are ſaid to performe the will of their Creator, *licet non eodem animo*. *Eccleſiaſticus* remembreth a ſecond ſort of malignant natures, but they are every-where viſible. There are ſpirits, ſaith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on ſure ſtroakes. In the time of deſtruction they ſhew forth their power, and accompliſh the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Michaias* having by this his revelation greatly diſpleaſed the King, & the Prophets, whoſe ſpirit he diſcovered, was ſtroken by *Zidkiah* one of *Baals* Prophets, and by *Achab* himſelfe committed to priſon: where hee appointed him to bee reſerved and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But *Michaiah*, not fearing to reply, anſwered, *If thou returne in peace, the Lord hath not ſpoken by mee*. Neverthеleſſe *Achab* went on in that warre, and was wounded to death. *Jehoſaphat* returned to Jeruſalem, where he was reprehended by *Jehu* the Prophet for aſſiſting an idolatrous Prince, and one that hated God.

2 Chron. 18.

After this the Aramites or Damaſcens, joyned with the Moabites, Ammonites & Idumæans to invade Judæa: who paſſe Jordan & encamp at Engaddi; & when *Jehoſaphat* gathered his army, the prophet *Jahaziel* foretold him of the victory, which ſhould be obtained without any bloud-ſhed of his part: & ſo when *Jehoſaphat* approached, this aſſembly of Nations, the Ammonites & Moabites, diſagreeing with the Idumæans, & quarrelling for ſome cauſes among themſelves, thoſe of Ammon & Moab ſet upon the Idumæans, & brake them utterly: which done, they alſo invaded each other; in which broile *Jehoſaphat* arriving, took the ſpoile of them all without any loſs of his part, as it was foretold & pro-

2 Chron. 20.

miſed by God. Notwithſtanding this victory, *Jehoſaphat*, forgetting that he was formerly reprehended for aſſiſting an Idolatrous King, did notwithſtanding joyin with *Ochazias*, the ſon of *Achab*, in preparing a Fleet to ſend to Ophir, hoping of the like returne which *Salomon* had: but as *Eleizer* the Prophet foretold him, his ſhips periſhed, & were broken in the port of Ezion Gaber, and ſo that enterprize was overthrowne. 2 Chron. 20.

Yet he taketh part with *Jehoram* the brother of *Ochozias*, againſt the Moabites, with which Kings of Juda & Iſrael the Edomites joyne their forces, not forgetting, it ſeemes, that the Moabites, aſſiſted by the Ammonites, had not long before deſtroyed their army.

The Moabites, ſubjects to *David* & *Salomon*, forſaking the Kings of Juda, gave themſelves for vaſſals to *Jeroboam*, & ſo they continued to his ſucceſſors till the death of *Achab*: but *Jehoſaphat*, notwithſtanding the Idolatry of his Colleague, yet as it ſeemeth he was drawne into this war, both to bee avenged of the Moabites for their defection from Juda to Iſrael, as alſo becauſe they had lately joined themſelves with the Syrians againſt *Joſaphat*, & thirdly, to puniſh their double rebellion who firſt forſook Juda, & now Iſrael.

Both Kings reſolved to paſſe by the way of Idumæa, thereby the better to aſſure that Nation; for we find that both Moab, Ammon & Edom were all in the field together at Engaddi againſt *Jehoſaphat*: But whether they had then declared themſelves againſt *Jehoſaphat*, it is not certaine; for in the 2. of *Chron.* 11. *verſ.* 8. it is written, that in the time of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Jehoſaphat*, Edom rebelled: and therefore it ſeemeth to mee that the Edomites, when they were ſlain by Moab & Ammon, not finding themſelves ſatisfied in ſuch conditions as they required, offered to turne from them, & to joyne themſelves with the army of Juda. For, that they were numbred among the enemies of *Jehoſaphat*, it is plaine in the 2. of *Chron.* the 20. and as plain *c.* 21. *v.* 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a King, till *Jehoſaphats* death. Now in the paſſage of theſe Kings towards Moab, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the yeer, or whether the Idumæans having a purpoſe to rebell, miſled the army of Juda & Iſrael, with intent to infeeble them for want of water; true it is, that they ſuffered the ſame, if not a greater thirſt than the armies of *Craſſus* & *M. Antonius* did in their Parthian expeditions; and had in all likelihood utterly periſhed, had not *Eliſha* taught them to cut trenches wherinto the water ſprang, by which not onely *Jehoſaphat* and his army, but *Jehoram* King of Iſrael an Idolater was relieved: the great mercy & godnes of God having ever been prone to ſave the evill for the good, whereas he never deſtroyed the good for the evill.

The miſerable iſſue of this warre, and how *Moab* burnt his ſon, or the ſon of the King 2 King.3.
of Edom, for ſacrifice, on the rampire of his owne City, I have already written in the
life of *Jehoram* among the Kings of Iſrael. *Jehoſaphat* reigned 25. yeers and died; he was 2 Chron. 20.
buried in the valley of *Jehoſaphat*, and a part of the Pyramis ſet over his grave is yet to
be ſeen, ſaith *Brochard*. His acts are written at large by *Jehu* the ſon of *Hanani*. *Broch. ter. ſanct.*

There lived with *Jehoſaphat*, *Ophratenes* in Aſſyria, *Capetus* & *Tiberinus* Kings of the Albans in Italy; of the latter the river Tiber (formerly Albula) tooke name.

In *Jehoſaphats* time alſo ruled *Mecades* or *Mezades* in Athens: *Agelas* or *Ageſilaus* in Corinth; and *Archilaus* of the ſame race, of the Heraclidæ the ſeventh in Lacedæmon. *Badeſorus* ruled the Tyrians; *Achab*, *Ochazias* and *Jehoram* the Iſraelites.

# CHAP. XX.

## *Of* Jehoram *the ſonne of* Jehoſaphat, *and* Ahazia.

### §. I.

### *That* Jehoram *was made King ſundry times.*

JEHORAM the ſon of *Jehoſaphat* King of Juda began to reigne at thirty two yeers of age, & lived untill he was forty yeers old, being eight yeers a King: but of theſe eight yeers, which *Jehoram* is ſaid to have reigned, foure are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the Syrian warre with *Ahab*, left this *Jehoram* King in his ſtead, as *Ahab* did his ſon *Ahazia*.
This appeares by the ſeverall beginnings, which are given in Scripture to the two *Jehorams* 1 King.22.v.51.
Kings of Iſrael and Juda, and to *Ahazia* the eldeſt ſon of *Ahab*. For *Ahazia* is

ſaid to have begun his reigne, in the ſeventeenth yeer of *Jehoſaphat*. *Jehoram* the brother 2 King.1.17. of *Abazia* ſucceeded him in the 2. yeer of *Jehoram the ſonne of Jehoſaphat King of Juda*; that is, in the next yeere after that *Jehoram* of Juda was deſigned King by his father; it 2 King.3.v.1. and 9. being (as we finde elſewhere) *the eighteenth yeer of* Jehoſaphat *himſelfe*, who went with the Iſraelites againſt Moab. Hereby it appeares that the full power and execution of the royall office was retained ſtill by *Jehoſaphat*, who governed abſolutely by himſelfe, not 2 King.8.16. communicating the rule with his ſon. But in *the fifth yeere of* Jehoram *King of Iſrael*, which was the two and twentieth of *Jehoſaphat*, the old King tooke unto him, as partner in the Government, this his eldeſt ſon, who was at that time 32. yeeres old, his Father being 57. Now foraſmuch as *Jehoſaphat reigned 25. yeeres*, it is evident that his ſonne 2 King.22.42. did not reigne alone till the eighth of *Joram* King of Iſrael. The like regard is to be had in accounting the times of other Kings of Juda & Iſrael, who did not alwayes reign preciſely ſo long as the bare letter of the text may ſeem at firſt to affirme: but their yeeres were ſometimes compleat, ſometimes onely current, ſometimes confounded with the yeeres of their ſucceſſors or foregoers, & muſt therefore be found by comparing their times with the yeeres of thoſe others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing leſſe needfull than curious, to enquire into the reaſons moving *Jehoſaphat* either to aſſume unto him his ſon as partner in the Kingdome, whileſt hee was able himſelfe to command both in peace and in warre, the like having never beene done by any of his progenitors, or having once (in the 17. of his reign) vouchſafed unto him that honour, to reſume it unto himſelfe, or at leaſt wiſe to deferre the confirmation of it, untill foure or five yeers were paſſed. Yet foraſmuch as to enter into the examination of theſe paſſages, may be a meane to find ſome light, whereby we may more clearly diſcover the cauſes of much extraordinary buſineſſe enſuing, I hold it not amiſſe to make ſuch conjecture, as the circumſtances of the Story briefly handled in the Scriptures may ſeeme to approve.

We are therefore to conſider, that this King *Jehoſaphat* was the firſt of *Rehoboams* iſſue that ever entred into any ſtreight league with the Kings of the ten Tribes. All that reigned in Juda before him, had with much labour and long war, tired themſelves in vaine, making ſmall profit of the greateſt advantages that could be wiſhed. Wherefore *Jehoſaphat* thought it the wiſeſt way, to make a league offenſive and defenſive betweene Iſrael and Juda, whereby each might enjoy their owne in quiet.

2 Chro.19. v.2. and 3. This confederacy made by a religious King, with one that did *hate the Lord*, could not long proſper, as not iſſuing from the true *root and fountaine of all wiſedome:* yet as a piece of ſound policy, doubtleſſe it wanted not faire pretences of much common good therby likely to ariſe, with mutuall fortification of both thoſe Kingdoms, againſt the uncircumciſed nations their ancient enemies. This apparent benefit, being ſo ineſtimable a jewell, that it might not eaſily be loſt, but continue as hereditary from father to ſon, it was thought a very good courſe to have it confirmed by ſome ſure bond of affinity, and thereupon was *Athalia* the daughter of *Omri*, & ſiſter of *Ahab* King of Iſrael, given in marriage to *Jehoram*, who was ſon and heire apparent to the King of Juda. This Lady was of a maſculine ſpirit, and had learned ſo much of Queen *Jezabel* her brothers wife, that ſhe durſt undertake, & could throughly performe a great deale more in Jeruſalem, than the other knew how to compaſſe in Samaria. Shee was indeed a fire-brand ordained by God to conſume a great part of the nobleſt houſes in Juda, and perhaps of thoſe men or their children, whoſe worldly wiſedome, regardleſſe of Gods pleaſure, had brought her in.

The firſt fruits of this great league, was the Syrian war at Ramoth Gilead, wherein Juda & Iſrael did adventure equally, but the profit of the victory ſhould have redounded wholly to *Ahab*: as godly Princes very ſeldome thrive by matching with Idolaters, but rather ſerve the turnes of thoſe falſe friends, who being ill affected to God himſelfe, cannot be well affected to his ſervants. Before their ſetting forth, *Ahab* deſigned, as King, his ſon *Ahaziah*; not ſo much perhaps in regard of the uncertaine events of war (for none of his predeceſſors had ever done the like upon the like occaſions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the Prophet *Michaia* (for he deſpiſed them) as inviting *Jehoſaphat* by his owne example, to take the ſame courſe, wherein he prevailed.

## §. II.

### *Probable conjectures of the motives inducing the old King* Jehoſophat *to change his purpoſe often, in making his ſonne* Jehoram *King.*

MAny arguments do very ſtrongly prove *Jehoram* to have been wholly over-ruled by his wife; eſpecially for his forſaking the religion of his godly Anceſtors, and following the abominable ſuperſtitions of the houſe of *Achab.*

That ſhe was a woman of intolerable pride, and abhorring to live a private life, the whole courſe of her actions witneſſeth at large. Much vaine matter ſhe was able to produce; whereby to make her husband thinke that his brethren and kindred were but meane and unworthy perſons in compariſon of him, and of his children, which were begotten upon the daughter and ſiſter of two great Kings, not upon baſe women & meere ſubjects. The Court of *Ahab*, and his famous victories obtained againſt the *Syrian Benhadad,* were matter ſufficient to make an inſolent man think highly of himſelfe, as being allied ſo honourably; who could otherwiſe have found in his heart well enough, to deſpiſe all his brethren, as being the eldeſt, and heire apparent to the Crown; whereof already he had, in a manner, the poſſeſſion.

How ſoone his vices brake out, or how long hee diſſembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be knowne. Like enough it is, that ſome ſmoke, out of the hidden fire, did very ſoone make his fathers eyes to water; who thereupon cauſed the young man to know himſelfe better, by making him fall backe into ranke among his younger brethren. And ſurely the doings of *Jehoſaphat* about the ſame time, argue no ſmall diſtemper of the whole country, through the miſgovernment of his ungodly ſon. For the good King was fain to make his progreſſe round about the Land; reclaiming the people unto the ſervice of God, and appointing Judges *throughout all the ſtrong Cities of* 2 Chro. 19. v. 4. 5. &c.
*Juda Citie by Citie.* This had beene a needleſſe labour, if the religion taught and ſtrongly maintained by *Aſa*, and by himſelfe, had not ſuffered alteration, & the courſe of Juſtice beene perverted, by the power of ſuch as had borne authority. But the neceſſitie that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the King did give to the Judges; and by his commiſſion given to one of the Prieſts in ſpirituall cauſes, & to the Steward of his houſe in temporall matters, to be generall over-ſeers.

This was not till after the death of *Ahazia* the ſon of *Ahab*; but how long after it is uncertain. For *Jehoram* the brother of *Ahazia* began his raigne (as hath been already noted) in the eighteenth of *Jehoſaphat*, which was then accounted the ſecond of *Jehoram, Jehoſaphats* ſonne, though afterward this *Jehoram* of Juda had another firſt and ſecond yeere, even in his fathers time, before he raigned alone, as the beſt Chronologers and Expoſitors of the holy Text agree. So he continued in private eſtate, untill the two and twentieth of his fathers reigne, at which time, though the occaſions inducing his reſtitution to former dignity are not ſet downe, yet we may not thinke, that motives thereto, appearing ſubſtantiall, were wanting. *Jehoram* of Iſrael held the ſame correſpondency with *Jehoſaphat* that his father had done; & made uſe of it. He drew the Judæan into the war of Moab, at which time it might well bee, that the young Prince of Juda was again ordained King by his father, as in the Syrian expedition he had beene. Or if wee ought rather to think, that the preparations for the enterprize againſt Moab did not occupy ſo much time, as from the eighteenth of *Jehoſaphat*, in which yeere that Nation rebelled againſt Iſrael, unto his two and twentieth; yet the daily negotiations betweene the two Kings of Juda and Iſrael, and the affinity betweene them contracted in the perſon of *Jehoram*, might offer ſome good occaſions thereunto. Neither is it certain how the behaviour of the younger ſons, in their elder brothers diſgrace, might cauſe their Father to put him in poſſeſſion for feare of tumult after his death; or the deep diſſimulation of *Jehoram* himſelfe might win the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren; it being a thing uſuall in miſchievous fell natures, to be as abject & ſervile in time of adverſity, as inſolent and bloudy upon advantage. This is manifeſt, that being repoſſeſſed of his former eſtate, he demeaned himſelfe in ſuch wiſe toward his brethren, as cauſed their father to enable them, not onely with ſtore *of ſilver and gold, and of precious things*, (which kind 1 Chron. 21. 3.
of liberality other Kings doubtleſſe had uſed unto their younger ſons) but with the cuſtody of *ſtrong Cities in Juda*, to aſſure them, if it might have been, by unwonted means, againſt unwonted perils.

§. III. *The*

## §. III.

### *The doings of* Jehoram *when he raigned alone; and the rebellion of Edom and Libna.*

BUt all this providence availed nothing; for an higher providence had otherwiſe determined of the ſequell. When once the good old man, their Father, was dead, the yonger ſonnes of *Jehoſaphat* found ſtrong Cities, a weake defence, againſt the power of him unto whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in upon the ſummons of a King their brother, then had he them without any more adoo; if they ſtood upon their guard, then were they Traitors, and ſo unable to hold out againſt him, who beſides his owne power, was able to bring the forces of the Iſraelitiſh Kingdome againſt them; ſo that the apparent likelihood of their finall overthrow, ſufficed to make all forſake them in the very beginning. Howſoever it was, they were all taken & ſlaine, and with them for company many great men of the Land, ſuch belike, as either had taken their part, when the Tyrant ſought their lives, or had been appointed Rulers of the Country, when *Jehoram* was depoſed from his Government; in which Office they, without forbearing to doe juſtice, could hardly avoide the doing of many things derogatory to their yong Maſter; which if hee would now call treaſon, ſaying that hee was then King, who durſt ſay the contrary?

After this *Jehoram* took upon him, as being now Lord alone, to make innovations in Religion, wherein hee was not contented, as other Idolatrous Princes, to give way and ſafe conduct unto Superſtition and Idolatry, nor to provoke and encourage the people to that ſinne, whereto it is wonderfull that they were ſo much addicted, having ſuch knowledge of God, and of his deteſting that above all other ſinnes; but he uſed compulſion, and was (if not the very firſt) the firſt that is regiſtred, to have ſet up Irreligion by force.

Whileſt he was thus buſied at home, in doing what he liſted, the Edomites his Tributaries rebelled againſt him abroad; & having hitherto, ſince *Davids* time, beene governed by a Vice-Roy, did now make unto themſelves a King. Againſt theſe *Jehoram* in perſon made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots; with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the rebels to flie into their places of advantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing ſome of thoſe whom he ſhould have ſubdued, and kept his ſervants. Now began the prophecy of *Iſaac* to take effect, wherein he foretold, that *Eſau* in proceſſe of time ſhould breake the yoke of *Jacob*. For after this the Edomites could never bee reclaimed by any of the Kings of Juda, but held their owne ſo well, that when, after many civill and forraine wars, the Jewes by ſundry Nations had beene brought low; *Antipater* the Edomite, with *Herod* his ſon, and others of that race following them, became Lords of the Jewes, in the decrepit age of Iſrael, and reigned as Kings, even in Jeruſalem it ſelfe.

The freedome of the Edomites, though purchaſed ſomewhat dearly, encouraged Libna, a great city within Juda, which in the time of *Joſua* had a peculiar King, to rebell againſt *Jehoram*, and ſet it ſelfe at liberty. Libna ſtood in the confines of *Benjamin* & of *Dan*, farre from the aſſiſtance of any bordering enemies to Juda, and therefore ſo unlikely it was to have maintained it ſelfe in liberty, that it may ſeem ſtrange how it could eſcape from utter deſtruction, or at the leaſt from ſome terrible vengeance, moſt likely to have beene taken, by their powerfull, cruell, and throughly incenſed Lord. The Iſraelite held ſuch good intelligence at that time with Juda, that he would not have accepted the Towne, had it offered it ſelfe unto him: neither doe we reade that it ſought how to caſt it ſelfe into a new ſubjection, but continued a free eſtate. The rebellion of it againſt 2 Chron.21.10. *Jehoram*, was, *Becauſe he had forſaken the Lord God of his Fathers*; which I take to have not only been the firſt & remote cauſe, but even the next and immediate reaſon, moving the inhabitants to doe as they did: for it was a Town of the Levites; who muſt needs be driven into great extremities, when a religion, contrary to Gods Law, had not onely ſome allowance to countenance it by the King, but compulſive authority to force unto it all that were unwilling. As for the uſe of the Temple at Jeruſalem (which, being devout men, they might feare to loſe by this rebellion) it was never denied to thoſe of the ten revolted Tribes by any of the Religious Kings, who rather invited the *Iſraelites* thither, and gave them kinde entertainement: under Idolaters they muſt have bin without it, whether they lived free or in ſubjection. Yet it ſeemes that private reaſons were not wanting, which might move them rather to doe than ſuffer that which was unwarrantable. For in the generall viſitation before remembred, wherein *Jehoſaphat* reformed his kingdome, the good old King appointing new Governours, and giving them eſpeciall charge to doe juſtice without reſpect of perſons, uſed theſe words; *The Levites ſhalbe officers before you; Be of good courage, and doe it, and the Lord ſhall be with the good.* By theſe phraſes, it ſeemes, than he encouraged them againſt the more powerfull, than juſt proceedings of his ſon; whom if the Levites did (according to the truſt repoſed in them) neglect in diſcharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be even with them, and make them now to feele, as many Princes of the land had done, his heavie indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not hereupon deſtroyed, yea, that it was not (for ought that we can read) ſo much as beſieged or moleſted, may juſtly ſeeme very ſtrange. And the more ſtrange it is in regard of the mightie Armies which *Jehoſaphat* was able to raiſe, being ſufficient to have over-whelmed any one Towne, and buried it under the earth, which they might well in one moneth have caſt into it with ſhovels, by ordinarie approaches.

But it ſeemes that of thoſe great numbers which his Father could have levied, there were not many whom *Jeroboam* could well truſt; and therefore perhaps he thought it an eaſier loſſe, to let one Town goe, than to put weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of *Libna*, than to puniſh it. So deſperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happineſſe to be feared, than to be loved, are fain themſelves to ſtand in feare of thoſe, by whom they might have bin dreadfull unto others.

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## §.IV.

### *Of the miſeries falling upon* Jehoram, *and of his death.*

These afflictions not ſufficing to make any impreſſion of Gods diſpleaſure in the mind of the wicked Prince; a Prophecie in writing was delivered to him, which threatned both his people, his children, his wives, & his own bodie. Hereby likewiſe it appears that he was a cruell perſecutor of Gods ſervants; in as much as the Prophets durſt not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his predeceſſors, both good and evill kings; but were fain to denounce Gods Judgments againſt him by letters, keeping themſelves cloſe and far from him. This Epiſtle is ſaid to have bin ſent unto him from *Elias* the Prophet. But *Elias* was tranſlated, and *Elizeus* propheſied in his ſtead before this time, even in the dayes of *Jehoſaphat*. Wherefore it may be that *Elias* left this prophecie in writing behind him, or that (as ſome conjecture) the errour of one letter in writing, was the occaſion that we reade *Elias* for *Elizeus*. Indeed any thing may rather be beleeved than the Tradition held by ſome of the Jewiſh Rabbins, that *Elias* from heaven did ſend this Epiſtle; a tale ſomewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, deviſed by *Eraſmus*, or of the Verſe that was ſent from heaven to S. *Giles*.

2 Chro.21.12.
2 Kin.1.&3.11.

But whoſoever was the Author of this threatning Epiſtle, the accompliſhment of the prophecie was as terrible as the ſentence. For the *Philiſtims* and *Arabians* brake into *Judas*, and tooke the Kings houſe, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wives, all which they ſlew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. Theſe *Philiſtims* had not preſumed ſince the time of *David*, to make any offenſive warre till now; for they were by him almoſt conſumed, and had loſt the beſt of their Townes, maintaining themſelves in the reſt of their ſmall Territories, by defenſive armes, to which they were conſtrained at *Gibbethon* by the *Iſraelites*. The *Arabians* were likely to have bin then, as they are now, a naked people, all horſemen, and ill appointed; their Countrie affording no other furniture, than ſuch as might make them fitter to rob and ſpoyle in the open fields, than to offend ſtrong Cities, ſuch as were thicke ſet in *Juda*. True it is that in ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the world then knowne, in a very ſhort ſpace of time, deſtroying ſome, and building other ſome very ſtately Cities. But it muſt be conſidered, that this was when they had learned of the

*Romanes* the Art of Warre; and that the proviſions which they found, together with the Arts which they learned, in one ſubdued Province, did make them able and ſkilfull in purſuing their conqueſt, and going on into Regions far removed from them. At this day having loſt in effect all that they had gotten, ſuch of them as live in *Arabia* it ſelfe are good horſemen, but ill appointed; very dangerous paſſengers, but unable to deale with good Souldiers, as riding ſtarke naked, and rather truſting in the ſwiftneſſe of their horſes, than in any other means of reſiſtance, where they are well oppoſed. And ſuch, or little better, may they ſeeme to have bin, that ſpoyled *Judæa* in the time of *Jehoram*. For their Countrie was alwaies barren and deſart, wanting manuall Arts whereby to ſupply the naturals with furniture: neither are theſe bands named as chiefe in that action, but rather adherents of the *Philiſtims*. Out of this we may infer, that one halfe, yea, or one quarter of the numbers found in the leaſt muſter of *Juda* and *Benjamin* under *Jehoſaphat* (wherin were inrolled three hundred and eightie thouſand fighting men) had bin enough to have driven away far greater forces than theſe enemies are likely to have brought into the field, had not the people bin unable to deal with them, for lack of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes jealouſie, as in *Sauls* time by the policie of the *Philiſtims*.

It may ſeeme that the houſe of the King which theſe invaders tooke, was not his Palace in *Jeruſalem*, but rather ſome other houſe of his abroad in the Countrie, where his wives and children at that time lay for their recreation: becauſe we reade not that they did ſacke the Citie, or ſpoyle the Temple, which would have invited them as a more commodious bootie, had they got poſſeſſion thereof. Yet perhaps they took *Jeruſalem* it ſelfe by ſurprize, the people being diſarmed, and the Kings guard too weake to keepe them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, becauſe it was ſo large and populous: and therefore having done what ſpoyle they could, with-drew themſelves with ſuch purchaſe as they were able ſafely to conveigh away.

The ſlaughter committed by *Jehu* on the two and fortie brethren of *Ahazia*, or (as they are called elſewhere) ſo many of his brothers ſons, and the cruell maſſacre wherein all the Royall ſeed periſhed (only *Joas* excepted) under the tyrannie of *Athalia*, following within two yeares after this invaſion of the *Philiſtims* and *Arabians*, make it ſeeme probable, that the ſonnes of *Jehoram* were not all ſlaine at once, but that rather the firſt murther beganne in his owne time, and was ſeconded by many other heavie blowes, wherewith his houſe was inceſſantly ſtriken, untill it was in a manner quite hewed downe.

After theſe calamities, the hand of God was extended againſt the bodie of this wicked King, ſmiting him with a grievous diſeaſe in his bowels, which left him not untill his guts fell out, and his wretched ſoule departed from his miſerable carkaſſe. The people of the Land, as they had ſmall cauſe of comfort in his life, ſo had they not the good manners to pretend ſorrow for his death; wherefore hee was denied a place of buriall among his Anceſtors the Kings of *Juda*, though his owne ſonne ſucceeded him in the Kingdome, who was guided by the ſame ſpirits that had beene his Fathers evill Angels. *Athalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous enterring of a dead husband. She was thinking how to provide for the future, to maintaine her owne greatneſſe, to retaine her favourites in their authoritie, and to place about her Sonne ſuch *Counſellors of the houſe of Ahab*, as were fitteſt for her turne. Wherefore ſhe thought it unſeaſonable to make much a-doe about a thing of nothing, and offend the peoples eyes, with a ſtately funerall of a man by them deteſted: but rather choſe to let the blame of things paſſed be layd upon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her ſelfe and hers, which it now did concerne her to avoyd. Such is the qualitie of wicked Inſtigators, having made greedie uſe of bad imployments, to charge, not only with his own vices, but with their faults alſo, the man whoſe evill inclinations their ſiniſter counſells have made worſe, when once he is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of *Jehoram* fell out indeed in a buſie time; when his friend and couſin the *Iſraelite*, who had the ſame name, was entangled in a difficult warre againſt the *Aramite*; and therefore could have had no better leaſure to help *Athalia*, in ſetting of things according to her owne minde, than he had (perhaps through the ſame hinderance) to helpe her husband, when he was diſtreſſed by the *Philiſtims*. Yea rather he needed and craved the aſſiſtance of the men of *Juda*, for the taking in of *Ramoth Gilead*, where they had not

2 Chro.24.4.

not ſped ſo well the laſt time,that they ſhould willingly run thither againe, unleſſe they were very fairely intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I have thought good to handle the more particularly (purſuing the examination of all occurrences, as farre as the circumſtances remembred in holy Scripture would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appear,how the corrupted affections of men,impugning the revealed will of God,accompliſh neverthelesse his hidden purpoſe, and without miraculous meanes, confound themſelves in the ſeeming-wiſe devices of their owne folly: as likewiſe to the end that all men might learne to ſubmit their judgements to the ordinance of God,rather than to think,that they may ſafely diſpenſe with his commandements, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wiſdome dictateth unto them. For in ſuch kind of unhappie ſubtilties,it is manifeſt that *Athalia* was able to furniſh both her Husband and her Son; but the iſſue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appear,in that which immediately followeth.

## §.V.

### *Of the raigne of* Ahazia, *and his buſineſſe with the King of Iſrael.*

O*chazias*, or *Ahazia*, the ſonne of *Jehoram* and *Athalia*, began his raign over *Juda* in the twelfth yeare of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Ahab* King of *Iſrael*, and raigned but one year. Touching his age,it is a point of much more difficultie than importance to know it: yet hath it bred much diſputation, whereof I ſee no more probable concluſion than that of *Torniellus*,alledging the Edition of the *Septuagint* at *Rome*, *Anno Domini* 1588. which ſaith that he was twenty years old in the beginning of his kingdom; and the Annotations thereupon,which cite other Copies,that doe give him two yeares more. Like enough he is to have been young: for he was governed by his Mother, and her Miniſters,who gave him counſell,by which he periſhed. In matter of Religion hee altered none of his fathers courſes. In matter of State he likewiſe upheld the league made with the houſe of *Ahab*. He was much buſied in doing little, and that with ill ſucceſſe. He accompanied his Couſin the *Iſraelite* againſt *Ramoth Gilead*,which they wan,but not without blowes: for the *Aramites* fought ſo well, that the King of *Iſrael* was fain to adventure his own perſon,which ſcaped not unwounded.

The Towne being won,was manned ſtrongly, in expectation of ſome attempt likely to be made by *Hazael* King of *Aram*: which done, *Jehoram* King of *Iſrael* with-drew himſelf to the Citie of *Jezrael*,where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his wounds; and *Ahazia* returned to *Jeruſalem*. It ſeems that he was but newly come home (for he raigned in all ſcantly one yeare, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken up a great part,) when he did make a new journey,as it were for good maners ſake,to viſit the King of *Iſrael*,who lay ſore of his wounds. Belike *Athalia* was brewing ſome new plots, which his preſence would have hindered, and therefore ſought every occaſion to thruſt him abroad: for otherwiſe it was but a vain piece of work ſo to leave his kingdome, having no other buſineſſe than by way of complement to goe ſee one whom he had ſeen yeſterday. Certaine it is, that the Lord had reſolved at this time to put in execution that heavie judgement, which he had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the Prophet upon the houſe of *Ahab*. And hereupon at this time had he diſpoſed not only the concurrence of all other things,which in mans eyes might ſeeme to have bin accidentall; but the very thoughts and affections of ſuch perſons, as intended nothing leſſe than the fulfilling of his high pleaſure. Of theſe *Athalia* doubtleſſe was one; whoſe miſchievous purpoſes it will ſhortly be needfull, for explanation of ſome difficulties ariſing,that we diligently conſider and examine.

## §. VI.

### *How* Ahazia *periſhed with the houſe of* Ahab: *and how that Familie was deſtroyed by* Jehu.

THe whole Armie of *Iſrael*, with all the principall Captaines, lying in *Ramoth Gilead*, a Diſciple of *Elizeus* the Prophet came in among the Captaines that were ſitting together; who calling out among them *Jehu*, a principall man, took him apart, and anointed him King over *Iſrael*, rehearſing unto him the Prophecie of *Elias* againſt the houſe of *Ahab*, and letting him underſtand that it was the pleaſure of God to make him executioner of that ſentence. The faſhion of the Meſſenger was ſuch as bred in the Captains a deſire to know the errand, which *Jehu* thought meet to let them know, as doubting whether they had over-heard all the talke or no. When he had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forth-with proclaimed him king. For the Prophecie of *Elias* was well knowne among them, neither durſt any one oppoſe himſelfe againſt him, that was by God ordained to performe it.

*Jehu*, who had upon the ſudden this great honour throwne upon him, was not ſlow to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of it, but uſed the firſt heat of their affections, who joyned with him, in ſetting on foot the buſineſſe which neerely concerned him, and was not to bee fore-ſlowed, being no more his owne than Gods.

The firſt care taken was that no news of the revolt might be carried to *Jezreel*, wherby the King might have had warning either to fight or flee: this being foreſeen, he marched ſwiftly away, to take the Court while it was yet ſecure. King *Jehoram* was now ſo well recovered of his wounds, that he could endure to ride abroad, for which cauſe it ſeemes that there was much feaſting, and joy made, eſpecially by Queene *Jezabel*, who kept her ſtate ſo wel, that the brethren of *Ahazia* comming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to ſalute the Queen, as to viſit the King.

Certaine it is, that ſince the rebellion of *Moab* againſt *Iſrael*, the houſe of *Ahab* did never ſo much flouriſh as at this time. Seventy Princes of the bloud Royall there were that lived in *Samaria*; *Jehoram* the ſonne of Queene *Jezabel* had won *Ramoth Gilead*, which his Father had attempted in vaine, with loſſe of his life; and he wonne it by valiant fight, wherein he received wounds, of which the danger was now paſt, but the honour likely to continue. The amitie was ſo great between *Iſrael* and *Juda*, that it might ſuffice to daunt all their common enemies, leaving no hope of ſucceſſe to any rebellious enterprizer: ſo that now the Prophecie of *Elias* might be forgotten, or no otherwiſe remembred, than as an unlikely tale by them that beheld the majeſticall face of the Court, wherein ſo great a friend as the King of *Juda* was entertained, and fortie Princes of his bloud expected.

In the middeſt of this ſecuritie, whileſt theſe great Eſtates were (perhaps) either conſulting about proſequution of their intents, firſt againſt the *Aramites*, and then againſt *Moab*, *Edom*, and other rebels and enemies: or elſe were triumphing in joy of that which was already atchieved, and the Queene-Mother dreſſing her ſelfe in the braveſt manner to come down amongſt them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a Tower diſcovered a companie comming. Theſe newes were not very troubleſome: for the Armie that lay in *Ramoth Gilead*, to be readie againſt all attempts of the *Aramites*, was likely enough to be diſcharged upon ſome notice taken that the enemie would not, or could not ſtirre. Onely the King ſent out an Horſe-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The meſſenger comming to *Jehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to give the King as little warning as might bee. The ſeeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an anſwer, might argue the matter to be of ſmall importance: yet the King to be ſatisfied, ſent out another that ſhould bring him word how all went; and hee was likewiſe detained by *Jehu*. Theſe dumbe ſhewes bred ſome ſuſpition in *Jehoram*, whom the watchman certified of all that happened. And now the companie drew ſo neere, that they might, though not perfectly, be diſcerned, and notice taken of *Jehu* himſelfe by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that was loth to diſcover any weakneſſe, cauſed his Chariot to be made readie, and iſſued forth with *Ahazia* King of *Juda* in his companie, whoſe preſence added majeſtie to his train, when ſtrength to reſiſt, or expedition to flee, had bin more needfull. This could not be done ſo haſtily, but that *Jehu* was come even to the towns end, & there they met each other in the field of *Naboth*. *Jehoram* began to ſalute *Jehu* with termes of peace, but receiving a bitter anſwer, his heart failed him, ſo that crying out upon the treaſon to his fellow king, he turned away to have fled. But *Jehu* ſoone overtook him with an arrow, wherewith he ſtrook him dead, and threw his carkaſſe into that field, which, purchaſed with the bloud of the rightfull owner, was to be watered with the bloud of the unjuſt poſſeſſor. Neither did *Ahazia* eſcape ſo wel, but that he was arreſted by a wound, which held him till death did ſeize upon him.

The Kings Palace was joyning to the wall, by the gate of the Citie, where *Jezabel* might ſoone be advertiſed of this calamitie, if ſhe did not with her own eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercie, whoſe judgement, pronounced againſt her long before, had overtaken her, when ſhe leaſt expected it. But ſhe, full of indignation and proud thoughts, made her ſelfe readie in all haſte, and painted her face, hoping with her ſtatelie and imperious looks to daunt the Traitor, or at leaſt to utter ſome Apophthegme, that ſhould expreſſe her brave ſpirit, and brand him with ſuch a reproach as might make him odious for ever. Little did ſhe thinke upon the hungry dogs that were ordained to devour her, whoſe paunches the *ſtibium*, with which ſhe beſmeared her eies, would more offend, than the ſcolding language wherewith ſhe armed her tongue, could trouble the eares of him that had her in his power. As *Jehu* drew neere, ſhe opened her window, & looking out upon him, began to put him in mind of *Zimri*, that had not long enjoyed the fruits of his treaſon, and murther of the King his Maſter. This was in meere humane valuation ſtoutly ſpoken, but was indeed a part of miſerable folly; as are all things, howſoever laudable, if they have an ill relation to *God the Lord of all*. Her owne Eunuches that ſtood by and heard her, were not affected ſo much as with any compaſſion of her fortune; much leſſe was her enemie daunted with her proud ſpirit. When *Jehu* ſaw that ſhe did uſe the little remainder of her life in ſeeking to vexe him, he made her preſently to underſtand her own eſtate, by deeds & not by words. He only called to her ſervants to know which of them would be on his ſide, and ſoon found them readie to offer their ſervice before the very face of their proud Ladie. Hereupon he commanded them to caſt her down head-long: which immediately they performed, without all regard of her greatneſſe and eſtate, wherein ſhe had a few houres before ſhined ſo gloriouſly in the eyes of men; of men that conſidered not the judgements of God that had been denounced againſt her.

So periſhed this accurſed woman by the rude hands of her own ſervants, at the commandement of her greateſt enemie, that was yeſterday her ſubject, but now her Lord: & ſhe periſhed miſerably, ſtruggling in vaine with baſe groomes, who contumeliouſly did hale and thruſt her, whileſt her inſulting enemie ſate on Horſe-back, adding indignitie to her griefe by ſcornefull beholding the ſhamefull manner of her fall, and trampling her bodie under foot. Her dead carkaſſe that was left without the walls, was devoured by dogs, and her very memorie was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatrie, murther, and oppreſſion, with ſlow, but ſure paiment, and full intereſt.

*Ahazia* king of *Juda* fleeing a-pace from *Jehu*, was over-taken by the way where hee lurked; and receiving his deadly wound in the kingdome of *Samaria*, was ſuffered to get him gone (which he did in all haſte) and ſeek his buriall in his own kingdome: and this favour he obtained for his grand-fathers ſake, not for his fathers nor his own. He died at *Megiddo*, and was thence carried to *Jeruſalem*, where he was enterred with his Anceſtors, having raigned about one yeare.

# CHAP. XXI.

## *Of* Athalia, *and whoſe ſon he was that ſucceeded her.*

### §. I.

### *Of* Athalia's *uſurping the Kingdome, and what pretences ſhe might forge.*

2 Chro.22.9.

AFter the death of *Ahazia*, it is ſayd that his houſe *was not able to retain the Kingdome:* which Note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* upon the death of her ſon, have given occaſion to divers opinions concerning the Pedigree of *Joas*, who reigned ſhortly after. For *Athalia* being thus diſpoyled of her ſon, under whoſe name ſhe had ruled at her pleaſure, did forth-with lay hold upon all the Princes of the bloud, and ſlew them, that ſo ſhe might occupie the Royall Throne her ſelf, and reigne as Queen, rather than live a Subject. She had before-hand put into great place, and made Counſellors unto her ſon, ſuch as were fitteſt for her purpoſe, and readie at all times to execute her will: that ſhe kept a ſtrong guard about her, it is very likely; and as likely it is that the great execution done by *Jehoram*, upon the Princes, and many of the Nobilitie, had made the people tame, and fearfull to ſtir, whatſoever they ſaw or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent ſoever it be, is ſeldome or never ſo ſhameleſſe as to refuſe the commoditie of goodly pretences offering themſelves; but rather ſcrapes together all that will any way ſerve to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not abſurd for us to think, that *Athalia*, when ſhe ſaw the Princes of the Royal bloud, all of them in a maner, ſlain by her husband, and afterwards his own children deſtroyed by the *Philiſtims*, began even then to play her owne game, reducing by artificiall practice, into faire likelihoods, thoſe poſſibilities wherewith her husbands bad fortune had preſented her. Nor without great ſhew of reaſon, either by her owne mouth, or by ſome truſtie creature of hers, might ſhe give him to underſtand, how needful it were to take the beſt order whilſt as yet he might, for feare of the worſt that might happen. If the iſſue of *David*, which now remained only in his Familie, ſhould by any accident faile (as woful experience had already ſhewed what might after come to paſſe) the people of *Juda* were not unlikely to chooſe a King of ſome new ſtocke, a popular ſeditious man peradventure, one that to countenance his owne unworthineſſe, would not care what aſperſions he layd upon that Royall houſe, which was fallen downe. And who could aſſure him, that ſome ambitious ſpirit, fore-ſeeing what might be gotten thereby, did not already contrive the deſtruction of him, and all his ſeed? Wherefore it were the wiſeſt way to deſigne by his authoritie not only his ſucceſſour, but alſo the reverſioner, and ſo to provide, that the Crowne might never be ſubject to any rifling, but remaine in the diſpoſition of them that loved him beſt, if the worſt that might be feared comming to paſſe, his owne poſteritie could not retaine it.

Such perſwaſions being urged, and earneſtly followed, by the importunate ſollicitation of her that governed his affections, were able to make the jealous Tyrant think, that the onely way to fruſtrate all devices of ſuch as gaped after a change, was to make her Heire the laſt and youngeſt of his houſe, whom it moſt concerned, as being the Queen-Mother, to uphold the firſt and eldeſt.

If *Athalia* took no ſuch courſe as this in her husbands time, yet might ſhe do it in her ſonnes. For *Ahazia* (beſides that he was wholly ruled by his mother) was not likely to take much care for the ſecuritie of his halfe-brethren, or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wives, in reſpect of his owne-born-Mother, little better than Concubines, and their children baſely begotten. But if this miſchievous woman forgat her ſelfe ſo far in her wicked policie, that ſhe loſt all opportunitie which the weakeneſſe of her husband and ſonne did afford, of procuring unto her ſelfe ſome ſeeming Title; yet could ſhee afterwards faine ſome ſuch matter, as boldly ſhe might: being ſure that none would aske to ſee her evidence, for feare of being ſent to learne the certaintie of her ſonne or husband in another World. But I rather thinke that ſhee tooke order for her affaires before-hand. For though ſhe had no reaſon to ſuſpect or feare the ſudden death of her ſonne, yet it was the wiſeſt way to provide betimes againſt all that might happen, whileſt her husbands iſſue by other women was young and unable to reſiſt. We plainely finde that the Brethren or Nephewes of *Ahazia*, to the numbet of two and fortie, were ſent to the Court of Iſrael, only to ſalute the children of the King, and the children of the Queen. The ſlender occaſion of which long joutny, conſidered together with the qualitie of theſe perſons (being in effect all the ſtock of *Jehoram* that could be grown to any ſtrength) makes it very ſuſpicious, that their entertainement in *Jezahels* houſe would onely have beene more formall, but little differing in ſubſtance, from that which they found at the hand of *Jehu*. He that looks into the courſes held both before and after by theſe two Queenes, will finde cauſe enough to think no leſſe. Of ſuch as have aſpired unto Lordſhips not belonging to them, and thruſt out the right Heires by pretence of Teſtaments, that had no other validitie than the ſword of ſuch as claimed by them could give, Hiſtories of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentifull examples: and the rule of *Salomon* is true: *Is there any thing whereof one may ſay, Behold, this is new? It hath bin already in the old time that was before us*. That a King might ſhed his brothers bloud, was proved by *Salomon* upon *Adonia*; that he might alien the Crown from his naturall Heires, *David* had given proofe; but theſe had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that pleaſe them, will neglect the reaſons of thoſe examples, if they pleaſe them not, and reſt contented with the practice, as more willing by ſhewing what they may do, than acknowledging why *Salomon* ſlew his brother that had begun one rebellion and was entring into another. Jehoram *ſlew all his brethren, which were better than he*: *David* purchaſed the kingdome, and might the more freely diſpoſe of it, yet he diſpoſed of it as the Lord appointed: if *Jehoram*, who had loſt much and gotten nothing, thought that hee might alien the remainder at his pleaſure; or if *Ahazia* ſought to cut off the ſucceſſion of his brethren, or of their iſſue; either of theſe was to be anſwered with the words which *Jehojada* the Prieſt uſed afterwards, in declaring the title of *Joaſh*: *Behold, the Kings ſon muſt reigne; as the Lord hath ſaid of the ſons of* David. Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend ſome title, whatſoever it might be, to the Crowne of *Juda*; yet it is moſt certain that ſhe had thereunto no right at all, but only got it by treacherie, murder, and open violence; and ſo ſhe held it ſixe whole years, and a part of the ſeventh, in good ſeeming ſecuritie.

Eccleſ.1.10.

2 Chro.21.13.

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## §. II.

### *How* Jehu *ſpent his time in Iſrael, ſo that he could not moleſt* Athalia.

IN all this time *Jehu* did never goe about to diſturbe her; which in reaſon he was likely to deſire, being an enemie to her whole Houſe. But he was occupied at the firſt in eſtabliſhing himſelfe, rooting out the poſteritie of *Ahab*, and reforming ſomewhat in Religion: afterwards in warres againſt the *Aramites*, wherein he was ſo far overcharged, that hardly he could retaine his own, much leſſe attempt upon others. Of the line of *Ahab* there were ſeventie living in *Samaria*, out of which number *Jehu* by letter adviſed the Citizens to ſet up ſome one as King, and to prepare themſelves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was; which they well underſtood to proceede from greater power about him, than they could gather to reſiſt him. Wherefore they tooke example by the two Kings whom he had ſlain, and being exceedingly affraid of him, they offered him their ſervice; wherein they ſo readily ſhewed themſelves obedient, that in leſſe than one dayes warning, they ſent him the heads of all thoſe Princes, as they were injoyned by a ſecond letter from him. After this he ſurprized all the Prieſts of *Baal* by a ſubtiltie, faining a great ſacrifice to their god, by which meanes he drew them altogether into one Temple, where hee ſlew them: and in the ſame zeale to God utterly demoliſhed all the monuments of that impietie.

Concerning the Idolatrie deviſed by *Jeroboam*, no king of Iſrael had ever greater reaſon than *Jehu* to deſtroy it. For he needed not to feare leſt the people ſhould be allured unto the houſe of *David*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted up, and the Crown of Juda in the poſſeſſion of a cruell Tyranneſſe: he had received his kingdom by the unexpected grace of God; and further in regard of his zeale expreſſed in deſtroying *Baal* out of *Iſrael*, he was promiſed, notwithſtanding his following the ſin of *Jeroboam*, that the kingdome ſhould remaine in his Familie to the fourth Generation. But all this would not ſerve; he would needs helpe to piece out Gods providence with his owne circumſpection; doing therein like a fooliſh greedie gameſter, who by ſtealing a needleſſe Card to aſſure himſelfe of winning a ſtake, forfeits his whole reſt. He had queſtionleſſe diſpleaſed many, by that which he did againſt *Baal*; and many more he ſhould offend by taking from them the uſe of a ſuperſtition, ſo long practiſed as was that Idolatrie of *Jeroboam*. Yet all theſe, how many ſoever they were, had never once thought upon making him King, if God, whom (to retaine them) he now forſooke, had not given him the Crown, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the meanes of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Jehu* drew terrible vengeance of God upon *Iſrael*, whereof *Hazael* king of *Damaſcus* was the executioner. The crueltie of this barbarous Prince we may 2 Kin.8.12. finde in the Prophecie of *Elizeus*, who fore-told it, ſaying: *Their ſtrong Cities ſhalt thou ſet on fire, and their young men ſhalt thou ſlay with the ſword, and ſhalt daſh their Infants againſt the ſtones, and rend in pieces their women with childe.* So did not onely the wickedneſſe of *Ahab* cauſe the ruine of his whole houſe, but the obſtinate Idolatrie of the people bring a lamentable miſerie upon all the Land. For the furie of *Hazaels* victorie was not quenched with the deſtruction of a few towns, nor wearied with one invaſion; but he 2 Kin.10.32. *ſmote them in all the coaſt of Iſrael*, and waſted all the Countrie beyond the River of *Jordan*. Notwithſtanding all theſe calamities, it ſeems that the people repented not of their Idolatrie; (*For in thoſe dayes the Lord began to loath Iſrael,*) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble houſe of *Ahab*, under which they had beaten thoſe enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had bravely fought for the conqueſt of *Syria*, where they had enlarged their border, by winning *Ramoth Gilead*, and compelled *Benhadad* to reſtore the Cities which his Father had won: whereas now they were fain to make woful ſhifts, living under a Lord that had better fortune & courage in murdering his maſter that had put him in truſt, than in defending his people from their cruel enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can find all maner of difficulties in ſerving him, to whom nothing is difficult, are, in ſtead of the eaſe and pleaſure to themſelves propounded by contrary courſes, overwhelmed with the troubles which they ſought to avoid; and therein by God, whom they firſt forſook, forſaken, and left unto the wretched labours of their own blind wiſdome, wherein they had repoſed all their confidence.

## §. III.

### *Of* Athaliahs *Government.*

THeſe calamities falling upon *Iſrael*, kept *Athalia* ſafe on that ſide, giving her leiſure to looke to things at home: as having little to doe abroad, unleſſe it were ſo that ſhe held ſome correſpondencie with *Hazael*, pretending therein to imitate her husbands grandfather King *Aſa*, who had done the like. And ſome probabilitie that ſhe did ſo, may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For we finde, that this *wicked* Athalia *and her children brake up the houſe of God, and all things that* 2 Chro.24.7. *were dedicate for the houſe of the Lord did they beſtow upon* Baalim. Such a ſacriledge, though it proceeded from a deſire to ſet out her owne Idolatrie, with ſuch pompe as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not likely to want ſome faire pretext of neceſſitie of the State ſo requiring: in which caſe others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next ſucceſſour was faine to doe the like, being therunto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the taſte of that which was formerly thence extracted for his ſake.

Under this impious government of *Athalia*, the devotion of the Prieſts and Levites was very notable, and ſerved (no doubt) very much to retaine the people in the religion taught by God himſelfe, howſoever the Queenes proceedings advanced the contrarie. For the povertie of that ſacred Tribe of *Levi* muſt needs have beene exceeding great at this time, all their lands and poſſeſſions in the ten Tribes being utterly loſt, the oblations and other perquiſites, by which they lived, being now very few and ſmall; and the ſtore laid up in better times under godly Kings, being all taken away by ſhamefull robberie. Yet they up-held in all this miſerie the ſervice of God, and the daily ſacrifice, keeping daily their courſes, and performing obedience to the high Prieſt, no leſſe than in thoſe dayes wherein their entertainment was farre better.

## §. IV.
### *Of the preſervation of* Joas.

*Jehojada* then occupied the high Prieſthood, an honourable, wiſe, and religious man. To his carefulneſſe it may be aſcribed, that the ſtate of the Church was in ſome ſlender ſort up-held in thoſe unhappy times. His wife was *Jehoſhabeth*, who was daughter of king *Jehoram*, and ſiſter to *Ahazia*, a godly Ladie and vertuous, whoſe pietie makes it ſeeme that *Athalia* was not her mother, though her acceſſe to the Court argue the contrarie: but her diſcreet carriage might more eaſily procure her welcome to her own Fathers houſe, than the education under ſuch a Mother could have permitted her to be ſuch as ſhe was. By her care *Joaſh* the young Prince that raigned ſoone after, was conveighed out of the nurſerie, when *Athalia* deſtroyed all the Kings children, and was carried ſecretly into the Temple, where as ſecretly he was brought up. How it came to paſſe that this young childe was not hunted out, when his bodie was miſſing; nor any great reckoning (for ought that we finde) made of his eſcape, I will not ſtand to examine: for it was not good in policie, that the people ſhould heare ſay, that one of the children had avoyded that cruell blow; it might have made them hearken after innovations, and ſo be the leſſe conformable to the preſent government. So *Joaſh* was delivered out of that ſlaughter, he and his nurſe being gone no man could tell whither, and might bee thought peradventure to be caſt away, as having no other guard than a poor woman that gave him ſuck, who fooliſhly doubting that ſhe her ſelfe ſhould have bin ſlain, was fled away with him into ſome deſolate place, where it was like enough that ſhe and he ſhould periſh. In ſuch caſes flatterers, or men deſirous of reward, eaſily coin ſuch tales, and rather ſweare them to be true in their own knowledge, than they will loſe the thankes due to their joyfull tidings.

## §. V.
### *Whoſe ſonne* Joas *was.*

## †. I.
### *Whether* Joas *may be thought likely to have been the ſon of* Ahazia.

NOw concerning this *Joaſh*, whoſe ſonne he was, it is a thing of much difficultie to affirme, and hath cauſed much controverſie among writers. The places of Scripture, which call him *the ſonne of* Ahazia, ſeeme plaine enough. How any figure of the *Hebrew* language might give title of Sonne unto him, in regard that hee was his Succeſſour, I neither by my ſelfe can finde, nor can by any helpe of Authors learne how to anſwer the difficulties appearing in the contrary opinions of them; that thinke him to have beene, or not, the naturall ſonne of *Ahazia*. For whereas it is ſaid, that *the houſe of* Ahazia *was not able to retaine the Kingdome*; ſome doe inferre that this *Joaſh* was not properly called his ſon, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore ſucceeded him, as a ſonne in the inheritance of his father. And hereunto the murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For ſhee perceiving that the Kingdome was to fall into their hands, in whom ſhe had no intereſt, might eaſily finde cauſe to feare, that the tyrannie exerciſed by her husband at her inſtigation upon ſo many noble Houſes, would now bee revenged upon her ſelfe. The ruine of her Idolatrous Religion might in this caſe terrefie both her and her Minions; the ſentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedie of *Jezabel* teaching her what might happen to another Queene. All this had little concerned her, if her owne grand-child had beene heire to the Crowne; for ſhe that had power enough to make her ſelfe Queene, could with more eaſe, and leſſe envie, have taken upon her the office of a Protector, by which authoritie ſhe might have done her pleaſure, and been the more both obeyed by others,

2 Kin. 11. 2. & 2 Chr. 22. 11.

2 Chron. 22. 9.

and ſecure of her owne eſtate, as not wanting an heir. Wherefore it was not needful, that ſhe ſhould be ſo unnatural, as to deſtroy the child of her own ſon, of whoſe life ſhe might have made greater uſe than ſhe could of his death: whereas indeed, the love of Grandmothers to their Nephewes, is little leſſe than the Mothers to their children.

This argument is very ſtrong. For it may ſeeme incredible, that all naturall affection ſhould be caſt a-ſide, when as neither neceſſitie urgeth, nor any commoditie therby gotten requireth it, yea when all humane policie doth teach one the ſame, which nature without reaſon would have perſwaded.

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### †. II.

### *That* Joas *did not deſcend from* Nathan.

1 Chron.3.5.

BUt (as it is more eaſie to find a difficultie in that which is related, than to ſhew how it might have otherwiſe bin) the pedigree of this *Joaſh* is, by them which thinke him not the ſon of *Ahazia*, ſet down in ſuch ſort that it may very juſtly be ſuſpected. They ſay, that he deſcended from *Nathan* the ſon of *David*, and not from *Salomon*: to which purpoſe they bring a Hiſtorie (I know not whence) of two families of the race of *David*, ſaying, that the line of *Salomon* held the kingdom with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the familie of *Nathan* ſhould ſucceed it. Concerning this *Nathan* the ſon of *David*, there are that would have him to be *Nathan* the Prophet, who, as they think, was by *David* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as alſo S. *Auguſtine* ſomtime was, but afterward he revoked it, as was meet; for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the ſons of *David*, by *Bathſua* the daughter of *Ammes*, and therefore could not be the Prophet. *Gregory Nazianzen* (as I find him cited by *Peter Martyr*) & after him *Eraſmus*, and *Faber Stapulenſis*, have likewiſe held the ſame of *Joaſh*, deriving him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan* and thoſe other brethren of *Salomon* by the ſame Mother, are thought, upon good likelihoods, to have bin the children of *Uria* the *Hittite*: and ſo are they accounted by ſundrie of the Fathers, and by *Lyra*, and *Abulenſis*, who follow the *Hebrew* Expoſitors of that place in the firſt of *Chronicles*. The words of *Salomon* calling himſelfe the only begotten of his mother, doe approve this expoſition: for we reade of no more than two ſons which *Bathſua* or *Bathſheba* did beare unto *David*, whereof the one begotten in adulterie, died an Infant, and *Salomon* onely of her children by the King did live. So that the reſt muſt needs have bin the children of *Uria*, and are thought to have bin *Davids* only by adoption. Wherefore if *Joas* had not bin the ſon of *Ahazia*, then muſt that pedigree have bin falſe, wherein S. *Matthew* deriveth him lineally from *Salomon*; yea, then had not *our bleſſed Saviour* iſſued from the loins of *David*, according to the fleſh, but had only bin of his line by courteſie of the Nation, and form of law, as any other might have bin. As for the authoritie of *Philo*, which hath drawn many late writers into the opinion that *Joaſh* was not of the poſteritie of *Salomon*, it is enough to ſay, that this was *Frier Annius* his *Philo*: for no other edition of *Philo* hath any ſuch matter; but *Annius* can make Authors to ſpeake what he liſt.

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### †. III.

### *That* Joas *may probably be thought to have beene the ſon of* Jehoram.

2 Kin.8.19.

IN ſo doubtfull a caſe, if it ſeeme lawfull to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought upon, me thinks it were not amiſſe to lay open at once, and peruſe together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickedneſs of *Jehoram* the ſon of *Jehoſaphat* King of *Juda*, for which he and his children periſhed, rehearſeth it as one of Gods mercies towards the houſe of *David*, that according to his promiſe hee would *give him a light and to his children for ever*: the other doth ſay, that for the offences of the ſame *Jehoram*, *there was not a ſonne left him, ſave* Jehoahas *the youngeſt of his ſonnes*. Now, if it were in regard of Gods promiſe to *David*, that after thoſe maſſacres of *Jehoram* upon all his brethren, and of the *Philiſtims* and *Arabians* upon the children of *Jehoram*, one of the ſeed of *David* eſcaped; why may it not be thought that hee was ſaid to have eſcaped, in whom the line of *David* was preſerved: for had all the race of *Salomon*

*mon* beene rooted up in theſe wofull Tragedies, and the progenie of *Nathan* ſucceeded in place thereof; like enough it is that ſome remembrance more particular would have beene extant, of an event ſo memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguiſhed, it is indeed apparent by the *Genealogie* of our Lord, as it is recounted by S. *Luke:* but the preſervation of the houſe of *David*, mentioned in the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the perſon of *Jehoahas*, in whom the Royall branch of *Salomon*, the naturall, and not only legall iſſue remaining of *David*, was kept alive. Wherefore it may be thought that this *Joaſh*, who followed *Athalia* in the Kingdome, was the youngeſt ſon of *Jehoram*, whoſe life *Athalia*, as a ſtepdame, was not likely to purſue. For it were not eaſily underſtood, why the preſervation of *Davids* line, by Gods eſpeciall mercie, in regard of his promiſe made, ſhould pertaine rather to that time, when beſides *Ahazia* himſelfe, there were two and fortie of his brethren, or (as in another place they are 2 Kin.10.13. called) ſonnes of his brethren remaining alive, which afterwards were all ſlain by *Jehu*; than have reference to the lamentable deſtruction and little leſſe than extirpation of that 2 Chro.22.8. progenie, wherein one only did eſcape. Certainely that inhumane murther which *Jehoram* committed upon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the Hiſtorie) revenged upon his owne children; then was not this vengeance of God accompliſhed by the *Philiſtims* and *Arabians*, but being only begun by them, was afterwards proſecuted by *Jehu*, and finally tooke effect by the hands of that ſame wicked woman, at whoſe inſtigation he had committed ſuch barbarous outrage. And from this execution of Gods heavie judgement laid upon *Jeboram* and all his children, onely *Jehoahas* his youngeſt ſonne 2 Chro.24.14. was exempted; whom therefore if I ſhould affirm to be the ſame with *Joas*, which is called the ſon of *Ahazia*, I ſhould not want good probabilitie. Some further appearance of neceſſitie there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwiſe have beene. For it was the youngeſt ſonne of *Jehoram* in whom the race was preſerved; which could not in any likelihood be *Ahazia*, ſeeing that he was twentie yeares old at the leaſt (as is already noted) when he began to raigne, and conſequently, was borne in the eighteenth or twentieth yeare of his Fathers age. Now I know not whether of the two is more unlikely, either that *Jehoram* ſhould have begotten many children before he was eighteen years old, or that having (as he had) many wives and children, he ſhould upon the ſudden, at his eighteenth year, become unfruitfull, and beget no more in twenty years following: each of which muſt have bin true, if this were true that *Ahazia* was the ſame *Jehoahaz* which was his youngeſt ſonne. But this inconvenience is taken away, and thoſe other doubts ariſing from the cauſeleſſe crueltie of *Athalia*, in ſeeking the life of *Joas* are eaſily cleered, if *Joas* and *Jehoahas* were one. Neither doth his age withſtand this opinion. For he was *ſeven years old when he began to raigne*; which if we underſtand 2 Chro.23.1. of years compleat, he might have bin a a year old at the death of *Jehoram*, being begotten ſomewhat after the beginning of his ſickneſſe. Neither is it more abſurd to ſay that he was the naturall ſon of *Jehoram*, though called the ſon of *Ahazia*, than it were to ſay, as great Authors have done, this difficultie notwithſtanding, that he was of the poſteritie of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to anſwer; which, had it concurred with the reſt, might have ſerved as the foundation of this opinion. The name of *Jehoahas*, that ſoundeth much more neere to *Joas*, than to *Ahaziah*, in an Engliſh yeare, doth in the *Hebrew* (as I am informed by ſome, skilfull in that language) through the diverſitie of certaine letters, differ much from that which it moſt reſembleth in our Weſtern manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, although it be ſo that *Ahazia* himſelfe be alſo called *Azaria*, & muſt have had three names, if he were the ſame with *Jehoahas*; in which 2 Chro.22.5. maner *Joas* might alſo have had ſeverall names; yet, becauſe I find no other warrant hereof than a bare poſſibilitie, I will not preſume to build an opinion upon the weak foundation of mine own conjecture, but leave all to the conſideration of ſuch as have more abilitie to judge, and leiſure to conſider of this point.

## †. IV.

### *Upon what reaſons* Athalia *might ſeeke to deſtroy* Joas, *if he were her own grandchilde.*

IF therefore we ſhall follow that which is commonly received, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may be ſaid, that *Athalia* was not only blinded by the paſſi-

2 Kin 9.22.

ons of ambition and zeale to her idolatrous worſhip of *Baalim*, but purſued the accompliſhment of ſome unnaturall deſires, in ſeeking the deſtruction of her grand-child, and the reſt of the bloud Royall. For whether it were ſo that *Athalia* (as proud and cruell women are not alwayes chaſt) had imitated the libertie of *Jezabel* her ſiſter in law, whoſe whoredomes were upbraided by *Jehu* to her ſon; or whether ſhe had children by ſome former husband, before ſhe was married unto *Jehoram* (which is not unlikely, in regard of her age, who was daughter of *Omri*, and ſiſter to *Ahab*) certain it is that ſhe had ſons of her own, and thoſe old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondred at, that to ſettle the crown upon her own children, ſhe did ſeek to cut off, by wicked policie, all other claimes. As for *Joas*, if ſhe were his grand-mother, yet ſhe might miſtruſt the intereſt which his mother would have in him, leſt when he came to years, it might draw him from her devotion. And hereof (beſides that women doe commonly better love their daughters husbands, than their ſons wives) there is ſome appearance in the raign of her ſon; for ſhe made him ſpend all his time in idle journeyes, to no other apparent end, than that ſhe might rule at home; and he living abroad be eſtranged from his wife, and entertaine ſome new fancies, wherein *Jezabel* had cunning enough to be his *Tutoreſſe*. But when the ſword of *Jehu* had rudely cut in ſunder all theſe fine devices, then was *Athalia* fain to goe roundly to worke, and doe as ſhe did, whereby ſhe thought to make all ſure. Otherwiſe, if (as I could rather thinke) ſhe were onely ſtepdame to *Joas*, we need not ſeek into the reaſons moving her to take away his life; her own hatred was cauſe enough to diſpatch him among the firſt.

## §. VI.

### *A digreſſion, wherein is maintained the libertie of uſing conjecture in Hiſtoreis.*

THus much concerning the perſon of *Joas*, from whom, as from a new root, the tree of *David* was propagated into many branches. In handling of which matter, the more I conſider the nature of this Hiſtorie, and the diverſitie betweene it and others, the leſſe me thinkes I need to ſuſpect mine own preſumption, as deſerving blame, for curioſitie in matter of doubt, or boldneſſe in libertie of conjecture. For all Hiſtories doe give us information of humane counſels and events, as farre forth as the knowledge and faith of the writers can afford; but of Gods will, by which all things are ordered, they ſpeake onely at randome, and many times falſly. This we often find in profane writers, who aſcribe the ill ſucceſſe of great undertakings, to the neglect of ſome impious Rites, whereof indeed God abhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omiſſion. Hereat we may the leſſe wonder, if we conſider the anſwer made by the Jewes in Egypt unto *Jeremie* the Prophet reprehending their Idolatrie. For howſoever the written Law of God was known unto the people, and his puniſhments laid upon them for contempt therof, were very terrible, and even then but newly executed; yet were they ſo obſtinately bent unto their wills, that they would not by any means be drawn to acknowledge the true cauſe of their affliction. But they told the Prophet roundly, that they would worſhip the *Queene of Heaven*, as they and their fathers, their Kings and their Princes had uſed to doe: *For then* (ſayd they) *had we plentie of victuals, and were well, and felt no evill:* addding that all maner of miſeries were befalne them, ſince they left off that ſervice of the *Queene of Heaven*. So blinde is the wiſedome of man, in looking into the counſell of God, which to finde out, there is no better nor other guide than his own written will not perverted by vaine additions.

Jer.44.17.18.

But this Hiſtoric of the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Juda* hath herein a ſingular prerogative above all that have beene written by the moſt ſufficient of meerely humane Authors: i ſetteth downe expreſly the true, and firſt cauſes of all that happened; not in imputing the death of *Ahab* to his over-forwardneſſe in battell; the ruine of his Familie, to th ſecuritie of *Jehoram* in *Jezreel*; nor the victories of *Hazael*, to the great commotio raiſed iu *Iſrael*, by the comming of *Jehu*; but referring all unto the will of God, I mean to his revealed will: from which that his hidden purpoſes doe not varie, this Storie, b many great examples, gives moſt notable proofe. True it is, that the concurrence ſecond cauſes with their effects, is in theſe bookes nothing largely deſcribed; nor pe

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haps exactly in any of thoſe Hiſtories that are in theſe points moſt copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentlemen, Sir *Philip Sidnie*, that Hiſtorians doe borrow of Poets, not onely much of their ornament, but ſome what of their ſubſtance. Informations are often falſe, records not alwaies true, and notorious actions commonly inſufficient to diſcover the paſſions which doe ſet them firſt on foot. Wherfore they are faine (I ſpeake of the beſt, & in that which is allowed; for to take out of *Livie* every one circumſtance of *Claudius* his journey againſt *Aſdrubal* in Italy, fitting all to another buſineſſe, or any practice of that kinde, is neither Hiſtoricall, nor Poeticall) to ſearch into the particular humour of Princes, and of thoſe which have governed their affections, or the inſtruments by which they wrought; from whence they do collect the moſt likely motives or impediments of every buſineſſe; and ſo figuring as neere to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they judiciouſly conſider the defects in counſaile, or obliquity in proceeding.

S.Phi. Sid. in his Apol. for Poetry.

Yet all this, for the moſt part, is not enough to give aſſurance, howſoever it may give ſatisfaction. For the heart of man is unſearcheable: and Princes, howſoever their intents bee ſeldome hidden from ſome of thoſe many eyes which prie both into them, and into ſuch as live about them; yet ſometimes either by their owne cloſe temper, or by ſome ſubtill miſts, they conceale the truth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themſelves lye dead, and buried in oblivion, when the preparations which they begat, are converted to another uſe. The induſtrie of an Hiſtorian, having ſo many things to wearie it, may well bee excuſed, when finding apparent cauſe enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further ſearch; though it often fall out, where ſundry occaſions worke to the ſame end, that one ſmall matter in a weake minde is more effectuall, than many that ſeeme farre greater. So comes it many times to paſſe, that great fires, which conſume whole houſes or townes, begin with a few ſtrawes, that are waſted or not ſeene; when the flame is diſcovered, having faſtened upon ſome wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Queſtionleſſe it is, that the warre commenced by *Darius*, and purſued by *Xerxes* againſt the Greekes, proceeded from deſire of the Perſians to inlarge their Empire: howſoever the enterprize of the Athenians upon *Sardes*, was noiſed abroad as the ground of that quarrell; yet *Herodotus* telleth us, that the wanton deſire of Queen *Atoſſa*, to have the Grecian dames her bondwoman, did firſt move *Darius* to prepare for this warre before hee had received any injury, & when he did not yet ſo much deſire to get more, as to enjoy what was already gotten.

Hero.lib.1.

I will not here ſtand to argue whether *Herodotus* be more juſtly reprehended by ſome, or defended by others, for alledging the vain appetite, and ſecret ſpeech of the Queen in bed with her husband, as the cauſe of thoſe great evils following; this I may boldly affirme, (having, I thinke, in every eſtate ſome ſufficient witneſſe) that matters of much conſequence, founded in all ſeeming upon ſubſtantiall reaſons, have iſſued indeed from ſuch pettie trifles, as no Hiſtorian would either thinke upon, or could well ſearch out.

Therefore it was a good anſwer that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope made to a certaine Frier, comming to viſit him in his Popedome, as having long before in his meaner eſtate, beene his familiar friend. This poore Frier, being emboldened by the Pope to uſe his old liberty of ſpeech, adventured to tell him, that he very much wondred how it was poſſible for his Holineſſe, whom he rather tooke for a direct honeſt man, than any cunning Polititian, to attaine unto the Papacy; in compaſſing of which, all the ſubtilty (ſaid he) of the moſt crafty braines, finde worke enough: & therefore the more I thinke upon the Art of the Conclave, & your unaptneſſe thereto, the more I needs muſt wonder. Pope *Sixtus* to ſatisfie the plaine dealing Frier, dealt with him againe as plainly, ſaying, Hadſt thou lived abroad as I have done, and ſeen by what follie this world is governed, thou wouldeſt wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this bee referred unto thoſe exorbitant engines, by which the courſe of affaires is moved, the Pope ſaid true. For the wiſeſt of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutuall toleration, worke more cloſely, and earneſtly, than right reaſon either needes or can. But if wee lift up our thoughts to that ſupreme Governour, of whoſe Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was ſaid of *Jupiter*.

*Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat*
*Ventoſum, & urbes, regnaque triſtia*
*Divoſque mortaleſque turmas,*
*Imperio regit unus æquo.*

Who rules the duller earth, the winde-ſwolne ſtreames,
The civill Cities and th' infernall realmes,
Who th' hoſt of heaven, and the mortall band,
Alone doth governe by his juſt command.

Then ſhall wee finde the quite contrary. In him there is no uncertainety nor change; hee foreſeeth all things, and all things diſpoſeth to his owne honour; He neither deceiveth nor can bee deceived, but continuing one and the ſame for ever, doth conſtantly governe all creatures by that Law, which he hath preſcribed, and will never alter. The vanities of men beguile their vaine contrivers, and the proſperity of the wicked, is the way leading to their deſtruction: yea this broad and headlong paſſage to hell, is not ſo delightfull as it ſeemes at the firſt entrance, but hath growing in it, beſides the poyſons which infect the ſoule, many cruell thorns deeply wounding the body; all which, if any few eſcape, they have onely this miſerable advantage of others, that their deſcent was the more ſwift & expedite. But the ſervice of God is the path guiding us to perfect happines, & hath in it a true, though not compleat felicity, yeelding ſuch abundance of joy to the conſcience, as doth eaſily countervaile all afflictions whatſoever; though indeede thoſe brambles that ſometimes teare the skin of ſuch as walke in this bleſſed way, doe commonly lay hold upon them at ſuch time as they ſit down to take their eaſe, & make them wiſh themſelves at their journies end, in the preſence of their Lord whom they faithfully ſerve, in whoſe *preſence is the fulneſſe of joy, and at whoſe right hand are pleaſures for evermore.*

Pſalm.16.11.

Wherefore it being the end and ſcope of all Hiſtory, to teach by example of times paſt, ſuch wiſedome as may guide our deſires and actions, we ſhould not marvaile though the *Chronicles of the Kings of Juda and Iſrael*, being written by men inſpired with the Spirit of God, inſtruct us chiefly, in that which is moſt requiſite for us to know; as the meanes to attaine unto true felicity, both here, and hereafter, propounding examples which illuſtrate this infallible rule, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wiſedome.* Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) beene written by ſome Prophet after the captivity: wee may well beleeve that the counſaile of God therein, & the executioners of his righteous will, ſhould have occupied either the whole or the principall roome in that narration. Yet had not the purpoſe of *Darius*, the deſire of his Wife, & the buſineſſe at Sardes, with other occurrents, beene the leſſe true, though they might have been omitted, as the leſſe materiall: but theſe things it had been lawfull for any man to gather out of prophane Hiſtories, or out of circumſtances otherwiſe appearing, wherein he ſhould not have done injury to the Sacred Writings, as long as he had forborn to derogate from the firſt cauſes, by aſcribing to the ſecond more than was due.

Such, or little different, is the buſineſſe that I have now in hand: wherein I cannot beleeve that any man of judgement will taxe me, as either fabulous or preſumptuous. For he doth not faine, that rehearſeth probabilities as bare conjectures; neither doth he deprave the Text, that ſeeketh to illuſtrate and make good in humane reaſon, thoſe things which authority alone, without further circumſtance, ought to have confirmed in every mans beliefe. And this may ſuffice in defence of the liberty which I have uſed in conjectures, and may hereafter uſe when occaſion ſhall require, as neither unlawfull, nor miſ-beſeeming an Hiſtorian.

## §. VII.

### *The conſpiracie againſt* Athalia.

WHen *Athalia* had now ſixe yeeres and longer worne the Crowne of Juda, and had found neither any forreine enemy, nor domeſticall adverſarie to diſturbe her poſſeſſion, ſuddenly the period of her glory, & reward of her wickedneſſe meeting together, tooke her away without any warning, by a violent and ſhamefull death. For the growth of the young Prince began to bee ſuch, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had beene very unfitting that his education ſhould be ſimple, to make him ſeeme the childe of ſome poore man (as for his ſafety it was requiſite,) when his capacity required to have beene indued with the ſtomacke and qualities meete for a King. All this *Jehojada* the Prieſt conſidered, and withall, the great increaſe of impiety, which taking deepe roote in the Court, was likely to ſpread it ſelfe over all the Country, if care were not uſed to weede it up very ſpeedily. Wherefore he aſſociated unto himſelfe five of the Captaines, in whoſe fidelity hee had beſt aſſurance; and having taken an oath of them, and ſhewed them the Kings ſonne, he made a Covenant with them, to advance him to the Kingdome. Theſe drew in others of the principall men, to countenance the action, procuring at the firſt onely that they ſhould repaire to Jeruſalem, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many perſwaſions to win them to the buſineſſe: the promiſe of the Lord unto the houſe of *David*, was enough to aſſure them, that the action was both lawfull, and likely to ſucceed as they deſired.

But in compaſſing their intent, ſome difficulties appeared: For it was not to be hoped, that with open force they ſhould bring their purpoſe to good iſſue; neither were the Captains, & other aſſociats of *Jehojada* able by cloſe working, to draw together ſo many truſty and ſerviceable hands as would ſuffice to manage the buſineſſe. To helpe in this caſe, the Prieſt gave order to ſuch of the Levites, as had finiſhed their courſes in waiting on the Divine ſervice at the Temple, and were now relieved by others that ſucceeded in their turnes, that they ſhould not depart untill they knew his further pleaſure. So by admitting the new commers, and not diſcharging the old, he had, without any noiſe, made up ſuch a number, as would be able to deale with the Queenes ordinary Guard: and that was enough; for if the Tyranneſſe did not prevaile againſt them at the firſt brunt, the favour of the People was like to ſhew it ſelfe on their ſide, who made head againſt her. Theſe Levites were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the perſon of the King, who as yet was kept cloſe; the followers of the Captaines, and other adherents, where beſtowed in the utter Courts: As for weapons, the Temple it ſelfe had ſtore enough; King *David* had left an Armory to the place, which was now imployed in defence of his iſſue.

All things being in a readineſſe, and the day come, wherein this high deſigne was to be put in execution; *Jehojada* delivered unto the Captaines, Armour for them and their adherents, appointed a guard unto the Kings perſon, produced him openly, and gave unto him the Crowne; uſing all ceremonies accuſtomed in ſuch ſolemnities, with great applauſe of the people. Of theſe doings, the Queene was the laſt that heard any word. Which is not ſo ſtrange as it may ſeeme: for inſolent natures, by dealing outragiouſly with ſuch as bring them ill tidings, doe commonly loſe the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whileſt yet it may be prevented, and have no information of danger, till their owne eyes, amazed with the ſuddenneſſe, behold it in the ſhape of inevitable miſchiefe.

All Jeruſalem was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. Some carried home the newes, others ran forth to ſee, and the common joy was ſo great, that without apprehenſion of perill, under the windowes of the Court, were the people running and praiſing the King. *Athalia* hearing and beholding the extraordinary concourſe, & noiſe of folkes in the ſtreetes, making towards the Temple, with much unuſuall paſſion in their lookes, did preſently conceive, that ſomewhat worthy of her care was happened; though, what it might be, ſhe did not apprehend. Howſoever it were, ſhee meant to uſe her owne wiſedome in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occaſion might happen to require. It may bee, that ſhe thought it ſome eſpeciall ſolemnitie uſed in the Divine ſervice, which cauſed this much adoe; and hereof the unaccuſtomed number of Levites, and of other devout men, about the towne, might give ſome preſumption.

2 Chro. 23. 12.

Many things argue that ſhe little thought upon her owne Tragedy; although *Joſephus* would make it ſeeme otherwiſe. For we finde in the Text, *She came to the people into the houſe of the Lord* (which was neere to her Palace) and that when ſhe looked and ſaw the King ſtand by his pillar, as the manner was with the Princes, or great men of the

2 Chron. 23. 13. & 13. 2.
1 King. c. 11. v. 13. 14.

Land by him, and the Trumpetters proclaiming him, ſhee rent her clothes, and cryed Treaſon, Treaſon. Hereby it appeares that ſhe was quietly going, without any miſtruſt or feare, to take her place; which when ſhe found occupied by another, then ſhe began to afflict her ſelfe, as one caſt away, and cried out in vaine upon the Treaſon, whereby ſhe ſaw that ſhe muſt periſh. But that ſhe came with a guard of armed men to the Temple, (as *Joſephus* reporteth) and that her company being beaten backe, ſhee entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the young Tyrant, I finde no where in Scripture, neither doe I hold it credible. For had ſhe truely known how things went, ſhe would ſurely have gathered her friends about her, and uſed thoſe forces in defence of her Crown, by which ſhe gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainely, if it were granted, that ſhe, like a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her troupe, yet it had been meere madneſſe in her, to enter the place alone, when her aſſiſtants were kept out; but if ſhee, perceiving that neither her authority, nor their owne weapous, could prevaile to let-in her guard, would nevertheleſſe take upon her to command the death of the new King, calling a childe of ſeven yeeres old a Conſpirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom ſhe ſaw to bee armed in his defence, may we not thinke that ſhe was mad in the moſt extreme degree? Certaine it is that the counſaile of God would have taken effect, in her deſtruction, had ſhe uſed the moſt likely meanes to diſappoint it: yet wee neede not ſo cut her throate with any morall impoſſibilities. It is enough to ſay, that the godly zeale of *Jehojada* found more eaſie ſucceſſe, through her indiſcretion, than otherwiſe could have beene expected; ſo that at his appointment, ſhee was without more adoe, carried out of the Temple and ſlaine, yea ſo, that no bloud, ſave her owne, was ſhed in that quarrell; her ſmall train that ſhe brought along with her, not daring to ſtand in her defence.

## §. VIII.

### *The death of* Athalia, *with a compariſon of her and* Jezabel.

MOſt like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the raſhneſſe of her Nephew *Jehoram* the Iſraelite, who did fooliſhly caſt himſelfe into the very throate of danger, gaping upon him, onely through his eager deſire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet ſhee her ſelfe, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and having lived ſuch a life as *Jezabel* had done, was rewarded with a ſutable death. Theſe two Queenes were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her husband; was an Idolatreſſe and a Murdreſſe. The onely difference appearing in their conditions, is, that *Jezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: So that each of them ſurviving her husband about eight yeeres, did ſpend their time in ſatisfying her owne affections; the one uſing tyrannie, as the exerciſe of her haughty minde; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her unchaſte body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in thoſe things which may ſeeme in this world to pertaine unto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the ſuddaine by Conſpirators, and each of them exclaiming upon the Treaſon, received ſentence from the mouth of one that had lived under her ſubjection; in execution whereof, *Jezabel* was trampled under the feet of her enemies horſes; *Athalia* ſlain at her owne horſe-gate; the death of *Athalia* having (though not much) the more leiſure to vexe her proud heart; that of *Jezabel* the more indignitie, and ſhame of bodie. Touching their buriall, *Jezabel* was devoured by Dogges, as the Lord had theatned by the Prophet *Elias*; what became of *Athalia* wee doe not finde. Like enough it is, that ſhe was buried, as having not perſecuted and ſlaine the Lords Prophets, but ſuffered the Prieſts to exerciſe their function; yet of her buriall there is no monument, for ſhe was a Church-robber. The ſervice of *Baal* erected by theſe two Queenes, was deſtroyed as ſoone as they were gone, and their Chaplaines, the Prieſts of that Religion, ſlaine. Herein alſo it came to paſſe, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who ſlew them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the ſame hand of *Hazael* the Syrian; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the Syrian (who ſeemes to have beene her good friend) pretended her revenge, as any part of his quarrell to *Juda*. Concerning children, all belonging to *Jezabel* periſhed in few dayes after her: whether *Athalia* left any behinde her, it is uncertaine; ſhe had ſons living after ſhe was Queene, of whom, or of any other, that they were ſlaine with her, we doe not finde.

This is a matter not unworthy of conſideration, in regard of much that may depend upon it. For if the children of *Athalia* had beene in Jeruſalem when their Mother fell, their death would ſurely have followed hers as neerely, and beene regiſtred, as well as the death of *Mattan* the Prieſt of *Baal*. That Law by which *God forbad that the children ſhould die for the fathers*, could not have ſaved theſe ungracious Imps, whom the clauſe following would have cut off, which commands, that every man ſhould die for his owne ſinne. Seeing therefore that they had beene profeſſors and advancers of that vile and Idolatrous worſhip of *Baal*, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the houſe of *Baal* with the ſpoile of it; likely it is, that they ſhould not have eſcaped with life, if *Jehojada* the Prieſt could have gotten them into his hands. As there was lawfull cauſe enough requiring their death, ſo the ſecurity of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craved as much, and that very earneſtly. For theſe had beene eſteemed as heires of their mothers Crowne, & being reckoned as her aſſiſtants in that particular buſineſſe of robbing the Temple, may be thought to have carried a great ſway in other matters, as Princes, and fellowes with their Mother in the Kingdome. Therefore it is evident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *Hazael* in his warres againſt *Jehu*) abſent from Jeruſalem; whereby *Jehojada* might, with the more confidence, adventure to take Armes againſt their Mother, that was deſolate.

Deut. 24.16.

# Chap. XXII.

## *Of* Joas *and* Amaſia, *with their Contemporaries; where ſomewhat of the building of Carthage.*

### §. I.

### *Of* Joas *his doings, whileſt* Jehojada *the Prieſt lived.*

BY the death of *Athalia*, the whole countrie of Juda was filled with great joy and quietneſſe; wherein *Joas*, a childe of ſeven yeeres old or there-about, began his reigne, which continued almoſt fortie yeeres. During his minority, he lived under the protection of that honourable man *Jehojada* the Prieſt, who did as faithfully governe the Kingdome, as he had before carefully preſerved the Kings life, & reſtored him unto the Throne of his anceſtors. When he came to mans eſtate, he tooke by appointment of *Jehojada* two wives, & begat Sonnes and Daughters, repairing the family of *David* which was almoſt worne out. The firſt Act that hee tooke in hand, when hee began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needfull piece of worke, in regard of the decay wherein that holy place was fallen, through the wickedneſſe of ungodly Tyrans; and requiſite it was that hee ſhould up-hold the Temple, whom the Temple had up-held. This buſineſſe he followed with ſo earneſt a zeale, that not only the Levites were more ſlacke than he, but even *Jehojada* was faine to be quickened by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the worke; partly out of the taxe impoſed by *Moſes*, partly out of the liberality of the people: who gave ſo freely, that the Temple, beſides all reparations, was enriched with veſſels of gold and ſilver, and with all other Utenſiles. The ſacrifices likewiſe were offered, as under godly Kings they had beene, and the ſervice of God was magnificently celebrated.

2 Chro. 24.14.

## §. II.

## *The death of* Jehojada, *and Apoſtaſie of* Joas.

BUt this endured no longer than the life of *Jehojada* the Prieſt: who having lived an hundred and thirty yeeres, dyed before his Countrie could have ſpared him. He was buried among the Kings of Juda, as he well deſerved, having preſerved the race of them, & reſtored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that houſe, by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little, of rooting up themſelves, and all their iſſue. Yet this honourable Funerall ſeems to have bin given to him, at the motion of the people; it being ſaid, *They buried him in the Citie of* David. As for the King himſelfe, who did owe to him no leſſe than his Crowne and life, he is not likely to have been Author of it, ſeeing that hee was as eaſily comforted after his death, as if he had thereby been diſcharged of ſome heavie debt.

For after the death of *Jehojada*, when the Princes of Juda began to flatter their King, he ſoone forgat, not only the benefits received by this worthy man his old Counſellour, but alſo the good precepts which he had received from him, yea & God himſelfe, the Authour of all goodneſſe. Theſe Princes drew him to the worſhip of Idols, wherewith *Jehoram* and *Athalia* had ſo infected the Country, in fifteene or ſixteene yeeres, that thirty yeeres, or there-about, of the reigne of *Joas*, wherein the true Religion was exerciſed, were not able to cleere it from that miſchiefe. The King himſelfe, when once he was entred into theſe courſes, ran on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his liberty, to deſpiſe the ſervice of God; and a manifeſt proofe of his being now King indeed, that he regarded no longer the ſowre admonitions of devout Prieſts. Hereby it appeares, that his former zeale was only counterfeited, wherein like an Actor upon the ſtage, he had ſtriven to expreſſe much more lively affection, than they could ſhew, that were indeede religious.

## §. III.

## *The cauſes and times of the Syrians invading Juda in the dayes of* Joas.

BUt God, from whom hee was broken looſe, gave him over into the hands of men, that would not eaſily bee ſhaken off. *Hazael* King of Aram, having taken Gath, a Towne of the Philiſtims, addreſſed himſelfe towards Jeruſalem, whither the little diſtance of way, and great hope of a rich booty, did invite him. He had an Army heartned by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the war (if his ambition cared for pretences) it was enough that the Kings of Juda had aſſiſted the Iſraelites, in their enterpriſes upon Aram, at Ramoth Gilead. Yet I thinke hee did not want ſome further inſtigation. For if the Kingdome of Juda had moleſted the Aramites, in the time of his predeceſſour, this was throughly recompenſed, by forbearing to ſuccour Iſrael, & leaving the ten Tribes in their extreme miſery, to the fury of *Hazael* himſelfe. Neither is it likely, that *Hazael* ſhould have gone about to awake a ſleeping Dogge, and ſtirre up againſt himſelfe a powerfull enemy, before he had aſſured the conqueſt of Iſrael, that lay between Jeruſalem and his owne Kingdome, if ſome opportunity had not performed ſuch eaſie and good ſucceſſe, as might rather advance, than any way diſturbe his future proceedings againſt the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the ſonnes of *Athalia*, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promiſing (as men expelled their Countries uſually doe) to draw many partakers of their owne to his ſide; and not to remaine, as *Joas* did, a neutrall in the warre betweene him and Iſrael, but to joyne all their forces with his, as they had cauſe, for the rooting out of *Jehu* his poſterity, who, like a bloudy Traitor, had utterly deſtroyed all the kindred of the Queenes, their mother, even the whole houſe of *Ahab*, to which hee was a ſubject. If this were ſo, *Hazael* had the more apparent reaſon to invade the Kingdome of Juda. Howſoever it were, we finde it plainely, that *Joas* was affraid of him, and therefore *tooke all the hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treaſures of the houſe of the Lord*, or in his owne houſe, with which preſent hee redeemed his peace: the Syrian (queſtionleſſe) thinking it a better bargaine, to get ſo much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazzard the aſſurance of this

2 King.12.18.

for the poſſibility of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a rich bootie of unhappy treaſure, which belonging to the living God, remained a ſmall while in the poſſeſſion of this mighty, yet corruptible man, but ſent him quickely to the grave. For in the thirtie ſeventh yeere of *Joas*, which was the fifteenth of *Jehoahaz*, hee made this purchaſe; but in the ſame or very next yeere he died, leaving all that hee had unto his Sonne *Benhadad*, with whom theſe treaſures proſpered no otherwiſe, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterpriſe of *Hazaels*, is, by ſome, confounded with that warre of the Aramites upon Juda, mentioned in the ſecond booke of *Chronicles*. But the reaſons alledged by them that hold the contrary opinion, doe forcibly prove, that it was not all one warre. For the former was compounded without bloud-ſhed or fight; in the latter, *Joas* tryed the fortune of a battaile, wherin being put to the worſt, he loſt all his Princes, and hardly eſcaped with life: In the one, *Hazael* himſelfe was preſent; in the other, hee was not named: but contrariwiſe, the King of Aram then reigning (who may ſeem to have then been the Sonne of *Hazael*) is ſaid to have beene at Damaſcus. The firſt Armie came to conquer, and was ſo great, that it terrefied the King of Juda; The ſecond was a *ſmall company of men*, which did animate *Joas* (in vaine; for God was againſt him) to deale with them, as having *a very great Armie*. 2 Chron.24.24.

Now, concerning the time of this former invaſion, I cannot perceive that God forſooke him, till he had firſt forſaken God. There are indeed ſome, very learned, who thinke that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Jehojada* the Prieſt, becauſe that ſtorie is joyned unto the reſtauration of the Temple. This had beene probable, if the death of *Jehojada* had beene afterwards mentioned in that place of the ſecond booke of *Kings*; or if the Apoſtaſie of *Joas*, or any other matter implying ſo much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may diſpoſe of all things, according to his own will & pleaſure; neither was he more unjuſt in the afflictions of *Job* that righteous man, or the death of *Joſias* that godly King, than in the plagues which he laid upon *Pharaoh*, or his judgements upon the houſe of *Ahab*. But it appeares plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent ſervice of God therewithall, which are joyned together, were uſed *in the houſe of the Lord continually, all the dayes of Jehojada*; ſoone after whoſe death, if not immediately upon it, that is (as ſome very learnedly collect) in the ſixe, or thirty ſeventh yeere of this *Joas* his reign, the King falling away from the God of his Fathers, became a foule Idolater. 2 Chro. 24. 14.

And indeed we commonly obſerve, that the croſſes which it hath pleaſed God ſometimes to lay upon his ſervants without any cauſe notorious in the eyes of men, have alwayes tended unto the bettering of their good. In which reſpect, even the ſufferings of the bleſſed Martys (*the death of his Saints being precious in the ſight of the Lord*) are to their great advantage. Pſal.115.15. But with evill and rebellious men, God keepeth a more even and ſtrict account; permitting uſually their faults to get the ſtart of their puniſhment, & either delaying his vengeance (as with the Amorites) till their wickedneſſe be full: or not working their amendment by his correction, but ſuffering them to run on in their wicked courſes, to their greater miſery. So hath he dealt with many; and ſo it appeares that hee dealt with *Joas*. For this unhappy man did not onely continue an obſtinate Idolater, but grew ſo forgetfull of God and all goodneſſe, as if hee had ſtroven to exceed the wickedneſſe of all that went before him, and to leave ſuch a villainous patterne unto others, as few or none of the moſt barbarous Tyrants ſhould endure to imitate.

## §. IV.

### *How* Zacharia *was murthered by* Joas.

SUndry Prophets having laboured in vaine to reclaime the people from their ſuperſtition, *Zacharia* the ſonne of *Jehojada* the Prieſt, was ſtirred up at length by the Spirit of God, to admoniſh them of their wickedneſſe, and make them underſtand the puniſhment due unto it, whereof they ſtood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man ſo much honoured, and ſonne to a man ſo exceedingly beloved in his life time, and reverenced, that if *Joas* had reputed him (as *Ahab* did *Elias*) his open enemie, yet ought he in common honeſty, to have cloaked his ill affection, and have uſed at leaſt ſome part of the reſpect that was due to ſuch a perſon: On the other ſide, the ſingular affection which he and his father had borne unto the King, and the unrecountable benefits, which they had done unto him, from his firſt infancie, were ſuch, as ſhould have placed *Zacharia* in the moſt hearty and aſſured love of *Joas*, yea though hee had bin otherwiſe a man of very ſmall marke, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the meſſage of a Prophet ſent from God, ſhould be heard with reverence, how ſimple ſoever he appeares that brings it. But this King *Joas*, having already ſcorned the admonitions and proteſtations of ſuch Prophets as firſt were ſent, did now deale with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandmen in that parable of our Saviour, dealt with the heire of the Vineyard; Luke 20.14. who ſaid, *This is the heire, come let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours.* By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an abſolute Commander, ſuppoſing belike that he was no free Prince, as long as one durſt tell him the plain truth, how great ſoever that mans deſervings were, that did ſo, yea though Gods commandement required it. So they conſpired againſt this holy Prophet, and ſtoned him to death at the Kings appointment; but whether by any forme of open Law, as was practiſed upon *Naboth*; or whether ſurpriſing him by any cloſe treachery; I doe neither reade, nor can conjecture. The dignity of his perſon, conſidered together with their treacherous conſpiracie, makes it probable, that they durſt not call him into publique judgement, though that the manner of his death, being ſuch as was commonly, and by order of Law, inflicted upon malefactors, may argue the contrary. Moſt likely it is, that the Kings commandement, by which hee ſuffered, tooke place in ſtead of Law: which exerciſe of meere power (as hath been already noted) was nothing ſtrange amongſt the Kings of Juda.

## §. V.

### *How* Joas *was ſhamefully beaten by the Amorites, and of his death.*

THis odious murther, committed by an unthankefull ſnake upon the man in whoſe boſome he had been foſtered, as of it ſelfe alone it ſufficed to make the wretched Tyrant hatefull to men of his own time, and his memory deteſted in all ages; ſo had it the well-deſcribed curſe of the bleſſed Martyr, to accompany it unto the Throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence; which fell downe ſwiftly, and heavily upon the head of that ungratefull monſter. It was the laſt yeere of his reigne; the end of his time comming then upon him, when he thought himſelfe beginning to live how he liſted without controulement. When that yeer was expired, the Aramites came into the Country, rather as may ſeem to get pillage, than to performe any great action; for 2 Chron.24.24. they *came with a ſmall company of men*; but God had intended to do more by them, than they themſelves did hope for.

That *Joas* naturally was a coward, his bloudy malice againſt his beſt friend, is, in my judgement, proofe ſufficient: though otherwiſe his baſe compoſition with *Hazael*, when hee might have leavied (as his ſon after him did muſter) three hundred thouſand choſen men for the warre, doth well enough ſhew his temper. Yet now he would needs be valiant, and make his people know, how ſtout of diſpoſition their King was, when hee might have his owne will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of Rovers, hee tooke a very great Army, ſo that wiſe men might well perceive, that he knew what he did, making ſhew as if he would fight for his Countrie, and expoſe himſelfe to danger of warre, when as indeed all was meere oſtentation, and no perill to be feared; hee going forth ſo ſtrongly appointed, againſt ſo weak enemies. Thus might wiſe men thinke, and laugh at him in ſecret; conſidering what adoe he made above that, which in all apparent reaſon was (as they ſay) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wiſedome of this world is fooliſhneſſe, did laugh not only at this vaine-glorious King, but at them that thought their King ſecure, by reaſon of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the Aramites & King *Joas* met, whether it were by ſome folly of the Leaders, or by ſome amazement happening among the ſouldiers, or by whatſoever means it pleaſed God to worke, ſo it was, that that great Army of Juda received a notable over-throw, and all the Princes were deſtroyed: the Princes of Juda, at whoſe perſwaſion the King had become a Rebell to the King of Kings. As for *Joas* himſelfe (as *Abulenſis* and others expound the ſtory) he was ſorely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they thinke) taken and ſhamefully tormented, to wring out of him an exceſſive ranſome.

And ſurely, all circumſtances doe greatly ſtrengthen this conjecture. For the Text (in the old tranſlation) ſaith, they exerciſed upon *Joas* ignominious judgements; & that departing from him, they diſmiſſed him in great languor. All which argues, that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-favouredly. Now at that time *Joas* the ſonne of *Jehoahaz* reigned over Iſrael, and *Benhadad* the ſon of *Hazael* over the Syrians in Damaſcus; the one a valiant under-taking Prince, raiſed up by God to reſtore the State of his miſerable Country; the other inferiour every way to his father; of whoſe purchaſes hee loſt a great part, for want of skill to keepe it. The difference in condition found betweene theſe two Princes, promiſing no other event than ſuch as afterward followed, might have given to the King of Juda good cauſe to be bold, and plucke up his ſpirits; which *Hazael* had beaten downe, if God had not beene againſt him. But his fearefull heart being likely to quake upon any apprehenſion of danger, was able to put the Syrian King in hope, that by terrefying him with ſome ſhew of warre at his doores, it were eaſie to make him crave any tolerable conditions of peace. The unexpected good ſucceſſe hereof, already related, & the (perhaps as unexpected) ill ſucceſſe, which the Aramites found in their following warres againſt the King of Iſrael, ſheweth plainely the weakeneſſe of all earthly might, reſiſting the power of the Almighty. For by his Ordinance, both the Kingdome of Juda, after more than forty yeeres time of gathering ſtrength, was unable to drive out a ſmall companie of Enemies; and the Kingdome of Iſrael, having ſo been trodden downe by *Hazael*, that onely fifty Horſemen, tenne Chariots, and tenne thouſand Footmen were left; prevailed againſt his Sonne, & recovered all from the victorious Aramites. But examples hereof are every-where found, & therefore I will not inſiſt upon this; though indeed wee ſhould not, if we be Gods children, thinke it more tedious to heare long & frequent reports of our heavenly Fathers honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore-fathers upon earth.

When the Aramites had what they liſted, & ſaw that they were not able, being ſo few, to take any poſſeſſion of the Country, they departed out of Juda loaden with ſpoile, which they ſent to Damaſcus, themſelves belike falling upon the ten Tribes, where it is to be thought that they ſped not halfe ſo well. The King of Juda being in ill caſe, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the ſons of an Ammoniteſſe, & of a Moabiteſſe, whom ſome (becauſe onely their Mothers names, being ſtrangers, are expreſſed) thinke to have beene bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or feare, leſt (as Tyrants uſe) hee ſhould revenge his diſaſter upon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatſoever elſe it were that animated them to murder their King; the Scripture tels us plainly, that, *For the bloud of the children of Jehojada*, this befell him. And the ſame appears to have beene uſed as the pretence of their conſpiracy, in excuſe of the fact when it was done. For *Amazia*, the ſonne and ſucceſſor of *Joas*, durſt not puniſh them, till his Kingdome was eſtabliſhed: but contrariwiſe, his body was judged unworthy of buriall in the Sepulchres of the Kings: whereby it appeares, that the death of *Zacharia* cauſed the treaſon, wrought againſt the King, to finde more approbation, than was requiſite, among the people, though afterwards it was recompenced by his ſonne, upon the Traitors, with well-deſerved death.

2 Chro. 24. 25.

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## §. VI.

### *Of the Princes living in the time of* Joas: *of the time when Carthage was built; and of* Dido.

There lived with *Joas*, *Mezades* & *Diognetus* in Athens: *Eudemus* and *Ariſtomedes* in Corinth: about which time *Agrippa Sylvius*, and after him *Sylvius Alladius*, were Kings of the Albans in Italy. *Ocrazapes*, commonly called *Anacyndaraxes*, the thirty ſeventh King ſucceeding unto *Ophratanes*, began his reigne over the Aſſyrians, about the eighteenth yeere of *Joas*, which laſted forty two yeeres. In the ſixteenth of *Joas*, *Cephrenes*, the fourth from *Seſac*, ſucceeded unto *Cheops* in the Kingdome of Egypt, and held it fifty yeeres.

In this time of *Joas*, was likewiſe the reigne of *Pigmalion* in Tyre, and the foundation of

Joſeph.Cont.App. lib.1.

of Carthage by *Dido*; the building of which City is, by divers Authors, placed in divers ages, ſome reporting it to be 70. yeeres yonger than Rome, others above 400. yeers elder, few or none of them giving any reaſon of their aſſertions, but leaving us uncertaine whom to follow: *Joſephus*, who had read the Annals of Tyre, counting one hundred forty and three yeeres and eight moneths from the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the twelfth yeer of *Hyram* King of Tyre, to the founding of Carthage by *Dido*, in the ſeventh of *Pigmalion*. The particulars of this accompt (which is not rare in *Joſephus*) are very perplexed, and ſerve not very well to make cleer the totall ſumme. But whether it were ſo that *Joſephus* did omit, or elſe that he did miſ-write ſome number of the yeers, which he reckoneth in Fractions, as they were divided among the Kings of Tyre, from *Hyram* to *Pigmalion*; we may well enough beleeve, that the Tyrian writers, out of whoſe books hee gives us the whole ſumme, had good meanes to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, betweene two works no longer following one the other than the memory of three or foure generations might eaſily reach. This hundred forty and foure yeeres current, after the building of *Salomons* Temple, being the eleventh yeere of *Joas*, was a hundred forty and three yeeres before the birth of Rome; and after the deſtruction of Troy, two hundred eighty and nine: a time ſo long after the death of *Aeneas*, that wee might truely conclude all to be fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Auſonius* noteth, who doth honour her Statua with this Epigram:

Auſon.ep.117.

*Illa ego ſum* Dido *vultu quam conſpicis hoſpes,*
*Aſſimulata modis pulchraque mirificis.*
*Talis eram, ſed non* Maro *quam mihi finxit, erat mens,*
*Vita nec inceſtis læta cupidinibus,*
(*Namque nec* Æneas *vidit me Troius unquam*
*Nec Lybiam advenit, claſſibus Iliacis.*
*Sed furias fugiens, atque arma procacis* Iarbæ,
*Servavi, fateor, morte pudicitiam;*
*Pectore transfixo caſtos quod pertulit enſes*)
*Non furor, aut læſo crudus amore dolor.*
*Sic cecidiſſe juvat: vixi ſine vulnere famæ,*
*Ulta virum, poſitis mœnibus oppetii.*
*Invida cur in me ſtimulaſti Muſa* Maronem,
*Fingeret ut noſtræ damna pudicitiæ?*
*Vos magis Hiſtoricis lectores credite de me*
*Quam qui furta Deum concubitusque canunt.*
*Falſidici vates: temerant qui carmine verum,*
*Humaniſque deos aſſimulant vitiis.*

## Which in effect is this.

I Am that *Dido* which thou here do'ſt ſee,
Cunningly framed in beauteous Imag'rie,
Like this I was, but had not ſuch a ſoule,
As *Maro* fained, inceſtuous and foule.
*Aeneas* never with his *Trojan* hoaſt
Beheld my face, or landed on this coaſt.
But flying proud *Iarbas* villanie,
Not mov'd by furious love or jealouſie;
I did with weapon chaſte, to ſave my fame,
Make way for death untimely, ere it came.
This was my end; but firſt I built a Towne,
Reveng'd by husbands death, liv'd with renowne.
Why did'ſt thou ſtirre up *Virgil*, envious Muſe,
Falſely my name and honour to abuſe?
Readers beleeve Hiſtorians; not thoſe
Which to the world *Joves* thefts and vice expoſe.
Poets are lyars, and for verſes ſake
Will make the gods of humane crimes partake.

From the time of *Dido* unto the firſt Punick warre, that Carthage grew & flouriſhed in wealth and conqueſts, we finde in many Hiſtories: but in particular we finde little of the Carthaginian affaires before that war, excepting thoſe few things that are recorded of their attempts of the Iſle of Sicil. We will therefore deferre the relation of matters concerning that mighty Citie, untill ſuch time as they ſhall encounter with the State of Rome, by which it was finally deſtroyed; and proſecute in the mean while the Hiſtory that is now in hand.

## §. VII.

### *The beginning of* Amazia *his reigne: Of* Joas *King of Iſrael, and* Eliſha *the Prophet.*

AMazias, the ſon of *Joaſh*, being twenty five yeeres old when his Father died, tooke poſſeſſion of the Kingdome of Juda, wherein he laboured ſo to demeane himſelfe, as his new beginning reigne might bee leaſt offenſive. The Law of *Moſes* hee profeſſed to obſerve; which howſoever it had beene ſecretly deſpiſed ſince the time of *Jehoram*, by many great perſons of the land, yet had it by proviſion of good Princes, yea and of bad ones (in their beſt times) imitating the good, but eſpecially by the care of holy Prieſts, taken ſuch deepe roote in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plauſible, who did not conform himſelfe unto it. And at that preſent time, the ſlaughter, which the Aramites had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawne the late King from the ſervice of God, being ſeconded by the death of the King himſelfe, even whileſt that execrable murther, committed by the King upon *Zecharia*, was yet freſh in memory, did ſerve as a notable example of Gods juſtice againſt Idolaters, both to animate the better ſort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathers, and to diſcourage *Amazia* from following the way, which led to ſuch an evill end. Hee therefore, having learned of his father the art of diſſimulation, did not onely forbeare to puniſh the Traitors that had ſlain King *Joas*, but gave way to the time, and ſuffered the dead body to be interred, as that of *Jehoram* formerly had been, in the City of *David*, yet not among the Sepulchres of the Kings of Juda. Nevertheleſſe, after this, when (belike) the noiſe of the people having wearied it ſelfe into ſilence, it was found that the Conſpirators (howſoever their deed done, was applauded as the handie worke of God) had neither any mighty partakers in their fact, nor ſtrong maintainers of their perſons, but reſted ſecure, as having done well, ſeeing it was not ill taken: the King, who perceived his government well eſtabliſhed, called them into queſtion, at ſuch a time, as the heate of mens affections being well allayed, it was eaſie to diſtinguiſh between their treaſons and Gods judgements, which, by their treaſons, had taken plauſible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the Law did require) were ſuffered to live: which could not but give contentment to the people, ſeeing that their King did the office of a juſt Prince, rather than of a revenging ſonne. This being done, and his owne life better ſecured, by ſuch exemplary juſtice, againſt the like attemps; *Amazia* carried himſelfe outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, & ſo continued in reſt, about twelve or thirteen yeeres.

As *Amazia* gathered ſtrength in Juda by the commodity of a long peace, ſo *Joas* the Iſraelite grew as faſt in power, by following the warre hotly againſt the Aramites. He was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his Predeceſſors had beene, worſhipping the Calves of *Jeroboam*. For this ſinne had God ſo plagued the houſe of *Jehu*, that the ten Tribes wanted little of being utterly conſumed, by *Hazael* and *Benhadad*, in the time of *Jehu* and his ſonne *Jehoahaz*. But as Gods benefits to *Jehu*, ſufficed not to with-draw him from this politique Idolatry; ſo were the miſeries, rewarding that impiety, unable to reclaim *Jehoahaz* from the ſame impious courſe: yet the mercy of God beholding the trouble of Iſrael, did condeſcend unto the prayers of this ungodly Prince, even then when hee and his miſerable ſubjects, were obſtinate in following their owne abominable waies. Therefore in temporall matters the ten Tribes recovered apace; but the favour of God, which had beene infinitely more worth, I doe not finde, nor beleeve that they ſought: that they had it not, I finde in the words of the Prophet, ſaying plainely to *Amazia*, *The Lord is not with Iſrael, neither with all the houſe of* Ephraim. 2 Chro. 25. 7.

Whether it were ſo, that the great Prophet *Eliſha*, who lived in thoſe times, did foretell the proſperity of the Iſraelites under the reigne of *Ioas*; or whether *Jehoahaz*, wearied and broken with long adverſity, thought it the wiſeſt way, to diſcharge himſelfe in part of the heavie cares attending thoſe unhappy Syrian Warres, by laying the burthen upon his hopefull ſonne; wee finde that
2 King. 13. 10. *in the thirtie ſeventh yeere of* Joas, *King of Juda*, Joas *the ſonne of* Jehoahaz *began to reigne over Iſrael in Samaria*; which was in the 15. yeere of his fathers reigne, and ſome two or three yeeres before his death.

It appeares that this young Prince, even from the beginning of his Rule, did ſo well husband that poore ſtock that he received from his Father, of ten Chariots, fifty Horſemen, and ten thouſand Foot, that hee might ſeeme likely to prove a thriver. Amongſt other circumſtances, the words which he ſpeake to *Eliſha* the Prophet, argue no leſſe.
2 King. 13. 14. For *Joas* viſiting the Prophet, who lay ſicke, ſpake unto him thus; *O my father, my father, the Chariot of Iſrael, and the horſemen of the ſame*: by which maner of ſpeech hee did acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had ſtood his Kingdom in more ſtead, than all the Horſes and Chariots could doe.

This Prophet who ſucceeded unto *Elias*, about the firſt yeere of *Joram* the ſonne of *Ahab* King of Iſrael, died (as ſome have probably collected) about the third or fourth yeer of this *Joas*, the Nephew of *Jehu*. To ſhew how the ſpirit of *Elias* was doubled, or did reſt upon him, it exceedeth my faculty. This is recorded of him, that hee did not onely raiſe a dead childe unto life, as *Elias* had done, but when hee himſelfe was dead, it pleaſed God that his dead bones ſhould reſtore life unto a carcaſs, which touched them in the grave. In fine, hee beſtowed as a legacie, three victories upon King *Joas*, who thereby did ſet Iſrael in a faire way of recovering all that the Aramites had uſurped, and weakning the Kings of Damaſco in ſuch ſort, that they were never after terrible to Samaria.

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## §. VIII.

### *Of* Amazia *his warre againſt* Edom; *His Apoſtaſie; and overthrow by* Joas.

THe happy ſucceſſe which *Joas* had found in his war againſt the Aramites, was ſuch as might kindle in *Amazia* a deſire of undertaking ſome expedition, wherein himſelfe might purchaſe the like honour. His Kingdome could furniſh three hundred thouſand ſerviceable men for the Wars; and his treaſures were ſufficient for the payment of theſe, and the hire of many more. Cauſe of war hee had very juſt againſt the Edomites, who having rebelled in the time of his grand-father *Jehoram*, had about fifty yeeres beene unreclaimed, partly by reaſon of the troubles happening in Juda, partly through the ſloth and timerouſneſſe of his father *Joas*. Yet, foraſmuch as the men of Juda had in many yeeres beene without all exerciſe of Warre (excepting that unhappy fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the Aramites) hee held it a point of wiſedome to increaſe his forces, with ſouldiers waged out of Iſrael, whence
2 Chro. 21. 6. *Joſ. Antiq. Jud. lib.9.c.10.* he hired for an hundred talents of ſilver, *an hundred thouſand valiant men*, as the Scripture telleth us, though *Joſephus* diminiſh the number, ſaying that they were but twenty thouſand.

This great Army, which with ſo much coſt *Amazia* had hired out of Iſrael, hee was faine to diſmiſſe before hee had imployed it, being threatned by a Prophet with ill ſucceſſe, if he ſtrengthened himſelfe with the helpe of thoſe men, whom God (though in mercy hee gave them victory againſt the cruell Aramites) did not love, becauſe they were Idolaters. The Iſraelites therfore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this diſmiſſion, as an high diſgrace; which to revenge, they fell upon a piece of Juda in their returne, and ſhewed their malice in the ſlaughter of three thouſand men, and ſome ſpoile, which they carried away. But *Amazia* with his owne forces, knowing that God would bee aſſiſtant to their journey, entred courageouſly into the Edomites Countrie; over whom obtaining victory, he ſlew ten thouſand, and tooke other ten thouſand priſoners, all which hee threw from an high rocke; holding them, it ſeemes, rather as Traytors, than as juſt enemies. This victory did not ſeeme to reduce Edom under the ſubjection of the Crowne of Juda; which might bee the cauſe of that ſeverity, which was uſed to the priſoners; the Edomites that had eſcaped, refuſing to buy the lives of their friends and kinſmen at ſo deare a rate, as the loſſe of their owne libertie. Some townes in mount

Scir,

Seir, *Amazia* took, as appeares by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they were the places moſt indefenſible, in that he left no garriſons there, whereby he might another year the better have purſued the conqueſt of the whole countrey. Howſoever it were, he got both honour by the journey, and gains enough, had he not loſt himſelfe.

Among other ſpoyles of the *Edomites*, were carryed away their gods; which being vanquiſhed and taken priſoners, did deſerve well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwiſe, I know not by what ſtrange witchcraft, ſo beſotted this unworthie King *Amazia*, that *he ſet them up to be his gods, and worſhipped them, and burned incenſe unto them.* 2 Chro.25.14.

For this when he was rebuked by a Prophet ſent from God, he gave a churliſh and threatning anſwer; asking the Prophet, Who made him a Counſeller, and bidding him hold his peace for feare of the worſt. If either the coſtly ſtuffe, whereof theſe Idols were made, or the curious workemanſhip and beautie, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had raviſhed the kings fancie; me thinkes, he ſhould have rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as houſe-hold ornaments and things of pleaſure, than thereby have ſuffered himſelfe to be blinded, with ſuch unreaſonable devotion towards them. If the ſuperſtitious account wherein the *Edomites* had held them, were able to worke much upon his imagination; much more ſhould the bad ſervice which they had done to their old Clients, have moved him thereupon to laugh, both at the *Edomites*, and them. Wherefore it ſeemes to me, that the ſame affections carried him from God, unto the ſervice of Idols, which afterwards moved him to talke ſo roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. He had alreadie obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and ſent away ſuch auxiliarie forces as he had gathered out of *Iſrael*; which done, it is ſayd, that *he was encouraged, and led forth his people*, thinking belike, that God would now rather aſſiſt him by miracle, than let him faile of obtaining all his hearts deſire. 2 Chro.25.11. But with better reaſon he ſhould have limited his deſires by the will of God, whoſe pleaſure it was, that *Eſau* having broken the yoake of *Jacob* from his neck, according as *Iſaac* had fore-told, ſhould no more become his ſervant. If therefore *Amazia* did hope to re-conquer all the Countrey of *Edom*, he failed of his expectation; yet ſo, that he brought home both profit and honour, which might have well contented him.

But there is a fooliſh and a wretched pride, wherewith men being tranſported, can ill endure to aſcribe unto God the honour of thoſe actions, in which it hath pleaſed him to uſe their owne induſtrie, courage, or fore-ſight. Therefore it is commonly ſeene, that they, who entring into battell, are carefull to pray for aide from heaven, with due acknowledgement of his power, who is the giver of victorie; when the field is won, doe vaunt of their owne exploits: one telling how he got ſuch a ground of advantage; another, how he gave checke to ſuch a battalion; a third, how he ſeized on the enemies Canon; every one ſtriving to magnifie himſelfe, whileſt all forget God, as one that had not been preſent in the action. To aſcribe to fortune the effects of another mans vertue, is, I confeſſe, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which findeth better ſucceſſe, than he did, or in reaſon might expect, is deepely bound to acknowledge God the Author of his happineſſe; ſo he whoſe meere wiſdome and labour hath brought things, to a proſperous iſſue, is doubly bound to ſhew himſelfe thankefull, both for the victorie, and for thoſe vertues by which the victorie was gotten. And indeed ſo far from weakeneſſe is the nature of ſuch thankeſgiving, that it may well be called the height of magnanimitie; no vertue being ſo truely heroicall, as that by which the ſpirit of man advanceth it ſelfe with confidence of acceptation, unto the love of God. In which ſenſe it is a brave ſpeech that *Evander* in *Virgil* uſeth to *Æneas*, none but a Chriſtian being capable of the admonition:

*Aude hoſpes contemnere opes, & te quoque dignum*
*Finge Deo.*

With this Philoſophie *Amazia* (as appears by his carriage) troubled not his head: he had ſhewed himſefe a better man of war than any King of *Juda*, ſince the time of *Jehoſaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people ſhould think him little inferior to *David*: of which honour he ſaw no reaſon why the Prophets ſhould rob him, who had made him loſe an hundred talents, and done him no pleaſure; he having prevailed by plaine force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That he was diſtempered with ſuch vaine thoughts as theſe (beſides the witneſſe of his impietie following) *Joſephus* doth Ioſ.Ant.l.9.c.10.

teſtifie; ſaying, That he deſpiſed God, and that being puft up with his good ſucceſſe, of which nevertheleſſe he would not acknowledge God to be the Author, he commanded *Joas* King of Iſrael to become his ſubject, and to let the tenne Tribes acknowledge him their Soveraigne, as they had done his Anceſtours King *David* and *Salomon*. Some think that his quarrell to *Joas* was rather grounded upon the injurie done to him by the Iſraelites, whom he diſmiſſed in the journey againſt Mount *Seir*. And likely it is, tha the ſenſe of a late wrong had more power to ſtirre him up, than the remembrance of a old title, forgotten long ſince, and by himſelfe neglected thirteene or fourteene yeares. Nevertheleſſe it might ſo be, that when he was thus provoked, he thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would alſo call old matters into queſtion; tha ſo the Kings of Iſrael might, at the leaſt, learne to keepe their ſubjects from offending Juda, for feare of endangering their owne Crownes. Had *Amazia* deſired onely recompence for the injurie done to him, it is not improbable that hee ſhould have had ſome reaſonable anſwer from *Joas*, who was not deſirous to fight with him. But the anſwer which *Joas* returned, likening himſelfe to a Cedar, and *Amazia* in reſpect of him to no better than a thiſtle, ſhewes that the challenge was made in inſolent termes, ſtuft perhaps with ſuch proud compariſon of Nobilitie, as might be made (according to that which *Joſephus* hath written) between a King of ancient race, and one of leſſe nobilitie than vertue.

*Sophocles in Ajace Lor.*

It is by *Sophocles* reported of *Ajax*, that when going to the warre of Troy, his father did bid him to be valiant, and get victorie by Gods aſſiſtance, he made anſwer, That by Gods aſſiſtance a coward could get victorie, but he would get it alone without ſuch helpe: after which proud ſpeech, though he did many valiant acts, he had ſmall thanks, and finally, killing himſelfe in a madneſſe, whereinto hee fell upon diſgrace received, was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. That *Amazia* did utter ſuch words, I doe not finde: but having once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of ſuch words, he was rewarded with ſucceſſe according. The very firſt counſell wherein this warre was concluded, ſerves to prove that he was a wiſe Prince indeed at *Jeruſalem*, among his Paraſites, but a foole when he had to deale with his equalls abroad. For it was not all one, to fight with the *Edomites*, a weake people, truſting more in the ſite of their Countrey, than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with *Joas*, who from ſo poore beginnings had raiſed himſelfe to ſuch ſtrength, that he was able to lend his friend a hundred thouſand men, and had all his Nation exerciſed, and trained up in a long victorious warre. But as *Amazia* diſcovered much want of judgement, in undertaking ſuch a match; ſo in proſecuting the buſineſſe, when it was ſet on foot, he behaved himſelfe as a man of little experience, who having once onely tryed his fortune, and found it to be good, thought that in Warre there was nothing elſe to doe, than ſend a defiance, fight, and winne. *Joas* on the contrarie ſide, having beene accuſtomed to deale with a ſtronger enemie than the King of Juda, uſed that celeritie, which peradventure had often ſtood him in good ſtead againſt the *Aramite*. He did not ſit waiting till the enemies brake in and waſted his Countrey, but preſented himſelfe with an Armie in Juda, readie to bid battell to *Amazia*, and ſave him the labour of a long journey. This could not but greatly diſcourage thoſe of Juda; who (beſides the impreſſion of feare which an invaſion beates into people, not inured in the like) having devoured in their greedie hopes, the ſpoyle of Iſrael, fully perſwading themſelves to get as much, and at as eaſie rate as in the journey of *Edom*; were ſo farre diſappointed of their expectation that well they might ſuſpect all new aſſurance of good lucke, when the old had thus beguiled them. All this notwithſtanding, their King that had ſtomacke enough to challeng the patrimonie of *Salomon*, thought like another *David* to winne it by the ſwor The iſſue of which foole-hardineſſe might eaſily have beene foreſeene in humane reaſon; comparing together, either the two Kings, or the qualitie of their Armies, or th firſt and ominous beginning of the Warre. But meere humane wiſedome, howſoev it might foreſee much, could not have prognoſticated all the miſchiefe that fell upon A-*mazia*. For as ſoone as the two Armies came in ſight, God, whoſe helpe this wretch man had ſo deſpiſed, did (as *Joſephus* reports it) ſtrike ſuch terrour and amazement in the men of Juda, that without one blow given, they fled all away, leaving their King ſhift for himſelfe; which he did ſo ill, that his enemie had ſoone caught him, and ma him change his glorious humour into moſt abject baſeneſſe. That the Armie wh

*Joſ. ant. l. 9. c. 10.*

led,ſuſtained any other loſſe than of honour, I neither finde in the Scriptures nor in *Jo-ephus*; it being likely that the ſoone beginning of their flight, which made it the more hamefull, made it alſo the more ſafe. But of the miſchiefe that followed this overthow, t was Gods will that *Amazia* himſelfe ſhould ſuſtaine the whole diſgrace. For *Joas* car-ied him directly to Jeruſalem, where he bade him procure that the gates might be ope-ned to let him in and his Army; threatning him otherwiſe with preſent death. So much mazed was the miſerable captive, with theſe dreadfull words, that he durſt do no other than perſwade the Citizens, to yeeld themſelves to the mercie of the Conquerour. The Towne, which afterwards being in weaker ſtate held out two yeares againſt *Nebuchad-ezzar*, was utterly diſmaid, when the King that ſhould have given his life to ſave it, uſed ll his force of command and intreaty to betray it. So the gates of Jeruſalem were ope-ed to *Joas*, with which honour (greater than any King of Iſrael had ever obtained) hee ould not reſt contented, but the more to deſpiſe *Amazia* and his people, he cauſed 400. ubits of the wall to be throwne downe, and entred the citie in his Chariot through that reach, carrying the King before him as in triumph. This done, he ſackt the Temple, and he Kings Palace, and ſo taking hoſtages of *Amazia*, he diſmiſſed the poor creature that as glad of his life, and returned to Samaria.

## §. IX.

*diſcourſe of the reaſons hindring* Joas *from uniting* Juda *to the Crown of Iſrael, when hee had won Jeruſalem, and held* Amazia *priſoner. The end of* Joas *his reigne.*

WE may juſtly marvell how it came to paſſe, that *Joas*, being thus in poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem, having the King in his hands, his enemies forces broken, and his own entire, could be ſo content to depart quietly with a little ſpoil, hen hee might have ſeized upon the whole Kingdome. The reigne of *Athalia* had gi-en him cauſe to hope that the iſſue of *David* might be diſpoſſeſſed of that crowne; his wn nobility, being the ſon & grand-child of Kings, together with the famous acts that had done, were enough to make the people of Juda think highly of him; who might ſo have preferred his forme of governement before that of their own Kings, eſpecially ſuch a time, when a long ſucceſſion of wicked Princes had ſmothered the thanks which ere due to the memory of a few good ones. The commodity that would have enſued on the union of all the twelve Tribes under one Prince, is ſo apparent, that I need not inſiſt on it. That any meſſage from God forbade the Iſraelite (as afterwards in the ctorie which *Peka* the ſon of *Romelia* got upon *Ahaz*) to turne his preſent advantage the beſt uſe, wee doe not reade. All this makes it the more difficult to reſolve the eſtion, why a Prince ſo well exerciſed as *Joas* had beene in recovering his owne, and inning from his enemy, ſhould forſake the poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem, and wilfully neg-t the poſſibilities, or rather caſt away the full aſſurance of ſo faire a conqueſt, as the ngdome of Juda.

But concerning that point, which of all others had been moſt materiall, I meane the ſire of the vanquiſhed people to accept the Iſraelite for their King, it is plainely ſeen, t entring Jeruſalem in triumphant manner, *Joas* was unable to concoct his owne pro-eritie. For, the opening of the gates had beene enough to have let him not onely into Citie, but into the Royall Throne, and the peoples hearts, whom by faire intreatie ſpecially having ſure meanes of compulſion) hee might have made his owne, when y ſaw themſelves betrayed, and baſely given away by him whoſe they had beene ore. The faire marke which this opportunitie preſented, hee did not aime at; be-uſe his ambition was otherwiſe, and more meanely buſied, in levelling at the glory a triumphat entry through a breach. Yet this errour might afterwards have beene rrected well enough, if entring as an enemie, and ſhewing what hee could doe, by nding his anger upon the Walles, he had within the Citie done offices of a friend, and oured to ſhew good will to the inhabitants. But when his pride had done, his cove-uſneſſe beganne, and ſought to pleaſe it ſelfe with that which is commonly moſt rea-to the ſpoyler, yet ſhould be moſt forborne. The Treaſure wherewith *Seſac*, *Hazael*, the Philiſtims, men ignorant of the true God and his Religion, had quenched their edy thirſt, ought not to have tempted the appetite of *Joas*, who though an Idolater, 1 Chron.26.15.

yet acknowledged alſo and worſhipped the eternall God, whoſe Temple was at *Jeruſalem*. Therefore when the people ſaw him take his way directly to ſeiſe that holy place, and lay his ravenous hands upon the conſecrated veſſels, calling the familie of *Obed Edom (whoſe children had hereditarie charge of the treaſurie)* to a ſtrict account, as if they had beene officers of his owne Exchequer; they conſidered him rather as an execrable Church-robber, than as a noble Prince, an *Iſraelite* and their brother, though of another Tribe. Thus following that courſe, which the moſt vertuous King of our age (taxing it with the ſame phraſe) hath wiſely avoyded; by ſtealing a few Apples, he loſt the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people deteſted him, and after the reſpite of a few dayes, might, by comparing themſelves one to one, perceive his Souldiers to be no better than men of their owne mould, and inferiour in number to the inhabitants of ſo great a Citie. It is not ſo eaſie to hold by force a mightie town entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by unadviſed feare. For when the Citizens, not being diſarmed, recover their ſpirits, and begin to underſtand their firſt errour; they will thinke upon every advantage, of place, of proviſions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tile-ſtones; and rather chooſe by deſperate reſolution, to correct the evills growne out of their former cowardiſe, than ſuffer thoſe miſchiefes to poyſon the bodie, which in ſuch halfe-conqueſts, are eaſily taſted in the mouth. A more lively example hereof cannot be deſired, than the Citie of *Florence*, which through the weakeneſſe of *Peter de Medices*, governing therein as a Prince, was reduced into ſuch hard tearmes, that it opened the gates unto the French King *Charles* the eighth, who not plainely profeſſing himſelfe either friend or foe to the State, entred the Towne, with his Armie, in triumphant maner, himſelfe and his horſe armed, with his lance upon his thigh. Many inſolencies were therein committed by the French, and much argument of quarrell miniſtred betweene them and the Townes-men: ſo farre forth that the *Florentines*, to preſerve their libertie, were driven to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intolerable conditions, demanding huge ſummes of readie money, and the abſolute Seigniorie of the State, as conquered by him, who entred the Citie in Armes. But *Peter Caponi*, a principall Citizen, catching theſe Articles from the Kings Secretarie, and tearing them before his face, bad him ſound his Trumpets, and they would ring their Bels: which peremptorie words made the French bethinke themſelves, and come readily to this agreement, that for fortie thouſand pounds, and not halfe of that money to be paid in hand, *Charles* ſhould not onely depart in peace, but reſtore whatſoever he had of their Dominion, and continue their aſſured friend. So dangerous a matter did it ſeeme for that brave Armie, which in few moneths after wanne the Kingdome of *Naples*, to fight in the ſtreets, againſt the armed multitude of that populous Citie. It is true, that *Charles* had other buſineſſe (and ſo perhaps had *Joas*, as ſhall anon be ſhewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehenſion of imminent danger that made him come to reaſon. In ſuch caſes the firing of houſes, uſually drawes every Citizen to ſave his owne, leaving victorie to the Souldier: yet where the people are prepared and reſolved, women can quench, as faſt as the enemie, having other things to looke unto, can ſet on fire. And indeede that Commander is more given to anger than regardfull of profit, who upon the uncertaine hope of deſtroying a Towne, forſakes the aſſurance of a good compoſition. Diverſitie of circumſtance may alter the caſe: it is enough to ſay, that it might be in *Jeruſalem*, as we know it was in *Florence*.

How ſtrongly ſoever *Joas* might hold himſelfe within *Jeruſalem*, he could not eaſily depart from thence, with his bootie ſafe, if the armie of *Juda*, which had bin more terrefied than weakned in the late encounter, ſhould re-enforce it ſelfe, and give him a checke upon the way. Wherefore it was wiſely done of him, to take hoſtages for his better ſecuritie, his Armie being upon returne, and better loaden than when it came forth; for which cauſes it was the more unapt to fight.

Beſides theſe impediments, within the Citie and without, ſerving to coole the ambition of *Joas*, and keepe it down from aſpiring to the Crown of *Juda*; it appeares that ſomewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of *Eliſha* the Prophet, who, when this *Joas* had ſmitten the ground with his arrowes thrice, told him that hee ſhould no oftner ſmite the *Aramites*. The three victories which *Iſrael* had againſt *Aram*, are by ſome, and with great probabilitie, referred unto the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh yeares of *Joas:* after which time, if any loſſes enſuing had blemiſhed the former good ſucceſſe, ill might the King of *Iſrael* have likened himſelfe to a ſtately Cedar, and worſe could he have either lent the *Judæan* one hundred thouſand men, or meet him in battell, who was able to bring into the field three hundred thouſand of his owne. Seeing therefore it is made plaine by the words of *Eliſha*, that after three victories *Joaſh* ſhould finde ſome change of fortune, and ſuffer loſſe; we muſt needs conclude, That the *Aramite* prevailed upon him this yeare, it being the laſt of his Raigne. That this was ſo, and that the *Syrians*, taking advantage of *Joas* his abſence, gave ſuch a blow to *Iſrael*, as the King at his return was not able to remedie, but rather fell himſelfe into new misfortunes, which increaſed the calamitie; we may evidently perceive in that which is ſpoken of *Jeroboam* his ſon. For it is ſaid, *That the Lord ſaw the exceeding bitter afflictions of Iſrael*, and that having *not decreed to put out the name of Iſrael from under the Heaven, he preſerved them by the hand of* Jeroboam *the ſonne of* Joas. This is enough to prove, that the victorious Raigne of *Joas* was coucluded with a ſad cataſtrophe; the riches of the Temple haſtning his miſerie and death, as they had done with *Seſac*, *Athalia*, and *Hazael*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus*, *Craſſus*, and other ſacrilegious Potentates.

Thus either through indignation conceived againſt him, by the people of *Jeruſalem*, and courage which they tooke to ſet upon him within the Walls; or through preparation of the Armie that lay abroad in the Countrey, to bid him battell in open field, and recover by a new charge the honour which was loſt at the former encounter; or through the miſeries daily brought upon his owne Countrey, by the *Syrian* in his abſence (if not by all of theſe) *Joas* was driven to lay aſide all thought of winning the kingdome of *Juda*; and taking hoſtages for his quiet paſſage, made all haſte homewards, where he found a ſad wel-come, and being utterly forſaken of his wonted proſperitie, forſook alſo his life in few moneths after, leaving his kingdome to *Jeroboam* the ſecond, his fortunate and valiant ſon.

## §. X.

### *The end of* Amazia *his Raigne and Life.*

ANy man is able to gheſſe how *Amazia* looked, when the enemie had left him. Hee that had vaunted ſo much of his owne great proweſſe and skill in Armes, threatning to worke wonders, and ſet up a-new the glorious Empire of *David*, was now uncaſed of his Lyons hide, and appeared nothing ſo terrible a beaſt as he had beene painted. Much argument of ſcoffing at him he had miniſtred unto ſuch, as held him in diſlike; which at this time, doubtleſſe, were very many: for the ſhame that falls upon an inſolent man, ſeldome failes of meeting with aboundance of reproach. As for *Amazia* (beſides that the multitude are alwayes prone to lay the blame upon their Governours, even of thoſe calamities which happen by their owne default) there was no childe in all *Jeruſalem*, but knew him to be the root of all this miſchiefe. He had not only challenged a good man of War, being himſelfe a Daſtard; but when he was beaten and taken by him, had baſely pleaded for the common enemie, to have him let into the Citie, that with his owne eyes he might ſee what ſpoyle there was, and not make a bad bargaine by heare-ſay. The father of this *Amazia* was a beaſtly man; yet when the *Aramites* tooke him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his own life at ſo dear a rate, as the Citie and Temple of *Jeruſalem*. Had he offered, ſhould they have made his promiſe good? ſurely the haſte which they had made in condeſcending to this hard match, was very unfortunate: for by keeping out the *Iſraelite* (which was eaſie enough) any little while they ſhould ſoon have bin rid of him, ſeeing that the *Aramites* would have made him run home, with greater ſpeed than he came forth. Then alſo, when having truſſed up his baggage, he was readie to be gone, a little courage would have ſerved to perſwade him to leave his load behind; had not their good king delivered up hoſtages, to ſecure his return, as loath to defraud him of the recompence due to his paines taken.

Such exprobrations could not but vexe the heart of this unhappie King: it had beene well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his fault unto God, that had puniſhed him by all this diſhonour. But we finde no mention of his amendment. Rather it appeares, that he continued an Idolater to the very laſt. For it is ſaid of him, that after his turning away from the Lord, *they wrought treaſon againſt him in Jeruſalem*: a manifeſt 2 Chro.25.27.

proofe that he was not reclaimed unto his lives end. And certainely, they which tell a man in his adverſity of his faults paſſed, ſhall ſooner be thought to upbraid him with his fortune, than to ſeeke his reformation. Wherefore it is no marvell, that Prieſts and Prophets were leſſe welcome to him, than ever they had been. On the other ſide, flatterers, and ſuch as were deſirous to put a heart into him, whereof themſelves might alwaies be maſters, wanted not plauſible matter to revive him. For he was not the firſt, nor ſecond of the Kings of Juda, that had beene overcome in battell. *David* himſelfe had abandoned the Citie, leaving it before the enemy was in ſight, unto *Abſalom* his rebellious Sonne. Many beſides him had received loſſes, wherein the Temple bare a part. If *Joas* might ſo eaſily have beene kept out; why did their Anceſtors let *Seſac* in? *Aſa* was reputed a vertuous Prince, yet with his owne hands hee emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excuſable by neceſsity of the State. Belike theſe traducers would commend no Actions but of dead Princes: if ſo, hee ſhould rather live to puniſh them, than die to pleaſe them. Though wherein had hee given them any cauſe of diſpleaſure? It was he indeede that commanded to ſet open the gates to *Joas*; but it was the people that did it. Good ſervants ought not to have obeyed their Maſters Commandements to his diſadvantage, when they ſaw him not maſter of his owne Perſon. As his captivity did acquite him from blame, of all things that he did or ſuffered in that condition; ſo was that misfortune it ſelfe, in true eſtimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his loſſe. For had he beene as haſty to flye as others were, hee might have eſcaped as well as others did. But ſeeking to teach the baſe multitude courage by his Royall example, he was ſhamefully betrayed by thoſe in whom he truſted. Unworthy creatures, that could readily obey him, when ſpeaking another mans words, being priſoner, he commanded them to yeeld; having neglected his charge, when leading them in the field, he bade them ſtand to it and fight like men. The beſt was, that they muſt needs acknowledge his miſchance, as the occaſion whereby many thouſand lives were ſaved; the enemy having wiſely preferred the ſurpriſe of a Lion that was Captaine, before the chaſe and ſlaughter of an Army of Stags that followed him.

Theſe or the like words comforting *Amazia*, were able to perſwade him, that it was even ſo indeed. And ſuch excuſes might have ſerved well enough to pleaſe the people, if the King had firſt ſtudied how to pleaſe God. But hee that was unwilling to aſcribe unto God the good ſucceſſe fore-told by a Prophet; could eaſily finde how to impute this late diſaſter unto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it ſeemes that he meant to keepe himſelfe ſafe from her by ſitting ſtill; for in fifteene years following (ſo long he out-lived his honour) we find not that he ſtirred. As for his ſubjects, though nothing henceforth bee recorded of his government, yet we may ſee by his end, that the middle time was ill ſpent among them, increaſing their hatred to his owne ruine. He that ſuſpecteth his owne worth or other mens opinions, thinking the leſſe regard is had of his perſon than he beleeveth to be due to his place, will commonly ſpend all the force of his authoritie in purchaſing the name of a ſevere man. For the affected ſowreneſſe of a vaine fellow, doth many times reſemble the gravity of one that is wiſe: and the feare wherein they live, which are ſubject unto oppreſsion, carryes a ſhew of reverence to him that does the wrong; at leaſt it ſerves to dazle the eyes of underlings, keeping them from prying into the weakeneſſe of ſuch as have juriſdiction over them. Thus the time, wherein, by well uſing it, men might attaine to be ſuch as they ought, they do uſually miſ-ſpend, in ſeeking to appeare ſuch as they are not. This is a vain & deceivable courſe; procuring, in ſtead of the reſpect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous conſequence; eſpecially when an unable ſpirit, being over-perted with ſo high authority, is too paſsionate in the execution of ſuch an office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therfore *Amazia* thought by extreme rigour to hold up his reputation, what did he elſe than ſtrive to make the people think he hated them, when of themſelves they were apt enough to beleeve that he did not love them? the beſt was, that he had, by revenging his fathers death, provided well enough for his owne ſecurity: but who ſhould take vengeance (or upon whom?) of ſuch a murther, wherein every one had a part? Surely God himſelfe, who had not given cõmandement or leave unto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in ſhedding the bloud of his Annointed. Yet as *Amazia* careleſſe of God, was carried headlong by his owne affections; ſo his ſubjects, following the ſame ill example, without requiring what belonged unto their duties, roſe up againſt him, with ſuch headlong furie, that being unable to defend himſelfe in *Jeruſalem*, he was driven to forſake the Citie, and flie to *Lachis*, for ſafeguard of his life. But ſo extreme was the hatred conceived againſt him, and ſo generall, that neither his abſence could allay the rage of it in the Capitall Citie, nor his preſence in the Countrie abroad procure friends to defend his life. Queſtionleſſe he choſe the Town of *Lachis* for his refuge, as a place of all other beſt affected to him; yet found he there none other favour, than that the people did not kil him with their own hands; for when the Conſpirators (who troubled not themſelves about raiſing an Armie for the matter) ſent purſuers after, he was abandoned to death. *Lachis* was the utmoſt Citie of his Dominion Weſtward, ſtanding ſomewhat without the border of *Juda*; ſo that he might have made an eaſie eſcape (if he durſt adventure) into the Territorie of the *Philiſtims*, or the Kingdome of *Iſrael*. Therefore it may ſeem that he was detained there, where certaine it is that he found no kind of favour: for had not the people of this Town added their own treaſon to the generall inſurrection; the murderers could not at ſo good leaſure as they did, have carried away his bodie to *Jeruſalem*, where they gave him buriall with his fathers.

## §. XI.

### Of the Interregnum, *or vacancie, that was in the Kingdome of* Juda, *after the death of* Amazia.

IT hath alreadie bin ſhewed, that the Reignes of the Kings of *Juda* and *Iſrael* were ſometimes to be meaſured by compleat years, otherwhiles, by years current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the laſt years of his fathers Raign, or the foremoſt of his ſons. But we are now arrived at a meere vacation, wherein the Crown of *Juda* lay voyd eleven whole yeares: a thing not plainly ſet down in Scriptures, nor yet remembred by *Joſephus*, and therefore hard to be beleeved, were it not proved by neceſſary conſequence.

Twice we find it written, that *Amazia, King of Juda, lived after the death of* Joas *King* 2 Chro.25.2. & 2 Kin.14.17. *of Iſrael fifteene yeares*; whereupon it followes, that the death of *Amazia*, was about the end of fifteene yeares compleat, which *Jeroboam* the ſecond (who *in the fifteenth year of* 2 Kin.14.23. Amazia *was made King over Iſrael*) had raigned in *Samaria*. But the ſucceſſion of *Uzzia*, who is alſo called *Azaria*, unto his father in the Kingdome of *Juda*, was eleven years later than the ſixteenth of *Jeroboam*: for it is expreſſed, that Azaria *began to reign in the ſe-* 2 Kin.15.1. *ven and twentieth yeare of* Jeroboam; the ſixteenth yeare of his life, being joyned with the firſt of two and fiftie that he raigned. So the *Interregnum* of eleven yeares cannot be divided, without ſome hard means uſed, of interpreting the Text otherwiſe than the letter ſounds.

Yet ſome conjectures there are made, which tend to keepe all even, without acknowledging any voyd time. For it is thought that in the place laſt of all cited, by the ſeven and twentieth yeare of *Jeroboam*, we ſhould perhaps underſtand the ſeven and twentieth yeare of his life; or elſe (becauſe the like words are no where elſe interpreted in the like ſenſe) that *Azaria* was eleven yeares under age, that is, five years old, when his father died, and ſo his ſixteenth yeare might concurre with the ſeven and twentieth of *Jeroboam*; or that the Text it ſelfe might have ſuffered ſome wrong, by miſwriting twentie ſeven for ſeventeen yeares; and ſo, by making the ſeventeenth yeare of *Jeroboam* to be newly begun, all may be ſalved. Theſe are the conjectures of that worthy man *Gerard Mercator*: concerning the firſt of which, it may ſuffice, that the Author himſelf doth eaſily let it paſſe, as improbable; the laſt is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that upon every doubt, we ſhould call the text in queſtion; which could not be ſatisfied in all copies, if perhaps it were in one: as for the ſecond, it may be held with ſome qualification, that *Azaria* began his Raign being five yeares old; but then muſt we adde thoſe eleven yeares which paſſed in his minoritie, to the two and fiftie that followed his ſixteenth yeare, which is all one, in a maner, with allowing an *Interregnum*.

But why ſhould we be ſo carefull to avoyd an *Interregnum* in *Juda*, ſeeing that the like neceſſitie neceſſity hath inforced all good Writers to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening within few yeares, in the kingdome of Iſrael: The ſpace of time betweene *Jeroboams* death, and the beginning of *Zachariahs* reigne, and ſuch another gap found between the death of *Peka*, and the beginning of *Hoſea*, have made it eaſily to be admitted into Samaria; which the conſideration of things as they ſtood in Juda, when *Amazia* was ſlaine, doth make more probable to have happened there, yea, although the neceſſity of computation were not ſo apparent.

For the publike furie having ſo farre extended it ſelfe, as unto the deſtruction of the kings own perſon, was not likely to be appeaſed without order taken for obtaining ſome redreſſe of thoſe matters, which had cauſed it at the firſt to break forth into ſuch extremity. We neede not therefore wonder how it came to paſſe, that they which already had throwne themſelves into ſuch an horrible treaſon, ſhould afterwards dare to withhold the Crowne from a Prince of that age, which being inveſted in all ornaments of Regality, is neverthele ſſe expoſed to many injuries, proceeding from head-ſtrong, and forgetfull ſubjects.

As for their conjecture, who make *Azaria* to have beene King but one and fortie years after he came out of his non-age; I dare not allow it, becauſe it agrees too harſhly with the Text. The beſt opinion were that which gives unto *Jeroboam* eleven yeares of reigne with his Father, before he began to reigne ſingle in the fifteenth of *Amazia*; did it not ſwallow up almoſt the whole reign of *Joas*, and extending the years of thoſe which reigned in Iſrael (by making ſuch of them compleat as were onely current) and take at the ſhorteſt the reignes of Princes ruling in other Nations. But I will not ſtand to diſpute further of this: every man may follow his owne opinion, and ſee mine more plainely in the Chronologicall Table, drawne for theſe purpoſes.

## §. XII.

### *Of Princes Contemporarie with* Amazia, *and more particularly of* Sardanapalus.

THe Princes living with *Amazia*, and in the eleven years that followed his death, were *Joas* and *Jeroboam* in Iſrael; *Cephrenes* and *Mycerinus* in Egypt; *Sylvius Aladius*, and *Sylvius Aventinus* in Alba; *Agamemnon* in Corinth; *Diognetus Phereaus*, and *Ariphron* in Athens; in Lacedæmon *Thelectus*, in whoſe time the Spartans wan from the Achaians, Geranthæ, Amyclæ, and ſome other Townes.

But more notable than all theſe, was Aſſyrian *Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth year of *Amazia*, ſucceeding his father *Ocrazapes* or *Anacyndaraxes*, reigned twenty yeares, and was ſlaine the laſt of the eleven voyd yeares which fore-went the reigne of *Azaria*. In him ended (as moſt agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that Empire one thouſand two hundred and forty years. A moſt luxurious and effeminate Palliard he was, paſſing away his time among ſtrumpets, whom he imitated both in apparrel and behaviour.

In theſe voluptuous courſes he lived an unhappy life, knowing himſelfe to be ſo vile, that he durſt not let any man have a ſight of him; yet ſeene he was at length, and the ſight of him was ſo odious, that it procured his ruine. For *Arbaces*, who governed *Media* under him, finding meanes to behold the perſon of his King, was ſo incenſed with that beaſtly ſpectacle, of a man diſguiſed in womans attire, and ſtriving to counterfeit an harlot, that he thought it a great ſhame to live under the command of ſo unworthy a creature. Purpoſing therefore to free himſelfe and others from ſo baſe ſubjection, he was much encouraged by the prediction of *Beleſis* or *Beloſus* a Chaldæan, who told him plainly, that the Kingdome of *Sardanapalus* ſhould fall into his hands. *Arbaces* well pleaſed with the propheſie, did promiſe unto *Beloſus* himſelfe the government of Babylon; and ſo concluding how to handle the buſineſſe, one of them ſtirred up the Medes and allured the Perſians into the quarrel, the other perſwaded the Babylonians and Ar bians to venture themſelves in the ſame cauſe. Theſe foure Nations armed forty tho ſand men againſt *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himſelfe, but g thering ſuch forces as he could out of other Nations, encountred the rebels, as one th would by deeds refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage the beginning of that warre, anſwer to the manner of his retiredneſſe. For in th

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battels he carried away the better, driving *Arbaces* and his followers into ſuch fearfull termes, that had not *Beloſus* promiſed them conſtantly ſome unexpected ſuccours, they would forthwith have broken up their Camp. About the ſame time, an Armie out of Bactria was comming to aſſiſt the King; but *Arbaces* encountring it upon the way, perſwaded ſo ſtrongly by promiſe of liberty, that thoſe forces joyned themſelves with his. The ſudden departure of the enemy ſeeming to be a flight, cauſed *Sardanapalus* to feaſt his Armie, triumphing before victory. But the Rebels being ſtrengthened with this new ſupply, came upon him by night, and forced his Camp, which through over-great ſecurity was unprepared for reſiſtance.

This overthrow did ſo weaken the Kings heart, that leaving his wives brother *Salamenus* to keep the field, he withdrew himſelfe into the Citie of Ninive; which, till new aydes that he ſent for ſhould come, he thought eaſily to defend; it having beene prophecied, that Ninive ſhould never be taken, till the River were enemy to the Towne. Of the greatneſſe and ſtrength of Ninive, enough hath beene ſpoken in our diſcourſe of *Ninus*. It was ſo well victualled, that *Arbaces* (having in two battels overthrowne the Kings Armie, and ſlaine *Salamenus*) was faine to lye two whole yeares before it, in hope to winne it by famine; whereof yet he ſaw no appearance. It ſeemes that he wanted Engines and skill to force thoſe walles, which were an hundred foot high, and thicke enough for three Chariots in front to paſſe upon the rampire. But that which hee could not doe in two yeares, the River of Tigris did in the third: for being high ſwolne with raines, it not onely drowned a part of the Citie through which it ranne, but threw downe twenty furlongs of the wall, and made a faire breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

*Sardanapalus*, either terrefied with the accompliſhment of the old Oracle, or ſeeing no meanes of reſiſtance left, ſhutting up himſelfe into his Palace, with his wives, eunuches, and all his treaſures, did ſet the houſe on fire, wherewith he and they were together conſumed. *Strabo* ſpeakes of a monument of his, that was in Anchiale a Citie of Cilicia, whereon was found an inſcription, ſhewing that he built that Citie and Tharſus upon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men eate and drinke and make merry, encouraged others with verſes well knowne, to a voluptuous life, by his owne example teſtified that his nature was more prone to ſenſualitie, than to any vertue beſeeming a Prince. Strab.l.9.

There are ſome that faintly report otherwiſe of his end; ſaying that *Arbaces*, when he firſt found him among his Concubines, was ſo enraged, that ſuddenly he ſlew him with a dagger. But the more generall conſent of writers agrees with this relation of *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Cteſias* a Greeke Writer, that lived in the Court of *Perſia*, where the truth might beſt be known. Diod.Sic.l.2.c.7.

Concerning the Princes which reigned in *Aſſyria*; from the time of *Semiramis*, unto *Sardanapalus*, though I beleeve that they were ſometimes (yet not, as *Oroſius* hath it, inceſſantly) buſied in offenſive or elſe defenſive arms; yet for the moſt part of them I doe better truſt *Diodorus Siculus*, who ſaith that their names were overpaſſed by *Cteſias*, becauſe they did nothing worthy of memorie. Whatſoever they did, that which *Theophilus Antiochenus* hath ſaid of them is very true; *Silence and Oblivion hath oppreſſed them.* Diod.l.2.c.6. Theophilus Antiochenus l.21.

# CHAP. XXIII.

## *Of* Uzzia.

### §. I.

*The proſperitie of* Uzzia, *and of* Jeroboam *the ſecond, who raigned with him in Iſrael. Of the Anarchie that was in the ten Tribes after the death of* Jeroboam. *Of* Zacharia, Sallum, Menahem *and* Pekahia.

UZ*zia*, who is alſo called *Ahazia*, the ſon of *Jotham*, was made king of *Juda*, when he was ſixteene yeares old, in the ſeven and twentieth yeare of *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Joas* king of *Iſrael*. Hee ſerved the God of his father *David*, and had therefore good ſucceſſe in all his enterpriſes. He built *Eloth*, a Towne that ſtood neere to the Red Sea, and reſtored it to *Juda*. He overcame the *Philiſtims*, of whoſe Townes he diſmantled ſome, and built others in ſundrie parts of their Territories. Alſo he got the maſterie over ſome parts of *Arabia*, and brought the *Ammonites* to pay him tribute. Such were the fruits of his proſperous wars, wherein (as *Joſephus* rehearſeth his acts) he began with the *Philiſtims*, and then proceeded unto the *Arabians* and *Ammonites*. His Armie conſiſted of three hundred and ſeven thouſand men of war, over which were appointed two thouſand and ſixe hundred Captains. 2 Chro.26.14. For all this multitude the king prepared *ſhields, and ſpeares, and helmets*, and other Arms requiſite; following therein happely a courſe quite oppoſite unto that which ſome of his late predeceſſours had held, who thought it better policie to uſe the ſervice of the Nobilitie, than of the multitude; carrying forth to warre *the Princes and all the Chariots*. 2 Chro.21.9.

As the victories of *Uzzia* were farre more important, than the atchievments of all that had reigned in *Juda*, ſince the time of *David*; ſo were his riches and magnificent works, equall, if not ſuperiour to any of theirs that had bin kings between him and *Salomon*. For, beſides that great conqueſts are won to repay the charges of Warre with triple intereſt, he had the ſkill to uſe, as well as the happineſſe to get. He turned his lands to the beſt uſe, keeping Ploughmen and Dreſſers of Vines, in grounds convenient for ſuch huſbandrie. In other places he had Cattell feeding; whereof he might well keepe great ſtore, having won ſo much from the *Ammonites* and *Arabians*, that had aboundance of waſte ground ſerving for paſturage. For defence of his Cattell and Heardſmen, he built Towers in the wilderneſſe. He alſo digged many Ciſterns or Ponds. *Joſephus* calls them water-courſes; but in ſuch drie grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the moſt likely places. If by theſe Towers he ſo commanded the water, that none could without his conſent, releeve themſelves therewith; queſtionleſſe he tooke the onely courſe, by which he might ſecurely hold the Lordſhip over all the wilderneſs; it being hardly paſſable, by reaſon of the extreme drought, when the few Springs therein found, are left free to the uſe of Travellers.

Beſides all this coſt, and the building both of *Eloth* by the Red Sea, and of ſundrie Townes among the *Philiſtims*; he repaired the wall of *Jeruſalem*, which *Joas* had broken downe, and fortified it with Towers, whereof ſome were an hundred and fiftie Cubits high.

The ſtate of *Iſrael* did never ſo flouriſh, as at this time, ſince the diviſion of the twelve Tribes into two kingdomes. For as *Uzzia* prevailed in the South, ſo (if not more) *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Joas*, King of the ten Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories againſt the *Syrians*, he wan the Royall Citie of *Damaſcus*, and 2 Kin.14.25.28. he wan *Hamath*, with all the countrie thereabout *from the entring of Hamath, unto the Sea of the Wilderneſſe*, that is, (as the moſt expound it) unto the vaſt deſarts of *Arabia*, the end whereof was undiſcovered. So the bounds of *Iſrael* in thoſe parts, were in time of this *Jeroboam*, the ſame (or not much narrower) which they had bin in the raigne of *David*.

But it was not for the piety of *Jeroboam*, that he thrived ſo well, for he was an Idolater: it was only the compaſsion which the Lord had on Iſrael, ſeeing the exceeding bitter affliction whereinto the Aramites had brought his people, which cauſed him to alter the ſucceſsion of warre, and to throw the victorious Aramites under the feet of thoſe, whom they had ſo cruelly oppreſſed. The line of *Jehu* to which God had promiſed the Kingdome of *Iſrael unto the fourth generation*, was now not far from the end; and now againe it was invited unto repentance by new benefits, as it had been at the beginning. But the ſin of *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Nebat* was held ſo precious, that neither the kingdome it ſelfe given to him by God, was able to draw *Jehu* from that politike Idolatry; nor the miſery falling upon him and his poſterity, to bring them to a better courſe of Religion; nor yet, at the laſt, this great proſperity of *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Joas*, to make him render the honour that was due to the onely giver of victory. Wherefore the promiſe of God made unto *Jehu*, that his ſons, *unto the fourth generation*, ſhould ſit on the throne of Iſrael, was not enlarged; but being almoſt expired gave warning of the approaching end, by an accident (ſo ſtrange, that we who find no particulars recorded, can hardly gheſſe at the occaſions) foregoing the laſt accompliſhment.

2 Reg.10.13.

When *Jeroboam* the ſonne of *Joas*, after a victorious reigne of one and forty yeares, had ended his life; it ſeemes in all reaſon that *Zacharia* his ſonne ſhould forthwith have been admitted to reigne in his ſtead; the Nobility of that race having gotten ſuch a luſtre by the immediate ſucceſsion of foure Kings, that any Competitor, had the Crowne paſſed by election, muſt needes have appeared baſe; and the vertue of the laſt King having beene ſo great, as might well ſerve to lay the foundation of a new houſe, much more to eſtabliſh the already confirmed right of a family ſo rooted in poſſeſsion. All this notwithſtanding, two or three and twenty yeares did paſſe before *Zacharia* the ſonne of *Jeroboam* was, by uniforme conſent, received as King. The true originall cauſes hereof were to be found at Dan and Bethel, where the golden Calves did ſtand: yet ſecond inſtruments of this diſturbance are likely not to have beene wanting, upon which the wiſdome of man was ready to caſt an eye. Probable it is, that the Captaines of the army (who afterwards ſlew one another ſo faſt, that in fourteen years there reigned five kings) did now by head-ſtrong violence, rend the kingdome aſunder, holding each what hee could, and either deſpiſing or hating ſome qualities in *Zacharia*; untill, after many years, wearied with diſſention, and the principall of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they conſented to yeeld all quietly to the ſon of *Jeroboam*. That this Anarchy laſted almoſt three and twenty years, we find by the difference of time between the fifteenth yeare of *Uzzia*, which was the laſt of *Jeroboam* his one and fortieth (his ſeven and twentieth concurring with the firſt of *Uzzia*) and the eight and thirtieth of the ſame *Uzzia*, in the laſt ſixe moneths whereof *Zacharia* reigned in Samaria. There are ſome indeed that by ſuppoſing *Jeroboam* to have reigned with his father eleven years, do cut off the *interregnum* in Juda (before mentioned) & by the ſame reaſon abridge this Anarchie that was before the reigne of *Zacharia* in Iſrael. Yet they leave it twelve years long: which is time ſufficient to prove that the kingdome of the ten Tribes was no leſſe diſtempered than as is already noted. But I chooſe rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes reigning abroad in the World, than this doubtfull conjecture, that gives to *Jeroboam* two and fifty years, by adding three quarters of his fathers reigne unto his owne; which was it ſelfe indeed ſo long, that he may well ſeeme to have begun it very young: for I do not think that God bleſſed this Idolater both with a longer reign, and with a longer life than he did his ſervant *David*.

Thus much being ſpoken of the time wherein the Throne of Iſrael was voyde, before the reigne of *Zacharia*, little may ſuffice to be ſaid of his reigne it ſelfe, which laſted but a little while. Sixe moneths only was he King; in which time he declared himſelfe a worſhipper of the golden Calves; which was enough to juſtifie the judgment of God, whereby he was ſlain. He was the laſt of *Jehu's* houſe, being (incluſively) the firſt of that line; which may have been ſome cauſe of the troubles impeaching his orderly ſucceſsion: the prophecie having determined that race in the fourth generation. But (beſides that Gods promiſe was extended unto the utmoſt) there was no warrant given to *Sallum* or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as had been given to *Jehu* for the ſlaughter of *Jehoram*, and for the eradication of *Ahabs* houſe.

*Zacharia* having bin ſixe moneths a King, was then ſlaine by *Sallum*, who raigned af-
2 Kin.15.13. ter him, *the ſpace of a moneth in Samaria*. What this *Sallum* was, I doe not finde; ſave onely that he was a Traytour, and the ſonne of one *Jabeſh*, whereby his father got no honour. It ſeemes that he was one of thoſe, who in time of faction had laboured for himſelfe; and now when all other Competitors were ſitten downe, thought eaſily to prevaile againſt that King, in whoſe perſon the race of *Jehu* was to faile. Manifeſt it is, that *Sallum* had a ſtrong partie: for *Tiphſah* or *Thapſa*, and the coaſt thereof even from *Tirzah*, where *Menahem* his enemie and ſupplanter then lay, refuſed to admit, as King in his ſtead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one moneth, *Sallum* received the reward of his treaſon, and was ſlaine by *Menahem* who reigned in his place.

*Menahem* the ſon of *Gadi*, raigned after *Sallum* ten yeares. In oppoſition to *Sallum*, his hatred was deadly, and inhumane: for he not onely deſtroyed *Tiphſah*, and all that were therein, or thereabouts, but he ript up all their women with child, becauſe they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this crueltie been uſed in revenge of *Zacharias* death, it is like that he would have been as earneſt, in procuring unto him his Fathers Crown when it was firſt due. But in performing that office, there was uſed ſuch long deliberation, that we may plainly diſcover Ambition, Diſdaine, and other private paſſions, to have bin the cauſes of this beaſtly outrage.

In the time of *Menahem*, and (as it ſeemes) in the beginning of his Reigne, *Pul*, King of *Aſſyria*, came againſt the Land of *Iſrael*; whom this new King appeaſed, with a thouſand talents of ſilver, levied upon all the ſubſtantiall men in his Countrey. With this money the Iſraelite purchaſed, not onely the peace of his Kingdome, but his owne eſtabliſhment therein: ſome factious man (belike) having either invited *Pul* thither, or (if he
Joſ.ant.l.9.11. came uncalled) ſought to uſe his helpe, in depoſing this ill beloved King. *Joſephus* reports of this *Menahem*, that his reigne was no milder than his entrance. But after ten yeares, his tyrannie ended with his life: and *Pekahia* his Sonne occupied his roome.

Of this *Pekahia* the ſtory is ſhort: for he reigned onely two years; at the end whereof, he was ſlaine by *Peka* the ſonne of *Remalia*, whoſe treaſon was rewarded with the Crowne of Iſrael, as, in time comming, another mans Treaſon againſt himſelfe ſhall be.
Joſ.Ibid. There needes no more to be ſaid of *Menahem* and his ſonne, ſave that they were both of them Idolaters; and the ſonne (as we finde in *Joſephus*) like to his father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul* the Aſſyrian King, who firſt opened unto thoſe Northern Nations the way into Palæſtina; it wil ſhortly follow in order of the Story, to deliver our opinion: whether he were that *Beloſus* (called alſo *Beleſes*, and by ſome *Phul Belochus*) who joyned with *Arbaces* the Median, againſt *Sardanapalus*, or whether he were ſome other man. At the preſent it is more fit that wee relate the end of *Uzzia's* life, who out-lived the happineſſe wherein we left him.

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## §. II.

### *The end of* Uzzia *his Reigne and Life.*

AS the zeale of *Jehojada* that godly Prieſt was the meane to preſerve the linage of *David* in the perſon of *Joas*; ſo it appeares, that the care of holy men was not wanting to *Uzzia*, to bring him up and advance him to the Crowne of Juda, when the hatred borne to his Father *Amazia* had endangered his ſucceſſion. For it is
2 Chro.26.5. ſaid of *Uzzia*, That *he ſought God in the dayes of* Zecharia (*which underſtood the viſions of God) and when as he ſought the Lord, God made him proſper.*

Verſe 16. *But, when he was ſtrong, his heart was lifted up to his deſtruction: for he tranſgreſſed againſt the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of the Lord to burne incenſe upon the Altar of incenſe.* Thus he thought to enlarge his owne authority, by medling in the Prieſts office, whoſe power had in every extremity been ſo helpfull to the Kings of Juda, that meere gratitude and civill policy ſhould have held backe *Uzzia* from incroaching thereupon; yea, though the Law of God had beene ſilent in this caſe, and not forbidding it. Howſoever, the King forgot his duty, the Prieſts remembred theirs, and God forgat not to aſſiſt them. *Azaria* the high Prieſt interrupted the Kings purpoſe, and gave him to underſtand how little to his honour it would prove, that hee tooke upon him the office of the ſonnes of *Aaron*. There were with *Azaria* fourescore other Prieſts, valiant men, but their valour was ſhewed onely in aſſiſting the high Prieſt, when (according to his dutie) he reprehended the Kings preſumption. This was enough, the reſt God himſelfe performed. We find in *Joſephus*, that the King had apparelled himſelfe in Prieſtly habit, and that he threatned *Azarias* and his Companions, to puniſh them with death, unleſs they would be quiet. *Joſephus* indeed inlargeth the Storie, by inſerting a great Earth-quake, which did teare downe halfe an Hill, that rowled foure furlongs, till it reſted againſt another Hill, ſtopping up the high-wayes, and ſpoyling the Kings Garden in the paſſage. With this Earth-quake, he ſaith, that the roofe of the Temple did cleave, and that a Sun-beam did light upon the Kings face, which was preſently infected with leproſie. All this may have been true; and ſome there are who thinke that this Earth-quake is the ſame, which is mentioned by the Prophet *Amos*; wherin they do much miſ-reckon the times. For the Earth-quake ſpoken of by *Amos*, was in the dayes of *Jeroboam* King of *Iſrael*, who dyed ſeven and thirtie years before *Uzzia*; ſo that *Jotham* the ſon of *Uzzia*, which ſupplied his Fathers place in government of the Land, ſhould, by this accompt, have bin then unborne: for he was but five and twentie years old, when he began to reign as king. Therefore, thus far only we have aſſurance; that *while* Uzzia *was wroth with the Prieſts, the leproſie roſe up in his forehead, before the Prieſts.* Hereupon he was cauſed, in all haſte, to depart the place, and to live in a houſe by himſelfe untill he dyed; the rule over the Kings houſe, and over all the Land, being committed to *Jotham*, his Son and Succeſſor. *Jotham* tooke not upon himſelfe the ſtile of a King, till his Father was dead; whom they buried in the ſame field wherin his Anceſtors lay interred; yet in a Monument apart from the reſt, becauſe he was a Leper.

*Joſ. ant. l. 9. c. 11.*

2 Chr. 26. 20.

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## §. III.

### *Of the Prophets which lived in the time of* Uzzia; *and of Princes then ruling in Egypt; and in ſome other Countries.*

IN the time of *Uzzia* were the firſt of the leſſer Prophets, *Hoſea, Joel, Amos, Obadia* and *Jonas.* It is not indeed ſet downe, when *Joel* or *Obadia* did prophecie: but if the Prophets, whoſe times are not expreſſed, ought to be ranged (according to Saint *Hieromes* rule) with the next before them; then muſt theſe two be judged contemporarie with *Hoſea* and *Amos*, who lived under King *Uzzia*. To enquire which of theſe five was the moſt ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at leaſt, a ſuperfluous labour; yet if the age wherein *Homer* lived, hath ſo painefully beene ſought, without reprehenſion, how can he be taxed, which offers to ſearch out the antiquitie of theſe holy Prophets? It ſeemes to me, that the firſt of theſe, in order of time, was the Prophet *Jonas*; who foretold the great victories of *Jeroboam* King of *Iſrael*; and therefore is like to have prophecied in the dayes of *Joas*, whileſt the affliction of *Iſrael* was *exceeding bitter*; the Text it ſelfe intimating no leſſe: by which conſequence he was elder than the other Prophets, whoſe workes are now extant. But his prophecies that concerned the Kingdome of *Iſrael* are now loſt. That which remaineth of him, ſeemes, not without reaſon unto ſome very learned, to have belonged unto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whoſe dayes *Nineve* was firſt of all deſtroyed. This Prophet rather taught Chriſt by his ſufferings, than by his writings now extant: in all the reſt are found expreſſe promiſes of the Meſſias.

2 Chro. c. 14. v. 25. 26.

In the reigne of *Uzzia* likewiſe it was, that *Eſay*, the firſt of the foure great Prophets, began to ſee his viſions. This difference of *great and leſſer* Prophets, is taken from the Volumes which they have left written (as S. *Auguſtine* gives reaſon of the diſtinction) becauſe the greater have written larger Bookes. The Prophet *Eſay* was great indeed, not only in regard of his much writing, or of his Nobilitie, (for their opinion is rejected, who think him to have bin the ſon of *Amos* the Prophet) and the high account wherein he lived; but for the excellencie both of his ſtile and argument, wherein he ſo plainly foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, Paſſion, & whole Hiſtorie of our Saviour, with the calling of the Gentiles, that he might as well be called an Evangeliſt, as a Prophet; having written in ſuch wiſe, That (as *Hierome ſaith) one would thinke he did not foretell of things to come, but compile an Hiſtorie of matters alreadie paſt.*

*Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 18. c. 19.*

*Hier. in præf. ſuper Iſaiam.*

*Bocchoris* was King of *Egypt*, and the ninth yeare of his raigne, by our computation (whereof in due place we will give reaſon) was current, when *Uzzia* took poſſeſſion of the Kingdome of *Juda*.

After the death of *Boccboris*, *Aſychis* followed in the Kingdome of *Egypt*: unto him ſucceeded *Anyſis*; and theſe two occupied that Crowne ſixe yeares. Then *Sabacus*, an *Æthiopian*, became King of *Egypt*, and held it fiftie yeares, whereof the ten firſt ranne along with the laſt of *Uzzia* his Raigne and Life. Of theſe and other *Egyptian* Kings, more ſhall be ſpoken, when their affaires ſhall come to be intermedled with the buſineſs of *Juda*.

In *Athens*, the two laſt yeares of *Ariphron* his twentie, the ſeven and twentieth of *Theſpeius*, the twentieth of *Agamneſtor*, and three the firſt of *Æſchylus* his three and twentie, made even with the two and fiftie of *Uzzia*: as likewiſe did in *Alba* the laſt ſeven of *Silvius Aventinus* his ſeven and thirtie, together with the three & twentie of *Silvius Procas*, and two and twentie the firſt of *Silvius Amulius*. In *Media Arbaces* began his new kingdome in the firſt of *Uzzia*, wherein, after eight and twentie yeares, his ſon *Soſarmus* ſucceeded him, and raigned thirtie yeares. Of this *Arbaces*, and the diviſion of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, between him and others, when they had oppreſſed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it convenient to uſe more particular diſcourſe, that we may not wander in too great uncertaintie in the Storie of the *Aſſyrian* kings, who have already found the way into *Palæſtina*, and are not likely to forget it.

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## §. IV.

### *Of the Aſſyrian Kings, deſcending from* Phul: *and whether* Phul *and* Beloſus *were one perſon, or heads of ſundrie Families, that reigned apart in Nineve and Babylon.*

BY that which hath formerly beene ſhewed of *Sardanapalus* his death, it is apparent, that the chiefe therein was *Arbaces* the *Median*; to whom the reſt of the Confederates did not onely ſubmit themſelves in that Warre, but were contented afterwards to be judged by him; receiving by his authoritie ſentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited lives. The firſt example of this his power, was ſhowne upon *Beloſus* the *Babylonian*, by whoſe eſpeciall advice and helpe, *Arbaces* himſelfe was become ſo great: Yet was not this power of *Arbaces* exerciſed in ſo tyrannicall a manner, as might give offence in that great alteration of things, either to the Princes that had aſſiſted him, or to the generalitie of the people. For in the condemnation of *Beloſus*, he uſed the counſell of his other Captaines, and then pardoned him of his owne grace; allowing him to hold not only the City and Province of *Babylon*, but allſo thoſe treaſures, for embezelling whereof his life had been endangered.

In like manner, he gave rewards to the reſt of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Provinces; retaining (as it appeares) onely the Soveraignty to himſelfe, which to uſe immoderately he did naturally abhorre. He is ſaid, indeed, to have excited the *Medes* againſt *Sardanapalus*, by propounding unto them hope of transferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promiſe, he deſtroyed the Citie of *Nineve*, permitting the Citizens neverthelesse to take and carry away every one his owne goods. The other Nations that joyned with him, as the *Perſians* and *Bactrians*, he drew to his ſide, by the allurement of liberty; which he himſelfe ſo greatly loved, that by ſlacking too much the reines of his owne Soveraignty, hee did more harme to the generall eſtate of *Media*, than the pleaſure of the freedome, which it enjoyed, could recompence. For both the Territory of that Countrey was pared narrower by *Salmanaſſar* (or perhaps by ſome of his Progenitors) whom wee finde in the Scriptures to have held ſome Townes of the *Medes*; and the civill adminiſtration was ſo diſorderly, that the people themſelves were glad to ſee that reformation, which *Deioces* the fift of *Arbaces* his Line, did make in that government, by reducing them into ſtricter termes of obedience.

How the force of the *Aſſyrians* grew to bee ſuch as might in fourescore yeares, if not ſooner, both extend it ſelf unto the conqueſt of *Iſrael*, and teare away ſome part of *Media*, it is a queſtion hardly to be anſwered; not only in regard of the deſtruction of *Nineve*, & ſubverſion of the *Aſſyrian* Kingdom, whereof the *Medes*, under *Arbaces*, had the honour, who may ſeeme at that time to have kept the *Aſſyrians* under their ſubjection, when the reſt of the Provinces were ſet at liberty; but in conſideration of the Kings themſelves, who raigning afterwards in *Babylon* and *Nineve*, are confounded by ſome, and diſtinguiſhed by others; whereby their Hiſtorie is made uncertaine.

I will firſt therefore deliver the opinion generally received, and the grounds whereupon it ſtands: then, producing the objections made againſt it, I will compare together the determination of that worthie man *Joſeph Scaliger*, with thoſe learned that ſubſcribe thereunto, and the judgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or have followed the Ancients in this doubtfull caſe. Neither ſhall it be needfull to ſet down a-part the ſeveral authorities and arguments of ſundrie men, adding ſomwhat of weight or of clearneſſe one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole ſubſtance of each diſcourſe: which I will doe as briefly as I can, and without fear to be taxed of partialitie, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancie of mine owne, but meerely led by thoſe reaſons, which upon examination of each part, ſeemed to me moſt forceable, though to others they may perhaps appeare weake.

That which, untill of late, hath paſſed as current, is this; That *Beloſus* was the ſame King, who, firſt of the *Aſſyrians*, entred *Palæſtina* with an Armie; being called *Pul*, or *Phul*, in the Scriptures, and by *Annius* his Authors with ſuch as follow them, *Phul Belochus.* Of this man it is ſaid, that he was a skilfull Aſtrologer, ſubtile, and ambitious; that he got *Babylon* by compoſition made with *Arbaces*; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Aſſyria*: finally that he reigned eight and fortie years, and then dying, left the Kingdome to *Teglat-phalaſſar* his ſonne, in whoſe Poſteritie it continued ſome few deſcents, till the houſe of *Merodach* prevailed. The truth of this, if *Annius* his *Metaſthenes* were ſufficient proofe, could not be gainſaid: for that Author (ſuch as he is) is peremptorie herein. But, howſoever *Annius* his Authors deſerve to be ſuſpected, it ſtands with no reaſon, that we ſhould conclude all to be falſe which they affirme. They, who maintaine this Tradition, juſtifie it by divers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumſtances found in all Authors, and repugnant unto no Hiſtorie at all. For it is manifeſt by the relation of *Diodorus* (which is indeed the foundation whereupon all have built) that *Arbaces* and *Beloſus* were Partners in the action againſt *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Bactrians*, who joyned with them, were thought well rewarded with libertie, as likewiſe other Captaines were with governements: but that any third perſon was ſo eminent, as to have *Aſſyria* it ſelfe, the chiefe Countrey of the Empire beſtowed upon him, it is a thing whereof not the leaſt appearance is found in any Hiſtory. And certainely it ſtood with little reaſon, that the *Aſſyrians* ſhould be committed unto a peculiar King, at ſuch time as it was not thought meete to truſt them in their owne walles and houſes. Rather it is apparent, that the deſtruction of *Ninive* by *Arbaces*, and the tranſplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policy, becauſe thereby the people of that Nation might bee kept downe from aſpiring to recover the Soveraignty, which elſe they would have thought to belong, as of right, unto the Seat of the Empire.

Upon ſuch conſiderations did the *Romanes*, in ages long after following, deſtroy *Carthage*, and diſſolve the Corporation, or Body politike, of the Citizens of *Capua*; becauſe thoſe two Towns were capable of the Empire: a matter eſteemed over-dangerous, even to *Rome* it ſelfe, that was Miſtreſſe of them both. This being ſo, how can it be thought that the *Aſſyrians* in three or foure yeares had erected their Kingdome a-new, under one *Pul*? or what muſt this *Pul* have beene (of whoſe deſervings or entermedling, or indeed of whoſe very name, we finde no mention in the Warre againſt *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principall parts of the Empire fell, either by generall conſent in diviſion of the Provinces, or by his owne power and purchaſe very ſoone after? Surely he was none other than *Beloſus*; whoſe neare neighbour-hood gave him opportunity (as he was wiſe enough to play his owne game) both to get *Aſſyria* to himſelfe, and to empeach any other man that ſhould have attempted to ſeize upon it. The Province of *Babylon*, which *Beloſus* held, being (as *Herodotus* reports) in riches and power, as good as the third part of the *Perſian* Empire, was able to furniſh him with all that was requiſite for ſuch a buſineſſe: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his owne hands all the gold and ſilver that had bin in the Palace of *Ninive*. And queſtionleſſe, to reſtore ſuch a Citie as *Ninive*, was an enterpriſe fit for none to take in hand, except he had ſuch means as *Beloſus* had; which *Pul*, if he were not *Beloſus*, is likely to have wanted.

*Tull. contra Rullam. or. 2.*

*Herodot. l. 1.*

Beſides all this, had *Pul* been a diſtinct perſon from *Beloſus*, and Lord of *Aſſyria*, which lay beyond the Countries of *Babylon* and *Meſopotamia*, it would not have beene an eaſie matter for him, to paſſe quite through an other mans Kingdome with an Armie, ſeeking bootie a farre off in *Iſrael*: the onely action by which the name of *Phul* is knowne. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call *Pul* or *Phul*, was the ſame whom prophane writers have called *Beloſus*, *Beleſes*, and *Beleſtis*, (in like manner as *Joſephus* acknowledgeth, that he, whom the Scriptures called never otherwiſe than *Darius* the *Mede*, was the ſonne of *Aſtiages*, and called of the *Greeks* by another name, that is, *Cyaxares*) then is this ſcruple utterly removed. For *Babylon* and *Meſopotamia* did border upon *Syria* and *Palæſtina*: ſo that *Beloſus* having ſettled his affaires in *Aſſyria* towards the Eaſt and North, might with good leaſure encroach upon the Countries that lay on the other ſide of his Kingdome, to the South and Weſt. He that lookes into all particulars, may finde every one circumſtance concurring, to prove that *Phul*, who invaded *Iſrael*, was none other than *Beloſus*. For the Prince of the *Arabians*, who joyned with *Arbaces*, and brought no ſmall part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was overthrowne, did enter into that action, meerely for the love of *Beloſus*. The friendſhip of theſe *Arabians* was a thing of maine importance, to thoſe that were to paſſe over *Euphrates* with an Armie into *Syria*. Wherefore *Beloſus*, that held good correſpondence with them, and whoſe moſt fruitfull Province, adjoyning to their barraine quarters, might yearely doe them ineſtimable pleaſures; was not onely likely to have quiet paſſage through their borders, but their utmoſt aſſiſtance: yea, it ſtands with good reaſon, that they who loved not *Iſrael*, ſhould for their owne behoofe have given him intelligence of the deſtruction and civill broyles among the ten Tribes; whereby as this *Pul* got a thouſand talents, ſo it ſeemes that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heavie neighbour of *Jeroboam*, recovered their owne, ſetting up a new King in *Damaſco*, and clearing the coaſt of *Arabia*, (from the Sea of the Wilderneſſe to *Hamath*) of the *Hebrew* Garriſons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations, divided by *Euphrates*, hold together in ſo good termes of friendſhip: it was ancient conſanguinitie; the memorie whereof was available to the *Syrians*, in the time of *David*, when the *Aramites* beyond the river came over willingly, to the ſuccour of *Hadadezer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damaſco*. So *Beloſus* had good reaſon to looke into thoſe parts: what a King reigning ſo farre off as *Nineve*, ſhould have to doe in *Syria*, if the other end of his Kingdome had not reached to *Euphrates*, it were hard to ſhew.

Joſ.ant.l.10.c.12.

But concerning this laſt argument of the buſineſſe which might allure the *Chaldæans* into *Palæſtina*, it may be doubted, leſt it ſhould ſeeme to have ill coherence with that which hath beene ſaid of the long Anarchie that was in the tenne Tribes. For if the Crowne of *Iſrael* were worne by no man in three and twentie years, then is it likely that *Beloſus* was either unwilling to ſtirre, or unable to take the advantage when it was faireſt, and firſt diſcovered. This might have compelled thoſe, who alone were not ſtrong enough to ſeek after helpe from ſome Prince that lay further off; and ſo the opinion of thoſe that diſtinguiſh *Phul* from *Beloſus*, would be ſomewhat confirmed. On the other ſide, if we ſay, that *Beloſus* did paſſe the river of *Euphrates*, as ſoon as he found likelihood of making a proſperous journey, then may it ſeeme that the *inter-regnum* in *Iſrael* was not ſo long as we have made it: for three and twentie years leaſure would have afforded better opportunitie, which ought not to have bin loſt.

For anſwer hereunto, we are to conſider, what *Oroſius* and *Euſebius* have written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arbaces* into *Media*, they layd hold on a part of the empire: the other, that they prevailed and grew mightie, between the times of *Arbaces* and *Deioces* the *Medes*. Now, though it be held an errour of *Oroſius*, where he ſuppoſeth thar the occupying of *Babylonia* by the *Chaldæans* was in manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein he and *Euſebius* doe concurre, that the authoritie of *Arbaces* did reſtraine the ambition, which by his abſence grew bold, and by his death, regardfull onely of it ſelfe. Now, though ſome have conjectured that all *Aſſyria* was given to *Beloſus* (as an overplus, beſides the Province of *Babylon* which was his by plaine bargaine made aforehand) in regard of his high deſervings; yet the opinion more commonly received, is, that hee did onely incroach upon that Province by little and little, whileſt *Arbaces* lived, and afterwards dealing more openly, got it all himſelfe. Seeing therefore, that there paſſed but twelve yeares betweene the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Menahem* his Raigne; manifeſt it is, that the conqueſt of *Aſſyria*, and ſettling of that Countrey, was worke enough to hold *Beloſus* occupyed, beſides the reſtauration of *Ninive*, which alone was able to take up all the time remaining of his reigne, if perhaps he lived to ſee it finiſhed in his owne dayes. So that this argument may rather ſerve to prove that *Phul* and *Beloſus* were one perſon; foraſmuch as the journey of *Phul* againſt *Iſrael* was not made untill *Beloſus* could finde leaſure; and the time of advantage which *Beloſus* did let ſlip, argued his buſineſſe in ſome other quarter, namely, in that Province of which *Phul* is called King. Briefely, it may be ſaid, that hee who conquered *Aſſyria*, and performed ſomewhat upon a Country ſo far diſtant as *Palaſtina*, was likely to have been, at leaſt, named in ſome Hiſtory, or, if not himſelfe, yet his Country to have been ſpoken of for thoſe victories: but we neither heare of *Phul*, in any prophane Author, neither doth any Writer, ſacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatſoever of the *Aſſyrians*, done in thoſe times; whereas of *Beloſus*, and the power of the *Chaldæans*, we finde good Record.

Surely, that great ſlaughter of ſo many thouſand *Aſſyrians*, in the quarrell of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and unfortunate warre, which overwhelmed the whole Countrey, not ending but with the ruine & utter deſolation of *Ninive*, muſt needs have ſo weakened the ſtate of *Aſſyria*, that it could not in thirty yeares ſpace be able to invade *Palaſtina*, which the ancient Kings, reigning in *Ninive*, had, in all their greatneſſe, forborne to attempt. Yet theſe afflictions, diſabling that Countrey, did helpe to enable *Beloſus* to ſubdue it; who having once extended his Dominion to the borders of *Media*, and being (eſpecially if hee had compounded with the *Medes*) by the interpoſition of that Countrey, ſecure of the *Scythians*, & other warlike Nations on that ſide, might very well turne Southward, and try his fortune in thoſe Kingdomes, whereinto civill diſſention of the inhabitants, & the bordering envie of the *Arabians* and *Aramites* about *Damaſco*, Friends and Couſins to the *Chaldæans* and *Meſopotamians*, did invite him. For theſe, and the other before alledged reaſons, it may bee concluded, That what is ſaid of *Pul* in the Scriptures, ought to bee underſtood of *Beloſus*; even as by the names of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Darius* the *Mede*, *Artaſhaſht*, and *Ahaſhueroſh*, with the like, are thought, or knowne, to be meant the ſame, whom prophane Hiſtorians, by names better knowne in their owne Countryes, have called *Nabopollaſſar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Artaxerxes*: eſpecially conſidering, that hereby we ſhall neither contradict any thing that hath been written of old, nor need to trouble our ſelves and others with framing new conjectures. This in effect is that, which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being once granted, other things of more importance will of themſelves eaſily follow. For it is a matter of no great conſequence to know the truth of this point (conſidering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether *Pul* were *Beloſus*, or ſome other man: the whole race of theſe *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings, wherein are found thoſe famous Princes, *Nabonaſſar*, *Mardocempadus*, and *Nabopollaſſar* (famous for the Aſtronomicall obſervations recorded from their times) is the maine ground of this contention. If therefore *Beloſus* or *Beleſis* were that *Phul* which invaded *Iſrael*; if he and his poſterity reigned both in *Ninive* & in *Babylon*; if he were father of *Teglat-Phul-Aſer*, from whom *Salmanaſar*, *Senacherib*, and *Aſarhaddon* deſcended; then it is manifeſt, that we muſt ſeeke *Nabonaſſar* the *Babylonian* King, among theſe Princes; yea, and conclude him to bee none other than *Salmanaſar*, who is knowne to have reigned in thoſe yeares which *Ptolomy* the Mathematician hath aſſigned unto *Nabonaſſar*. As for *Merodech*, who ſupplanted *Aſar-haddon*, manifeſt it is, that he and his ſucceſſors were of another houſe. This is the ſcope and end of all his diſputation.

But they that maintaine the contrary part, will not be ſatisfied with ſuch conjectures. They lay hold upon the concluſion, and by ſhaking that into pieces, hope to overthrow all the premiſſes upon which it is inferred. For (ſay they) if *Nabonaſſar* that reigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanaſar*, or any of thoſe other *Aſſyrian* Kings, then is it manifeſt, that the races were diſtinct, and that *Phul* and *Beloſus* were ſeverall Kings. This conſequence is ſo plaine, that it needes no confirmation. To prove that *Nabonaſſar* was a diſtinct perſon from *Salmanaſar*, are brought ſuch arguments as would ſtagger the reſolution of him that had ſworne to hold the contrary. For firſt, *Nabonaſſar* was King of *Babylon*, and not of *Aſſyria*. This is proved by his name, which is meerely *Chaldæan*, whereas *Salman*, the firſt part of *Salmanaſſars* name, is proper to the *Aſſyrians*.

Eſay 39.1.

It is likewiſe proved by the Aſtronomicall obſervations, which proceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Aſſyrians*, do ſhew that *Nabonaſſar*, from whom *Ptolomy* drawes that *Epocha*, or account of times, was a *Babylonian*, and no *Aſſyrian*. Thirdly, and more ſtrongly, it is confirmed by the ſucceſſor of *Nabonaſſar*, which was *Mardocempadus*, called in his owne language *Mero-dac-ken-pad*, but more briefly in *Eſay* his propheſie, *Merodach*, by the former part of his name; or *Merodach Baladan*, the ſon of *Baladan*. Now if *Merodach* the ſonne of *Baladan* King of *Babel* were the ſonne of *Nabonaſſar*, then was *Nabonaſſar* none other than *Baladan* King of *Babel*, and not *Salmanaſſar* King of *Aſſyria*.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of theſe two names, *Nabonaſſar* and *Salmanaſſar*; which in *Greeke* or *Latine* writing hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the *Hebrew* letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, whereinto *Salmanaſſar* carryed captive ſome part of the ten Tribes; it may well be granted, that in the Province of *Babylon*, *Salmanaſſar* had gotten ſomewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of *Babylon* it ſelfe. To conclude, *Merodach* began his reigne over *Babylon* in the ſixt year of *Hezekia*, at which time *Salmanaſſar* took *Samaria*, therefore if *Salmanaſſar* were King of *Babylon*, then muſt we ſay that he and *Merodach*, yea and *Nabonaſſar*, were all one man. Theſe are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer *Joſeph Scaliger*; who not contented to follow the common opinion founded upon likelihood of conjectures, hath drawne his proofes from matter of more neceſſary inference.

Touching all that was ſaid before of *Phul Beloſus*, for the proving that *Phul* and *Beloſus* were not ſundry Kings; *Joſeph Scaliger* pities their ignorance, that have ſpent their labour to ſo little purpoſe. Honeſt and painefull men he confeſſeth that they were, who by their diligence might have won the good liking of their Readers, had they not, by mentioning *Annius* his Authors, given ſuch offence, that men refuſed thereupon to read their Bookes and Chronologies. A ſhort anſwer.

For mine owne part, howſoever I beleeve nothing that *Annius* his *Beroſus*, *Metaſthenes*, and others of that ſtampe affirme, in reſpect of their bare authority; yet am I not ſo ſqueamiſh, but that I can well enough digeſt a good Booke, though I finde the names of one or two of theſe good fellowes alledged in it: I have (ſomewhat peradventure too often) already ſpoken my mind of *Annius* his Authors: Neverthaleſſe, I may ſay here againe, that where other Hiſtories are ſilent, or ſpeake not enough, there may we without ſhame borrow of theſe, as much as agrees with that little which elſewhere we finde, and ſerveth to explaine or inlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeed are thoſe honeſt and painfull men (as *Scaliger* termes them, meaning, if I miſtake him not, good ſilly fellowes) who ſet down the *Aſſyrian* Kings from *Pul* forwards, as Lords alſo of *Babylon*, taking *Pul* for *Beloſus*, and *Salmanaſſar* for *Nabonaſſar*, ſuch Writers as a man ſhould be aſhamed or unwilling to reade. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Annius*, though diſliking him in generall) *Gerard Mercator* is not ſo ſlight a Chronologer, that he ſhould be laughed out of doores with the name of an honeſt meaning fellow.

But I will not make compariſons between *Scaliger* and *Mercator*; they were both of them men notably learned: let us examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and ſee whether they be of ſuch force as cannot either be reſiſted or avoyded. It will eaſily bee granted, that *Nabonaſſar* was King of *Babylon*; that he was not King of *Aſſyria*, ſome men doubt whether *Scaligers* reaſons be enough to prove. For though *Nabonaſſar* bee a *Chaldæan* name, and *Salmanaſſar* an *Aſſyrian*; yet what hinders us from beleeving that one man in two languages might be called by two ſeverall names? That Aſtronomy flouriſhed among the *Chaldees*, is not enough to prove *Nabonaſſar* either an Aſtrologer or a *Chaldaan*. So it is, that *Scaliger* himſelfe cals them, *Prophetas neſcio quos, qui* Nabonaſſarum *Aſtronomum fuiſſe in ſomnis viderunt; Prophets I know not who, that in their ſleep have dreamt of* Nabonaſſar, *that he was an Aſtrologer.*

Scal.Canon.l.3.

Whether *Nabonaſſar* were an Aſtrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintaine the negative. But as his being Lord over the *Chaldæans*, doth not prove him to have beene learned in their ſciences; ſo doth it not prove him not to have beene alſo King of *Aſſyria*. The Emperour *Charles* the fift, who was borne in *Gant*, and *Philip* his Sonne, King of *Spaine*, and Lords of the *Netherlands*, had men farre more learned in all

Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks, among their Subjects of the Low Countries, than were any that I read of then living in *Spaine*, if *Spain* at that time had any; yet I thinke, Poſteritie will not uſe this as an argument, to prove that *Spaine* was none of theirs. It may well be, that *Salmanaſſar* or *Nabonaſſar* did uſe the *Aſſyrian* Souldiers, & *Babylonian* Schollers; but it ſeemes, that he and his poſteritie, by giving themſelves wholly to the more warlike Nation, loſt the richer, out of which they firſt iſſued, as likewiſe king *Philip* loſt partly, & partly did put to a dangerous hazzard all the Netherlands, by ſuch a courſe. As for the two un-anſwerable arguments, (as *Scaliger* termes them, being me-thinks none other than anſwers to ſomewhat that is or might be alledged on the contrarie ſide) one of them which is drawne from the unlike ſound and writing of thoſe names, *Salmanaſſar* and *Nabonaſſar* in the *Hebrew*, I hold a point about which no man will diſpute; for it is not likeneſſe of ſound, but agreement of time, and many circumſtances elſe, that muſt take away the diſtinction of perſons: the other likewiſe may be granted; which is, that *Salmanaſſar* might be Lord of ſome places in the province of *Babylon*, yet not King of *Babylon* it ſelfe: this indeed might be ſo, and it might be otherwiſe. Hitherto there is nothing ſave conjecture. But in that which is alledged out of the Prophet *Eſay* concerning *Merodach* the ſonne of *Baladan*; and in that which is ſaid of this *Merodach*, or *Mardokenpadus*, his being the Succeſſor of *Nabonaſſar*, and his beginning to raigne in the ſixt yeare of *Hezekia*, I finde matter of more difficultie, than can be anſwered in haſte. I will therefore deferre the handling of theſe objections untill I meet with their ſubject in his proper place; which will be when we come to the time of *Hezekia*, wherein *Merodach* lived, and was King. Yet that I may not leave too great a ſcruple in the minde of the Reader, thus farre will I here ſatisfie him; that how ſtrong ſoever this argument may ſeeme, *Scaliger* himſelfe did live to retract it, ingenuouſly confeſſing, that in thinking *Merodach* to be the ſon of *Nabonaſſar*, he had been deceived.

Now therefore let us conſider, in what ſort they have faſhioned their Storie, who taking *Pul* to be a diſtinct perſon from *Beloſus* or *Beleſtis*, have in like ſort, as was neceſſarie, diſtinguiſhed their off-ſpring, making that of *Pul* to faile in *Aſarhaddon*, which left all to *Merodach* the *Babylonian*. And here I muſt firſt confeſſe my want of Bookes, if perhaps there be many, that have gone about to reduce this narration into ſome ſuch order, as might preſent unto us the bodie of this Hiſtorie, in one view. Divers, indeed, there are, whom I have ſeene, that ſince *Joſeph Scaliger* delivered his opinion, have written in favour of ſome one or other point thereof: but *Sethus Calviſius* himſelfe, who hath abridged *Scaligers* learned Worke, *De emendatione Temporum*, hath not been carefull to give us notice, how long *Beloſus*, *Baladan*, *Pul*, or *Tiglat Pulaſſar* did raigne, (perhaps becauſe he found it not expreſſed in *Scaliger*) but is content to ſet downe *Balsdan*, for the ſame perſon with *Nabonaſſar*, which *Scaliger* himſelfe revoked. In this caſe therefore I muſt lay downe the plot of theſe divided Kingdomes, in ſuch ſort as I find it contrived by *Auguſtinus Torniellus*; who onely of all that I have ſeene, ſets downe the ſucceſſion, continuance, and acts, of thoſe that reigned in *Aſſyria* after *Sardanapalus*, diſtinguiſhing them from *Beloſus*, and his Poſteritie, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This *Torniellus* is a Regular Clarke of the congregation of S. *Paul*, whoſe Annales were printed the laſt yeare; he appeares to me a man of a curious induſtrie, ſound judgement, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, wilfully) forgetfull of thanking, or mentioning thoſe *Proteſtant* Writers, by whoſe Bookes he hath received good information, and enriched his workes by inſerting ſomewhat of theirs. But in this buſineſſe he hath openly profeſſed to follow *Scaliger*, whoſe helpe, without wrong or diſhonour to himſelfe, he hath both uſed and acknowledged. For mine owne part, I will not ſpare to doe right unto *Torniellus*; but confeſſe my ſelfe to have received benefit by his writing; and wiſh that his Annales had ſooner come to light; for that as he hath much confirmed me in ſome things, ſo would he have inſtructed and imboldened me to write more fully and leſſe timorouſly in other things, which now I have not leaſure to reviſe. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly delivered, and yet feared leſt it had over-haſtily paſſed out of my hand, and beene expoſed to other mens conſtructions) of the foure Kings that invaded the Valley of *Siddim*, and were ſlaine by *Abraham*, I finde him adventuring as I have done, to ſay, that they may probably be thought to have beene ſome pettie Lords; the contrarie opinion of all Writers notwithſtanding. But now let us conſider how

C. 1. §. 13.

how he hath ordered theſe laſt *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings. After the deſtruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbaces*, being the moſt mighty, ſought to get all to himſelfe, but was oppoſed by *Beloſus*; in which contention, one *Phul*, a powerfull man in *Aſſyria*, ſided with *Beloſus*, and they two prevailed ſo far, that finally *Arbaces* was content to ſhare the Empire with them, making ſuch a diviſion thereof, as was long after made of the *Roman* Empire between *Octavian*, *Anthony* and *Lepidus*.

Another conjecture is (for *Torniellus* offers not this, or the reſt, as matter of certainty) that *Arbaces* made himſelfe Soveraigne Lord of all, and placed the ſeate of his Empire in *Media*, appointing *Beloſus* his Lievtenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Aſſyria*. But in ſhort ſpace, that is, in foure yeares, it came to paſſe by the juſt judgement of God, that *Phul* and *Beloſus* rebelled againſt *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done againſt *Sardanapalus*; and in ſtead of being his Vice-Royes, made themſelves abſolute Kings. And to this latter opinion *Torniellus* himſelfe leanes, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Hiſtories. Why hee did make and publiſh the former ſuppoſition, reſolving to hold the latter, I ſhall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to gheſſe. Having thus deviſed how *Phul* and *Beloſus* might, at the firſt, attaine to bee Kings, he orders their time and their ſucceſſors in this manner.

Foure years after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to reigne, and continues eight and forty yeares. *Theglatphalaſar* (whoſe name, and the names of other Princes, I write diverſly, according as the Authors whom I have in hand are pleaſed to diverſifie them) ſucceeding unto *Phul*, reigned three and twenty. *Salmanaſſar* followed him, and reigned tenne. After him *Senacherib* reigned ſeven: and when he was ſlaine, *Aſarhaddon* his ſonne ten yeares; in whom that line failed.

The ſame time that *Phul* took upon him as King of *Aſſyria*, or not long after (why not rather afore? for ſo it had been more likely) *Beloſus* uſurped the Kingdome of *Babylon*, and held it threeſcore and eight yeares; at the leaſt threeſcore and eight years did paſſe, before *Nabonaſſar* followed him in the poſſeſſion.

To *Nabonaſſar*, whom (with *Scaliger*) he thinkes to be *Baladan*, are aſſigned ſixe and twenty years: then two and fifty to *Merodach*, or *Mardocempadus*: foure and twenty to *Ben Merodach*: and laſtly one and twenty to *Nabolaſſar* the father of *Nabuchodonoſor*; who is like to offer matter of further diſputation.

Concerning the originall of theſe *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kingdomes, I may truely ſay, That the conjectures of other men, who give all to *Beloſus*, and confound him with *Phul*, appeare to me more nearely reſembling the truth. Neither doe I thinke, that *Torniellus* would have conceived two different waies, by which *Phul* might have gotten *Aſſyria* (for how *Beloſus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plaine enough) if either of them alone could have contented him. He adheres to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other Hiſtorians. But he perceived, that to make *Phul* on the ſudden King of *Aſſyria*; or to give him ſo noble a Province, as would, of it ſelfe, invite him to accept the name and power of a King, was a thing moſt unlikely to have happened, unleſſe his deſerts (whereof wee finde no mention) had beene proportionable to ſo high a reward. And for this cauſe (as I take it) hath he deviſed the means, whereby *Phul* might be made capable of ſo great a ſhare in the Empire. If this were a true or probable ſuppoſition, then would a new doubt ariſe, Why this *Phul*, being one of the three that divided all betweene them, was utterly forgotten by all Hiſtorians? yea, why this Diviſion it ſelfe, and the civill Warres that cauſed it, were never heard of? Queſtionleſſe, the interverting of ſome Treaſures by *Beloſus*, with his Judgement, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of farre leſſe note. Therefore I doe not ſee, how one of the two inconveniences can this way be avoyded; but that either we muſt confeſſe the Dominion given to *Phul* to have beene exceeding his merits; or elſe his merits, and name withall, to have beene ſtrangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make us think, that rather the conjecture, inferring ſuch a ſequell, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul*, and *Beloſus* againſt *Arbaces*, it was almoſt impoſsible for the *Aſſyrians* to recover ſuch ſtrength in foure yeares, as might ſerve to hold out in rebellion: for *Beloſus* it was needleſſe to rebell, conſidering, that *Arbaces* did not ſeeke to moleſt him, but rather permitted (as being an over-great favourer of liberty) even the *Medes* that were under his owne Government, to doe what they liſted.

But it is now fit that wee peruſe the Catalogue of theſe Kings; not paſſing through them all (for ſome will require a large diſcourſe in their owne times) but ſpeaking of their order and time in generall. If it be ſo unlawfull to thinke, that ſome of *Annius* his tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors aſwell as in his) may be true, eſpecially ſuch as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparent likelihood; why then is it ſaid, that *Phul* did reigne in *Aſſyria* eight and forty yeares? For this hath no other ground than *Annius*. It is true that painefull and judicious Writers have found this number of years to agree fitly with the courſe of things in Hiſtory: yet all of them tooke it from *Annius*. Let it therefore be the puniſhment of *Annius* his forgery (as queſtionleſſe he is often guilty of this crime) that when he tels truth, or probability, he be not beleeved for his own ſake; though for our owne ſakes wee make uſe of his boldneſſe, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing elſe being offered) we are unwilling our ſelves to be Authors of new, though not unprofitable conjectures. Herein we ſhall have this commodity, that we may without bluſhing alter a little, to helpe our owne opinions, and lay the blame upon *Annius*, againſt whom we ſhall be ſure to finde friends that will take our part.

The reignes of *Theglathalaſar* and *Salmanaſſar* did reach, by *Annius* his meaſure, to the length of five and twenty yeares the one, and ſeventeene the other; *Torniellus* hath cut off two from the former, and ſeven from the later of them, to fit (as I think) his owne computation; uſing the liberty whereof I ſpake laſt: for that any Author, ſave our good *Metaſthenes*, or thoſe that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of theſe did reigne, it is more than I have yet found. To *Senacherib* and *Aſarhaddon*, *Torniellus* gives the ſame length of reigne, which is found in *Metaſthenes*. I thinke there are not many, that will arrogate ſo much unto themſelves, as may very well be allowed unto a man ſo judicious as is *Torniellus*: and yet I could wiſh that he had forborne to condemne the followers of *Annius* in this buſineſſe, wherein he himſelfe hath choſen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to ſay, as elſe he muſt have done, almoſt nothing.

The like liberty we finde that he hath uſed in meaſuring the reignes of the *Chaldæans*, filling up all the ſpace betweene the end of *Sardanapalus* and the beginning of *Nabonaſſar*, with the threeſcore and eight yeeres of *Beloſus*. In this reſpect it was, perhaps, that he thought *Beloſus* might have begun his reigne ſomewhat later than *Phul*: for threeſcore and eight years would ſeem a long time for him to hold a Kingdome, that was no young man when he tooke poſſeſſion of it. But how is any whit of his age abated by ſhortning his reigne, ſeeing his life reacheth to the end of ſuch a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein he was a private man, enough for a long liver? Indeed eight and forty years had been ſomewhat of the moſt, conſidering that he ſeemes by the ſtory to have been little leſſe at ſuch time as he joyned with *Arbaces*; and therefore the addition of twenty years, did well deſerve that note (which *Torniellus* adviſedly gives) that if his reigne extended not ſo far, then the reigne of ſuch as came after him, occupied the middle time, unto *Nabonaſſar*.

I neither doe reprehend the boldneſſe of *Torniellus*, in conjecturing, nor the modeſty of *Scaliger* and *Sethus Calviſius*, in forbearing to ſet downe as warrantable, ſuch things as depend only upon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from us by Antiquity, muſt be deſcribed in Hiſtory, as Geographers in their Maps deſcribe thoſe Countryes, whereof as yet there is made no true diſcovery, that is, either by leaving ſome part blanke, or by inſerting the Land of Pigmies, Rocks of Loade-ſtone, with Head-lands, Bayes. great Rivers, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by following experience, and found contrary to truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from diſtance of place, allowes not ſuch liberty to a Deſcriber, as that which ariſeth from the remedileſſe oblivion of conſuming time. For it is true that the Poet ſaith;

*——Neque fervidis*
*Pars incluſa caloribus*
*Mundi, nec Boreæ finitimum latus,*
*Duratæque ſole Nives,*
*Mercatorem abigunt: horrida callidi*
*Vincunt æquora Navitæ.*

Nor Southerne heat, nor Northerne ſnow
That freezing to the ground doth grow,
The ſubject Regions can fence,
And keep the greedy Merchant thence:
The ſubtle Shipmen way will finde,
Storme never ſo the Seas with Winde.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, doe ſerve only to miſ-lead ſuch diſcoverers as raſhly beleeve them; drawing upon the publiſhers, either ſome angry curſes or well deſerved ſcorne; but to keepe their owne credit, they cannot ſerve alwaies. To which purpoſe I remember a pretty jeſt of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthy *Spaniſh* Gentleman, who had beene imployed by his King in planting a Colony upon the Streights of *Magellan*: for when I asked him, being then my Priſoner, ſome queſtions about an Iſland in thoſe Streights, which, me thought, might have done either benefit or diſpleaſure to his enterpriſe, he told me merrily, that it was to bee called the *Painters wives Iſland*; ſaying, That whileſt the fellow drew that Map, his wiſe ſitting by, deſired to put in one Countrey for her; that ſhee, in imagination, might have an Iſland of her owne. But in filling up the blankes of old Hiſtories, we need not be ſo ſcrupulous. For it is not to be feared, that time ſhall runne backward, and by reſtoring the things themſelves to knowledge, make our conjectures appeare ridiculous: What if ſome good Copy of an ancient Author, could be found, ſhewing (if we have it not already) the perfect truth of theſe uncertainties? would it bee more ſhame to have beleeved in the meane while, *Annius* or *Torniellus*, than to have beleeved nothing? Here I will not ſay, that the credit which we give to *Annius*, may chance otherwhiles to bee given to one of thoſe Authors whoſe names he pretendeth. Let it ſuffice, that in regard of authority, I had rather truſt *Scaliger* or *Torniellus*, than *Annius*; yet him than them, if his aſſertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approved Hiſtories than their conjecture, as in this point it ſeems to me; it having moreover gotten ſome credit, by the approbation of many, and thoſe not meanely learned.

To end this tedious diſputation; I hold it a ſure courſe in examination of ſuch opinions as have once gotten the credit of being generall, ſo to deale as *Pacuvius* in *Capua* did with the multitude, finding them deſirous to put all the Senatours of the Citie to death. He lockt the Senatours up within the State-houſe, and offered their lives to the Peoples mercy; obtaining thus much, that none of them ſhould periſh, untill the Commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was haſty; for as faſt as every name was read, all the town cryed, Let him die: but the execution required more leaſure; for in ſubſtituting of another, ſome notorious vice of the perſon, or baſeneſſe of his condition, or inſufficiency of his quality, made each new one that was offered to bee rejected: ſo that finding the worſe and leſſe choice, the further and the more that they ſought, it was finally agreed, that the old ſhould be kept for lacke of better.

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## §. V.

### *Of the Olympiads, and the time when they began.*

AFter this diviſion of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, followes the inſtauration of the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the reigne of the ſame King *Uzzia*, and in his one and fiftieth yeare. It is, I know, the generall opinion, that theſe games were eſtabliſhed by *Iphitus*, in the firſt of *Jotham*: yet is not that opinion ſo generall, but that Authors, weighty enough, have given to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting thoſe things unto the ſacred Hiſtory, which are found in prophane Authors, we ſhould not be too carefull of drawing the *Hebrewes* to thoſe workes of time, which had no reference to their affaires; it is enough, that ſetting in due order theſe beginnings of accounts, we joyne them to matters of *Iſrael* and *Juda*, where occaſion requires.

Theſe *Olympian* games and exerciſes of activity, were firſt inſtituted by *Hercules*, who meaſured the length of the race by his owne foote; by which *Pythagoras* found out the ſtature and likely ſtrength of *Hercules* his body. They tooke name, not from the Mountaine *Olympus*, but from the Citie *Olympia*, otherwiſe *Piſa*, neare unto *Elis*; where alſo

*Jupiters* Temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Grecians*, and reputed among the wonders of the World, was knowne by the name of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. Theſe games were exerciſed from every fourth yeare compleat, in the plaines of *Elis*, a Citie of *Peloponneſus*, neer the river *Alpheus*.

After the death of *Hercules*, theſe meetings were diſcontinued for many yeares, till *Iphitus*, by advice from the Oracle of *Apollo*, re-eſtabliſhed them, *Licurgus* the Law-giver then living: from which time they were continued by the *Grecians*, till the reigne of *Theodoſius* the Emperour, according to *Cedrenus*: others think that they were diſſolved under *Conſtantine* the Great.

*Aul.Gell.l.1.c.1. ex Plut.*

*Plut.* out of *Hermippus.*

From this inſtitution, *Varro* accompted the *Grecian* times and their ſtories to be certaine: but reckoned all before either doubtfull or fabulous: and yet *Pliny* gives little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the reigne of *Cyrus*, who began in the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, as *Euſebius* out of *Diodore*, *Caſtor*, *Polybius*, and others, hath gathered, in whoſe time the ſeven wiſe *Grecians* flouriſhed. For *Solon* had ſpeech with *Cræſus*, and *Cræſus* was overthrowne and taken by *Cyrus*.

*Plin.l.36.c.4.*

Many patient and piercing braines have laboured to find out the certaine beginning of theſe *Olympiads*, namely, to ſet them in the true year of the World, and the reigne of ſuch and ſuch Kings: but ſeeing they all differ in the firſt accompt, that is, of the Worlds year, they can hardly jump in particulars thereon depending.

*Cyril* againſt *Julian* and *Didymus* begin the *Olympiads* the nine and fortieth of *Oſias*, or *Azariah*.

*Euſebius*, who is contrary to himſelfe in this reckoning, accounts with thoſe that finde the very firſt *Olympiad* in the beginning of the foure hundreth and ſixth year after *Troy*; yet he telleth us that it was in the fiftieth year of *Uzziah*, which is (as I find it) two years later.

*Euſeb.de Præp. Evang l.10.c.3.*

*Eratoſthenes* placeth the firſt *Olympiad* foure hundred and ſeven years after *Troy*, reckoning the yeares that paſſed betweene; to whom *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus* and many others adhere.

*Eratoſth.apud Clem. Alex. Strom, l.1.*

The diſtance betweene the deſtruction of *Troy* and the firſt *Olympiad*, is thus collected by *Eratoſthenes*. From the taking of *Troy* to the deſcent of *Hercules* his Poſterity into *Peloponneſus*, were fourſcore years; thence to the *Ionian* expedition, threeſcore yeares; from that expedition to the time of *Lycurgus* his government in *Sparta*, one hundred fifty nine; and thence to the firſt *Olympiad*, one hundred and eight yeares. In this account the firſt yeare of the firſt *Olympiad* is not included.

But vaine labour it were to ſeeke the beginning of the *Olympiads* by numbring the yeares from the taking of *Troy*, which is of a date farre more uncertaine. Let it ſuffice, that by knowing the inſtauration of theſe games to have been in the foure hundreth and eight yeare current after *Troy*, wee may reckon backe to the taking of that Citie, ſetting that, and other accidents which have reference thereto, in their proper times. The certainty of things following the *Olympiads* muſt needes teach us how to finde when they began.

To this good uſe wee have the enſuing yeares unto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus divided by the ſame *Eratoſthenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads* to the paſſage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundreth fourſcore and ſeventeene yeares; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* Warre, eight and forty yeares; forwards to the victory of *Lyſander*, ſeven and twenty; to the battell of *Leuctra*, thirty foure; to the death of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, five and thirty; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelve. The whole ſumme ariſeth to 453. years; which number he otherwiſe alſo collecteth, and it is allowed by the moſt.

Now for placing the inſtitution of the *Olympiads* in the one and fiftieth year of *Uzzia*, we have arguments grounded upon that which is certaine, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus* his reigne, and the death of *Alexander*; as alſo upon the Aſtronomicall calculation of ſundry Eclipſes of the Sunne; as of that which happened when *Xerxes* ſet out of *Sardis* with his Army to invade *Greece*; and of divers other.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his reigne as King before he was Lord of the great Monarchy, began the firſt yeare of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that hee reigned thirty yeares: they who give him but twenty nine yeares of reigne (following *Herodotus* rather than *Tully*, *Juſtine*, *Euſebius*, and others) begin a year later, which comes all

*Tul.de Diui.l.1.*

*Juſt.l.1.*

*Euſeb.de Præp. Evang l.10.c.3. & de Dem. Evang.l.8.c.2.*

all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* ſet by all good Writers in the firſt year of the hundreth and fourteenth *Olympiad*. This latter note of *Alexanders* death ſerveth well to leade us back to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like obſervations doe. For if we reckon upwards from the time of *Alexander*, wee ſhall finde all to agree with the yeares of the *Olympiads*, wherein *Cyrus* began his reigne, either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to ſignifie a Lord of many Kingdomes) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the firſt year of the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*, unto the end of the *Perſian* Empire, which was in the third of the hundreth and twelfth *Olympiad*, we finde two hundred and thirty yeares compleat: from the beginning of *Cyrus* his Monarchy, which laſted but ſeven years, we find compleat two hundred and ſeven years, which was the continuance of the *Perſian* Empire.

Now therefore ſeeing that the firſt yeare of *Cyrus* his Monarchy (which was the laſt of the ſixtieth *Olympiad*, and the two hundreth and fortieth yeare from the inſtitution of thoſe games by *Iphitus*) followed the laſt of the ſeventy yeares of the captivity of *Juda*, and deſolation of the Land of *Iſrael*: manifeſt it is, that we muſt reckon back thoſe ſeventy years, and one hundred threeſcore and ten years more, the laſt which paſſed under the Kings of *Juda*, to find the firſt of theſe *Olympiads*; which by this accompt is the one and fiftieth of *Uzziah*, as we have already noted.

The Eclipſes whereof we made mention, ſerve well to the ſame purpoſe. For examples ſake; that which was ſeene when *Xerxes* muſtered his Army at *Sardis*, in the two hundreth threeſcore and ſeventh yeare of *Nabonaſſar*, being the laſt of the threeſcore and and fourteenth *Olympiad*, leads us back unto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*, whence we have a faire way through the threeſcore and ten years, unto the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*; and ſo upwards through the reignes of the laſt Kings of *Juda*, to the one and fiftieth year of *Uzzia*.

Thus much may ſuffice, concerning the time wherein theſe *Olympiads* began.

To tell the great ſolemnity of them, and with what exceeding great concourſe of all *Greece* they were celebrated, I hold it a ſuperfluous labour. It is enough to ſay that all bodily exerciſes, or the moſt of them, were therein practiſed; as Running, Wreſtling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they onely contend for the Maſtery in thoſe feates, whereof there was good uſe, but in running of Chariots, fighting with Whorle-bats, and other the like ancient kindes of exerciſes that ſerved onely for oſtentation. Thither alſo repaired Orators, Poets, Muſicians, and all that thought themſelves excellent in any laudable quality, to make tryall of their skill. Yea the very Cryers which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them ſhould get the honour of having playd the beſt part.

The *Eleans* were preſidents of thoſe Games; whoſe juſtice, in pronouncing without partiality who did beſt, is highly commended. As for the rewards given to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palme, or Olive, without any other commodity following than the reputation. Indeed there needed no more. For that was held ſo much, that when *Diagoras* had ſeen his three ſons crowned for their ſeverall victories in thoſe games, one came running to him with this gratulation: *Morere*, Diagoras, *non enim in cœlum aſcenſurus es*; that is, *Die*, Diagoras, *for thou ſhalt not clime up to heaven*: as if there could be no greater happineſſe on earth, than what already had befallen him. In the like ſenſe *Horace* ſpeakes of theſe Victors, calling them,

Horat. Carm. l.4. Ode.2.

*Quos Elæa domum reducit*
*Palma Cœleſtes.*

Such as like heavenly wights do come
With an Elæan Garland home.

Tull. in Orat. pro. Flacco.

Neither was it only the voice of the People, or ſongs of Poets, that ſo highly extolled them, which had wonne theſe *Olympian* prizes; but even grave Hiſtorians thought it a matter worthy of their noting. Such was (as *Tully* counts it) the vanity of the *Greekes*, that they eſteemed it almoſt as great an honour to have wonne the Victory at Running or Wreſtling in thoſe games, as to have triumphed in *Rome* for ſome famous victory, or conqueſt of a Province.

That theſe *Olympian* games were celebrated at the full of the Moone, and upon the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Hecatombæon*, which doth anſwer to our *June*; and what means they uſed to make the Moneth begin with the new Moone, that the fifteenth day might be the full, I have ſhewed in another place. Wherefore I may now returne unto the Kings of *Juda*, & leave the merrie *Greekes* at their games, whom I ſhall meet in more ſerious employments, when the *Perſian* quarrells draw the body of this Hiſtory into the coaſts of *Ionia* and *Helleſpont*.

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## §. VI.

### *Of* Jotham *and his Contemporaries.*

*Jotham* the ſonne of *Uzziah*, when he was five and twenty yeers old, and in the ſecond of *Pekah* King of *Iſrael*, was anointed King in *Jeruſalem*, his Father yet living. Hee built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple, of threeſcore cubits upright, and therefore called *Ophel*: beſides divers Cities in the Hills of *Juda*, and in the Forreſts, Towers & Palaces: he inforced the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Silver an hundred talents, and of Wheat and Barly two thouſand meaſures: hee reigned ſixe and twenty years: of whom *Joſephus* gives this teſtimonie: *Ejuſmodi verò Princeps hic fuit, ut nullum in eo virtutis genus deſideres: ut qui Deum adeo piè coluerit, hominibus ſuis adeo juſtè præfuerit, urbem ipſam tantæ ſibi curæ eſſe paſſus ſit, & tantopere auxerit, ut univerſum regnum hoſtibus quidem minimè contemnendum, domeſticis autem ejus incolis atque civibus fælix, fauſtum & fortunatum ſua virtute effecerit; This was ſuch a Prince, as a man could finde no kinde of vertue wanting in him: hee worſhipped God ſo religiouſly, he governed his men ſo righteouſly, he was ſo provident for the Citie, and did ſo greatly amplifie it, that by his vertue and proweſſe he made his whole Kingdome not contemptible to his enemies, but to his Servants, Inhabitants and Citizens, proſperous and happie.*

2 King 15.33.

This is all that I find of *Jotham*: his reigne was not long, but as happie in all things, as he himſelfe was devout and vertuous.

*Auchomenes* about this time ſucceeded *Pheleſteus* in *Corinth*: after whom, the *Corinthians* erected Magiſtrates, which governed from yeare to yeare. And yet *Pauſanias* in his ſecond Booke, with *Strabo* and *Plutarch*, in many places, are of opinion, That *Corinth* was governed by Kings of the race of the *Bacidæ*, to the time of *Cypſelus*, who drove them out.

*Teglathphalaſſar*, or *Tiglathpeleſer*, the ſon of *Phul* the ſecond of the *Babylonians* and *Aſſyrians* that was of this new race, about this time invaded *Iſrael*, while *Pekah* (who murthered his Maſter *Pekeiah*) was King thereof. In which Expedition he tooke moſt of the Cities of *Nephtali* and *Galilee*, with thoſe of *Gilead*, over *Jordan*, and carried the inhabitants captive. This *Tiglath* reigned five and twenty years, according to *Metaſthenes*. But *Krentzhemius* findes, that with his ſonne *Salmanaſſar* he raigned yet two yeares longer: which yeares I would not aſcribe to the ſonne, becauſe the *Aera* of *Nabonaſſar* begins with his ſingle reigne, but reckon them to *Tiglath Phulaſſar* himſelfe, who therewith reigned 27. yeeres.

2 King 15.

*Aeſchylus*, the ſon of *Agamneſtor*, about the ſame time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athens*, ruled 25. years. *Alcamenes* governed *Sparta*: after whom, the Eſtate changed, according to *Euſebius*. But therein ſurely *Euſebius* is miſtaken: for *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, *Pauſanias*, and others, witneſſe the contrary. *Pauſanias* affirmeth, That *Polydorus*, a Prince of eminent vertues, ſucceeded his father, and reigned 60. years, and out-lived the *Meſſeniack* warre: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the ſonne of *Nicander*, his royall companion.

Pauſ.lib. 3.

At this time lived *Nahum* the Prophet, who fore-told the deſtruction of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, and of the citie of *Nineve*; which ſucceeded (ſaith *Joſephus*) a hundred & fifteen yeeres after. The Cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were built at this time, while in *Media*, *Soſarmus* and *Medidus* reigned, being the ſecond and third Kings of thoſe parts.

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## §. VII.

### *Of* Achaz *and his Contemporaries.*

AHaz, or *Achaz*, ſucceeded unto *Jotham* in the ſeventeenth yeer of *Peka*, the ſon of *Remalia*: the ſame being alſo the laſt yeere of his fathers reigne, who began in the ſecond of the ſame *Peka*, and reigned 16. but not compleat yeeres. This

2 King 16.11.
2 Chron. 28.
C.7.19.32.
*Euſeb. de Præp. Evang. lib.* 6.
*Dion. lib.* 1.
*Diod. lib.* 20.
*Acoſt. de Hiſtor. nat. & mor. Ind.*

*Ahaz* was an Idolater, exceeding all his predeceſſors. He made molten Images for *Baalim*, and burnt his ſon for ſacrifice before the Idoll *Moloch*, or *Saturne*, which was repreſented by a man-like brazen body, bearing the head of a Calfe, ſet up not far from *Jeruſalem*, in a Valley ſhadowed with Woods, called *Gebinnom*, or *Tophet*, from whence the word *Gehenna* is uſed for Hell. The children offered, were incloſed within the carkaſſe of this Idoll, and as the fire encreaſed, ſo the ſacrificers, with a noyſe of Cimbals and other Inſtruments, filled the ayre, to the end the pittifull cries of the children might not bee heard: which unnaturall, cruell, and divelliſh Oblation, *Jeremie* the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which S. *Hierome* upon the tenth of *Matthew* hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leviticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that this horrible ſinne was ancient: in the twelfth of *Deuteronomie*, it is called an abhomination which God hateth. That it was alſo practiſed elſewhere, and by many Nations remote from *Judæa*, divers Authors witneſſe; as *Virgil* in the ſecond of *Æneids*—— *Sanguine placaſtis, &c.* & *Silvius* —— *Poſcere cæde Deos. Saturne* is ſaid to have brought this cuſtome into *Italy*, beſides the caſting of many ſoules into the River of *Tyber*, in ſtead of which, *Hercules* commanded, that the waxen Images of men ſhould be throwne in and drowned. The Devill alſo taught the *Carthaginians* this kinde of butcherie, inſomuch, that when their Citie was beſieged, and in diſtreſſe, the Prieſt made them beleeve, that becauſe they had ſpared their own children, and had bought and brought up others to bee offered, that therefore *Saturne* had ſtirred up, and ſtrenghtened their Enemies againſt them: whereupon they preſently cauſed two hundred of the nobleſt youths of their Citie to be ſlaine, and offered to *Saturne* or *Satan*, to appeaſe him: who beſides theſe forenamed Nations, had inſtructed the *Rhodians*, the people of *Crete*, and *Chios*, of *Meſſena*, of *Galatia*, with the *Maſſagets*, and others, in theſe his ſervices. Further, as if he were not content to deſtroy the ſoules of many Nations in *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, (as *Acoſta* writeth) the *Mexicans* and other people of *America*, were brought by the Devill under this fearefull ſervitude, in which he alſo holdeth the *Floridans* and *Virginians* at this day.

For the wickedneſſe of this King *Ahaz*, God ſtirred up *Rezin* of *Damaſcus*, and *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliah*, King of *Iſrael* againſt him, who invaded *Judæa*, and beſieged *Jeruſalem*, but entred it not.

2 Chron.28.6.

The King of *Syria*, *Rezin*, poſſeſt himſelfe of *Elah* by the Red Sea, and caſt the *Jewes* out of it; and *Pekah* ſlaughtered in one day an hundred and twenty thouſand *Judæans*, of the ableſt of the Kingdome, at which time *Maaſeiah*, the Sonne of *Achaz* was alſo ſlaine by *Zichri*, with *Azrikam* the Governour of his houſe, and *Elcanath* the ſecond perſon unto the King. Beſides all this, two hundred thouſand priſoners of women and children, the *Iſraelites* lead away to *Samaria*: but by the counſell of the Prophet *Oded*, they were returned and delivered backe againe.

2 Chron. 28.
2 Kings 16.

As *Iſrael* and *Aram* vexed *Juda* on the North; ſo the *Edomites* & the *Philiſtims*, who evermore attended the ruine of *Judæa*, entred upon them from the South, and tooke *Bethſemes*, *Ajalon*, *Gaderoth*, *Socho*, *Timnah*, & *Gemzo*, ſlew many people, & carried away many priſoners. Whereupon when *Achaz* ſaw himſelfe environed on all ſides, & that his Idols and dead gods gave him no comfort, hee ſent to the *Aſſyrian Tiglatphileſer*, to deſire ſome aide from him againſt the *Iſraelites* and *Aramites*, preſenting him with the ſilver and gold both of the Temple, and Kings houſe.

*Tiglatphileſer* wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the troubles that roſe in *Palæſtina*. His Father having lately made himſelfe from a Provinciall Lievtenant, King of *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, had a little before led him the way into *Judæa*, invited by *Menahem*, King of *Iſrael*. Wherefore now the Son willingly harkened to *Achaz*, and embraced the advantage. As for *Belochus* himſelfe, hee was content to aſſigne ſome other time for going through with this enterprize: becauſe (as I have ſaid before) he was not firmely ſettled at home, and the *Syrian* Kings lay directly in his way, who were yet ſtrong both in men and fame. But *Tiglath*, having now, with the treaſures of *Jeruſalem*, prepared his Army, firſt invaded the Territorie of *Damaſcus*, wanne the Citie, & killed *Rezin* the laſt of the race of the *Adads*, who began with *David*, & ended with this *Achaz*. At *Damaſcus*, *Achaz* met *Tiglath*, and taking thence a patterne of the Altar, ſent it to *Uriah* the Prieſt, commanding the like to be made at *Jeruſalem*, whereon at his returne hee burnt Sacrifice to the gods of the *Syrians*. In the meane while *Tiglath* poſſeſt all *Baſan*, and the reſt beyond *Jordan*, which belonged to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manaſſe*. And then paſſing the River, he maſtered the Cities of *Galilee*, invaded *Ephraim*, and the Kingdome of *Iſrael*, and made them his Vaſſals. And notwithſtanding that hee was invited and waged by *Achaz*, yet after the ſpoile of *Iſrael*, he poſſeſt himſelf of the greater part of *Juda*, and, as it ſeemeth, inforced *Achaz* to pay him tribute. For in the ſecond of *Kings*, the eighteenth, it is written of *Ezechia*, that he revolted from *Aſhur*, or rebelled againſt him, & therfore was invaded by *Sennacherib*. After *Ahaz* had beheld and borne theſe miſeries, in the end of the ſixteenth yeere of his reigne he died; but was not buried in the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Juda*.

With *Ahaz* lived *Medidus*, the third Prince in *Media*, who governed 40. years, ſaith *Euſebius*: *Diodorus* and *Cteſias* find *Anticarmus* in ſtead of this *Medidus*, to have beene *Soſarmus* his ſucceſſor, to whom they give 50. yeeres.

*Euſeb. in Chron.*

*Tiglath Phileſer* held the Kingdome of *Aſſyria*, all the reign of *Ahaz*: yet ſo, that *Salmanaſſar* his Son may ſeeme to have reigned with him ſome part of the time. For wee find that *Ahaz* did *ſend unto the Kings of* Aſhur *to helpe him*. The *Geneva* note ſaies, that theſe Kings of *Aſhur*, were *Tiglath Pileſer*, and thoſe Kings that were under his Dominion. But that he or his Father had hitherto made ſuch conqueſts, as might give him the Lordſhip over other Kings, I doe neither find any Hiſtory, nor circumſtance that proveth. Wherefore I thinke that theſe Kings of *Aſhur*, were *Tiglath*, and *Salmanaſſar* his Son, who reigned with his Father, as hath beene ſaid before: though how long hee reigned with his Father, it had beene hard to define.

2 King 28. 16.

At this time began the *Ephori* in *Lacedæmon*, a hundred & thirty years after *Lycurgus*, according to *Plutarch*. *Euſebius* makes their beginning far later, namely, in the fifteenth *Olympiad*. Of theſe *Ephori*, *Elalus* was the firſt; *Theopompus* and *Polydorus* being then joynt Kings. Theſe *Ephori*, choſen every yeare, were controllers, as well of their Senators as of their Kings, nothing being done without their advice and conſent. For (ſaith *Cicero*) they were oppoſed againſt their Kings, as the *Roman* Tribunes againſt the Conſuls. In the time of *Ahaz* died *Aeſchylus*, who had ruled in *Athens* ever ſince the fiftieth yeare of *Uzzia*. *Alcamenon* the thirteenth of the *Medontidæ*, or Governours of the *Athenians* (ſo called of *Medon* who followed *Codrus*) ſucceeded his Father *Aeſchylus*. and was the laſt of their Governors: he ruled onely two yeeres. For the *Athenians* changed firſt from Kings (after *Codrus*) to Governors for life; which ending in this *Alcamenon*, they erected a Magiſtrate, whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kinde of *Bughomaſter*, or Governor of their City for ten yeeres.

*Plutarch. in vita Solo.*

This alteration *Pauſanias* in his fourth Booke begins in the firſt yeere of the eighth *Olympiad*. *Euſebius* & *Halicarnaſſæus* in the firſt of the ſeventh *Olympiad*: at which time indeed, *Carops* the firſt of theſe, began his ten yeeres rule.

The Kingdome of the *Latines*, governed about three hundred yeare by the *Sylvii*, of the race of *Aeneas*, tooke end in the ſame *Ahaz* time: the foundation of *Rome*, being laid by *Romulus* & *Remus* in the eighth yeere of the ſame King. *Codoman* builds it in the eleventh of *Achaz*, *Bucholzer* in the eighth, as I thinke he ſhould; others ſomewhat later, and in the reigne of *Ezechias*. *Cicero*, *Eutropius*, *Oroſius*, and others, ſquare the time of the foundation to the third yeere of the ſixt *Olympiad*. But *Halicarnaſſæus*, *Solinus Antiochenus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Euſebius*, to the firſt yeere of the ſeventh: who ſeeme not onely to me, but to many very learned Chronologers, to have kept herein the beſt accompt.

# CHAP. XXIIII.

## *Of the Antiquities of Italy, and foundation of Rome in the time of* Ahaz.

### §. I.

### *Of the old Inhabitants, and of the name of Italy.*

*Halicarn. lib. 1.*

AND here to ſpeake of the more ancient times of *Italy*, and what Nations poſſeſt it before the arrivall of *Aeneas*, the place may ſeeme to invite us: the rather becauſe much fabulous matter hath been mixed with the truth of thoſe elder plantations. *Italy* before the fall of *Troy*, was known to the *Greekes* by divers names: as firſt *Heſperia*, then *Auſonia*, the one name ariſing of the ſeate, the other of the *Auſones*, a people inhabiting part of it: one ancient name of it was alſo *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotri*: whom *Halicarnaſſæus* thinkes to have beene the firſt, that brought a Colony of *Arcadians* into that Land. Afterward it was called *Italy* of *Italus*: concerning which changes of names, *Virgil* ſpeakes thus:

> *Eſt locus, Heſperiam Graii cognomine dicunt:*
> *Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere glebæ:*
> *Oenotrii coluere viri, nunc fama, minores*
> *Italiam dixiſſe, ducis de nomine, gentem.*

> There is a Land which *Greekes Heſperia* name,
> Ancient, and ſtrong, of much fertility:
> *Oenotrians* held it, but we heare by fame,
> That by late ages of Poſterity,
> Tis from a Captaines name called *Italy*.

*Halicarn. lib. 1.*
*Juſt. lib. 12.*
*Strabo lib. 6.*
*Plin. lib. 3. c. 5.*

Who this Captaine or King may have bin, it is very uncertaine. For *Virgil* ſpeakes no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hah continued ſo long upon the whole Countrie, and worne out all other denominations, was not at the firſt accepted without good cauſe. Therefore to find out the originall of this name, and the firſt planters of this noble Countrie, *Reineccius* hath made a very painfull ſearch, and not improbable conjecture. And firſt of all he grounds upon that of *Halicarnaſſæus*, who ſpeakes of a Colonie which the *Eleans* did leade into *Italy*, before the name of *Italy* was given to it: Secondly, upon that of *Juſtine*, who ſaith, that *Brunduſium* was a Colonie of the *Aetolians*: Thirdly, upon that of *Strabo*, who affirmes the ſame of *Temeſa* or *Tempſa*, a Citie of the *Brutii* in *Italy*: Laſtly, upon the authority of *Plinie*, who ſhewes that the *Italians* did inhabite only one Region of the Land, whence afterward the name was derived over all. Concerning that which is ſaid of the *Eleans* and *Aetolians*, who (as he ſhewes) had one originall; from them he brings the name of *Italy*. For the word *Italia*, differs in nothing from *Aitolia*, ſave that the firſt Letter is caſt away, which in the *Greeke* words is common; & the letter (*o*) is changed into (*a*) which change is found in the name of *Aethalia* an Iſland neere *Italy*, peopled by the *Aetholians*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Aeolie* Dialect; of which Dialect (being almoſt proper to the *Aetolians*) the accent & pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionyſius*, *Halicarnaſſæus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priſcian* the Grammarian teach.

Hereunto appertaines that of *Julian* the Apoſtata, who called the *Greekes* couſins of the *Latines*. Alſo the common Originall of the *Greekes* and *Latines* from *Javan*; and the Fable of *Janus*, whoſe Image had two faces, looking Eaſt and Weſt, as *Greece* and *Italy* lay, and was ſtamped on Coynes, with a Ship on the other ſide; all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Javan*, father of the *Greekes* and *Latines*: who ſayling over the *Ionian* Sea, that lies betweene *Aetolia* and the Weſterne parts of *Greece* and *Italy*, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas *Reineccius* thinkes, that the names of *Atlas* and *Italus* belonged both to one man, and thereto applyes that of *Beroſus*, who called *Cethim*, *Italus*; though it may ſeeme ſtrengthened by the marriage of *Dardanus*, whileſt he abode in *Italy* with *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and ſtronger, eaſily diſproved. For they who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moſes*: and if *Atlas* were *Cethim*, or *Kittim*, then was he the ſon of *Javan*, and nephew of *Japheth*, the eldeſt ſon of *Noah*: which antiquity far exceedes the name of *Italy*, that began after the departure of *Hercules* out of the Countrey, not long before the Warre of *Troy*.

Likewiſe *Virgil*, who ſpeakes of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanus* his marriage with *Electra*, hath nothing of his meeting with her in *Italy*, but calleth *Electra* & her ſiſter *Maia* (poetically) daughters of the Mountaine *Atlas* in *Africa*, naming *Italus* among the Kings of the *Aborigenes*; which he would not have done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* beene one perſon.

As for the authority of *Beroſus* in this caſe, we need the leſſe to regard it, for that *Reyneccius* himſelf, whoſe conjectures are more to bee valued than the dreames wherewith *Annius* hath filled *Beroſus*, holds it but a figment.

That the name of *Italy* began long after *Atlas*, it appeares by the verſes of *Virgil* laſt rehearſed, wherein hee would not have ſaid, —— *Nunc fama minores Italiam dixiſſe ducis de nomine gentem*, had that name beene heard of ere *Dardanus* left the Countrey. But ſeeing that, when *Hercules*, who died a few yeeres before the Warre of *Troy*, had left in *Italy* a Colonie of the *Eleans* (who in a manner were one and the ſame Nation with the *Aetolians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, and *Pauſanias* teach) then the name of *Italy* began: & ſeeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* Kings, it were no great boldeneſſe to ſay, that *Italus* was Commander of theſe *Eleans*. For though I remember not that I have read of any ſuch *Greeke* as was named *Italus*; yet the name of *Aetolus* written in *Greeke Aitolus*, was very famous among the *Aetolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being ſon of a King of *Elis*, & founder of the *Aetolian* Kingdome. Neither is it more hard to derive the name of *Italus* from *Aetolus*, than *Italia* from *Aetolia*. So may *Virgils* authority ſtand well with the collections of *Reyneccius*; the name of *Italy* being taken both from a Captaine, and from the Nation, of which he and his people were.

## §. II.

### *Of the Aborigenes, and other Inhabitants of Latium, and of the reaſon of the names of Latini and Latium.*

IN *Italy* the *Latines* and *Hetrurians* were moſt famous; the *Hetrurians* having held the greateſt part of it under their ſubjection; & the *Latines* by the vertue and felicity of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, ſubduing all *Italy*, and in few ages whatſoever Nation was knowne in *Europe*: together with all the Weſterne parts of *Aſia*, and North of *Africk*.

The Region called *Latium*, was firſt inhabited by the *Aborigines*, whom *Halicarnaſſæus*, *Varro*, & *Reyneccius* (following them) thinke to have bin *Arcadians*: & this name of *Aborigines* (to omit other ſignifications that are ſtrained) imports as much as originall, or native of the place, which they poſſeſſed: which title the *Arcadians* are knowne in vaunting manner to have alwayes uſurped, fetching their antiquity from beyond the Moone; becauſe indeed, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponneſus* inforced to forſake their ſeates ſo oft as other *Greekes* were, who did dwell without that halfe Iſland, neither had the *Arcadians* ſo unſure a dwelling as the reſt of the *Peloponneſians*, becauſe their Countrey was leſſe fruitfull in land, mountainous, & hard of acceſſe, & they themſelves (as in ſuch places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of theſe therefore having occupied a great part of *Latium*, & held it long, did according to the *Arcadian* manner, ſtile themſelves *Aborigenes*, in that language, which either their new Seate, or their Neighbours there by had taught them. How it might be that the *Arcadians*, who dwelt ſomwhat far from Sea, & are alwaies noted as unapt men to prove good Mariners, ſhould have bin Authors of new diſcoveries, were a queſtion not eaſie to be anſwered, were it not ſo, that both fruitfulneſſe of children, in which thoſe ages abounded, inforced the ſuperfluous company to ſeeke another ſeat, & that ſome expeditions of the *Arcadians*, as eſpecially that of *Evander*, into the ſame parts of *Italy*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigines*, were the *Pelaſgi*, an ancient Nation, who ſometimes gave name to all *Greece*: but their antiquities are long ſince dead, for lacke of good records. Neither was their glory ſuch in *Italy*, as could long ſuſtaine the name of their own Tribe; for they were in ſhort ſpace accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Sicani*, *Auſones*, *Arunci*, *Rutili*, and other people, did in ages following diſturbe the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturne* was brought to ſome civility; and he therefore canonized as a god.

This *Saturne* S. *Auguſtine* calleth *Sterces* or *Sterculius*, others terme him *Stercutius*, & ſay, that he taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latium* tooke his name of *Saturne*, becauſe he did *latere*, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from *Jupiter*, it is queſtionleſſe a fable. For as in Heatheniſh ſuperſtition, it was great vanity to think that any thing could bee hidden from God, or that there were many gods of whom one fledde from another; ſo in the truth of Hiſtory, it is well knowne, that no King reigning in thoſe parts was ſo mighty, that it ſhould bee hard to finde one Country or another, wherein a man might be ſafe from his purſuit. And yet, as moſt fables and poeticall fictions were occaſioned by ſome ancient truth, which either by ambiguity of ſpeech, or ſome alluſion, they did maimedly and darkely expreſſe (for ſo they fained a paſſage over a River in Hell, becauſe death is a paſſage to another life; & becauſe this paſſage is hatefull, lamentable, and painfull, therefore they named the River *Styx*, of Hate; *Cocytus*, of Lamentation, and *Acheron*, of Paine: ſo alſo becauſe men are ſtonie-hearted; and becauſe the *Greek* λαοὶ, people, and λᾶες ſtones, are neere in ſound, therefore they fained in the time of *Deucalion* ſtones converted into men, as at other times men into ſtones:) in like manner it may be, that the originall of *Saturnes* hiding himſelfe, was ſome alluſion to that old opinion of the wiſeſt of the Heathen, that the true God was *ignotus Deus*, as it is noted in the *Acts*; whence alſo *Eſay* of the true God ſaies, *tu Deus abdens te.* For it cannot be in vaine, that the word *Saturnus* ſhould alſo have this very ſignification, if it be derived (as ſome thinke) from the *Hebrew Satar*, which is to hide: Howbeit I denie not but that the originall of this word, *Latium*, ought rather to be ſought elſewhere.

*See lib. 1. cap. 6. §. 1. & ſeq.*

Acts 7. 2. 3.
Eſay 45. 15.

*Reyneccius* doth conjecture that the *Ceteans*, who deſcended of *Cethim*, the Son of *Javan*, were the men who gave the name to *Latium*. For theſe *Ceteans* are remembred by *Homer* as aiders of the *Trojans* in their warre. *Strabo* interpreting the place of *Homer*, calls them ſubjects to the Crowne of *Troy*. Hereupon *Reyneccius* gathers, that their abode was in *Aſia*: viz. *in agro Elaitico*, *in the Elaitian Territory*, which agreeth with *Strabo*. Of a City which the *Aeolians* held in *Aſia*, called *Elæa*, or *Elaia*, *Pauſanias* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Cidamis*, or (according to the *Greeke* writing) *Cidamis*, which name laſt rehearſed hath a very neere ſound to *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cithim*; the *Greeke* Letter (*D*) having (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to (*TH*) differing only in the ſtrength or weakeneſſe of utterance, which is found betweene many Engliſh words written with the ſame letters. Wherefore that theſe *Ceteans*, being deſcended of *Cethim*, *Cittim*, or *Kittim*, the Sonne of *Javan*, who was Progenitor of the *Greekes*, might very well take a denomination from the City, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Elaites*, or *Elaites*, it is very likely, conſidering that among the *Arcadians*, *Phocians*, *Aetolians*, and *Eleans*, who all were of the *Aeolique* Tribe, are found the names of the Mountaine *Elæus*, the Haven *Elaas*, the people *Elaitæ*, the City *Elæus*, *Elaia*, & *Elateia*; of which laſt it were ſomewhat harſh in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name then *Elatini*, from whence *Latini* may come. Now whereas both the *Cetai* and *Arcadians*, had their originall from *Cethim*, it is nothing unlikely, that agreeing in language and ſimilitude of names, they might nevertheleſſe differ in ſound and pronunciation of one and the ſame word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom ſome (deriving the *Sabines* from him) give the name of *Sabus*: in the like manner might he whom the *Arcadians* would call *Elatus* (of which name they had a Prince that founded the City *Elateia*) bee named of the *Ceteans Latinus*. *Reyneccius*, purſuing this likelihood, thinkes, that when *Eurypilus*, Lord of the *Ceteans*, (being the Sonne of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat upon *Auge*, the daughter of *Aleus* King of *Arcadia*) was ſlaine by *Achilles* in the *Trojan* Warre: then did *Telephus*, brother to *Eurypilus*, conduct the *Ceteans*; who (fearing what evill might befall themſelves by the *Greeks*, if the affaires of *Troy* ſhould goe ill) paſſed into that part of *Italy*, whereas the *Arcadians* were planted by *Oenotrius*. And *Reyneccius* farther thinkes, that *Telephus* being the more gracious among the *Oenotrian Arcadians*, by the memory of his Grand-mother *Auge*, an *Arcadian* Lady, was well contented to take an *Arcadian* name, and to be called *Elatus*, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was firſt *Elatinus*, and then *Latinus*. That this name of *Elatus* may have bin taken or impoſed by the *Arcadians*, it is the more eaſie to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of *Aphidas*, the other of *Elatus*, who were Sons of *Arcas* King of *Arcadia*, which gave name to the Country: & betweene theſe two Families the ſucceſſion in that Kingdome did paſſe, almoſt enterchangeably, for many ages, till at the end of the *Trojan* warre it fell into the hand of *Hippotheus* of the race of *Elatus*, in whoſe Poſterity it continued untill the laſt. Againe, the name of *Latinus*, having a derivative ſound, agrees the better with the ſuppoſition of ſuch an accident. This is the conjecture of *Reyneccius*, which if he made over-boldly, yet others may follow it with the leſſe reproofe, conſidering that it is not eaſie to find either an apparent truth, or faire probability among theſe diſagreeing Authors, which have written the originals of *Latium*.

## §. III.

### *Of the ancient Kings of the Latines untill* Æneas *his comming.*

THe Kings which reigned in *Latium* before the arrivall of *Aeneas*, were *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Faunus*, and *Latinus*. Of *Saturne* there is nothing remembred, ſave what is mentioned already, and many fables of the *Greekes*, which whether they bee appliable to this man, it is for him to judge, who ſhall bee able to determine, whether this were the *Saturne* of the *Greekes*, called by them χρόνος, or ſome other, ſtiled *Saturne* by the *Aborigines*. For the age wherein he lived, may very well admit him to have bin the ſame: but the names of * *Sterces*, and *Stercutius* (for it may bee, this name was not borrowed from the skill which hee taught the people, but rather the ſoile which they laid on their grounds, had that appellation from him) doe rather make him ſeeme ſome other man.

* *Ezekiel* often cals the Idols of the heathen *deos ſtercoreos*: and hence it may be that in the Evangeliſt we reade of *Belzebub*, *Belzebul*, which is interpreted *Dominus ſtercoreus*: and it may bee that after that *Saturne* became the name of an Idol, it pleaſed God that in a like ſenſe this name *Stercutius* ſhould ſticke unto him.

Of *Picus* it is ſaid, that he was a good Horſe-man. The fable of his being changed into a Bird, which we call a Pie, may well ſeeme (as it is interpreted) to have growne from the skill which hee had in ſooth-ſaying, or divination, by the flight and chattering of Fowles. *Faunus*, the Son of *Picus*, reigned after his Father. He gave to *Evander* the *Arcadian* (who having ſlaine by miſchance his Father *Echemus* King of *Arcadia*, fled into *Italy*) the waſte grounds on which *Rome* was afterward built.

*Fauna*, called *Fatua*, the ſiſter of *Faunus*, who was alſo his wife, as all Hiſtorians agree; ſhe was held a Propheteſſe, and highly commended for her chaſtity, which praiſe in her muſt needs have bin much blemiſhed by her marriage, it ſelfe being meerly inceſtuous.

It is not mentioned that *Faunus* had by his ſiſter any childe, neither doe we reade of any other Wife which he had, ſave onely that *Virgil* gives unto him *Latinus* as his Son, by a Nymph called *Marica*.

*Aeneid*. 7.

But who this *Marica* was, it is not found, ſave onely that her aboad was about the River *Liris* neere *Minturnæ*.

Of the name *Latinus*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted foure: one, the Son of *Faunus*, another of *Herculus*, a third of *Ulyſſes* by *Circe*, the fourth of *Telemachus*. *Suidas* takes notice onely of the ſecond, of whom he ſaith, that his name was *Telephus*, and the people anciently named the *Cetii*, were from his ſurname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reyneccius*, the difference conſiſting almoſt in this only, that *Suidas* calls *Telephus* the ſon of *Hercules*, whereas *Reyneccius* makes him his Nephew, by a ſon of the ſame name. This *Latinus* having obtained the ſucceſſion in that Kingdome after *Faunus*, did promiſe his only Daughter and Heire *Lavinia*, to *Turnus* the ſon of *Venilia*, who was ſiſter to *Amata Latinus* his Wife.

*Suidas* in the word *Latini*.

But when *Aeneas* arrived in thoſe parts with fifteene ſhips, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be imbarked, according to the rate which *Thucydides* allowes to the Veſſels then uſed, about one thouſand & two hundred men; then *Latinus* finding that it would ſtand beſt with his aſſurance, to make alliance with the *Trojan*, and moved with the great reputation of *Aeneas*, which himſelfe had heard of in the Warre of *Troy*, gave his Daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with *Turnus*; who incenſed herewith, ſought to avenge himſelfe by warre: which was ſoone ended with his owne death.

Of *Amata* the Wife of *Latinus*, it is very certaine, that were ſhe an *Italian*, ſhe could not have borne a Daughter marriageable at the arrivall of *Aeneas*; unleſſe wee ſhould wholly follow *Suidas*, and rather give the conduct of the *Cetei* into *Italy*, to *Telephus* the Father, than to his Son, who ſerved in the laſt yeere of the *Trojan* Warre. But *Reyneccius* holds her an *Aſiatique*, and thinkes withall, that *Lavinia* was borne before *Telephus* came into *Italy*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Halicarnaſſæus* call her, was not proper, but rather a ſurname, it may ſeeme by *Varro*; who calleth her *Palatia*: which name very well might be derived from the *Greek* name *Pallas*. *Amata*, which ſignifieth beloved, or deare, was the name by which the High Prieſt called every Virgin whom he tooke to ſerve as a Nunne of *Veſta*; wherfore it is the more eaſie to be thought a ſurname, howſoever *Virgil* diſcourſe of her and *Venilia* her ſiſter.

*Lavinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being given in marriage to *Aeneas*, the Kingdome of *Latium*, or the greateſt part of that Countrie, was eſtabliſhed in that race: wherein it continued untill it was over-growne by the might and greatneſſe of the *Romans*.

## §. IV.

### *Of* Æneas, *and of the Kings and Governors of* Alba.

ÆNEAS himſelfe being of the Royall bloud of *Troy*, had the command of the *Dardanians*: he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Trojans*. By his wife *Creuſa*, the daughter of *Priamus*, hee had a ſonne called *Aſcanius*; whoſe ſurname was *Julus*, having before the ruine of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) bin ſurnamed *Ilus*. But when *Aeneas* was dead, his wife *Lavinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being great with childe by him, and fearing the power of this *Aſcanius*, fled into the Woods, where ſhe was delivered of a ſon, called thereupon *Sylvius*, and ſurnamed *Poſthumus*, becauſe he was borne after his fathers Funerall. This flight of *Lavinia* was ſo evill taken by the people, that *Aſcanius* procured her returne, entreated her honourably, and uſing her as a Queene, did foſter her young ſon, his halfe-brother *Sylvius*. Yet afterwards, whether to avoid all occaſions of diſagreement, or delighted with the ſituation of the place; *Aſcanius* leaving to his mother in law the Citie *Lavinium*, which *Aeneas* had built and called after his new wives name, founded the Citie *Alba Longa*, and therein reigned. The time of his reigne was, according to ſome, eight and twenty yeers: *Virgil* gives him thirty; others five and thirty, and eight and thirty. After his deceaſe, there aroſe contention betweene *Sylvius*, the ſon of *Aeneas*, and *Julus* the ſonne of *Aſcanius*, about the Kingdome: but the people inclining to the ſonne of *Lavinia*, *Julus* was contented to hold the Prieſthood, which he and his race enjoyed, leaving the Kingdome to *Sylvius Poſthumus*, whoſe poſterity were afterwards called *Sylvii*.

The reigne of the *Alba* Kings, with the continuance of each mans reigne, I find thus ſet downe:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *Sylvius Poſthumus.* | 29 | |
| 2 | *Sylvius Æneas.* | 31 | |
| 3 | *Sylvius Latinus.* | 50 | |
| 4 | *Sylvius Alba.* | 39 | |
| 5 | *Sylvius Atis.* | 26 | |
| 6 | *Sylvius Capys.* | 28 | |
| 7 | *Sylvius Capetus.* | 13 | yeares. |
| 8 | *Sylvius Tiberinus.* | 8 | |
| 9 | *Sylvius Agrippa.* | 41 | |
| 10 | *Sylvius Alladius.* | 19 | |
| 11 | *Sylvius Aventinus.* | 37 | |
| 12 | *Sylvius Procas.* | 23 | |
| 13 | *Sylvius Amulius.* | 44 | |

*Sylvius Numitor.*

*Ilia*, called alſo *Rhea* and *Sylvia*.

*Romulus*. *Remus*.

The moſt of theſe Kings lived in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remembrance.

*Latinus* founded many Townes in the borders of *Latium:* who ſtanding much upon the honour of their originall, grew thereby to be called *Priſci Latini.* Of *Tiberinus* ſome thinke that the River *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albula:* but *Virgil* gives it that denomination of another called *Tibris*, before the comming of *Aeneas* into *Italy*. The Mountaine *Aventinus* had name (as many write) from *Aventinus* King of the *Albanes:* who was buried therin: but *Virgil* hath it otherwiſe. *Julius*, the brother of *Aventinus*, is named by *Euſebius* as father of another *Julius*, & grandfather of *Julius Proculus*, who leaving *Alba*, dwelt with *Romulus* in *Rome: Numitor*, the elder ſon of *Procas*, was deprived of his Kingdom by his brother *Amulius;* by whom alſo his ſon *Aegeſthus* was ſlaine, and *Ilia* his daughter made a Nunne of *Veſta*, that thereby the iſſue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But ſhe conceived two ſonnes, either by her Uncle *Amulius*, as ſome thinke; or by *Mars*, as the Poets faine; or perhaps by ſome man of warre. Both the children, their Uncle commanded to be drowned, and the mother buried quicke, according to the law; which ſo ordained, when the Veſtall Virgins brake their chaſtitie. Whether it was ſo, that the mother was pardoned at the entreatie of *Antho*, the daughter of *Amulius*, or puniſhed as the Law required (for Authors herein doe varie) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preſerved, who afterward revenged the cruelty of their Uncle, with the ſlaughter of him and all his, and reſtored *Numitor* their grandfather to the Kingdome: wherein how long hee reigned, I find not, neither is it greatly materiall to know; for as much as the Eſtates of *Alba* and of *Latium* were preſently eclipſed by the ſwift increaſe of *Rome*; upon which the computation of Time following (as farre as concernes the things of *Italy*) is dependant. After the death of *Numitor*, the Kingdome of *Alba* ceaſed; for *Numitor* left no male iſſue. *Romulus* choſe rather to live in *Rome*; and of the Line of *Sylvius* none elſe remained. So the *Albanes* were governed by Magiſtrates; of whom onely two Dictators are mentioned, namely *Caius Cluilius*, who in the dayes of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, King of the *Romanes*, making Warre upon *Rome*, dyed in the Campe; and *Metius Suffetius*, the ſucceſſor of *Cluilius*, who ſurrendred the Eſtate of *Alba* unto the *Romanes*, having committed the hazzard of both Signories to the ſucceſſe of three men of each ſide, who decided the quarrell by Combat: in which, the three brethren *Horatii*, the Champions of the *Romanes*, prevailed againſt the *Curiatii*, Champions of the *Albanes*. After this Combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullus Hoſtilius* with the *Albane* forces againſt the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*) withdrew his Companies out of the battaile, hoping thereby to leave the *Romanes* to ſuch an overthrow, as might make them weake enough for the *Albanes* to deale with; *Tullus*, who notwithſtanding this falſehood, obtained the victory, did reward *Metius* with a cruell death, cauſing him to be tyed to two Chariots, and ſo torne in pieces. Then was *Alba* deſtroyed and the Citizens carried to *Rome*, where they were made free Denizens, the noble Families being made *Patricians*; among which were the *Julii:* of whom *C. Julius Cæſar* being deſcended, not only gloried in his ancient, royall, and forgotten pedegree, in full aſſembly of the *Romanes*, then governed by a free Eſtate of the People: but by his rare induſtrie, valour, and judgement, obtained the Soveraignty of the *Romane* Empire (much by him enlarged) to himſelfe and his poſterity; whereby the name of *Aeneas*, and honour of the *Trojan* and *Alban* Race, was ſo revived, that ſeldome, if ever, any one Family hath attained to a proportionable height of glory.

## §. V.

### *Of the beginning of Rome, and of* Romulus *birth and death.*

OF *Rome*, which devoured the *Alban* Kingdome, I may here beſt ſhew the beginnings, which (though ſomewhat uncertaine) depend much upon the birth and education of *Romulus*, the grand-childe of *Numitor*, the laſt that reigned in *Alba*. For how not onely the bordering people, but all Nations betweene *Euphrates* and the Ocean, were broken in pieces by the yron teeth of this fourth Beaſt, it is not to bee deſcribed in one place, having beene the worke of many Ages; whereof I now doe handle onely the firſt, as incident unto the diſcourſe preceding. *Q. Fabius Pictor*, *Portius*

*tius Cato*, *Calphurnius Piſo*, *Sempronius*, & others, ſeeke to derive the ***Romans*** from ***Janus***: but ***Herodotus***, ***Marſylus***, and many others of equall credit, give the ***Græcians*** for their ancestors: & as *Strabo* reporteth in his fifth Booke, Cæcilius *rerum Romanarum Scriptor eo argumento colligit, Romam à Græcis eſſe conditam, quod Romani Græco ritu, antiquo inſtituto*, Herculi *rem ſacram faciunt: matrem quoque* Evandri *venerantur Romani*; Cæcilius (ſaith he) *a Romane Hiſtoriographer, doth by this argument gather, that Rome was built by the Greeks, becauſe the Romanes, after Greekiſh faſhion, by ancient ordinance doe ſacrifice to* Hercules: *the Romanes alſo worſhip the mother of* Evander.

Strab.l.5.f.159.

***Plutarch*** in the life of ***Romulus*** remembreth many founders of that Citie: as ***Romanus*** the ſon of ***Ulyſſes*** and ***Circe***; ***Romus*** the ſon of ***Emathion***, whom ***Diomedes*** ſent thither from ***Troy***; or that one ***Romus***, a Tyrant of the ***Latines***, who drave the ***Tuſcans*** out of that Countrey, built it. ***Solinus*** beſtowes the honour of building ***Rome*** upon ***Evander***, ſaying, That it was beforetimes called ***Valentia***. ***Heraclides*** gives the denomination to a captive Lady, brought thither by the ***Græcians***: others ſay, That it was anciently called ***Febris***, after the name of ***Februa***, the mother of ***Mars***; witneſſe S. ***Auguſtine*** in his third Booke ***de Civitate Dei***. But ***Livie*** will have it to be the worke of ***Romulus***, even from the foundation: of whom and his conſorts, ***Juvenal*** to a ***Roman*** Citizen, vaunting of their originall, anſwered in theſe Verſes:

*Attamen ut longe repetas, longeque revolvas*
*Majorum quiſquis primus fuit ille tuorum,*
*Aut paſtor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.*

Yet though thou fetch thy pedegree ſo farre;
Thy firſt Progenitor, who ere he were,
Some Shepheard was, or elſe, that Ile forbeare.

meaning, either a Shepheard or a Theefe.

Now of ***Romulus*** begetting, of his education and preſervation, it is ſaid, That he had ***Rhea*** for his mother, and ***Mars*** ſuppoſed to be his father, that he was nurſt by a Wolfe, found and taken away by ***Fauſtula*** a Shepheards wife. The ſame unnaturall nurſing had ***Cyrus***, the ſame incredible foſtering had ***Semiramis***; the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as ***Plutarch*** ſaith, it is like enough that ***Amulius*** came covered with armour to ***Rhea***, the mother of ***Romulus***, when he begat her with childe: & therein it ſeemeth to me that he might have two purpoſes; the one, to deſtroy her, becauſe ſhe was the daughter and heire of his elder brother, from whom he injuriouſly held the Kingdome; the other, to ſatisfie his appetite, becauſe ſhe was faire and goodly. For ſhe being made a Nunne of the goddeſſe ***Veſta***, it was death in her, by the Law, to breake her chaſtitie. I alſo find

Fauchet f.114.

in ***Fauchet*** his ***Antiquitez de Gaule***, that ***Meroüee***, King of the ***Francs***, was begotten by a Monſter of the Sea: but ***Fauchet*** ſayes, ***Let them beleeve it that liſt***; ***Il le croira qui voudra***: Alſo of ***Alexander***, and of ***Scipio African***, there are poeticall inventions: But to anſwer theſe imaginations in generall, It is true, that in thoſe times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatry, and when there were as many gods as there were Kings, or paſſions of the minde, or as there were of vices and vertues; then did many women greatly borne, cover ſuch ſlips as they made, by proteſting to bee forced by more than humane power: ſo did ***Oenone*** confeſſe to ***Paris***, that ſhe had beene raviſhed by ***Apollo***. And ***Anchyſes*** boaſted that hee had knowne ***Venus***. But ***Rhea*** was made with childe by ſome man of Warre, or other, and therefore called ***Mars***, the god of battell, according to the ſenſe of the time. ***Oenone*** was overcome by a ſtrong wit, and by ſuch a one as had thoſe properties aſcribed to ***Apollo***. The Mother of ***Meroüee*** might fancie a Sea Captaine, to be gotten with young by ſuch a one: as the Daughter of ***Inachus*** fancied, according to ***Herodotus***. ***Aeneas*** was a baſtard, and begotten upon ſome faire Harlot, called for her beautie ***Venus***, and was therefore the childe of luſt, which is ***Venus***. ***Romulus*** was nurſt by a Wolfe, which was pa, or ***Lupina***; for the Curteſans in thoſe dayes were called Wolfes, ***Quæ nunc*** (ſaith ***Halicarnaſſæus***) ***honeſtiori vocabulo amicæ appellantur***; ***Which are now by an honeſter name called friends***. It is alſo written, that ***Romulus*** was in the end of his life taken up into heaven, or rather out of the world by his father ***Mars***, in a great ſtorme of thunder and lightning: ſo was it ſaid that ***Aeneas*** vaniſhed away by the River ***Numicus***:

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but thereof *Livie* alſo ſpeaketh modeſtly; for hee rehearſeth the other opinion that the ſtorme was the furie of the Senators, but ſeemeth to adhere partially to this taking up; and many Authors agree, that there was an unnaturall darkeneſſe, both at his birth and at his death; and that he might be ſlaine by thunder or lightning, it is not unlikely. For the Emperour *Anaſtaſius* was ſlaine with lightning; ſo was *Strabo* the Father of *Pompey* ſlaine with a thunder-bolt: ſo *Carus* the Emperour (who ſucceeded *Probus*) whileſt hee lodged with his Army upon the River *Tygris*, was there ſlain with lightning. But a *Mars* of the ſame Kinde might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a man of war, & by violence deſtroyed. And that he died by violence (which deſtiny followed moſt of the *Roman* Emperours) it appeareth by *Tarquinius Superbus*, who was the ſeventh King after him: who when hee had murthered his Father-in-law, commanded that hee ſhould not be buried, for (ſaid hee) *Romulus* himſelfe died and was not buried. But let *Halicarnaſſeus* end this diſpute: whoſe words are theſe: *They* (ſaith hee) *who drew neereſt to the truth, ſay that he was ſlaine by his owne Citizens; and that his cruelties in puniſhment of offendors, together with his arrogancie, were the cauſe of his ſlaughter. For it is reported, that both when his mother was raviſhed, whether by ſome man, or by a god, the whole body of the Sunne was eclipſed, and all the earth covered with darkeneſſe like unto night, & that the ſame did happen at his death.*

Such were the birth and death of *Romulus*: whoſe life hiſtorified by *Plutarch*, doth containe (beſides what is here already ſpoken of him) the conqueſt of a few miles which had ſoone bin forgotten, if the *Roman* greatneſſe built upon that foundation, had not given it memory in all ages following, even unto this day. A valiant man he was, very ſtrong of body, patient of travell, and temperate in diet, as forbearing the uſe of wine & delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which cauſed him to ſlay his brother, & neglect to revenge the death of *Tatius*, his companion in the Kingdome, that he himſelfe might be Lord alone in thoſe narrow Territories. He raigned 37. yeers firſt alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death, ſingle, till he was ſlaine, as is already ſhewed: after which time, the Soveraignty fell into the hands of *Numa*, a man to him unknown, and more Prieſt-like than King-like: wherein *Rome* it ſelfe in her latter times hath ſomewhat reſembled this King. For having long bin ſole Governeſſe till *Conſtantinople* ſhared with her: afterwards, when as the *Greeke* Emperour was cruſhed by forraine enemies, and the *Latines* diſployed of Imperiall power, ſhe fell into the ſubjection of a Prelate, ſwelling by degrees from the Sheepe-hooke to the Sword, and therewith victorious to exceſſive magnificence, from whence by the ſame degrees it fell, being driven from luxurie to defenſive armes; and therein having bin unfortunate, at length betakes her ſelfe againe to the Croſier ſtaffe.

And thus much of *Rome* in this place by occaſion of the Storie of the times of King *Ahaz*, during whoſe reigne in *Jurie*, the foundations of this famous Citie were laid.

## Chap. XXV.

## *Of* Ezechia, *and his Contemporaries.*

### §. I.

### *Of the beginning of* Ezechias, *and of the agreeing of* Ptolomie, Nabonaſſar, Nabopolaſſar *and* Mardocempadus, *with the hiſtorie of the Bible.*

AS the firſt yeere of *Ahaz* his reigne was confounded with the laſt of his father *Jotham*, ſo was the latter end of his ſixteen years taken up in the three firſt of *Ezechias* his ſon. This appeares by the Reigne of *Hoſea*, over *Iſrael*, which began in the twelfth of *Ahaz*, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with *Ahaz* his fourteenth. But the third of *Hoſea* was the firſt of *Ezechia*; ſo it followes, that *Ezechia* began to reigne in his Fathers foureteenth yeere. Like enough it is, that the third yeer of *Hoſea*, the ſame being the fourteenth of *Ahaz*, was almoſt ſpent when *Ezechia* began, and ſo the fifteenth yeere of *Ahaz* may have beene concurrent, for the moſt part, with the firſt of *Ezechia*.

By ſuppoſing that *Hoſea* began his Kingdome, when the twelfth yeer of *Ahaz* was almoſt compleat, ſome would find the meanes how to diſ-joyne the firſt of *Hezechia* from the fifteenth of *Ahaz*, placing him yet one year later, of which yeere, *Ahaz* may perhaps have lived not many dayes. But ſeeing that the foureteenth and fifteenth yeeres of *Ezechia* may not be removed out of their places, it is vaine labour to alter the firſt yeere.

1 King 19.35. In the fourteenth yeere of *Ezechia*, *Senacherib*, invading *Juda* and the Countries adjoyning, loſt his Armie by a miraculous ſtroake from Heaven, fled home, and was ſlaine. The yeere following it was that God added fifteene yeers to the life of *Ezechia*, when hee had already reigned foureteen of his nine and twenty: and the ſame yeere was that miracle ſeene of the Sunnes going backe; of which wonder (as I heare) one *Bartholomew Scultet*, who is much commended for skill in Aſtronomie, hath by calculation found the very day, which anſwered unto the twenty fift of *April*, in the *Julian* yeer, being then Thurſday. I have not ſeene any workes of *Scultet*; but ſurely to find a motion ſo irregular and miraculous, it is neceſſary that he produce ſome record of obſervation made at ſuch a time. Howſoever it be, the fifteenth yeare of *Ezechia* agreed upon; and therefore we may not alter the firſt. As for that ſaying, which is uſuall in like caſes, 2 Chron.28.27. that Ahaz *ſlept with his Fathers, &* Ezechia *his Sonne reigned in his ſtead*, it doth no more prove that *Ezechia* reigned not with his Father, than the like ſaying doth inferre the like at the death of *Jehoſaphat*, and ſucceſſion of *Jehoram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Sonne to reigne whileſt his Father lived, wee have already ſaid enough.

Of this godly King *Ezechias*, we find, that his very beginning teſtified his devotion and zeale. For whether it were ſo, that his unfortunate and ungracious Father (who had out-worne his reputation) gave way to his Sons proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather thinke) the firſt yeere and firſt moneth of his 2 Chro.29.v.3. reigne, wherein *Ezechias* opened the doores of the Temple, were to bee underſtood as the beginning of his ſole government; wee plainly find it to have beene his firſt worke, 2 Chron. 30. that hee opened the doores of the houſe of the Lord, which *Achaz* had ſhut up, cleanſed the Citie and Kingdome of the Idols, reſtored the Prieſts to their offices & eſtates, commanded the Sacrifices to bee offered which had bin for many yeeres neglected, & brake down the braſen Serpent of *Moſes*, becauſe the people burnt incenſe before it, & hee called it *Nebuſhtan*, which ſignifieth a lumpe of braſſe. He did alſo celebrate the Paſſe-over 2 King 18. with great magnificence, inviting thereunto the *Iſraelites* of the ten Tribes: many there were, even out of thoſe Tribes, that came up to *Jeruſalem*, to this feaſt. But the generall multitude of *Iſrael* did laugh the Meſſengers of *Ezechia* to ſcorne.

It was not long ere they that ſcorned to ſolemnize the memoriall of their deliverance out of the *Egyptian* ſervitude, fell into a new ſervitude, out of which they never were delivered. For in the fourth of *Ezechia* his reigne, *Salmanaſſar* the Son of *Tiglath* the Son of *Belochus*, hearing that *Hoſea* King of *Iſrael* had practiſed with *Soe* King of *Egypt*, againſt him, invaded *Iſrael*, beſieged *Samaria*, and in the third yeare (after the inhabitants had endured all ſorts of miſeries) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Aſſyria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias*, and his Son of the ſame name, with *Anna* his Wife, were ſent to *Nineve*; in whoſe Seates and Places the *Aſſyrians* ſent ſtrangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the *Iſraelites*, as thoſe of *Cutha*, *Ana*, *Hamah*, and *Sphernaim*, beſides *Babylonians*: whoſe Places and Nations I have formerly deſcribed in the Treatiſe of the Holy Land.

Theſe later *Aſſyrian* Kings, and the *Perſians*, which followed them, are the firſt, of whom wee find mention made both in Prophane and Sacred bookes. Theſe therefore ſerve moſt aptly to joyne the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets have written otherwiſe than fabulouſly) with the Ages following that were better knowne, and deſcribed in courſe of Hiſtory. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and ſome other *Perſians*, we find in the Bible the ſame names by which other Authors have recorded them: but of *Phul* & *Salmanaſſar*, with other *Aſſyrian*, *Chaldæan* Kings, diverſity of name hath bred queſtion of the perſons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures doe ſpeake of *Salmanaſſar*, King of *Aſſur*, who reigned in the time of *Ahaz* and *Ezechia*, Kings of *Juda*, & of *Hoſea* King of *Iſrael*, whom hee carried into captivity: and whereas *Ptolomy* makes

mentio

mention of *Nabonaſſar*, ſpeaking preciſely of the time wherein he lived; it is very pertinent to ſhew, that *Salmanaſſar* and *Nabonaſſar* were one and the ſame man. The like reaſon alſo requireth, that it be ſhewed of *Nabuchadnezzar*, that he was the ſame, whom *Ptolomy* calleth *Nabopolaſſar*.

Of both theſe points *Bucholerus* hath well collected ſufficient proofe from the exact calculations of ſundry good Mathematicians. For by them it appeares, that betweene *Nabonaſſar* and the birth of *Chriſt*, there paſſed ſeven hundred forty and ſixe yeeres: at which diſtance of time the reigne of *Salmanaſſar* was. One great proofe hereof is this, which the ſame *Bucholerus* alledgeth out of *Eraſmus Reinholdus*, in the *Prutenick* Tables. *Mardocempadus* King of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolomy*, ſpeaking of three Eclipſes of the Moone, which were in his time, doth mention) was the ſame whom the Scriptures call *Merodach*, who ſent Embaſſadours to *Hezechia* King of *Juda*. So that if we reckon backward to the difference of time, betweene *Merodach* and *Salmanaſſar*, we ſhall finde it the ſame which is betweene *Mardocempadus* and *Nabonaſſar*. Likewiſe *Functius* doth ſhew, that whereas from the deſtruction of *Samaria*, to the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, in the ninteenth of *Nabuchadnezzar*, we collect out of the Scriptures, the diſtance of one hundred thirty and three yeeres: the ſelfe-ſame diſtance of time is found in *Ptolomy*, betweene *Nabonaſſar* and *Nabopolaſſar*. For whereas *Ptolomy* ſeemes to differ from this accompt, making *Nabonaſſar* more ancient by an hundred and forty yeeres, than the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, wee are to underſtand that he tooke *Samaria* in the eighth yeere of his reigne; ſo that the ſeven foregoing yeeres added to theſe one hundred thirty and three, make the accompts of the Scriptures fall even with that of *Ptolomy*. *Ptolomies* computation is, that from the firſt of *Nabonaſſar*, to the fifth of *Nabopolaſſar*, there paſſed one hundred twenty and ſeven yeeres. Now if wee adde to theſe one hundred twenty ſeven, the thirteene enſuing of *Nabuchadnezzars* yeeres, before the City and Temple were deſtroyed, wee have the ſumme of one hundred and forty yeeres. In ſo plaine a caſe more proofes are needleſſe, though many are brought, of which this may ſerve for all, that *Ptolomy* placeth the firſt of *Nabopolaſſar* one hundred twenty and two yeeres, after the firſt of *Nabonaſſar*, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To theſe notes are added the conſent of all Mathematicians: which in accompt of times I hold more ſure than the authority of any Hiſtory; and therefore I think it folly to make doubt, whereas Hiſtorians and Mathematicall obſervations doe ſo throughly concurre.

Yet foraſmuch as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth reſt unanſwered, whereby he proved *Baladan* the Father of *Merodach*, to have beene this *Nabonaſſar*; I will not ſpare to loſe a word or two in giving the Reader ſatisfaction herein. It is true, that the next obſervations of the heavenly Bodies, which *Ptolomy* recorded, after the time of *Nabonaſſar*, were in the reigne of *Mardocempadus*; the ſecond yeere of whoſe reigne, is according to *Ptolomy*, concurrent in part with the twenty ſeven of *Nabonaſſar*. For the ſecond of three ancient Eclipſes which hee calculates, being in the ſecond yeere of *Mardocempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonaſſar* twenty ſeven yeeres, ſeventeene dayes, and eleven houres: the accompt from *Nabonaſſar*, beginning at high-noone the firſt day of the *Egyptian* Moneth *Thot*, then anſwering to the twenty ſixt of *February*; and this Eclipſe being fifty minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the firſt day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *Februarie*; ſo that the difference of time betweene the two Kings *Nabonaſſar* and *Mardocempadus*, is noted by *Ptolomy*, according to the *Egyptian* yeers. But how doth this prove, that *Mardocempadus* or *Meradach*, was the Sonne of *Nabonaſſar*? yea, how doth it prove, that he was his next Succeſſour, or any way of his Linage? It was enough to ſatisfie me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himſelfe did afterwards beleeve *Mardocempadus* to have beene rather the Nephew than the Sonne of *Baladan*, or *Nabonaſſar*. For if hee might bee either the Nephew, or the Sonne; hee might perhaps bee neither the one, nor the other. But becauſe our Countrie-man *Lidyat* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Torniellus*, who followes *Scaliger* herein, and *Sethus Calviſius*, who hath drawne into forme of Chronology, that learned worke, *De Emendatione Temporum*, doe hold up the ſame aſſertion, confounding *Baladan* with *Nabonaſſar*: I have taken the paines to ſearch, as farre as my leiſure and diligence could reach, after any ſentence that might prove the Kindred or Succeſſion of theſe two. Yet

*Ptol. Almag. l. 4. c. 8.*

cannot I find in the *Almageſt* (for the Scriptures are either ſilent in this point, or adverſe to *Scaliger*; and other good authoritie, I know none, in this buſineſſe) any ſentence more neerly proving the ſucceſſion of *Merodach* to *Nabonaſſar*, than the place now laſt rehearſed: which makes no more, to ſhew that the one of theſe was father to the other, than (that I may uſe a like example) the as neere ſucceſſion of *William* the *Conqueror*, declares him, to have bin Son, or Grand-child to *Edward* the *Confeſſor*. This conſidered, we may ſafely goe on with our account from *Nabonaſſar*, taking him for *Salmanaſſar*; and not fearing, that the Readers will be driven from our Booke, when they finde ſomething in it, agreeing with *Annius*, foraſmuch as theſe Kings mentioned in Scriptures, reigned in *Babylon* and *Aſſyria*, in thoſe very times which by *Diodorus* and *Ptolomie* are aſſigned to *Beloſus*, *Nabonaſſar*, and *Mardocempadus*, and the reſt: no good Hiſtorie naming any others that reigned there in thoſe ages; and all Aſtronomicall obſervations, fitly concurring with the yeares that are attributed to theſe, or numbred from them.

## §. II.

### *Of the danger and deliverance of Judæa from* Senacherib.

WHen *Salmanaſſar* was dead, and his ſon *Senacherib* in poſſeſſion of the Empire in the fourteenth yeare of *Ezechias*, he demanded of him ſuch Tribute as was agreed on, at ſuch time as *Tiglath*, the Grand-father of *Senacherib*, and Father of *Salmanaſſar*, invited by *Ahaz*, invaded *Rezin* King of *Damaſcus*, and delivered him from the dangerous Warre which Iſrael had undertaken againſt him. This Tribute and acknowledgement when *Ezechias* denied, *Senacherib*, having (as it ſeemes) a purpoſe to invade Egypt, ſent one part of his Armie to lye before *Jeruſalem*. Now though *Ezechias* (fearing this powerfull Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchaſed his peace, as he hoped, with thirtie hundred talents of ſilver, and thirtie talents of gold: wherewith he preſented *Senacherib*, now ſet down before *Lachis* in *Judæa*; yet under the colour of better aſſurance, and to force the King of *Judæa* to deliver hoſtages, the Aſſyrian invironed *Jeruſalem* with a groſſe Armie, and having his ſword in his hand thought it the fitteſt time to write his owne conditions.

2 Kin.18.21.

*Ezechias* directed his three great Counſellers, to parly with *Rabſaces* over the Wall; and to receive his demands: who uſed three principall arguments to perſwade the people to yeeld themſelves to his Maſter *Senacherib*. For though the Chancellour, Steward, and Secretarie, ſent by *Ezechias*, deſired *Rabſaces* to ſpeak unto them in the Syrian tongue, & not in the Jewiſh, yet he with a louder voyce directed his ſpeech to the multitude in their own language. And for the firſt, he made them know, That if they continued obſtinate, and adhered to their King, that they would in a ſhort time be inforced to eate their own dung, and drinke their owne urine: Secondly, he altogether diſabled the King of *Egypt*, from whom the Judæans hoped for ſuccour; and compared him to a broken ſtaffe, on which whoſoever leaneth, pierceth his owne hand; Thirdly, that the gods who ſhould helpe them, *Ezechias* had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefely (as it is thought by ſome) the braſen Serpent, which had beene preſerved ever ſince *Moſes* time: and withall hee bade them remember the gods of other Nations, whom, notwithſtanding any power of theirs, his Maſter had conquered and thrown downe; and for God himſelfe, in whom they truſted, hee perſwaded them by no meanes to relye upon him, for he would deceive them. But finding the people ſilent (for ſo the King had commanded them) after a while, when he had underſtood that the King of Arabia was marching on with a powerfull Armie, he himſelfe left the Aſſyrian forces in charge to others, and ſought *Senacherib* at *Libna* in *Judæa*, either to informe him of their reſolution in *Jeruſalem*, or to conferre with him concerning the Armie of *Tarhaca* the *Arabian*. Soone upon this there came letters from *Senacherib* to *Ezechias*, whom he partly adviſed, and partly threatned to ſubmit himſelfe, uſing the ſame blaſphemous outrage againſt the all-powerfull God, as before. But *Ezechias* ſending thoſe Counſellers to the Prophet *Eſay*, which had lately beene ſent to *Rabſaces*, received from him comfort, and aſſurance, that this heathen Idolater ſhould not prevaile; againſt whom the King alſo beſought aide from Almightie God, repeating the moſt inſolent and blaſphemous parts of *Senacheribs* letter, before the

2 Kin.18.21.

Altar of God in the Temple, confeſſing this part thereof to be true, *That the King of Aſhur had deſtroyed the Nations and their Lands, and had ſet fire on their gods, for they were no gods, but the worke of mans hands, even wood and ſtone, &c.*

2 Kin.19.

The reaſon that moved *Senacherib* to deſire to poſſeſſe himſelfe in haſte of Jeruſalem, was, that he might thereinto have retraited his Armie, which was departed as it ſeemeth from the ſiege of Peluſium in Egypt, for feare of *Terbaca*: and though the Scriptures are ſilent of that enterpriſe (which in theſe bookes of the Kings, and of the *Chronicles* or *Parilipomenon*, ſpeake but of the affaires of the Jewes in effect) yet the ancient *Beroſus*, and out of him *Joſephus* and Saint *Hierome*, together with *Herodotus*, remember it as followeth. *Herodotus* calleth *Senacherib* King of Arabia and Aſſyria: which he might juſtly doe, becauſe *Tiglath* his grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wreſted from *Pekah* King of Iſrael: as *Gilead* over Jordan, and the reſt of Arabia Petræa adjoyning: the ſame *Herodotus* alſo maketh *Sethon* King of Egypt, to be *Vulcans* Prieſt; and reporteth that the reaſon of *Senacheribs* returne from Peluſium in Egypt, which he alſo beſieged, was, that an innumerable multitude of Rats had in one night eaten in ſunder the Bow-ſtrings of his Archers, and ſpoyled the reſt of their weapons in that kinde, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of *Tarbaca*, remembred by *Joſephus* and *Beroſus*, was the more urgent. Saint *Hierome* upon the ſeven and thirtieth of *Eſay*, out of the ſame *Beroſus*, as alſo in part out of *Herodotus*, whom *Joſephus* citeth ſomewhat otherwiſe than his words lye, reports *Senacheribs* retrait in theſe words. *Pugnaſſe autem* Senacherib *Regem Aſſyriorum contra Ægyptios, & obſediſſe Peluſium, jamque extructis aggeribus urbi capiendæ, veniſſe* Taracham *Regem Æthiopum in auxilium, & una nocte juxta Jeruſalem, centum octoginta quinque millia exercitus Aſſyrii peſtilentia corruiſſe, narrat* Herodotus: *& pleniſſime* Beroſus *Chaldaicæ ſcriptor Hiſtoriæ, quorum fides de propriis libris petenda eſt; That* Senacherib *King of the Aſſyrians fought againſt the Ægyptians, and beſieged Peluſium, and that when his Mounts were built for taking of the Citie,* Tarhacas *King of the Æthiopians came to help them, and that in one night, neer Jeruſalem, one hundred eightie five thouſand of the Aſſyrian Armie periſhed by peſtilence; of theſe things* (ſaith Hierome) *Herodotus *reports: and more at large* Beroſus *a writer of Chaldean Storie, whoſe credit is to be taken from their owne Bookes.* Out of *Eſay* it is gathered, that this deſtruction of the Aſſyrian Armie was in this manner: *Thou ſhalt be viſited of the Lord of Hoaſts with thunder and ſhaking, and a great noyſe, a whirlewinde and a tempeſt, and a flame of devouring fire.* But *Joſephus* hath it more largely out of the ſame *Beroſus*, an authoritie (becauſe ſo well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted; Senacheribus *autem ab Ægyptiaco bello revertens, oſtendit ibi exercitum quem ſub* Rabſacis *imperio reliquerat peſte divinitus immiſſâ deletum, primâ nocte poſteaquam Urbem oppugnare cœperat, abſumptis cum Ducibus & Tribunis centum octoginta quinque milibus Militum; qua clade territus, & de reliquis copiis ſollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum ſuum contendit, ad regiam quæ Ninus dicitur. Ubi paulo poſt per inſidias Seniorum è filiis ſuis,* Adramelechi, *&* Selennari, *vitam amiſit: occiſus in ipſo Templo quod dicitur* Araſci; *quem præcipuo cultu dignabatur, quibus ob patricidium à popularibus pulſis & in Armeniam fugientibus,* Aſaracoldas *minor filius in Regnum ſucceſſit;* Senacherib (*ſaith* Joſephus) *returning from the Egyptian Warre, found there his Armie, which he had left under the command of* Rabſaces *deſtroyed by a peſtilence ſent from God, the firſt night that hee had begunne to aſſault the Towne: one hundred foureſcore and five thouſand of the Souldiers being conſumed with their Chiefetaines and Coronels. With which deſtruction being terrefied, and withall affraid what might become of the reſt of his Armie, hee made great marches into his Kingdome, to his Royall Citie, which is called Ninus, where ſhortly after by the treaſon of two of the eldeſt of his Sonnes,* Adramelech *and* Selenner *or* Sharezer, *hee loſt his life in the Temple dedicated to* Araſces, *or* Neſroth: *whom hee eſpecially worſhipped. Theſe his Sonnes being for their parricide chaſed away by the people: and flying into* Armenia, Aſaracoldas *his younger Sonne ſucceeded in the Kingdome.* Who in the beginning of his raigne ſent new troupes out of Aſſyria and Samaria, to fortifie the Colonie therein planted by his Grand-father *Salmanaſſar*. What this Neſroth was, it is uncertaine: *Hierome* in his Hebrew traditions hath ſomewhat of him, but nothing poſitively. It is certaine, that *Venus Urania* was worſhipped by the Aſſyrians; and ſo was *Jupiter Belus*, as *Dion*, *Euſebius*, and *Cyrillus* witneſſe. Many fancies there are, what cauſe his ſonnes had to murther him; but the

*Herod.l.2.p.69.*

*Joſ.ant.l.10.c.1.*
*Her.Euterp.l.2.*

*To wit in part, for *Herodotus* mentioneth nothing, neither of *Tarhaca* nor of *Jeruſalem*, nor of the Armie there.

Eſay 29.6.

*Joſ.ant.l.10.c.1.*

*Selennar* otherwiſe *Sharezer*, who ſlew him, as he was praying to *Neſroe* his god.

2 Kin.19.

2 Kin.19.37.
1 Eſd.4.2.

*Lyr.*

moſt likely it is, that he had formerly diſ-inherited thoſe two, and conferred the Empire on *Aſſarhaddon*. *Tobit* tels us, that it was fiftie five dayes after *Senacheribs* returne, ere hee was murthered by his ſonnes, during which time he ſlew great numbers of the Iſraelites in Nineve, till the moſt juſt God turned the ſword againſt his owne breaſt.

## §. III.

### *Of* Ezechias *his ſickeneſſe and recoverie; and of the Babylonian King that congratulated him.*

AFter this marvellous deliverie, *Ezechias* ſickned, and was told by *Iſaiah* that he muſt dye: but after he had beſought God with teares for his deliverie, *Iſaiah*, as hee was going from him, returned againe, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promiſe him recoverie after three dayes, and a prolongation of life for fifteene yeares. But *Ezechias* ſomewhat doubtfull of this exceeding grace, prayeth for a ſigne to confirme him: whereupon, at the prayer of *Iſaiah*, the ſhadow of the Sunne caſt it ſelfe the contrarie way, and went backe tenne degrees, upon the Dyall of *Achaz*. The cauſe that moved *Ezechias* to lament (ſaith Saint *Hierome*) was, becauſe he had as yet no ſonne, and then in deſpaire that the Meſſias ſhould come out of the houſe of *David*, or at leaſt of his Seede. His diſeaſe ſeemeth to be the peſtilence, by the medicine given him by the Prophet, to wit, a maſſe of Figges, layd to the Botch or Sore.

2 Kin.20.

This wonder when the Wiſe-men of *Chaldæa* had told to *Merodach*, King of *Babylon*, the firſt of that houſe; he ſent to *Ezechias*, to be informed of the cauſe: at which time *Ezechias* ſhewed him all the Treaſure he had, both in the Court and in the Kingdome: for which he was reprehended by the Prophet *Iſaiah*, who told him; *The daies are at hand, that all that is in thine houſe, and whatſoever thy Fathers have layd up in ſtore to this day, ſhall be carried into Babel*; nothing ſhall be left, ſaith the Lord. It may ſeeme ſtrange, how *Ezechia* ſhould have got any treaſure worth the ſhewing: for *Senacherib* had robbed him of all, the yeare before. But the ſpoyle of the ſame *Senecherib* his Campe repayed all with advantage, and made *Ezechia* richer upon the ſudden than ever he had beene: which unexpected wealth was a ſtrong temptation to boaſting. After this time *Ezechia* had reſt, and ſpending without noyſe that addition which God had made unto his life; he dyed having reigned nine and twentie yeares. One onely offenſive Warre hee made, which was againſt the Philiſtims with good ſucceſſe. Among his other acts (ſhortly remembred in *Eccleſiaſticus*) he deviſed to bring water to Jeruſalem.

Eſay 39.

Eccleſ.48.

In two reſpects they ſay that he offended God: the one, that he rejoyced too much at the deſtruction and lamentable end of his enemie; the other, that he ſo much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbeare to ſhew them to ſtrangers. But the reaſon which moved *Ezechias* (ſpeaking humanely) to entertaine the Embaſſadours of *Merodach* in this friendly and familiar manner, was, becauſe he came to viſit him, and brought him a preſent, congratulating the recoverie of his health; as alſo in that *Merodach* had weakned the houſe of *Senacherib*, his fearefull enemie. For *Merodach*, who was Commander and Lievtenant under *Senacherib* in Babylon, uſurped that State himſelfe, in the laſt yeare of that King, and held it by ſtrong hand againſt his ſon *Aſſarhaddon*; who was not only ſimple, but impaired in ſtrength, by the moleſtation of his brothers. This advantage *Merodach* eſpied, and remembring that their anceſtor *Phul Belochus* had ſet his own Maſter *Sardanapalus* beſides the cuſhion, thought it as lawfull for himſelfe to take the opportunitie which this Kings weakeneſſe did offer, as it had beene for *Belochus* to make uſe of the others wickedneſſe: and ſo, finding himſelfe beloved of the Babylonians, and ſufficiently powerfull, he did put the matter to hazzard, and prevailed. The aſſertion of this hiſtorie is made by the ſame arguments that were uſed in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching *Phul Belochus*; which I will not here againe rehearſe. So of this new race, which cut a-ſunder the Line of *Ninus*, there were only five Kings.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Phul Belochus.* | reigned | 48 | yeares. |
| *Tiglath Philaſſar.* | | 27 | |
| *Salmanaſſar.* | | 10 | |
| *Senacherib.* | | 7 | |
| *Aſſarhaddon.* | | 10 | |

But for as much as the laſt yeare of *Salmanaſſar* was alſo the firſt of *Senacherib* his ſon, we reckon the time, wherein the houſe of *Phul* held the Aſſyrian Kingdome, to have bin an hundred and one yeares, of which, the laſt five and twentie were ſpent with *Ezechia*, under *Salmanaſſar*, *Senacherib*, and *Aſſarhaddon*.

## §. IIII.

### *The Kings that were in Media during the reigne of* Ezechia: *Of the difference found between ſundrie Authors in rehearſing the Median Kings. Other contemporaries of* Hezechia: *Of* Candaules, Gyges, *and the Kings deſcended from* Hercules.

IN the time of *Ezechia*, *Medidus*, and after him *Cardiceas*, reigned in *Media*. Whether it were ſo, that varietie of names, by which theſe Kings were called in ſeverall Hiſtories, hath cauſed them to ſeeme more than indeed they were; or whether the ſons raigning with the fathers, have cauſed not onely the names of Kings, but the length of Time, wherein they governed *Media*, to exceed the due proportion: or whether the Copies themſelves of *Cteſias* and *Annius* his *Metaſthenes*, have bin faulty, as neither of theſe two Authors is over-highly commended of truſtineſſe: ſo it is, that the names, number, and length of reign, are all very diverſly reported of theſe *Median* kings, that follow *Arbaces*: therefore it need not ſeem ſtrange, that I reckon *Medidus* and *Cardiceas* as contemporaries with *Ezechia*. For to reconcile ſo great a difference, as is found in thoſe writers that varie from *Euſebius*, is more than I dare undertake. I will only here ſet down the roll of Kings that reigned in *Media*, accordingly as ſundry Authors have delivered it.

*Annius* his *Metaſthenes* orders them and their reignes thus;

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Arbaces.* | reigned | 28 | yeares. |
| *Mandanes.* | | 50 | |
| *Soſarmon.* | | 30 | |
| *Articarmin.* | | 50 | |
| *Arbianes.* | | 22 | |
| *Artæus.* | | 40 | |
| *Artines.* | | 22 | |
| *Aſtybarus*, with his *ſonne Apanda.* | | 20 | |
| *Apanda* alone. | | 30 | |
| *Darius* with *Cyrus.* | | 36 | |

*Diodorus Siculus* following *Cteſias* (as perhaps *Annius* made his *Metaſthenes* follow *Diodore*, with ſome little variation, that he might not ſeeme a borrower) placeth them thus.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Arbaces.* | reigned | 28 | yeares. |
| *Mandanes.* | | 50 | |
| *Soſarmus.* | | 30 | |
| *Articas.* | | 50 | |
| *Arbianes.* | | 22 | |
| *Arſæus.* | | 40 | |
| *Artines.* | | 22 | |
| *Artabanus.* | | 40 | |

*Aſtybara.*
*Aſtyages.* the continuance of theſe two he doth not mention.

*Mercator* hath laboured, with much diligence, to reconcile theſe Catologues, and to make them alſo agree with *Euſebius*. But foraſmuch as it ſeemes to me an impoſſible matter, to attaine unto the truth of theſe forgotten times, by conjectures founded upon

*Cteſias* and *Metaſthenes*, I will lay the burden upon *Euſebius*, who lived in an age better furniſhed than ours, with bookes of this argument. Let it therefore ſuffice, that theſe two Kings (whom I have reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekia*) *Medidus* and *Cardiceas*, are found in *Euſebius*: for whether *Cardiceas* were *Diodorus* his *Arbianes*, I will not ſtay to ſearch. The Kings of *Media*, according to *Euſebius*, raigned in this order.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Arbaces.* | | 28 | |
| *Soſarmus.* | | 30 | |
| *Medidus.* | | 40 | |
| *Cardiceas.* | reigned | 15 | yeares. |
| *Deioces.* | | 54 | |
| *Phraortes.* | | 24 | |
| *Cyaxares.* | | 32 | |
| *Aſtyages.* | | 38 | |

Theſe names, and this courſe of ſucceſſion I retaine; but adde unto theſe, *Cyaxares* the ſon of *Aſtyages*, according to *Xenophon*; and ſometimes follow *Herodotus*, in ſetting down the length of a Kings reigne, otherwiſe than *Euſebius* hath it: of which variations, I will render my reaſons in due place.

The twenty nine yeares of *Ezekia* were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the foure firſt that were choſen Governours of Athens for ten years, that is, of *Charops*, *Æſimedes*, *Elidicus*, and *Hippones*. Touching the firſt of theſe I heare nothing, ſave that Rome was built in his firſt yeare; of which perhaps himſelfe did not heare. Of the ſecond and third I find only the names. The fourth made himſelf known by a ſtrange example of juſtice, or rather of cruelty, that he ſhewed upon his own Daughter. For he finding that ſhe had offended in unchaſtity, cauſed her to be lockt up with an Horſe, giving to neither of them any foode: ſo the Horſe, conſtrained by hunger, devoured the unhappy Woman.

In Rome, the firſt King, and founder of that City *Romulus*, did reigne both before, and ſomewhat after *Ezekia*.

In Lydia, *Candaules* the laſt King ruled in the ſame age.

This Region was firſt called Mæonia. *Lydus* the ſon of *Atys* reigning in it, gave the name of Lydia, if we beleeve ſuch authority as we find. This Kingdome was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred upon *Argon*, who came of *Alcæus* the ſon of *Hercules*, by *Jardana*, a bond-woman. The race of theſe Heraclidæ continued reigni fifty five yeares (in which two and twenty Generations paſſed) the ſon continuall ceeding the father. *Candaules* the ſon of *Myrſus* was the laſt of his race, who d much upon the beauty of his owne wife, that he could not be content to enjoy h would needs enforce one *Gyges* the ſon of *Daſcylus* to behold her naked body; ced the unwilling man ſecretly in her chamber, where he might ſee her preparing ward. This was not ſo cloſely carried, but that the Queen perceived *Gyges* at his go forth, and underſtanding the matter, took it in ſuch high diſdaine, that ſhe forced him the next day to requite the Kings folly with treaſon. So *Gyges* being brought again into the ſame chamber by the Queen, ſlew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his Wife, but with the Kingdome of Lydia. He reigned thirty eight yeares, beginning in the laſt of *Ezekia*, one year before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his ſon *Ardys* reigned nine and forty yeares; then *Sadyattes* twelve; *Halyattes*, fifty ſeven; and finally *Cræſus* the ſon of *Halyattes*, fourteen years: who loſt the Kingdome, and was taken by *Cyrus* of *Perſia*.

And here by the way we may note, that as the Lydian Kings, whom *Cræſus* his Progenitor diſpoſſeſt, are deduced from *Hercules*, ſo of the ſame *Hercules* there ſprang many other Kings, which governed ſeverall Countryes very long; as in Aſia, the Myſians; in Greece, the Lacedæmonians, Meſſenians, Rhodians, Corinthians and Argives; and from the Argives, the Macedonians, as likewiſe from the Corinthians, the Syracuſanes: beſides many great and famous, though private, Families.

But of the Heraclidæ that reigned in Lydia, I have not troubled my ſelf to take notice in the time of their ſeverall reignes: for little is found of them beſide the bare names, and the folly of this laſt King *Candaules*.

# Chap. XXVI.

## *Of the Kings that reigned in Egypt, betweene the deliverance of* Iſrael *from thence, and the reigne of* Ezekiah *in Juda, when Egypt and Juda made a league againſt the Aſſyrians.*

### §. I.

*That many names of Egyptian Kings, found in Hiſtorie, are like to have belonged onely to Viceroyes. An example proving this out of* William *of Tyre his Hiſtorie of the Holy Warre.*

THe emulation and quarrels ariſing in theſe times, betweene the mightie Kingdomes of *Egypt* and *Aſſyria*, doe require our pains, in collecting the moſt memorable things in *Egypt*, and ſetting down briefly the ſtate of that Countrey, which had continued long a flouriſhing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with *Aſſyria* for the Maſtrie. Of *Cham* the ſon of *Noah*, who firſt planted that Countrey, and of *Oſiris*, *Orus*, and other ancient Kings, that reigned there, untill the *Iſraelites* were thence delivered, more hath bin ſaid alreadie than I can ſtand to; though I hold it no ſhame to faile in ſuch conjectures. That which I have delivered, in ſpeaking mine opinion of the Egyptian Dynaſties, muſt here againe helpe me. For it may truely be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are ſaid to have raigned in *Egypt*, were none other than Viceroyes or Stewards, ſuch as *Joſeph* was, and ſuch as were the Soldanes in later ages. Therefore I will not onely forbeare to ſeeke after thoſe, whom *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have reckoned up, from the mouths of Egyptian Prieſts, delivering them by number, [illegible] rehearſing their names; but will ſave the labour of marſhalling them in order, [illegible]s onely are found; the yeares of their raigns, and other circumſtances pro-[illegible] have bin Kings indeed, being not recorded.

[illegible]ay not ſeeme before hand to lay an imaginarie ground, whereupon after I [illegible]at I liſt; it were not amiſſe, to give unto the Reader ſuch ſatisfaction in this [illegible]parent reaſon, and truth of Hiſtorie doth afford. Firſt therefore, we ought [illegible]eeve thoſe numbers of Generations, which the lying Prieſts have reckoned up, [illegible]gnifie their Antiquities. For we know, that from *Abraham* our *Saviour Chriſt* was removed onely fortie two deſcents; which makes it evident, that in farre ſhorter time, namely before the Perſian Empire, there could not have paſſed away twice as many ſucceſſions in *Egypt*: eſpecially conſidering, that many of theſe, whoſe continuance is expreſſed, having raigned longer than fortie years. It followes that we ſhould ſquare the number of the Egyptian Kings in ſome even proportion, to thoſe which did beare rule in other Countries. As for the reſt, whoſe names we finde ſcattered here and there; any man that will take the paines to reade the ninteenth booke of the holy War, written by *William* Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, may eaſily perſwade himſelfe, that it is not hard to find names enow, of ſuch as might be thought to have reigned in Egypt, being none other than Regents or Viceroyes. Yet will I here inſert, as briefly as I can, ſome things making to that purpoſe for the pleaſure and information of ſuch, as will not trouble themſelves with turning over many Authors.

When *Elahdech* the Caliph ruled in *Egypt*, one *Dargan*, a powerfull and a ſubtle man, made himſelfe Soldan, by force and cunning, chaſing away *Sanar* an *Arabian*, who was Soldan before and after him. This *Dargan* miniſtred matter of quarrel to *Amalrick* king of *Jeruſalem*; and ſuſtained, with little loſſe, an invaſion, which *Amalrick* made upon *Egypt*. Hereupon he grew ſo inſolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former Soldan hoped to make his partie good againſt him, if he could get any forces wherwith to enter *Egypt*.

Briefly,

*Cteſias* and *Metaſthenes*, I will lay the burden upon *Euſebius*, who lived in an age better furniſhed than ours, with bookes of this argument. Let it therefore ſuffice, that theſe two Kings (whom I have reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekia*) *Medidus* and *Cardiceas*, are found in *Euſebius*: for whether *Cardiceas* were *Diodorus* his *Arbianes*, I will not ſtay to ſearch. The Kings of *Media*, according to *Euſebius*, raigned in this order.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
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| *Medidus.* | | 40 | |
| *Cardiceas.* | | 15 | |
| *Deioces.* | | 54 | |
| *Phraortes.* | | 24 | |
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| *Aſtyages.* | | 38 | |

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In Rome, the firſt King, and founder of that City *Romulus*, did reigne both before, and ſomewhat after *Ezekia*.

In Lydia, *Candaules* the laſt King ruled in the ſame age.

This Region was firſt called Mæonia. *Lydus* the ſon of *Atys* reigning in it, gave the name of Lydia, if we beleeve ſuch authority as we find. This Kingdome was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred upon *Argon*, who came of *Alcæus* the ſon of *Hercules*, by *Jardana*, a bond-woman. The race of theſe Heraclidæ continued reigning fifty five yeares (in which two and twenty Generations paſſed) the ſon continually ſucceeding the father. *Candaules* the ſon of *Myrſus* was the laſt of his race, who doated ſo much upon the beauty of his owne wife, that he could not be content to enjoy her, but would needs enforce one *Gyges* the ſon of *Daſcylus* to behold her naked body; and placed the unwilling man ſecretly in her chamber, where he might ſee her preparing to bedward. This was not ſo cloſely carried, but that the Queen perceived *Gyges* at his going forth, and underſtanding the matter, took it in ſuch high diſdaine, that ſhe forced him the next day to requite the Kings folly with treaſon. So *Gyges* being brought again into the ſame chamber by the Queen, ſlew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his Wife, but with the Kingdome of Lydia. He reigned thirty eight yeares, beginning in the laſt of *Ezekia*, one year before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his ſon *Ardys* reigned nine and forty yeares; then *Sadyattes* twelve; *Halyattes*, fifty ſeven; and finally *Crœſus* the ſon of *Halyattes*, fourteen years: who loſt the Kingdome, and was taken by *Cyrus* of *Perſia*.

And here by the way we may note, that as the Lydian Kings, whom *Crœſus* his Progenitor diſpoſſeſt, are deduced from *Hercules*, ſo of the ſame *Hercules* there ſprang many other Kings, which governed ſeverall Countryes very long; as in Aſia, the Myſians; in Greece, the Lacedæmonians, Meſſenians, Rhodians, Corinthians and Argives; and from the Argives, the Macedonians, as likewiſe from the Corinthians, the Syracuſanes: beſides many great and famous, though private, Families.

But of the Heraclidæ that reigned in Lydia, I have not troubled my ſelf to take notice in the time of their ſeverall reignes: for little is found of them beſide the bare names, and the folly of this laſt King *Candaules*.

# Chap. XXVI.

## *Of the Kings that reigned in Egypt, betweene the deliverance of* Iſrael *from thence, and the reigne of* Ezekiah *in Juda, when Egypt and Juda made a league againſt the Aſſyrians.*

### §. I.

*That many names of Egyptian Kings, found in Hiſtorie, are like to have belonged onely to Viceroyes. An example proving this out of* William *of Tyre his Hiſtorie of the Holy Warre.*

THe emulation and quarrels ariſing in theſe times, betweene the mightie Kingdomes of *Egypt* and *Aſſyria*, doe require our pains, in collecting the moſt memorable things in *Egypt*, and ſetting down briefly the ſtate of that Countrey, which had continued long a flouriſhing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with *Aſſyria* for the Maſtrie. Of *Cham* the ſon of *Noah*, who firſt planted that Countrey, and of *Oſiris*, *Orus*, and other ancient Kings, that reigned there, untill the *Iſraelites* were thence delivered, more hath bin ſaid alreadie than I can ſtand to; though I hold it no ſhame to faile in ſuch conjectures. That which I have delivered, in ſpeaking mine opinion of the Egyptian Dynaſties, muſt here againe helpe me. For it may truely be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are ſaid to have raigned in *Egypt*, were none other than Viceroyes or Stewards, ſuch as *Joſeph* was, and ſuch as were the Soldanes in later ages. Therefore I will not onely forbeare to ſeeke after thoſe, whom *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have reckoned up, from the mouths of Egyptian Prieſts, delivering them by number, without rehearſing their names; but will ſave the labour of marſhalling them in order, whoſe names onely are found; the yeares of their raigns, and other circumſtances proving them to have bin Kings indeed, being not recorded.

But that I may not ſeeme before hand to lay an imaginarie ground, whereupon after I may build what I liſt; it were not amiſſe, to give unto the Reader ſuch ſatisfaction in this point, as apparent reaſon, and truth of Hiſtorie doth afford. Firſt therefore, we ought not to beleeve thoſe numbers of Generations, which the lying Prieſts have reckoned up, to magnifie their Antiquities. For we know, that from *Abraham* our *Saviour Chriſt* was removed onely fortie two deſcents; which makes it evident, that in farre ſhorter time, namely before the Perſian Empire, there could not have paſſed away twice as many ſucceſſions in *Egypt*: eſpecially conſidering, that many of theſe, whoſe continuance is expreſſed, having raigned longer than fortie years. It followes that we ſhould ſquare the number of the Egyptian Kings in ſome even proportion, to thoſe which did beare rule in other Countries. As for the reſt, whoſe names we finde ſcattered here and there; any man that will take the paines to reade the ninteenth booke of the holy War, written by *William* Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, may eaſily perſwade himſelfe, that it is not hard to find names enow, of ſuch as might be thought to have reigned in Egypt, being none other than Regents or Viceroyes. Yet will I here inſert, as briefly as I can, ſome things making to that purpoſe for the pleaſure and information of ſuch, as will not trouble themſelves with turning over many Authors.

When *Elahdech* the Caliph ruled in *Egypt*, one *Dargan*, a powerfull and a ſubtle man, made himſelfe Soldan, by force and cunning, chaſing away *Sanar* an *Arabian*, who was Soldan before and after him. This *Dargan* miniſtred matter of quarrel to *Amalrick* king of *Jeruſalem*; and ſuſtained, with little loſſe, an invaſion, which *Amalrick* made upon *Egypt*. Hereupon he grew ſo inſolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former Soldan hoped to make his partie good againſt him, if he could get any forces wherwith to enter *Egypt*.

Briefly, *Sanar* ſueth to *Noradine*, King of *Damaſco*, for aide, who ſends an Armie of his Turks, under the command of *Syracon*, againſt the *Soldan Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Sanar* met, and fought: The victorie was *Dargans*; but he enjoyed it not: for in few dayes after, he was ſlaine by treaſon, whereby *Sanar* did recover his Dignitie: which to eſtabliſh, he ſlew all the kindred and friends of *Dargan*, that he could finde in the great Citie of *Cairo*.

To all theſe doings, the *Caliph Elhadech*, gave little regard: for he thought it little concerned him, which of them lived, and had the adminiſtration of the Kingdome, whileſt he might have the profit of it, and enjoy his pleaſure. But new troubles preſently ariſe, which (one would thinke) do neerly touch the *Caliph* himſelfe. *Syracon* with his Turkes, whom *Sanar* had gotten to come into *Egypt*, will not now be intreated there to leave him, and quietly go their way home. They ſeize upon the Town of *Belbeis*, which they fortifie, and there attend the arrivall of more companie from *Damaſco*, for the conqueſt of all Egypt. The *Soldan* perceives their intent, and findes himſelfe not ſtrong enough to expell them, much leſſe to repell the Turkiſh Armie, that was likely to ſecond them. He therefore ſends Meſſengers to King *Almaricke* of *Jeruſalem*, whom with large promiſes, he gets to bring him aide, and ſo drives out the Turkes. Of all this trouble the great *Caliph* heares nothing, or not ſo much as ſhould make him looke to the playing of his own game.

A greater miſchiefe ariſeth, concerning the *Caliph Elhadech* particularly in his owne Title. *Syracon*, Captaine of the Turkes that had been in *Egypt*, goes to the *Caliph* of *Baldach* (who was oppoſite to him of *Egypt*, each of them claiming as heire to *Mahomet* that falſe Prophet, the Soveraigntie over all that were of the Saracen Law) and tels him the weakeneſſe of the *Egyptian*, with his owne abilitie of doing ſervice in thoſe parts, offering his beſt means for the extirpation of the Schiſmaticall *Caliph*, and the reduction of all *Egypt*, with the Weſtern parts, under the ſubjection of the *Babylonian*. This motion is readily and joyfully entertained; all the Eaſtern Provinces are up in Armes, and *Syracon*, with a mightie power, deſcendeth into *Egypt*. The noyſe of this great expedition ſo affrighteth King *Almaricke*, that with all his forces he haſteth into *Egypt*: well knowing how nearely it concerned him and his Kingdome of *Jeruſalem*, to keepe the Saracens from joyning all under one head. *Sanar* the Soldan perceiving the faithfull care of the Chriſtians his friends, welcomes them, and beſtirs himſelfe in giving them all manner of content, as it behoved him: for by their admirable valour, he finally drave the enemies out of the Countrie. But this victorie was not ſo ſoone gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which moſt concernes our preſent purpoſe) that of ſo deſperate a danger, the *Caliph*, as yet, ſeemes to know nothing. May we not thinke him to have been King in title, onely, who meddled ſo little in the Government? The Soldan, finding that the Chriſtians (without whoſe helpe all was loſt) could not well ſtay ſo long as his neceſſities required: makes large offers to King *Almaricke*, upon condition that he ſhould abide by it. He promiſeth a great Tribute (*William* of *Tyre* calls it a Tribute; the Saracens, perhaps, called it a Penſion) which the Kings of *Jeruſalem* ſhould receive out of *Egypt*, for this behovefull aſſiſtance. But the Chriſtians underſtanding that the Soldan (how much ſoever he tooke upon him) was ſubject to a higher Lord, would make no bargain of ſuch importance with any other than the *Caliph* himſelfe. Hereupon *Hugh* Earle of *Cæſarea*, and a Knight of the Templars, are ſent unto *Elhadech* to ratifie the covenants. Now ſhall we ſee the greatneſſe of the *Caliph* and his eſtate.

Theſe Embaſſadours were conveighed by the Soldan to *Cairo*, where arriving at the Palace, they found it guarded by great troupes of Souldiers. The firſt entrance was through dark Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of *Ethiopians*, which with all diligence, did reverence to the Soldan as he paſſed along. Through theſe ſtreights the Warders led them, into goodly open Courts, of ſuch beautie and riches, that they could not retaine the gravitie of Embaſſadours, but were inforced to admire the things which detained their eyes. For there they ſaw goodly Marble Pillars, gilded Beames, all wrought over with emboſſed workes, curious pavements, fiſh-ponds of marble with cleare waters, and many ſorts of ſtrange birds, unknown in thoſe parts of the World, as comming perhaps from the Eaſt Indies, which then was undiſcovered. The further they went, the greater was the magnificence; for the *Caliph* his Eunuches conveyed them into other Courts within theſe, as far excelling the former, as the former did ſurpaſſe ordinarie houſes. It were tedious perhaps to rehearſe how the further they entred, the more high ſtate they found, and cauſe of marvaile; ſuffice it, that the good Archbiſhop, who wrote theſe things, was never held a vaine Author. Finally they were brought into the Caliphs owne lodgings, which were yet more ſtately and better guarded; where entring the Preſence, the Soldan having twice proſtrated himſelfe, did the third time caſt off his Sword that he wore about his necke, and throw himſelfe on the ground before the curtaine, behinde which the Caliph ſate. Preſently the traverſe wrought with Gold and Pearles was opened, and the Caliph himſelfe diſcovered, ſitting with great majeſty on a throne of gold, having few of his moſt inward ſervants and Eunuches about him. When the Soldan had humbly kiſſed his Maſters feet, he briefly told the cauſe of his comming, the danger wherein the land ſtood, and the offers that he had made unto King *Almerick*, deſiring the Caliph himſelfe to ratifie them in preſence of the Embaſſadors. The Caliph anſwered, That he would throughly perform all which was promiſed. But this contented not the Embaſſadors: They would have him to give his hand upon the bargaine; which the Egyptians that ſtood by thought an impudent requeſt. Yet his greatneſſe condeſcended at length, after much deliberation at the earneſt requeſt of the Soldan, to reach out his hand. When the Earle of Cæſaria ſaw that the Caliph gave his hand neither willingly nor bare, he told him roundly thus much in effect: Sir, Truth ſeekes no holes to hide it ſelfe; Princes that will hold covenant, muſt deale openly, nakedly and ſincerely; Give us therefore your bare hand, if you meane that we ſhall truſt you, for we will make no bargaine with your Glove. Much adoe there was about this: for it ſeemed againſt the Majeſty of ſuch a Prince to yeeld ſo far. But when it would none otherwiſe be, with a ſmiling cheare (though to the great griefe of his Servants) hee vouchſafed to let the Earle take him by the bare hand; and ſo rehearſing the covenants word by word, as the Earle ſpake them, he ratified all; diſmiſſing finally the Embaſſadors with ſuch rewards as teſtified his greatneſſe.

In this Caliph and his Sultan, we may diſcerne the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, and his Viceroy: we ſee a Prince of great eſtate, ſitting in his Palace, and not vexing himſelfe with the great preparations made againſt him, which terrefie his neighbour Countries: we ſee his Viceroy, in the meane ſeaſon, uſing all Royall power; making war and peace; entertaining and repelling Armies of ſtrangers; yea, making the Land of Egypt tributary to a forrain Prince. What greater authority was given to *Joſeph*, when *Pharaoh* ſaid unto him, *Thou ſhalt be over mine houſe, and at thy word ſhall all my people be armed, only in the Kings throne will I be above thee. Behold I have ſet thee over all the Land of Egypt?*

I doe not commend this forme of Government; neither can I approve the conjecture of mine Author, where he thinkes, that the Egyptians, ever ſince *Joſephs* time, have felt the burden of that ſervitude which he brought upon them, when he bought them and their Lands for *Pharaoh*. Herein I finde his judgement good; that he affirmes this manner of the Egyptian Kings, in taking their eaſe, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient cuſtomes practiſed by the *Pharaohs*. For we find, that even the *Ptolomies* (excepting *Ptolomæus Lagi*, and his ſon *Philadelphus*, founder and eſtabliſher of that race) were given, all of them wholly to pleaſe their owne appetites, leaving the charge of the Kingdome to Women, Eunuches, and other miniſters of their deſires. The pleaſures which that Country afforded, were indeed ſufficient to invite the Kings thereof unto a voluptuous life; and the awfull regard wherein the Egyptians held their Princes, gave them ſecurity, whereby they might the better truſt their Officers with ſo ample commiſſion. But of this matter, I will not ſtand longer to diſpute. It is enough to have ſhewed, that the great and almoſt abſolute power of the Viceroyes governing Egypt, is ſet down by *Moſes*, and that a lively example of the ſame is found in *William* of *Tyre*; who lived in the ſame age; was in few yeares after Chancellour of the Kingdome of Jeruſalem; and had full diſcourſe with *Hugh* Earle of Cæſaria touching all theſe matters. Wherefore it remaines, that we be not carried away with a vaine opinion, to beleeve that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous Egyptians have honoured with that ſtile; but reſt contented with a Catalogue of ſuch, as we find by circumſtance, likely to have reigned in that Country; after whom it followes that we ſhould make inquiry.

## §. II.

*Of* Acherres; *whether he were* Uchoreus *that was the eighth from* Oſymandyas. *Of* Oſymandyas *and his Tombe.*

IN this buſineſſe I hold it vaine to be too curious. For who can hope to attaine to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Euſebius* from both of them; and late Writers that have ſought to gather the truth out of theſe and others, finde no one with whom they can agree? In this caſe *Annius* would doe good ſervice, if a man could truſt him. But it is enough to be beholding to him, when others doe either ſay nothing, or that which may juſtly be ſuſpected. I will therefore hold my ſelfe contented with the pleaſure that he hath done me, in ſaying ſomewhat of *Oſiris*, *Iſis*, *Orus*, and thoſe antiquities removed ſo farre out of ſight: as for the Kings following the departure of Iſrael out of Egypt, it ſhall ſuffice that *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Euſebius* have not beene ſilent, and that *Reineccius* hath taken paines to range into ſome good order the names that are extant in theſe, or elſe found ſcattering in others.

From the departure of Iſrael out of Egypt, unto the reigne of *Thuoris* (who is generally taken to be the ſame that the Greeks call *Proteus*) there is little or no diſagreement about the Egyptian Kings. Wherefore I ſet down the ſame which are found in *Euſebius*, and give to every one the ſame length of reigne.

*Acherres* was the firſt of theſe, who ſucceded unto *Chencres*, that periſhed in the Red Sea. This King ſeemes to *Reineccius* to be the ſame whom *Diodorus* calls *Uchoreus*, the founder of Memphis. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* of a great King, named *Oſymandyas*, from whom *Uchoreus* is ſaid to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timaus* (as *Reineccius* conjectures) was the great *Oſymandyas*; or elſe that this *Acherres* was *Uchoreus*: for the diſtance between them was more than eight generations. *Mercator* judgeth *Oſymandyas* to have bin the husband of *Ancheres*, *Orus* the ſeconds daughter; thinking that *Manethon* (cited by *Joſephus*) doth omit his name, and inſert his wives into the Catalogue of Kings, becauſe he was King in his wives right. As for *Uchoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to find him the eighth from this man: for he takes *Ogdous*, not to ſignifie in this place of *Diodore* (as that Greek word elſe doth) the eighth, but to be an Egyptian name, belonging alſo to *Uchoreus*, who might have had two names, as many of the reſt had. I will not vexe my braines in the unprofitable ſearch of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Oſymandyas*, was wrought upon his monument; the moſt thereof in figures, which I think the Egyptians did fabulouſly expound. For whereas there was portrayed a great Army with the ſiege of a Town, the captivity of the people, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this, the Egyptians ſaid to denote the conqueſt of Bactria made by that King: which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly piece of worke, which *Diodore* ſo particularly deſcribes to have beene erected for a common place of buriall to the ancient Kings and Queens of Egypt, and to their Viceroyes; whileſt yet they were not ſo ambitious, as every one to have his owne particular monument, ſtriving therein to exceed all others. This appeares by the many ſtatuaes therein placed, by the Wars, the judgement ſeate, the receiving of Tribute, the offering ſacrifice to God, the account of revenues, and plenty of all cattell and food; all which were there curiouſly wrought, ſhewing the ſeverall Offices of a Governour. On the Tombe of *Oſymandyas* was this inſcription. *I am* Oſymandyas *King of Kings; If any deſire to know what I am, or where I lye, let him exceed ſome of my workes.* Let them that hope to exceed his works, labour to know what he was. But ſince by thoſe words, *Or where I lye*, it ſhould ſeem that he lay not there interred, we may lawfully ſuſpect that it was *Joſeph*, whoſe body was preſerved among the Hebrewes, to be buried in the land of Canaan, and this empty Monument might King *Orus*, who outlived him, erect in honor of his high deſerts, among the royal ſepulchres. To which purpoſe the plenty of Cattell, and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name of *Oſymandyas* doth not hinder this conjecture; ſeeing *Joſeph* had one new name given to him by *Pharaoh*, for expounding the dream, and might, upon further occaſions, have another, to his increaſe of honour. As for that ſtile, *King of Kings*, it was perhaps no more than *Beglerbeg*, as the *Turkiſh Baſſaes* are called, that is, Great above the Great.

Now although it be ſo, that the reckoning fals out right, between the times of *Joſeph* and *Acherres* (for *Acherres* was the eight in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whoſe Viceroy *Joſeph* was) yet will I hereby ſeeke, neither to fortifie mine own conjecture, as touching *Joſeph*, nor to infer any likelihood of *Acherres* his being *Uchoreus*. For it might well be, that *Memphis* was built by ſome ſuch King as was *Gehoar*, Lievtenant unto the Caliph *Elcain*; who having to his Maſters uſe conquered *Egypt*, and many other Countries, did build, not far from old *Memphis*, the great Citie of *Cairo* (corruptly ſo pronounced) naming it *El Cahira*, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Miſtreſſe, though he him ſelfe were a *Dalmatian* ſlave.

*John Leo. Hiſt. Afric. l.1. & l.8.*

## §. III.

### *Of* Cherres, Armeus, Rameſſes, *and* Amenophis. *Of* Myris, *and the Lake that beares his name.*

WHen *Acherres* had raigned eight years, *Cherres* ſucceeded and held the kingdome fifteen years: then raigned *Armeus* five years, and after him *Rameſſes*, threeſcore and eight. Of *Armeus* and *Rameſſes* is that Hiſtorie underſtood by *Euſebius*, which is common among the Greekes, under the names of *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*. For it is ſaid that *Danaus*, being expelled out of *Egypt* by his brother, fled into *Greece*: where he obtained the Kingdome of *Argos*: that he had fiftie Daughters, whom upon ſeeming reconciliation, he gave in marriage to his brothers fiftie ſons, but commanded every one of them to kill her husband the firſt night; that onely *Hypermneſtra*, one of his Daughters, did ſave her husband *Lynceus*, and ſuffered him to eſcape; finally, That for this fact, all the bloudie ſiſters, when they dyed, were enjoyned this fooliſh puniſhment in Hell, to fill a leaking veſſell with water.

The reign of *Danaus* in *Argos* was indeed in this age; but that *Armeus* was *Danaus*, and *Rameſſes*, *Ægyptus*; is more than *Reineccius* beleeves: he rather takes *Armeus* to have bin *Myris*, or *Meris*, who cauſed the great lake to be made which beares his name. For my own part, as I can eaſily beleeve, that he which fled out of *Egypt* into *Greece*, was a man of ſuch qualitie as the Soldan *Sanar*, of whom we ſpake before; ſo doe I not find how in ſo ſhort a raigne, as five years, a worke of that labour could be finiſhed, which was required unto the Lake of *Myris*, and the Monuments therein; whereof his own Sepulchre and his wives being ſome part, it is manifeſt that he was not buried in *Argos*. Wherefore of *Myris*, and of all other Kings, whoſe age is uncertaine, and of whoſe raignes we have no aſſurance, I may truly ſay, that their great works are not enough to prove them of the houſe of *Pharaoh*, ſeeing that greater deeds or more abſolute, than were thoſe of *Joſeph*, who bought all the people of *Egypt* as bondmen, and all their land for bread; of *Gehoar*, who founded *Cairo*; and of *Sanar*, who made the Countrey Tributarie; were performed by none of them.

It ſhall therefore be enough to ſet down the length of their reignes whom we finde to have followed one another in order of ſucceſſion: but in rehearſing the great acts which were performed, I will not ſtand to examine, whether they that did them were kings or no.

The Lake of *Myris*, is, by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, three thouſand ſix hundred furlongs in compaſſe, and fiftie fadomes deep. It ſerved to receive the waters of *Nilus*, when the over-flow, being too great, was harmefull to the Countrie: and to ſupply the defect, by letting out the waters of the lake, when the river did not riſe high enough. In opening the ſluces of this lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were ſpent fiftie talents; but the Lake it ſelf defraied that coſt; ſeeing the tribute impoſed upon fiſh taken therein was every day one talent, which *Myris* gave to his Wife to buy ſweet oyntments, and other ornaments for her bodie. In the middeſt of it was left an Iland, wherein were the Sepulchres of *Myris* and his Wife, and over each of them a Pyramis, that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) fiftie paces high; having on the tops their ſtatues, ſitting in Thrones. I find not the deſcription of this Lake in Maps, anſwerable to the report of Hiſtorians: yet it is very great. The years of *Armeus* are by *Manethon* divided, by inſerting one *Armeſis* (whom *Euſebius* omits) that ſhould have raigned one year and odde moneths of the time: but I hold not this difference worthie of examination.

After *Rameſſes*, his ſon *Amenophis* held the Kingdome fortie years. Some give him only nineteene yeares; and *Mercator* thinkes him to have been the King that was drowned in the Red Sea: whereof I have alreadie ſpoken in the firſt Booke.

## §. IV.

### *Of the Kings that reigned in the Dynaſtie of the Larthes.*

Sethoſis, or *Zethus*, reigned after his Father *Amenophis*, fiftie five yeares. To him are aſcribed the famous acts of that ancient *Seſoſtris*. But the ſtate of the world was not ſuch at theſe times, that ſo great an expedition as the old *Seſoſtris* made, could have been either eaſily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he paſſed, had it now been performed; as any man will perceive, if he looke upon my Chronologicall Table, and conſider who lived with this *Zethus*. With this King began the Dynaſtie of the Larths; which *Reineccius* conjectures to have had the ſame ſignification, wherein the old Kings of *Hetruria*, were called Lartes, (the *Hetrurians* being iſſued out of *Lydia*, the *Lydians* out of *Egypt*) and to have ſignified as much as *Imperator*, or *Generall*. The wars in which theſe Kings were Generals, I take to have been againſt the *Æthiopians*: for ſure I am, that they troubled not the Countrie of *Palæſtina*, that lay next unto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they travelled over the deſart ſands, on the other hand; to ſeek matter of conqueſt, in the poore Countries of *Africa*. But theſe Generals (if the Larthes were ſuch) were not many. Five only had that title; and the laſt of theſe tooke it, perhaps, as hereditarie from the firſt; in ſuch ſort as the *Romane* Emperours were proud, for a while, to be called *Antonini*, till the moſt unſutable conditions of *Heliogabalus*, made his ſucceſſors forbeare the name.

Here it may be objected, that the Dynaſties (as appeares by this particular) took name from the Kings; that the Kings alſo did adminiſter the government themſelves, and that therefore I am deceived in aſcribing ſo much unto the Viceroyes. But it is to be conſidered, that what is ſaid of theſe Larthes, depends only upon conjecture, and that the authoritie of the Regents, or Viceroyes, might be great enough, though ſome few Kings took the conduct of Armies into their owne hands. For ſo we finde in *John Leo*, that the Soldan of *Egypt* (after ſuch time as the Soldan *Saladine*, murdering the Caliph, got the Soveraigntie to himſelfe) had under him a Viceroy, ſtiled *Eddaguadare*, who had authoritie to place, or diſplace, any Magiſtrates, or Officers; and that this mans Familie was almoſt as great, as the Soldans owne. Yet was there alſo the *Amir Cabir*, or Lord Generall of the Soldans forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might, as he thought good, ſpend of the Soldans treaſure. So might the office of the Viceroyes continue, though the Kings themſelves, taking the charge, or title of Generals upon them, did ſomewhat abridge the greatneſſe of that ſecond place. As for the names of the Dynaſties, it skills not whence they were drawn; whether from their Countrey, as thoſe of the *Thebans* and *Diapolitans*; or from ſome eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time; as many think, that the ſeventeenth Dynaſtie was called of the Shepheards, becauſe *Joſeph* governed in part thereof; or from the Kings themſelves that reigned; as this was ſaid to be of the Larthes or Generals. The next, as *Manetho* (but *Annius* his *Manetho*) hath it, was without any Larths or Generals, yet was it not without kings, foraſmuch as *Vaphres*, and *Seſac*, raigned therein, if many others did not. But let us now return to the buſineſſe which we left.

John Leo 8.

*Rameſes* was King after *Zethus*, or *Sethoſis*, threeſcore and ſixe yeares. He is miſtaken for that ſecond *Seſoſtris*, of whom I have ſpoken in the firſt booke. I find nothing worth rehearſall of this *Rameſes*, or of *Amenophis* and *Annemenes*, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned fortie, the latter ſixe and twentie yeares. Wherefore it may very well be, that the name which *Zethus* had from valour, was taken by theſe as hereditarie.

*Thuoris*, the laſt of the Larthes, reigned only ſeven years; yet is he thought to have bin that *Proteus*, of whom *Herodotus* hath mention, ſaying, That he took *Helena* from *Paris*, and after the ſack of *Troy*, reſtored her to *Menelaus*. I need ſay no more in refutation of this, than that the time of *Thuoris* his raign laſted not ſo long as from the Rape of *Helen* to her reſtitution.

This *Proteus* or *Cetes* (as he is named by ſome) together with *Thon*, and others, mentioned by *Greek*-Writers in this buſineſſe, or in other ſuch matters, may ſeeme to be under-Officers: for ſuch only are like to have had their reſidence about *Pharos*, and the ſea-coaſt where *Menelaus* arrived.

Of *Proteus*, who detained *Helen*, it is ſaid that he could foretell things to come, and that he could change himſelfe into all ſhapes: whereby is ſignified his crafty head, for which he is grown into a Proverb. The Poets fained him a Sea-God, and keeper of *Neptunes* Seale-fiſhes, for belike he was ſome under-Officer to the Admirall, having charge of the Fiſhing about the Iſle of *Pharos*, as was ſaid before.

*Remphes* the Son of *Proteus*, is reckoned the next King, by *Diodore*, as alſo by *Herodotus*, who calls him *Ramſinitus*, and tells a long tale fit to pleaſe children, of his covetouſneſſe, and how his treaſure-houſe was robbed by a cunning thiefe, that at laſt married his Daughter. But of this a man may beleeve what he liſt. How long this King reigned I know not, nor think that either he or his father did reigne at all.

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## §. V.

*Of the Egyptian Kings, whoſe names are found ſcattering in ſundry Authors, their times being not recorded. The Kings of Egypt, according to* Cedrenus. *Of* Vaphres *and* Seſac.

Many other names of *Egyptian* Kings, are found ſcattered here and there; as *Tonepherſobis*, of whom *Suidas* delivers onely the bare name and title; *Senemures*, or *Senepos*, mentioned in *Macrobius*, who perhaps was the ſame that by *Suidas* is called *Senyes*, or *Euenes*, noted by occaſion of a great Phyſician that lived under him; *Banchyris*, recorded by the ſame *Suidas* for his great juſtice; and *Thulis*, of whom *Suidas* tels great matters; as, that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gave name to the Iſle of *Thule*, which ſome take to be Iſeland; and that he conſulted with the Divell, or (which is all one) with *Seraphis*, deſiring to know, who before him had beene, or after him ſhould be ſo mighty as himſelfe. The anſwer or confeſsion of the Divell was remarkeable; which I find Engliſhed in the tranſlation of *Pleſsis* his work, *Of the trueneſſe of Chriſtian Religion*. The *Greek* Verſes are ſomewhat otherwiſe, and much more imperfect in thoſe Copies that I have of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the ſenſe is all one; which is this:

> Firſt *God*, and next *The Word*, and then *The Spirit*,
> Which three be *One*, and joyne in *One* all three:
> Whoſe force is endleſſe. Get thee hence fraile wight,
> The man of Life unknowne excelleth thee.

I ſhould have thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found ſomewhat more in *Suidas* than *Cedrenus* hath hereof; as the forme of invocation which *Thulis* uſed, and that clauſe of his giving name to the Iland: though in this laſt point I hold *Suidas* to be deceived; as alſo *Cedrenus* is, or (at leaſt) ſeems to me, in giving to this King ſuch profound antiquity of reigne. Indeed the very name of that booke, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Geneſis*, is alone enough to breed ſuſpition of ſome impoſture: but the Frierly ſtuffe that he alledgeth out of it, is ſuch as would ſerve to diſcredit himſelfe, were it not otherwiſe apparent that he was a man both devout and of good judgement in matters that fell within his compaſſe. I will here ſet downe the Liſt of old *Egyptian* Kings delivered by him, and leave the cenſure to others.

The firſt King of *Egypt* that he ſets downe, is *Mizraim* the ſonne of *Cham*. After him he finds many of a new race, deriving their pedegree thus: *Nimrod* the ſonne of *Chus* was alſo called *Orion*, and further took upon him the name of the Planet *Saturne*, had to wife *Semiramis*, who was of his owne Linage, and by her three ſons; *Picus*, ſurnamed *Jupiter*, *Belus* and *Ninus*. *Picus* chaſing his father out of *Aſſyria* into *Italie*, reigned in his ſtead thirtie yeares, and then gave up that Kigndome to *Juno* his ſiſter and wife, and to *Belus* his ſon: after which *Belus*, who reigned onely two yeares, *Ninus* had the Kingdome, and married his owne Mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italie* to viſit his old Father *Saturne*; *Saturne* forth-with reſigned the Kingdome unto him. *Picus Jupiter* reigned in *Italie* threeſcore and two yeares, had threeſcore and tenne Wives or Concubines, and about as many children: finally dyed, and lyes buried in the *Iſle* of *Crete*.

The Principall of *Jupiters* ſons were *Faunus*, *Perſeus*, and *Apollo*. *Faunus* was called by the name of the Planet *Mercurie*: hee reigned in *Italie*, after his Father, five and thirty yeares: and then (finding that all his brethren conſpired againſt him) he went into *Egypt*, with abundance of Treaſure; where, after the death of *Miſraim*, he got the Kingdome, and held it nine and thirty yeares. After *Mercury*, *Vulcan* reigned in *Egypt*, foure yeares and a halfe. Then *Sol*, the ſonne of *Vulcan*, reigned twenty yeares and a halfe. There followed in order *Soſis*, *Oſiris*, *Orus* and *Thules*, of whom we ſpake before: the length of their ſeverall reignes is not ſet downe. After *Thules*, was the great *Seſoſtris* King twenty yeares. His ſucceſſor was *Pharaoh*, called *Narecho*, that held the Crowne fiftie yeares, with which there paſſed from him the ſurname of *Pharaoh*, to a very long poſteritie.

Theſe reports of *Cedrenus* I hold it enough to ſet downe as I find them: let their credit reſt upon the Author.

Others yet we find, that are ſaid to have reigned in *Egypt*, without any certaine note, when, or how long: about whom I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vaine curioſitie, in the ſearch made after theſe already rehearſed, than of negligence, in omitting ſuch as might have been added.

Clem.Strom.l.1.
Euſeb de Prep.
Evang.l.9.c.4.
1 King.9.16.
& 11.v.18.
19.&c.

*Vaphres*, the father in law to *Salomon*, and *Seſac*, the afflicter of *Rehoboam*, lead us again into faire way, but not farre. The name of *Vaphres* is not found in the Scriptures; but we are beholding to *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Euſebius* for it. Theſe give us not the length of his reigne; but we know that he lived in the times of *David* and of *Salomon*. He came into *Paleſtina* with an Armie, took *Gezar* from the *Canaanites*, and gave it to his daughter, *Salomons* wife: though for her ſake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Seſac* his ſon did favour the enemies of *Salomon*, who kept ſo many Wives and Concubines, beſides this *Egyptian* Princeſſe. In the life of *Rehoboam* all hath bin written that I find of *Seſac*, excepting the length of his reigne, which muſt have bin ſixe and twenty yeares, if he were that *Smendis* with whom *Euſebius* begins the one and twentieth *Dynaſtie*.

Now foraſmuch as it would ſerve to no great purpoſe, that wee knew the length of *Seſac* his reigne, and of theirs that followed him, unleſſe therewithall we knew the beginning of *Seſac*, upon which the reſt have dependance; this courſe I take. From the fourth year of *Jehojakim* king of *Juda*, in which *Pharao Neco* was ſlain, I reckon upwards the yeares of the ſame *Neco*, and of his Predeceſſors, unto the beginning of *Seſac*: by which accompt, the firſt year of *Seſac* is found concurrent with the twentieth of *Salomons* reigne, and the twenty ſixe of *Seſac* with the fifth of *Rehoboam*: wherein *Seſac* ſpoyled the Temple, and dyed, enjoying the fruits of his Sacriledge no longer than *Joas* the *Iſraelite*, and *Craſſus* the *Romane* did; who after him ſpoyled the Temple of *Jeruſalem*.

To fill up the time between *Seſac* and *Neco*, I have rather taken thoſe kings that I find in the *Greeke* Hiſtorians, than them which are in *Euſebius* his Catalogue. For of thoſe that are delivered by *Euſebius*, we find no Name nor Act recorded elſewhere, ſave only of *Bocchoris*, who is remembred by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others, much being ſpoken of him, that makes him appeare to have bin a King. Hereunto I may adde, that the ſucceſſion is often interrupted in *Euſebius* by *Æthiopians*, which got the kingdome often, and held it long: whereas contrariwiſe it appeares by the Prophet *Eſay*, that the Counſellors of *Pharaoh* did vaunt of the long and flouriſhing continuance of that houſe, inſomuch that they ſaid of *Pharaoh*, *I am the ſonne of the wiſe, I am the ſonne of the ancient King*. But that which overthrows the reckoning of *Euſebius*, is the good agreement of it with his miſtaken times of the Kings of *Juda*. For though it pleaſe him well to ſee how the reignes of *Joſias* and *Neco* meet by his computation, yet this indeed marres all; the reign of *Joſias* being miſplaced. This errour growes from his omitting to compare the reignes of the Kings of *Juda* with theirs of *Iſrael*: by which occaſion *Joram* King of *Iſrael*, is made to reigne three yeares after *Ahazia* of *Juda*; *Samaria* is taken by *Salmanaſſar* before *Hezechia* was King: and in a word, all, or moſt of the Kings have their beginnings placed in ſome other yeare, of their collaterals than the Scriptures have determined.

Eſai 19.11.

## §. VI.

### *Of* Chemmis, Cheops, Cephrenes, *and other Kings recited by* Herodotus *and* Diodorus Siculus, *which reigned betweene the times of* Rehoboam *and* Ezechia.

Following therefore the *Greeke* Hiſtorians, I place *Chemmis*, or (according to *Diodore) Chembis*, firſt in the ranke of thoſe that were Kings after *Seſac*. Hee reigned fiftie yeares, and built the greateſt of the three *Pyramides*, which was accounted one of this worlds Wonders. The *Pyramis* hath his name from the ſhape, in that it reſembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottome upwards narrower and narrower to the top. This of *Chemmis* being foure-ſquare, had a Baſe of ſeven acres every way, and was about ſixe acres high. It was of a very hard and durable ſtone, which had laſted, when *Diodore* ſaw it, about a thouſand yeares, without complaining of any injurie that it had ſuffered by weather in ſo long ſpace. From the reigne of *Chemmis*, unto the age of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, wherein *Diodore* lived, are indeed a thouſand yeares; which doth give the better likelihood unto this time wherein *Chemmis* is placed. As for this and other *Pyramides*, late Writers doe teſtifie, that they have ſeene them yet ſtanding.

After *Chemmis*, *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his brother; but doubtfully, and enclining rather to the opinion, that his ſon *Chabreus* ſucceeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might be *Chabreus*) and *Cephrenes* after him. Theſe are ſaid to have been brethren; but the length of their reignes may argue the latter to have been ſonne to the former: for *Cheops* reigned fifty yeares; *Cephrenes* fifty ſixe. Theſe were, as *Chemmis* had beene, builders of Pyramides, whereby they purchaſed great hatred of their people, who already had over-laboured themſelves in erecting the firſt. Theſe Pyramides were ordained to be Tombes for thoſe that raiſed them; but the malice of the *Egyptians* is ſaid to have caſt out their bodies, & to have called their Monuments by the name of an Heardſman, that kept his Beaſts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their honour, and entituling a poore fellow to their works, was held to be the caſting out of their bodies; otherwiſe it is hard to conceive how it might be, that they, who had not power to avoyd the like ſlavery laid upon them by the younger brother or ſonne, ſhould have power or leaſure to take ſuch revenge upon his Predeceſſor. To the like malice may be aſcribed the tale deviſed againſt *Cheops* his Daughter; That her Father wanting money, did proſtitute her, & that ſhe getting of every man that accompanyed her, one ſtone, did build with them a fourth Pyramis, that ſtood in the midſt of the other three. Belike ſhe was an inſolent Lady, and made them follow their drudgery for her ſake, longer a while than they thought to have done, in raiſing a Monument with the ſuperfluity of her Fathers proviſions.

*Diodor.l.1.*
*Herod.l.2.*

*Mycerinus* the ſon of *Cephrenes* reigned after his Father ſixe yeares. He would have built as his fore-goers did, but prevented by death, finiſhed not what he had begun. The people thought him a good King, for that he did ſet open the Temples which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept ſhut. But an Oracle threatned him with a ſhort life of ſixe years only, becauſe of this his devotion; *For* (ſaid the Oracle) *Egypt ſhould have beene afflicted an hundred and fiftie yeares, which thy Predeceſſors knew, and performed for their parts; but thou haſt releaſed it, therefore ſhalt thou live but ſixe yeares.* It is very ſtrange, that the gods ſhould be offended with a King for his piety; or that they ſhould decree to make a Countrey impious, when the people were deſirous to ſerve them; or that they having ſo decreed, it ſhould lye in the power of a King to alter deſtinie, and make the ordinance of the gods to faile in taking full effect. But theſe were *Egyptian* gods. The true God was doubtleſſe more offended with the inſtitution of ſuch Idolatry, than with the interruption. And who knowes whether *Chemmis* did not learne ſomewhat at *Jeruſalem* in the laſt yeare of his Father *Seſac*, that made him perceive, and deliver to thoſe that followed him, the vanity of his *Egyptian* ſuperſtition? Moſt ſure it is, that his reigne, and the reignes of *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* were more long and more happy than that of *Mycerinus*, who, to delude the Oracle, revelled away both dayes and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, he had changed his nights into dayes, and ſo doubled the time appointed: a ſervice more pleaſing to the Divell, than the reſtitution of Idolatry durſt then ſeeme, when it could ſpeed no better. I finde in *Reineccius* fiftie years aſſigned to this King; which I verily beleeve to have bin ſome errour of the print, though I find it not corrected among other ſuch overſights: For I know no Author that gives him ſo many years, and *Reineccius* himſelfe takes notice of the Oracle, that threatned *Mycerinus* with a ſhort life, as is before ſhewed.

*Bocchorus* is placed next unto *Mycerinus*, by *Diodore*, who ſpeakes no more of him than this, that he was a ſtrong man of body, & excelling his predeceſſors in wit. He is ſpoken of by divers Authors, as one that loved juſtice; and may be taken for that *Banchyris* whom *Suidas* commends in that kinde: *Euſebius* reckons 44. years of his reigne.

After *Boccorus*, one *Sabacus* an *Æthiopian* followes in the Catalogue of *Diodore*; but certaine ages after him. *Herodotus* quite omitting *Bocchorus*, hath *Aſychis*; who made a ſharpe law (as it was then held) againſt bad debtors, that their dead bodies ſhould be in the creditors diſpoſition, till the debt were paid. This *Aſychis* made a Pyramis of brick, more coſtly and faire, in his owne judgement, than any of thoſe that the former Kings had raiſed. Beſides this *Aſychis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Anyſis*, a blind man, before the *Æthiopian*. The reignes of theſe two are perhaps thoſe many ages which the *Egyptians*, to magnifie their antiquities, accounted betweene *Bocchorus* and him that followed them. But all this could make but ſixe yeares; and ſo long doth *Functius*, ſo long doth *Reineccius* hold, that theſe two Kings between them both did govern. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it unprobable that the reignes of two Kings ſhould have bin ſo ſoone ſpent; he may doe it by taking ſome yeares from *Sethon* or *Pſammiticus*, and adding them to either of theſe. To adde unto theſe without ſubtracting from ſome other, would breed a manifeſt inconvenience: foraſmuch as part of *Seſac* his reigne, muſt have beene in *the fifth of Rehoboam*, as alſo the laſt of *Pharao Neco* was the fourth of *Jehojakim*, and the firſt of *Nebuchadnezzar*. For mine owne part, I like it better to allow ſixe years only to theſe two Kings, than to loſe the witneſſe of *Herodotus*, who, concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth ſpeak of *Sennacheribs* war: at which time *Sethon* was King of *Egypt*. I will not therefore adde years unto theſe obſcure names; for by adding unto theſe men three years, we ſhall thruſt the beginning of *Sethon* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Sennacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him in his *Egyptian* Kings. Otherwiſe it were a matter of no great envie to leave both *Aſychis* and *Anyſis* out of the roll; which were eaſily done, by placing *Seſac* lower, and extending his life yet ſixe years further, or more (if the like abridgement ſhall be required of *Pſammiticus* his reigne) into the years of *Rehoboam*.

1 King.14.25.
2 Chro, 12.v.2.

Of *Sabacus* the *Æthiopian*, who took the Kingdome from *Anyſis*, it is agreed by the moſt, that he reigned fiftie years. He was a mercifull Prince, not puniſhing all capitall offences with death, but impoſing bondage and bodily labour upon malefactors; by whoſe toile he both got much wealth into his owne hands, letting out their ſervice to hire, and performed many works of more uſe than pompe, to the ſingular benefit of the Countrey. *Zonaras* calls this King *Sua*; the Scriptures call him *So*. *Hoſea*, the laſt King of *Iſrael*, made a league with him againſt *Salmanaſſar*, little to his good: for the *Egyptian* was more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendſhip could not preſerve the *Iſraelite* from deſtruction.

It ſeemes, that the encroaching power of the *Aſſyrian* grew terrible to *Egypt* about theſe times; the victories of *Tiglath Phulaſſar* and *Salmanaſſar* having eaten ſo farre into *Syria*, in the reigne of this one King *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his daies (for his reigne began in the fourth of *Menahem*) that *Phul* himſelfe did make the firſt entrance into *Palæſtina*. This cauſed *So* to animate the halfe ſubdued people againſt their Conquerors; but the helpe which he and his Succeſſor gave them was ſo faint, that *Sennacheribs* Embaſſador compared the *Egyptian* ſuccour to a broken ſtaffe of Reed. Such indeed had *Hoſea* found it, and ſuch *Ezechia* might have found it, had he not beene ſupported by the ſtrong ſtaffe of him that ruleth all Nations with a rodde of yron. It appeareth by the words of *Rabſake*, that the opinion was great in *Juda*, of the *Egyptian* forces, *for Chariots and Horſe-men*; but this power, whatſoever it was, grew needfull, within a little while, for the defence of *Egypt* it ſelfe, which *So* left unto *Sethon* his Succeſſor, having now fulfilled the fifty years of his reigne. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have both one tale, from the relation of *Egyptian* Prieſts, concerning the departure of this King; ſaying, that he left the Countrey, and willingly retired into *Æthiopia*,

2 Kin.18.25.

becauſe it was often ſignified unto him in his dreames, by the god which was worſhipped at *Thebes*, that his reigne ſhould be neither long nor proſperous, unleſſe he ſlew all the Prieſts in *Egypt*; which rather than to do, he reſigned his Kingdome. Surely, theſe *Egyptian* gods were of a ſtrange quality, that ſo ill rewarded their ſervants, and invited Kings to doe them wrong. Well might the *Egyptians* (as they likewiſe did) worſhip Dogs as gods, when their chiefe gods had the property of Dogs, which love their Maſters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the Prieſts ſhould have feigned this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I thinke that it might be ſome device of the fearefull old man, who ſeeing his Realme in danger of an invaſion, ſought an honeſt excuſe for his departure out of it, and with-drawing himſelfe into *Æthiopia*, where he had bin bred in his youth. What if I ſhould ſay, that the *Æthiopia* into which he went, was none other than *Arabia*, whereof *Tirhaka* the King (perhaps at the inſtigation of this man) raiſed an Armie againſt *Sennacherib*, when he meant to invade *Egypt* within two or three years after? but I will not trouble my ſelf with ſuch enquirie. This I hold, that *So*, or *Sebacus* was not indeed an *Æthiopian* (for in his time lived the Prophet *Eſay*, who mentioneth the antiquity of *Pharaohs* houſe) but only ſo ſurnamed for his education, and becauſe iſſuing from thence, he got the kingdome from *Anyſis*, who was his oppoſite. The quiet and milde form of his government, his holding the kingdome ſo long without an Army, and many other circumſtances argue no leſſe. But whether finally he betooke a private life, or whether he fore-went his life and kingdom at once, being now very old, it is time that we leave him, and ſpeake of *Sethon* his next Succeſſor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembred by *Herodotus*, by a ſure token of his having been King.

## §. VII.

### Of Sethon *who reigned with* Ezechia, *and ſided with him againſt* Sennacherib.

THe firſt yeare of *Sethons* reigne falls into the twelfth of *Ezechia*, which was the fift of *Sennacherib*. It was a troubleſome age, and full of danger; the two great Kingdomes of *Aſſyria* and *Egypt*, being then ingaged in a warre, the iſſue whereof was to determine, whether of them ſhould rule or ſerve. The *Aſſyrian* had the better men of Warre; the *Egyptian* better proviſion of neceſſaries: the *Aſſyrian* more Subjects; the *Egyptian* more Friends: and among the new conquered halfe Subjects of *Aſſur*, many that were *Egyptian* in heart, though *Aſſyrian* in outward ſhew.

Of this laſt ſort were *Ezechia* and his people; who knowing how much it concerned *Pharao*, to protect them againſt his owne great Enemy, preferred the friendſhip of ſo neare and mighty a Neighbour, before the ſervice of a terrible, yet farre removed King. But herein was great difference betweene *Ezechia* and his Subjects: For the good King fixing his eſpeciall confidence in God, held that courſe of policy, which he thought moſt likely to turne to the benefit of his Country: the multitude of *Judea* looking into the faire hopes which this *Egyptian* league promiſed, were puffed up with vaine conceits, thinking that all was ſafe, and that now they ſhould not need to feare any more of thoſe injuries which they had ſuffered by the *Aſſyrians*, and ſo became forgetfull of God, *taking counſell, but not of him*. The Prophet *Eſay* complained much of this preſumption; giving the people of *Juda* to underſtand, That *the Egyptians were men, and not God, and their Horſes fleſh, and not ſpirit*; that God himſelfe ſhould defend *Iſrael* vpon repentance, and that *Aſſur ſhould fall by the ſword, but not of man*. As for the *Egyptians* (ſaid the Prophet) *they are vanity, and they ſhall help in vaine, their ſtrength is to ſit ſtill.*

Eſay 30.1.
Eſa.31.v.3.& 8.
Eſay 30.7.
Eſay 3.4.

According to the prophets words it came to paſſe. For in the treaty of Confederacy that was *held at Zoan*, all manner of contentment and aſſurance was given to the *Jewes* by *Sethon*, or his Agents, who filled them with ſuch reports, of Horſes and Chariots, that they did *not looke* (as *Eſay* ſaith) *unto the holy One of Iſrael, nor ſeeke unto the Lord. But he yet is wiſeſt.*

Eſay 31.1,2.

After a while came *Sennacherib* with his Army, & wakened them out of theſe dreams; for *Sethon* their good Neighbour, as neare as he was, did ſeeme farre off, being unready, when his helpe was moſt needfull. It may ſeem that he purpoſed rather to make *Paleſtina* than *Egypt*, the ſtage whereon this great Warre ſhould be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Aſſyrians* and *Jewes*, weakening one another, ſhould yeeld unto him a

Eſay 30.6.

Eſay 31.9.

faire advantage over both. Yet he fought with monie; for he ſent Horſes and Camels laden with treaſure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom *Eſay* calleth *a people that cannot profit.* Theſe *Arabians* did not profit indeed; for (beſides that it ſeemes by the ſame place of *Eſay*, that the rich treaſures miſcarried, and fell into the enemies hands before any helpe appeared from *Tirhaca*,) all the ſtrong Cities of *Juda* were taken by *Senacherib*, except *Libna*, *Lachis*, and *Jeruſalem* it ſelfe, which were in ſore diſtreſſe, till the ſword of God and not of Man, defeated the *Aſſyrian*, who did goe, *for feare, to his Tower*, that is, he fled to *Nineve*, where he was ſlaine.

Concerning this expedition of *Senacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it: That it was purpoſed againſt *Egypt*, where the men of warre, being offended with *Sethon* their King, who had taken away their allowance, refuſed to beare armes in defence of him and their Countrie; that *Sethon* being *Vulcans* Prieſt, bemoaned himſelfe to his god, who by dream promiſed to ſend him helpers; that hereupon *Sethon*, with ſuch as would follow him, (which were craftſ-men, ſhop-keepers, and the like) marched towards *Pelaſium*; and that a great multitude of field-mice entring the Campe of *Senacherib* by night, did ſo gnaw the bowes, quivers, and ſtraps of his mens armour, that they were faine the next day to flie away in all haſte, finding themſelves diſarmed. In memorie hereof (ſaith *Herodotus*) the ſtatue of this King is ſet up in the Temple of *Vulcan*, holding a Mouſe in his hand, with this inſcription: *Let him that holds mee ſerve God.* Such was the relation of the *Egyptian* Prieſts, wherein how farre they ſwarved from the truth, being deſirous to magnifie their owne King, it may eaſily be perceived. It ſeemes that this Image of *Sethon* was fallen down, and the tale forgotten in *Diodorus* his time, or elſe perhaps, the Prieſts did forbeare to tell it him (which cauſed him to omit it) for that the nation of the *Jewes* was then well knowne to the world, whereof every childe could have told, how much falſehood had beene mingled with the truth.

Eſay 31.1.

We find this hiſtorie agreeable to the Scriptures, thus farre forth; That *Senacherib* King of the *Aſſyrians* and *Arabians*, (ſo *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrians*, or peradventure ſome borderers upon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) lived in this age, made Warre upon *Egypt*, and was miraculouſly driven home. As for that exployt of the Mice, and the great pleaſure that *Vulcan* did unto his Prieſt; happie it was (if *Sethon* were a Prieſt) that he tooke his god now in ſo good a moode. For within three or foure yeares before this, all the Prieſts in *Egypt* ſhould have been ſlaine, if a mercifull King had not ſpared their lives, as it were halfe againſt the gods will. Therefore this laſt good turne was not enough to ſerve as an example, that might ſtir up the *Egyptians* to pietie, ſeeing that their devotion, which had laſted ſo long before, did bring all the Prieſts into danger of ſuch a bad reward. Rather I thinke, that this Image did repreſent *Senacherib* himſelfe, and that the Mouſe in his hand, ſignified Hieroglyphically (as was the *Egyptian* maner of expreſſing things) the ſhamefull iſſue of his terrible expedition, or the deſtruction of his Armie, by meanes which came, no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, ſhewed upon this ungodly King, was indeed a very good motive to pietie. But the Embleme, together with the Temple of *Vulcan* (being perhaps the chiefe Temple in that Towne where this Image was erected) might give occaſion to ſuch a fable; the Divell helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robbed of his honour. Yet that we may not belie the Divell, I hold it very likely, that *Sethon* finding himſelfe in danger, did call upon his gods, that is, upon *Vulcan*, *Serapis*, or any to whom he had moſt devotion. But ſo had other of his predeceſſors done in the like need: yet which of them had obtained ſuccour by the like miracle? Surely the *Jewes* (even ſuch of them as moſt were given to Idolatrie) would have bin aſhamed of the confidence which they repoſed *in the Chariots of Egypt, becauſe they were many, & in the Horſemen, becauſe they were very ſtrang*; had it bin told them, that *Sethon*, in ſtead of ſending thoſe Horſe-men and Chariots, was beſeeching *Vulcan* to ſend him and them good lucke; or elſe (for theſe alſo were *Egyptian* gods) addreſſing his prayers to ſome Onyon or Cat. Howſoever it was, doubtleſſe the Prophecie of *Eſay* tooke effect, which ſaid, *They ſhall be all aſhamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor help, nor doe them good, but ſhall be a ſhame and alſo a reproach.* Such is commonly the iſſue of humane wiſedome, when reſting ſecure upon proviſion that it ſelf hath made, it will no longer ſeem to ſtand in need of God.

Some there are who take *Sethon* to have bin ſet down by *Euſebius* under the name of

*Tarachus* the *Æthiopian*; and therefore the twenty years which are given to *Tarachus*, they allow to the reigne of *Sethon*. Theſe have well obſerved that *Tarachus* the *Æthiopian* is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King of *Egypt*, but as a friend to that Country, or at leaſt an enemy to *Sennacherib*, in the war laſt ſpoken of; the *Æthiopians* (as they are engliſhed) over which he reigned, being indeed *Chuſites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they ſuppoſe aright, that *Euſebius* hath miſtaken one king for another. But whereas they think that this *Tarachus* or *Tirhaka* is placed in the roome of *Sethon*, and therefore give to *Sethon* the twenty years of *Tarachus*, I hold them to have erred on the other hand. For this *Æthiopian* (as he is called) began his reigne over *Egypt*, by *Euſebius* his accompt, after the death of *Sennacherib* and of *Ezechia*, in the firſt year of *Manaſſes* King of *Juda*. Therefore he or his years have no reference to *Sethon*.

*Herodotus* forgets to tell how long *Sethon* reigned; *Functius* peremptorily, citing no author, nor alledging reaſon for it, ſets him downe thirty three yeares; many omit him quite; and they that name him, are not carefull to examine his continuance. In this caſe, I follow that rule which I propounded unto my ſelf at the firſt, for meaſuring the reigns of theſe *Egyptian* Kings. The yeares which paſſed from the fifth of *Rehoboam*, unto the fourth of *Jehojakim*, I ſo divide among the *Egyptians*, that giving to every one the proportion allowed unto him by the Author in whom he is found, the reſt is to be conferred upon him whoſe length of reigne is uncertaine; that is, upon this *Sethon*. By this accompt I find the thirty three years that are ſet downe by *Functius*, to agree very nearely, if not preciſely, with the time of *Sethons* reigne; therefore I conforme my owne reckoning to his, though I could be content to have it one yeare leſſe. The reaſon of this computation I ſhall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of *Pſammiticus*, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereinto the courſe of this Hiſtory will ſhortly bring me, the *Egyptian* affaires growing now to be interlaced with the matters of *Juda*, to which it is meet that I returne.

# Chap. XXVII.

45 9

## Of Manaſſes and his Contemporaries.

### §. I.

### *The wickedneſſe of* Manaſſes. *His impriſonment, repentance and death.*

Manaſſe the Sonne of *Ezechias*, forgetting the piety of his Father, and the proſperity which followed him, ſet up, repaired, adorned and furniſhed all the Altars, Temples and high Places, in which the Divell was by the *Heathen* worſhipped. Beſides, he himſelfe eſteemed the Sun, the Moone, and the Starres, with all the Hoaſt of heaven, as gods, and worſhipped them: and of all his acts the moſt abominable was, that he burnt his ſons for a Sacrifice to the Divel *Moloch*, or *Melchor*, in the Valley of *Hinnon*, or *Benhinnon*: wherein was kindled the fire of Sacrifice to the Divels.

He alſo gave himſelfe to all kind of Witchcraft and Sorcery, accompanied and maintained thoſe that had familiar Spirits, and all ſorts of Enchanters: beſides, hee ſhed ſo much innocent bloud, as *Jeruſalem* was repleniſhed therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reverent Prophet *Eſay* (who was alſo of the Kings race, and as the *Jewes* affirm, the Father-in-law of the King) he cauſed the Prophet neer unto the Fountaine of *Siloe*, to be ſawne in ſunder with a wodden Saw, in the eightieth year of his life: a cruelty more barbarous and monſtrous than hath beene heard of. The Scriptures indeede are ſilent hereof, yet the ſame is confirmed by *Epiphanius*, *Iſidore*, *Euſebius*, and others, too many to rehearſe, and too good to be ſuſpected. *Therefore the Lord brought upon them the Captaines of the Hoaſt of the Kings of* Aſhur, *which took* Manaſſe, *and put him in fetters, and bound him in chains, and carried him to Babel*: Where, after he had lyen twenty yeares as a captive, and diſpoyled of all honour and hope; yet to his hearty repentance and continuall prayer, the

*Juſt. Martyr.*
*Cedrenus c.91.*
*Glycas pa.275.*
*Tertull. de Pat.*

2.Chr.33.11.

God of infinite mercy had reſpect, and moved the *Aſſyrians* heart to deliver him.

It is alſo likely that *Merodach*, becauſe he loved his father *Ezechias*, was the eaſilier perſwaded to reſtore *Manaſſe* to his liberty and eſtate. After which, and when he was againe eſtabliſhed, remembring the miſeries which followed his wickedneſſe, and Gods great mercies toward him, he changed forme, deteſted his former fooliſh and divelliſh Idolatry, and caſt downe the Idols of his owne erecting, prepared the Altar of God, and ſacrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of *Jeruſalem*: and dyed after the long reigne of fiftie five years. *Glycas* and *Suidas* report, that *Manaſſe* was held in a cage of yron by the *Aſſyrians*: and therein fed with bread of bran and water, which men may beleeve as it ſhall pleaſe their fancies.

## §. II.

### *Of troubles in Egypt following the death of* Sethon. *The reigne of* Pſammiticus.

THat the wickedneſſe of King *Manaſſes* was the cauſe of the evill which fell upon his Kingdome and Perſon, any Chriſtian muſt needs beleeve: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the ſtate of things in thoſe parts of the World ſuch, at that time, as would have invited any Prince (and did perhaps invite *Merodach*, who fulfilled Gods pleaſure, upon reſpect borne to his owne ends, deſirous to enlarge his Empire) to make attempt upon *Juda*. For the kingdome of *Egypt*, which was become the pillar whereon the ſtate of *Juda* leaned, about theſe times was miſerably diſtracted with civill diſſention, and after two yeares ill amended by a diviſion of the government betweene twelve Princes. After ſome good agreement betweene theſe, eleven of them fell out with the twelfth of their colleagues, and were all finally ſubdued by him, who made himſelfe abſolute King of all. This *Inter-regnum*, or meere *Anarchie* that was in *Egypt*, with the diviſion of the Kingdome following it, is placed by *Diodore*, who omitteth *Sethon*, between the reigne of *Sabacus* and *Pſammiticus*: but *Herodotus* doth ſet the *Ariſtocratie*, or twelve Governours immediately before *Pſammiticus*, who was one of them, and after *Sethon*.

The occaſion of this diſſention ſeems to have bin the uncertainty of title to that kingdome (for that the crowne of *Egypt* paſſed by ſucceſſion of bloud, I have often ſhewed) which ended for a while, by the partition of all among twelve, though things were not ſetled untill one had obtained the Soveraignty.

Theſe twelve Rulers governed fifteene yeares in good ſeeming agreement, which to preſerve, they made ſtrait covenant & alliances one with another, being jealous of their eſtate, becauſe an Oracle had foretold, that one of them ſhould depoſe all the reſt, noting him by this token, that he ſhould make a drink-offering in *Vulcans* Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whileſt this unity laſted, they joyned together in raiſing a Monument of their Dominion, which was a Labyrinth, built near unto the Lake of *Meris*; a worke ſo admirable, that (as *Herodotus*, who beholding it, affirmes) no words could give it commendation anſwerable to the ſtatelineſſe of the worke it ſelfe. I will not here ſet downe that unperfect deſcription which *Herodotus* makes of it, but think enough to ſay that he preferres it farre before the Piramides, one of which (as he ſaith) excelled the Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, or any of the faireſt workes in *Greece*. *Diodorus* reports this Labyrinth to have bin the worke of *Marus* or *Menides*, a King which lived five generations before *Proteus*, that is, before the warre of *Troy*; and from this Labyrinth (ſaith he) *Dædalus* took the patterne of that which he made for *Minos* in *Crete*. Who this *Marus*, or *Menides* was, I cannot tell. *Reineccius* takes him to have bin *Annemenes*, which reigned immediatly before *Thuoris*. But this agrees not with *Diodore*: for *Dædalus* & *Minos* were both dead long before *Annemenes* was King. Belike *Reineccius*, deſiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of *Manethon*, *Charemon*, & others, that are found in *Joſephus*, touching *Amenophis* and his children, to the ſtory of *Amaſis* and *Actiſanes* the *Æthiopian*, mentioned by *Diodore*; held it conſequent, after he had conjectured *Manethons Amenophis*, to be *Diodorus* his *Amaſis*; that *Sethon* ſhould be *Actiſanes*, and that *Annemenes* ſhould be *Marus*. If in this caſe I might intrude a conjecture, the times which we now handle are thoſe about which *Reineccius* hath erred in making ſearch; *Amaſis* was *Anyſis*, *Actiſanes* was *Sabacus*; & *Marus* was one of theſe twelve Princes to whom *Herodotus* gives

*Joſ.cont.App.l.*

the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For *Actiſanes* the *Æthiopian* depoſed *Amaſis*; *Sabacus* the *Æthiopian* depoſed *Anyſis*; *Actiſanes* governed well, and was milde in puniſhing offenders; ſo likewiſe was *Sabacus*; *Marus* the next King after *Actiſanes* built this Labyrinth; and the next (ſaving *Sethon*, whom *Diodore* omits, as having not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the ſame work, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to heare the truth, as living nearer to the Age wherein it was performed. The variety of names, and difference of times wherein *Diodore* beleeved the Prieſts, might be a part of the *Egyptian* vanity, which was familiar with them in multiplying their Kings, and boaſting of their antiquities. Here I might adde, that the twelve great Halls, Parlours, and other circumſtances remembred by *Herodotus*, in ſpeaking of this building, doe helpe to prove that it was the worke of theſe twelve Princes. But I haſten to their end.

At a ſolemne feaſt in *Vulcans* Temple, when they were to make their drinke-offerings, the Prieſt, forgetting himſelfe, brought forth no more than eleven Cuppes. Hereupon, *Pſammiticus*, who ſtanding laſt, had not a Cup, tooke off his brazen Helmet, and therewith ſupplyed the want. This cauſed all the reſt to remember the Oracle, and to ſuſpect him as a Traytor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him upon ſet purpoſe or ill intent, they forbare to kill him, but being jealous of their eſtate, they baniſhed him into the mariſh Countries by the Sea ſide. This Oracle, and the event is held by *Diodore* as a fable, which I beleeve to have bin none other: In the reſt *Herodotus* and *Diodore* agree, ſaying, that *Pſammiticus* hired Souldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, by whoſe aide he vanquiſht his Companions, and made himſelfe ſole King.

The yeares of his reigne, according to *Herodotus*, were fiftie foure; according to *Euſebius*, forty foure; *Mercator*, to reconcile theſe two, gives fortie foure years to his ſingle reigne, and ten to his ruling joyntly with the Princes before ſpoken of. Indeede, he that was admitted, being a man growne (for he cannot in reaſon be ſuppoſed to have beene then a young fellow) into the number of the twelve Governours, muſt be thought to have lived unto extreme age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threeſcore and nine years. I therefore yeeld rather to *Euſebius*; but will not adventure to cut five years from the *Ariſtocratie*: though peradventure *Pſammiticus* was not at firſt one of the twelve, but ſucceeded (either by election, or as next of bloud) into the place of ſome Prince that dyed, and was ten years companion in that government.

Another ſcruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The years of the *Egyptians*, as we finde them ſet downe, are more by one, than ſerve to fill up the time between the fift of *Rehoboam* and the fourth of *Jehojakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we muſt abate one yeare from *Sethons* reigne, that was of uncertain length; or elſe (which I had rather doe; becauſe *Functius* may have followed better authority than I know, or than himſelfe alledgeth, in giving to *Sethon* a time ſo nearely agreeing with the truth) we muſt confound the laſt yeare of one reigne with the firſt of another. Such a ſuppoſition were not inſolent. For no man can ſuppoſe, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are ſet downe in Chronologicall tables, reigned preciſely ſo many yeares as are preſcribed unto them, without any fractions: it is enough to thinke that the ſurpluſage of one mans time ſupplyed the defect of anothers. Wherefore I confound the laſt yeare of thoſe fifteene, wherein the twelve Princes ruled, with the firſt of *Pſammiticus*; who ſurely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, and make himſelfe Lord alone all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the firſt in *Egypt* who entertained any ſtrait amity with the *Greekes*; that he retained in pay his Mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Arabia*, to whom he gave large rewards and poſſeſſions; and that he greatly offended his *Egyptian* Souldiers, by beſtowing them in the left wing of his Armie, whileſt his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honourable place) in an expedition that he made into *Syria*. Upon this diſgrace it is ſaid, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thouſand, forſook their naturall Countrey of *Egypt*, and went into *Æthiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be revoked by kind Meſſages, nor by the King himſelfe, who over-tooke them on the way; but when he told them of their Countrey, their Wives and Children, they anſwered, that their weapons ſhould get them a Countrey, and that nature had enabled them to get other Wives and Children.

It is alſo reported of him, That he cauſed two Infants to be brought up in ſuch ſort, as they might not heare any word ſpoken; by which meanes, he hoped to find out what Nation or Language was moſt ancient; foraſmuch as it ſeemed likely, that nature would teach the children to ſpeake that Language which men ſpake at the firſt. The iſſue hereof was, that the children cryed, *Beccus, Beccus*, which word being found to ſignifie Bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, ſerved greatly to magnifie the *Phrygian* antiquity. *Goropius Becanus* makes no ſmall matter of this, for the honour of his *Low-Dutch*; in which the word *Becker* ſignifies (as Baker in Engliſh) a maker of bread. He that will turne over any part of *Goropius* his works, may find enough of this kind, to perſwade a willing man, that *Adam* and all the Patriarks uſed none other tongue than the *Low-Dutch*, before the confuſion of languages at *Babel*; the name it ſelf of *Babel* being alſo *Dutch*, and given by occaſion of this confuſion; for that there they began to babble and talke one knew not what.

But I will not inſiſt upon all that is written of *Pſammiticus*. The moſt regardable of his acts was the ſiege of *Azotus* in *Palæſtina*, about which he ſpent nine & twenty years. Never have we heard (ſaith *Herodotus*) that any City endured ſo long a ſiege as this; yet *Pſammiticus* carryed it at the laſt. This Towne of *Azotus* had been won by *Tartan*, a Captain of *Sennacherib*, and was now, as it ſeemeth, relieved, but in vaine, by the *Babylonian*, which made it hold out ſo well.

## §. III.

*What reference theſe Egyptian matters might have to the impriſonment and enlargement of* Manaſſes. *In what part of his reigne* Manaſſes *was taken priſoner.*

WEre it certainly knowne, in what year of his reigne *Manaſſes* was taken priſoner, and how long it was before he obtained liberty; I thinke we ſhould finde theſe *Egyptian* troubles to have been no ſmall occaſion, both of his captivity and enlargement: God ſo diſpoſing of humane actions, that even they, who intended onely their owne buſineſſe, fulfilled onely his high pleaſure. For either the civill Warres in *Egypt* that followed upon the death of *Sethon*, or the renting of the Kingdome, as it were, into twelve pieces, or the Warre betweene *Pſammiticus* and his Colleagues, or the expedition of *Pſammiticus* into *Syria*, and the ſiege of *Azotus*, might miniſter unto the *Babylonian*, either ſuch cauſe of hope to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts; or ſuch neceſsity of ſending an Armie into thoſe parts, to defend his owne, as would greatly tempt him to make ſure worke with the King of *Juda*. The ſame occaſion ſufficed alſo, to procure the deliverie of *Manaſſes*, after he was taken. For he was taken (as *Joſephus* hath it) by ſubtlety, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, winne his Countrey, but onely waſte it. So that the *Jewes*, having learned wit by the ill ſucceſſe of their folly, in redeeming *Amazia*, were like to be more circumſpect, in making their bargaine upon ſuch another accident: and the *Babylonian* (to whom the *Egyptian* matters preſented more weighty arguments of hope and feare, than the little Kingdome of *Juda* could afford) had no reaſon to ſpend his forces in purſuing a ſmall conqueſt, but as full of difficulty as a greater, whereby he ſhould compell his mightieſt enemies to come to ſome good agreement; when by quitting his preſent advantage over the *Jewes*, he might make his way the fairer into *Egypt*.

Now concerning the year of *Manaſſes* his reigne, wherein he was taken priſoner; or concerning his captivity it ſelfe, how long it laſted, the Scriptures are ſilent, and *Joſephus* gives no information. Yet I find cited by *Torniellus* three opinions; the one of *Bellarmine*, who thinks that *Manaſſes* was taken in the fifteenth year of his reigne; the other of the Author of the greater *Hebrew Chronologie*, who affirmes, that it was in his twenty ſeventh yeare; the third of *Rabbi Kimhi* upon *Ezechiel*, who ſaith, that he was forty yeares an Idolater, and lived fifteene yeares after his repentance. The firſt of theſe conjectures is upheld by *Torniellus*, who rejects the ſecond, as more unprobable, and condemnes the third as moſt falſe. Yet the reaſons alledged by *Torniellus* in defence of the firſt, and refutation of the laſt opinion, are ſuch, as may rather prove him to favour the *Cardinall* as farre as he may, (for where neede requires, hee doth freely diſſent from him) than to have uſed his accuſtomed diligence in examining the matter, before he gave his judgement. Two arguments he brings to maintaine the opinion of *Bellarmine*: the one, that *Ammon* the Sonne of *Manaſſes*, is ſaid by *Joſephus* to have followed the workes of his fathers youth; the other, that had *Manaſſes* growne old in his ſinnes, *it is like that hee ſhould have continued*, *as hee did*, in his amendment unto the end of his life. Touching the former of theſe arguments, I ſee no reaſon why the ſinnes of *Manaſſes* might not be diſtinguiſhed from his repentance in his old age, by calling them *works of his youth*, which appeared when he was twelve yeares old; though it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimki*) untill he was but fifteene yeares from death. Touching the ſecond; howſoever it be a fearefull thing, to caſt off unto the laſt thoſe good motions unto repentance, which we know not whether ever God will offer unto us againe; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the ſins which are not forſaken before the age of two and fiftie yeares, ſhall be puniſhed with finall impenitencie. But againſt theſe two collections of *Torniellus*, I will lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not unlikely; That *Manaſſes* continued longer in his wickedneſſe than *Bellarmine* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimki* hath affirmed. In the ſecond Booke of *Kings*, the evill which *Manaſſes* did, is remembred at large, and his repentance utterly omitted; ſo that his amendment may ſeeme to have taken up no great part of his life; the ſtorie of him being thus concluded in the one and twentieth Chapter: *Concerning the reſt of the Acts of* Manaſſes, *and all that he did, and his ſin that he ſinned, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Juda?* 2 Kings 21. 17. The other place is in the foure and twentieth Chapter of the ſame Booke, where, in rehearſing the calamities with which that Nation was puniſhed in the time of *Jehojakim*, the great Grand-childe of this *Manaſſes*, it is ſaid; *Surely by the commandement of the Lord came this upon Juda, that he might put them out of his ſight, for the ſinnes of* Manaſſes, *according to all that he did, & for the innocent bloud that he ſhed (for he filled Jeruſalem with innocent bloud) therefore the Lord would not pardon it.* 2 Kings 24.3.4. Who ſo conſiders well theſe places, may find ſmall cauſe to pronounce it moſt falſe, That the repentance and amendment of *Manaſſes* was no earlier than fifteen yeares before his death; or moſt probable, That when he was twentie ſeven yeares old, he repented, and becomming a new man, lived in the feare of God fortie yeares after. I will no longer diſpute about this matter, ſeeing that the truth cannot be diſcovered. It ſufficeth to ſay, that two yeares of civill diſſention in *Egypt*, fourteene or fifteene yeares following, wherein that Kingdome was weakned by partition of the Soveraigntie: the warre of *Pſammiticus* againſt his Aſſociates: and foure and twentie yeares of the nine and twentie, wherein the ſiege of *Azotus* continued; being all within the time of *Manaſſes*, did leave no one part of his raigne (after the firſt fifteene yeares) free from the danger of being oppreſſed by the *Babylonian*, whoſe men of warre had continuall occaſions of viſiting his Countrey. All which I will adde hereto, is this; that the fifteenth of *Manaſſes* was the laſt yeare of *Sethon* in *Egypt*, and the one and thirtieth of *Merodach* his reigne, or (accounting from the death of *Aſarhaddon*) the twentieth: The ſeven and twentieth of *Manaſſes* was the tenth of the twelve Princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merodach*: his fortieth, was the twentie third of *Pſammiticus*, and the fift of *Nabulaſſar*, the ſonne of *Merodach*, in *Babylon*: but which of theſe was the yeare of his impriſonment, or whether any other, I forbeare to ſhew mine opinion, leſt I ſhould thereby ſeeme to draw all matters over-violently to mine owne computation.

This was the firſt great maſtrie that the *Babylonians* had of the kingdome of *Juda*. For though *Achaz* promiſed Tribute to *Salmanaſſar*, yet *Ezechias* never payed it. True it is, that he hoped to ſtay *Senacheribs* enterpriſe againſt him, by preſenting him with three hundred talents of ſilver, and thirtie of gold, beſides the plate which covered the doores and pillars of the Temple. 2 King 18.

But *Manaſſes* being preſſed with greater neceſſitie, could refuſe no tolerable conditions, that the *Babylonian* would impoſe upon him; among which it ſeems, that this was one, (which was indeed a point of ſervitude) that he might not hold peace with the *Egyptians*, whileſt they were enemies to *Babylon*. This appeares not onely by his fortifiing with men of warre all the ſtrong Cities of *Juda* after his return (which was rather againſt *Pſammiticus*, whoſe partie he had forſaken, than againſt the *Babylonian*, with whom he had thenceforth no more controverſie) but likewiſe by that oppoſition, which *Joſias* made afterwards to *Pharao Neco*, in favour of *Nabulaſſar*, which had beene againſt all reaſon and policie, if it had not bin his dutie by covenant. Of this I will ſpeake more in convenient place.

## §. IV.

### *Of the firſt and ſecond Meſſenian Wars, which were in the reignes of* Ezechia *and* Manaſſes, *Kings of Juda.*

NOw concerning ſuch actions as were performed abroad in the world, about theſe times of *Manaſſes*, the moſt remarkeable were the *Meſſenian* Wars; which happened in this age, and being the greateſt action performed in *Greece*, betweene the *Trojan* and *Perſian* Wars, deſerve not to be paſſed over with ſilence.

The firſt *Meſſenian* Warre began and ended in the daies of *Ezechia*; the ſecond in the raign of *Manaſſes*: but to avoyd the trouble of interrupting our Hiſtorie, I have thought it beſt, to rehearſe them both in this place. Other introduction is needleſſe, than to ſay, that the poſteritie of *Hercules*, driving the iſſue of *Pelops* and the *Achæans* out of their ſeats, divided their lands between themſelves, and erected the kingdomes of *Lacedæmon*, *Argos*, *Meſſene*, and *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together a while, did afterwards forget the bond of kindred, and ſought one anothers ruine with bloudie wars; whereof theſe *Meſſenian* were the greateſt.

The pretended grounds of the *Meſſenian* war are ſcarce worth remembrance, they were ſo ſleight. Ambition was the true cauſe of it: wherwith the *Lacedæmonians* were ſo tranſported, that any thing ſerved them as a colour to accompliſh their greedie deſires. Yet other matter was alledged; namely, that one *Polychares* a *Meſſenian* had ſlain many *Lacedæmonians*, for which the Magiſtrates of *Sparta* deſiring to have him yeelded into their hands, could not obtain it. The *Meſſenians* on the other ſide, excuſed *Polychares*, for that he was grown frantick, through injuries received from *Euæphnes* a *Lacedæmonian*. This *Euæphnes* had bargained to give paſture to the Cattell of *Polychares*, & was therefore to receive part of the increaſe: but not contented with the gain apponted, he ſold the Cattell, & ſlaves that kept them, to Merchants; which done, he came with a faire tale to his friend, ſaying, that they were ſtollen. Whilſt the lye was yet ſcarce out of his mouth, one of the ſlaves that had eſcaped from the Merchants came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedæmonian* being thus deprehended, confeſſed all, and promiſed large amends; which to receive he carried the ſon of *Polychares* home with him; but having him at home, he villanouſly ſlew him. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* having refuſed, after long ſuite made by the wretched Father, to do him right againſt this Theefe and Murderer, ought not to pick matter of quarrel out of thoſe things which he did in that madneſſe, whereinto they themſelves had caſt him. So ſaid the *Meſſenians*, and further offered to put the matter to compromiſe, or to ſtand unto the judgement of the *Amphictyones*, who were as the generall Counſell of *Greece*, or to any other faire courſe. But the *Lacedæmonians*, who had a great deſire to occupie the fair Countrie of *Meſſene*, that lay cloſe by them, were not content with ſuch allegations. They thought it enough to have ſome ſhew for their doings; which the better to colour, they reckoned up many old injuries, and ſo without ſending any defiance, ſecretly took an oath to hold war with *Meſſene* till they had maſtered it: which done, they ſeized upon *Amphia*, a frontier Town of that Province, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercie, very few eſcaped.

Hereupon the *Meſſenians* tooke Armes, and were met by the Enemie. A furious battell was fought between them, which ended not untill darke night, with uncertaine victorie. The *Meſſenians* did ſtrongly encampe themſelves; The *Lacedæmonians*, unable to force their Campe, returned home. This Warre began in the ſecond yeare of the ninth *Olympiad*, and ended in the firſt of the fourteenth *Olympiad*, having laſted twentie yeares. The two enemie Nations tried the matter, for a while, with their proper forces; the *Lacedæmonians* waſting the inland parts of *Meſſene*; and the *Meſſenians*, the Sea-coaſt of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere friends, on both ſides, were called in to helpe. The *Arcadians*, *Argives*, and *Sicyonians*, tooke part with *Meſſene*; the *Spartans* had, beſides many Subjects of their owne, aide from *Corinth*, and hired Souldiers out of *Crete*. So a ſecond, third, and fourth battell, were fought, with as great obſtinacie as the firſt, ſaving that in the fourth battell the *Lacedæmonians* were enforced to turn their backs; in the other fights, the victorie was ſtill uncertain, though in one of them the *Meſſenians* loſt *Euphaes* their King, in whoſe ſtead they choſe *Ariſtodemus*.

Many years were ſpent ere all this bloud was ſhed; for peſtilent diſeaſes, and want of money to entertaine Souldiers, cauſed the warre to linger. And for the ſame reaſons, did the *Meſſenians* forſake all their inland towns, excepting *Ithome*, which was a Mountaine with a Town upon it, able to endure more than the enemies were likely to doe. But, as ſome Authors tell us, the *Lacedæmonians* were ſo obſtinate in this War, becauſe of their vow, that having abſented themſelves ten yeares from *Sparta*, their wives ſent them word, that their Citie would grow unpeopled, by reaſon that no children had been borne them in all that time: Whereupon they ſent backe all their ableſt young men, promiſcuouſly to accompany the young women, who got ſo many of them with child, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called *Parthenians*. *Diodorus* referres the begetting of theſe *Parthenians* to a former time. But in proceſſe of this *Meſſenian* Warre, when the Divell in an Oracle had adviſed the *Meſſenians* to ſacrifice a Virgin of the ſtocke of * *Ægyptus*, that ſo they might be victorious againſt the *Lacedæmonians*; the lot falling upon the Daughter of one *Lyciſcus*; *Epibolus* the Prieſt, willing to ſave her, ſaid, ſhe was only a foſtered childe, and not borne of the wife of *Lyciſcus*: which anſwer giving delay to the execution of the Maide, *Lyciſcus* ſecretly fled away with her into *Sparta*. Then *Ariſtodemus*, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his owne Daughter: but a young Nobleman, being in love with the Maide, when otherwiſe he could not prevaile, ſaid openly that ſhe was no Virgin, but that he had deflowred her, and got her with childe: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped up his innocent Daughters belly, to diſprove the Lovers ſlander: at the grave of which Daughter of his, afterwards falling, by other ſuperſtitions, into deſpaire of prevailing againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, he ſlew himſelfe, to the great hurt of his Countrey, which he loved moſt dearly. For after his death the *Meſſenians* loſt their courage, and finding themſelves diſtreſſed by many wants, eſpecially of victuals, they craved peace, which they obtained with moſt rigorous conditions. Halfe the yearely fruits of their Land they were bound to ſend unto *Sparta*; and they, with their Wives, to make ſolemne lamentations at the death of every *Spartan* King; they were alſo ſworne to live in true ſubjection to the *Lacedæmonians*; and part of their Territorie was taken from them, which was given to the *Aſinæi*, and ſuch as had followed the *Spartans* in this Warre.

*Strab.l.6.*
*Oroſ.l.2.c.21.*

*Diod.l.15.*

* This *Aegyptus* was the youngeſt Son of *Creſphon* by *Merope*, the daughter of *Cypſelus* King of *Arcadia*: of which *Creſphon* the chiefe Nobilitie of the *Meſſenians* was propagated.

This peace being made upon ſo uneven termes, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirtie yeares it continued (the *Meſſenians* not finding how to helpe themſelves) and then brake out into a new and more furious Warre than the former. The able young men, that were growne up in the roome of thoſe *Meſſenians* whom the former Warre had conſumed, began to conſider their owne ſtrength and multitude, thinking themſelves equall to the *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore ſcorned to ſerve ſuch Maſters as had againſt all right, oppreſſed their Fathers. The chiefe of theſe was *Ariſtomenes*, a Noble Gentleman, of the houſe of *Ægyptus*; who perceiving the uniform deſires of his Countrie-men, adventured to become their Leader. He therefore ſounding the affections of the *Argives* and *Arcadians*, which he found throughly anſwerable to his purpoſe, began open warre upon the State of *Lacedæmon*. This was in the fourth yeare of the three and twentieth *Olympiad*; when the *Lacedæmonians* haſted to quench the fire before it ſhould grow too hot, with ſuch forces as they could raiſe of their owne, without troubling their friends, meaning to deale with their enemies, ere any ſuccour were lent them. So a ſtrong battell was fought between them, and a doubtfull; ſave that the *Meſſenians* were pleaſed with the iſſue, foraſmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords, to thinke them their equals. Particularly, the valour of *Ariſtomenes* appeared ſuch in this fight, that his people would have made him their King: but he, refuſing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their Generall. Within one yeare another battell was fought, whereunto each part came better provided. The *Lacedæmonians* brought with them the *Corinthians*, and ſome other friends to helpe: the *Meſſenians* had the *Argives*, *Arcadians*, and *Sicyonians*. This alſo was a long and bloudie fight; but *Ariſtomenes* did ſo behave himſelfe, that finally he made the Enemies runne for their lives. Of ſuch importance was this victorie, that the *Lacedæmonians* began to bethinke themſelves, of making ſome good agreement.

But one *Tyrtæus* an *Athenian* Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them, re-inforced their ſpirits with his Verſes. After this, *Ariſtomenes* took by ſurpriſe a Town in *Laconia*, and vanquiſhed in fight *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*, who did ſet upon him in hope to have recovered the bootie.

But all theſe victories of *Ariſtomenes* periſhed, in the loſſe of one battell, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or ſurely the profit, fell upon the *Lacedæmonians*, through the treaſon of *Ariſtocrates*, King of *Arcadia*, who being corrupted by the enemies with money, fled away, and left the *Meſſenians* expoſed to a cruell butcherie. The loſſe was ſo great, that together with *Andania* their principall Citie, all the Towns of *Meſſene*, ſtanding too farre from the Sea, were abandoned for lack of men to defend them, and the Mount *Era* fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be ſafe abroad, was conveyed into a place of ſafetie. Here the *Lacedæmonians* found a tedious work, that held them eleven yeares. For beſides that *Era* it ſelfe was a ſtrong peece, *Ariſtomenes* with three hundred ſtout Souldiers, did many incredible exploits, that wearied them, and hindred their attendance on the ſiege. He waſted all the fields of *Meſſene*, that were in the enemies power, and brake into *Laconia*, taking away Corn, Wine, Cattell, and all proviſions, neceſſary for his owne people; the Slaves and houſhold ſtuffe he changed into money, ſuffering the owners to redeeme them. To remedy this miſchiefe, the *Lacedæmonians* made an Edict, that neither *Meſſene*, nor the adjoyning parts of their owne Countrey, ſhould be tilled or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among private men, that were almoſt undone by it. Yet the Poet *Tyrtæus* appeaſed this uprore with pleaſing Songs. But *Ariſtomenes* grew ſo bold, that he not only ranged over all the fields, but adventured upon the Towns, ſurpriſed, and ſackt *Amyclæ*, and finally cauſed the enemies to encreaſe and ſtrengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking *Era*.

In performing theſe and other ſervices, thrice *Ariſtomenes* was taken priſoner; yet ſtill he eſcaped. One eſcape of his deſerves to be remembred, as a thing very ſtrange and marvellous. He had with too much courage adventured to ſet upon both the Kings of *Sparta*; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken up ſenſeleſſe, and carried away priſoner, with fiftie of his Companions. There was a deepe naturall Cave into which the *Spartans* uſed to caſt head-long ſuch as were condemned to dye for the greateſt offences. To this puniſhment were *Ariſtomenes* and his companions adjudged. All the reſt of theſe poore men dyed with their fals; *Ariſtomenes* (howſoever it came to paſſe) tooke no harme. Yet was it harme enough to be impriſoned in a deepe Dungeon, among dead carcaſſes, where he was like to periſh through hunger and ſtench. But after a while he perceived by ſome ſmal glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the top) a Foxe that was gnawing upon a dead bodie. Hereupon he bethought himſelfe, that this beaſt muſt needs know ſome way to enter the place and get out. For which cauſe he made ſhift to lay hold upon it, and catching it by the taile with one hand, ſaved himſelfe from biting with the other hand, by thruſting his coate into the mouth of it. So letting it creepe whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, untill the way was too ſtrait for him; and then diſmiſſed it. The Foxe being looſe, ran through an hole at which came in a little light; and there did *Ariſtomenes* delve ſo long with his nailes, that at laſt he clawed out his paſſage. When ſome fugitives of *Meſſene* brought word to *Sparta*, that *Ariſtomenes* was returned home, their tale ſounded alike, as if they had ſaid, that a dead man was revived. But when the *Corinthian* forces, that came to helpe the *Lacedæmonians* in the ſiege of *Era*, were cut in pieces, their Captains ſlain, and their Camp taken; then was it eaſily beleeved, that *Ariſtomenes* was alive indeed.

Thus eleven yeares paſſed whileſt the enemies hovering about *Era*, ſaw no likelihood of getting it; and *Ariſtomenes* with ſmall forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the laſt, a ſlave, that had fled from *Sparta*, betrayed the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdneſſe the wife of a *Meſſenian*, and was entertained by her, when her husband went forth to watch. It happened in a rainie-winter-night, that the husband came home unlooked for, whileſt the Adulterer was within. The Woman hid her Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asking him by what good fortune he was returned ſo ſoone. He told her, that the ſtorme of foule weather was ſuch, as had made all his fellowes leave their Stations, and that himſelfe had done as the reſt did; as for *Ariſtomenes*, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not look abroad; neither was it to be feared, that the enemies would ſtirre in ſuch a darke rainie night as this was. The ſlave that heard theſe tidings, roſe up ſecretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the Lacedæmonian Campe with the newes. There he found *Emperamus* his Maſter commanding in the Kings abſence. To him he uttered all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the Army into the Town. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Allarme was preſently taken; and the extreme darkneſſe, together with the noiſe of winde and raine, hindred all directions. All the next day was ſpent in moſt cruell fight; one part being incited by meere hope of ending a long worke; the other enraged by meere deſperation. The great advantage that the Spartans had in numbers, was recompenced partly by the aſsiſtance, which women and children (to whom the hatred of ſervitude had taught contempt of death) gave to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrowneſſe of the ſtreetes and other paſſages, which admitted not many hands to fight at once. But the *Meſſenians* were in continuall toyle; their Enemies fought in courſe, refreſhing themſelves with meate and ſleep, and then returning ſupplyed the place of their wearie fellowes with freſh Companions. *Ariſtomenes* therefore, perceiving that his men for want of reliefe were no longer able to hold out, (as having beene three dayes and three nights vexed with all miſeries, of labour, watchings, fighting, hunger and thirſt, beſides continuall raine and cold) gathered together all the weaker ſort, whom he compaſſed round with armed men, and ſo attempted to breake out through the midſt of the Enemies. *Emperamus* Generall of the *Lacedæmonians* was glad of this: and to further their departure, cauſed his Souldiers to give an open way, leaving a faire paſſage to theſe deſperate mad-men. So they iſſued forth, and arrived ſafe in *Arcadia*, where they were moſt lovingy entertained.

Upon the firſt bruit of the taking of *Era*, the *Arcadians* had prepared themſelves to the reſcue: but *Ariſtocrates* their falſe-hearted King, ſaid it was too late, for that all was alreadie loſt. When *Ariſtomenes* had placed his followers in ſafetie, he choſe out five hundred the luſtieſt of his men, with whom he reſolved to march in all ſecret haſte unto *Sparta*, hoping to finde the Towne ſecure, and ill manned, the people being runne forth to the ſpoyle of *Meſſene*. In this enterpriſe, if he ſped well, it was not doubted, that the *Lacedæmonians* would be glad to recover their owne, by reſtitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worſt that could happen. There were three hundred *Arcadians* that offered to joyne with him; but *Ariſtocrates* marred all, by ſending ſpeedie advertiſement thereof to *Anaxander* King of *Sparta*. The Epiſtle which *Anaxander* ſent back to *Ariſtocrates* was intercepted by ſome that miſtruſted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falſhood, which being publiſhed in open aſſemblie, the *Arcadians* ſtoned him to death, and caſting forth his bodie unburied, erected a monument of his treacherie, with a note; That the Perjurer cannot deceive God.

Of *Ariſtomenes* no more is remaining to be ſaid, than that committing his people to the charge of his ſon *Gorgus* and other ſufficient Governors, who ſhould plant them in ſome new ſeate abroad, he reſolved himſelfe to make aboad in thoſe parts, hoping to finde the *Lacedæmonians* work at home. His daughters he beſtowed honourably in mariage. One of them *Demagetus*, who reigned in the Ile of *Rhodes*, tooke to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marry the daughter of the beſt man in *Greece*. Finally, *Ariſtomenes* went with his daughter to *Rhodes*, whence he purpoſed to have travelled unto *Ardys* the Sonne of *Gyges* King of *Lydia*, and to *Phraortes* King of *Media*: but death prevented him at *Rhodes*, where he was honourably buried.

The *Meſſenians* were invited by *Anaxilas* (whoſe great Grandfather was a *Meſſenian*, and went into *Italie* after the former war) being Lord of the *Rhegians* in *Italie*, to take his part againſt the *Zanclæans* in *Sicilie*, on the other ſide of the Streights. They did ſo; and winning the Towne of *Zancle*, called it *Meſſene*, which name it keeps to this day.

This ſecond *Meſſenian* warre ended in the firſt yeare of the twentie eighth *Olympiad*. Long after which time, the reſt of that Nation, who ſtaying at home ſerved the *Lacedæmonians*, found meanes to rebell; but were ſoone vanquiſhed, and being driven to forſake *Peloponneſus*, they went into *Acarnania*; whence likewiſe, after few ages, they were expelled by the *Lacedæmonians*, and then followed their ancient Countrie-men into *Italie* and *Sicilie*; ſome of them went into *Africa*, where they choſe unto themſelves a ſeate.

It is very ſtrange, that during two hundred and foureſcore years, this baniſhed Nation retained their name, their ancient cuſtomes, language, hatred of *Sparta*, and love of their forſaken Country; with a deſire to return unto it. In the third year of the hundred and ſecond *Olympiad*, that great *Epaminondas*, having tamed the pride of the *Lacedæmonians*, revoked the *Meſſenians* home, who came flocking out of all quarters where they dwelt abroad into *Peloponneſus*. There did *Epaminondas* reſtore unto them their old poſſeſſion, and help them in building a fair Citie; which by the name of the Province, was called *Meſſene*, and was held by them ever after, in deſpight of the *Lacedæmonians*, of whom they never from thenceforth ſtood in feare.

## §. V.

### *Of the Kings that were in Lydia and Media, while* Manaſſes *raigned. Whether* Deioces *the Mede were that* Arphaxad *which is mentioned in the Booke of* Judith. *Of the hiſtorie of* Judith.

ARdys King of *Lydia*, and *Phraortes* of the *Medes*, are ſpoken of by *Pauſanias*, as reigning ſhortly after the *Meſſenian* war. *Ardys* ſucceeding unto his father *Gyges*, began his reigne of nine and fortie yeares, in the ſecond of the five and twentieth *Olympiad*. He followed the ſteps of his father, who encroaching upon the *Ionians* in *Aſia*, had taken *Colophon* by force, and attempted *Miletus* and *Smyrna*. In like maner *Ardys* wan *Priene*, and aſſailed *Miletus*; but went away without it. In his reigne, the *Cimmerians*, being expelled out of their own countrie by the *Scythians*, over-ran a great part of *Aſia*, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this mans Grandchilde, by whom they were driven out. They had not only broken into *Lydia*, but wan the Citie of *Sardes*; though the Caſtle or Citadell thereof was defended againſt them, and held ſtill for King *Ardys*; whoſe long reigne was unable, by reaſon of this great ſtorme, to effect much.

*Phraortes* was not King untill the third yeare of the nine and twentieth *Olympiad*, which was ſixe years after the *Meſſenian* war ended; the ſame being the laſt year of *Manaſſes* his raigne over *Juda*.

*Deioces* the father of this *Phraortes*, was King of *Media*, three and fiftie of theſe five and fiftie yeares in which *Manaſſes* reigned. This *Deioces* was the firſt that ruled the *Medes* in a ſtrict forme, commanding more abſolutely than his Predeceſſours had done. For they, following the example of *Arbaces*, had given to the people ſo much licence, as cauſed every one to deſire the wholeſome ſeveritie of a more Lordly King. Herein *Deioces* anſwered their deſires to the full. For he cauſed them to build for him a ſtately Palace; he tooke unto him a Guard, for defence of his perſon; he ſeldome gave preſence; which alſo when he did, it was with ſuch auſteritie, that no man durſt preſume to ſpit or cough in his ſight. By theſe and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awfull regard, and highly upheld the Majeſtie, which his predeceſſors had almoſt letten fall, through neglect of due comportments. In execution of his Royall Office, he did uprightly and ſeverely adminiſter juſtice, keeping ſecret ſpies to informe him of all that was done in the Kingdome. He cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion, by encroaching upon others; but ſtudied how to govern well his own. The difference found between this King, and ſuch as were before him, ſeems to have bred that opnion which *Herodotus* delivers, that *Deioces* was the firſt who reigned in *Media*.

*Herod. lib. 1.*

This was he that built the great Citie of *Ecbatane*, which now is called *Tauris*; and therefore he ſhould be that king *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the ſtorie of *Judith*, as alſo *Ben Merodach*, by the ſame account, ſhould be *Nabuchodonoſor* the *Aſſyrian*, by whom *Arphaxad* was ſlaine, and *Holofernes* ſent to worke wonders upon *Phul* and *Lud*, and I know not what other Countries. For I reckon the laſt yeare of *Deioces* to have been the nineteenth of *Ben Merodach*; though others place it otherwiſe, ſome earlier, in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, ſome later, in the reigne of *Nabulaſſar*, who is alſo called *Nabuchodonoſor*.

In fitting this book of *Judith* to a certaine time, there hath much labour beene ſpent with ill ſucceſſe. The raignes of *Cambyſes*, *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, have been ſought into; but afford no great matter of likelihood: and now of late, the times, foregoing the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, have beene thought upon, and this age that we have in hand, choſen by *Bellarmine*, as agreeing beſt with the ſtorie; though others herein cannot (I ſpeake of ſuch as faine would) agree with him. Whileſt *Cambyſes* raigned, the Temple was not re-built, which in the ſtorie of *Judith* is found ſtanding and dedicated. The other two *Perſian* Kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes*, are acknowledged to have beene very favourable to the *Jewes*; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonoſor*, whoſe part they refuſed to take, & who ſent to deſtroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath ſome conveniences, aptly fitting this Hiſtorie; and above all, the opinion of a few ancient Writers (without whoſe judgement the authoritie of this Booke were of no value) having placed this argument in the *Perſian* Monarchie, inclines the matter to the raigne of this vainglorious King. As for *Ochus*, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the buſineſſe. Manifeſt it is, and granted, that in the time of this Hiſtorie, there muſt be a returne from captivitie lately foregoing; the Temple rebuilt; *Joachim* High Prieſt; and a long peace of threeſcore and ten yeares or thereabout, enſuing. All theſe were to be among the Jewes. Likewiſe on the other ſide, we muſt find a King that reigned in *Nineve*, eighteene years at the leaſt; that vanquiſhed and ſlew a King of the *Medes*; one whom the *Jewes* refuſed to aſſiſt; one that ſought generally to be adored as God, and that therefore commanded all temples, of ſuch as were accounted gods, to be deſtroyed; one whoſe Vice-roy or Captaine Generall knew not the Jewiſh Nation, but was faine to learn what they were of the bordering people.

Of all theſe circumſtances; the Prieſthood of *Joachim*, with a returne from captivitie, are found concurring, with either the time of *Manaſſes* before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the re-building of the Temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the reigne of *Xerxes*; the reſt of circumſtances requiſite, are to be found all together, neither before nor after the captivitie of the *Jewes*, and deſolation of the Citie. Wherefore the briefe deciſion of this controverſie is, *That the book of Judith is not Canonicall.* Yet hath *Torniellus* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was poſſible in ſo deſperate a caſe. For he ſuppoſeth, that under *Xerxes* there were other Kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps reſtored and reedified the Citie of *Ecbatane*, that had formerly been built by *Deioces*) and *Nabuchodonoſor* might be another. This granted; he addes, that from the twelfth yeare to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonoſor*, that is, five or ſixe yeares, the abſence and ill fortune of *Xerxes* in his *Grecian* expedition (which he ſuppoſeth to have beene ſo long) might give occaſion unto *Arphaxad*, of rebelling: and that *Nabuchodonoſor*, having vanquiſhed and ſlaine *Arphaxad*, might then ſeeke to make himſelfe Lord of all, by the Armie which he ſent forth unto *Holofernes*. So ſhould the *Jewes* have done their dutie, in adhering to *Xerxes* their Soveraigne Lord, and reſiſting one that rebelled againſt him; as alſo the other circumſtances rehearſed before, be well applied to the argument. For in theſe times, the affaires of *Jurie* were agreeable to the Hiſtorie of *Judith*, and ſuch a King as this ſuppoſed *Nabuchodonoſor*, might well enough be ignorant of the *Jewes*, and as proud as we ſhall need to thinke him. But the ſilence of all Hiſtories, takes away beliefe from this conjecture: and the ſuppoſition it ſelfe is very hard, that a Rebell, whoſe King was abroad, with an Armie conſiſting of ſeventeene hundred thouſand men, ſhould preſume ſo farre, upon the ſtrength of twelve hundred thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand Archers on horſebacke, as to thinke that he might doe what he liſt, yea that there was none other God than himſelfe. It is indeed eaſie to finde enough that might be ſaid againſt this device of *Torniellus*: yet if there were any neceſſitie of holding the booke of *Judith* to be Canonicall, I would rather chooſe to lay aſide all regard of prophane Hiſtories, and build ſome defence upon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all doe, the text it ſelf. That *Judith* lived under none of the *Perſian* Kings, *Bellarmine* (whoſe workes I have not read, but find him cited by *Torniellus*) hath proved by many arguments. That ſhe lived not in the Raigne of *Manaſſes*, *Torniellus* hath proved very ſubſtantially, ſhewing how the Cardinall is driven, as it were to breake through a wall, in ſaying that the text was corrupted, where it ſpake of the deſtruction of the Temple foregoing her time. That the Kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabu-*

*chodonoſor*, found out by *Torniellus*, are the children of meere fantaſie, it is ſo plaine that it needs no proofe at all. Wherefore we may truely ſay, that they, which have contended about the time of this Hiſtorie, being well furniſhed of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themſelves (like naked men in a ſtonie field) have chaſed *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *Extra anni ſoliſque vias*, in an age that never was, and in places that were never known.

Iudit.2.23.&25. Surely, to find out *the borders of* Japheth, *which were towards the South, and over againſt Arabia*; or the Countries of *Phul* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes* his way; I think it would as much trouble Coſmographers, as the former queſtion hath done Chronologers. But I will not buſie my ſelfe herewith; having already ſo farre digreſſed, in ſhewing who lived not with *Manaſſes*, that I thinke it high time to returne unto mine owne worke, and rehearſe what others I finde, to have had their part, in the long time of his Raigne.

## §. VI.

### *Of other Princes and actions that were in theſe times.*

THe firſt yeare of *Manaſſes* was the laſt of *Romulus*; after whoſe death, one yeare the *Romanes* wanted a King. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabyne* choſen, a peaceable man and ſeeming very religious in his kinde. He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed onely in warres, to ſome good civilitie, and a more orderly faſhion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with ſuperſtition; as perſwading them, that he had familiaritie with a Nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him a many of Ceremonies which he delivered unto the *Romanes* as things of great importance. But all theſe devices of *Numa* were, in his owne judgement, no better than meere deluſions, that ſerved onely as rudiments to bring the ſavage multitude of theeves and out-lawes, gathered into one bodie by *Romulus*, to ſome forme of milder diſcipline, than their boyſterous and wilde natures was otherwiſe apt to entertaine. This appeared by the Books that were found in his grave, almoſt ſixe hundred yeares after his death, wherein the Superſtition taught by himſelfe was condemned as vaine. His grave was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that belonged to one *L. Petilius* a Scribe. Two Coffines or Cheſts of ſtone were in it, with an inſcription in Greeke and Latine letters, which ſaid, That *Numa Pompilius* the ſon of *Pompo*, King of the *Romanes* lay there. In the one Coffin was nothing found; his bodie being utterly conſumed. In the other were his Bookes, wrapped up in two bundels of waxe; of his owne conſtitutions ſeven, and other ſeven of Philoſophie. They were not only uncorrupted, but in a manner freſh and new. The Pretour of the Citie deſiring to have a ſight of theſe Books, when he perceived whereunto they tended, refuſed to deliver them back to the owner, and offered to take a ſolemn oath that they were againſt the Religion then in uſe. Hereupon the Senate, without more adoe, commanded them to be openly burnt. It ſeemes that *Numa* did meane to acquite himſelfe unto wiſer ages, which he thought would follow, as one that had not beene ſo fooliſh as to beleeve the Doctrine wherein he inſtructed his owne barbarous times. But the poyſon wherewith he had infected *Rome*, when he ſate in his Throne, had not left working, when he miniſtred the Antidote out of his grave. Had theſe Bookes not come to light, untill the dayes of *Tully* and *Cæſar*, when the miſte of ignorance was ſomewhat better diſcuſſed; likely it is that they had not onely eſcaped the fire, but wrought ſome good (and peradventure generall) effect. Being as it was, they ſerved as a confutation, without remedie, of Idolatrie that was inveterate.

*Numa* raigned three and fortie years in continuall peace. After him *Tullus Hoſtilius* the third King was choſen, in the ſixe and fortieth of *Manaſſes*; and reigned two and thirtie years, buſied, for the moſt part, in warre. He quarrelled with the *Albanes*, who met him in the field; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cauſe to feare, that might grow unto them from the *Thuſcanes*, cauſed them to bethink themſelves of a courſe, whereby without effuſion of ſo much bloud, as might make them too weake for a common enemie, it might be decided, who ſhould command, and who obey.

There were in each Campe three Brethren, Twins, borne at one birth (*Dionyſius* ſayes that they were Couſin Germans) of equall yeares and ſtrength, who were appointed to fight for their ſeverall Countries. The end was, that the *Horatii*, Champions for the *Romanes* got the victorie, though two of them firſt loſt their lives. The three *Curatii* that fought for *Alba* (as *Livie* tels it) were all alive, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their oppoſites were ſlain; but the third *Horatius*, pretending feare, did runne away, and thereby drew the others, who by reaſon of their hurts, could not follow him with equall ſpeed, to follow him at ſuch diſtance one from another, that returning upon them, he ſlew them, as it had been in ſingle fight, man after man, ere they could joyne together and ſet upon him all at once. *Dionyſius* reports it ſomewhat otherwiſe, telling very particularly, what wounds were given and taken, and ſaying, that firſt one of the *Horatii* was ſlaine, then one of the *Curatii*, then a ſecond *Horatius*, and laſtly the two *Curatii*, whom the third *Horatius* did cunningly ſever the one from the other, as is ſhewed before.

This is one of the moſt memorable things in the old *Roman* Hiſtorie, both in regard of the action it ſelfe, wherein *Rome* was laid, as it were, in a wager, againſt *Alba*, and in reſpect of the great increaſe which thereby the *Roman* State obtained. For the Citie of *Alba* did immediately become ſubject unto her owne Colonie, and was ſhortly after, upon ſome treacherous dealing of their Governour, utterly razed, the people being removed unto *Rome*, where they were made Citizens. The ſtrong Nation of the *Latines*, whereof *Alba*, as the mother Citie, had been chiefe, became ere long dependant upon *Rome*, though not ſubject unto it, & divers pettie States adjacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were ſmall, yet many, I will forbeare to rehearſe (as being the works of ſundry ages, and few of them remarkeable conſidered apart by themſelves) untill ſuch time as this fourth Empire, that is now in the infancie, ſhall grow to be the main ſubject of this Hiſtorie.

The ſeventh yeare of *Hippomenes* in Athens, was current with the firſt of *Manaſſes*. Alſo the three laſt Governours for ten yeares, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the ſame Kings time. Of theſe I finde only names, *Leocrates*, *Abſander*, and *Erizias*. After *Erizias* yearly Rulers were elected.

Theſe Governours for ten years, were alſo of the race of *Medon* and *Codrus*, but their time of rule was ſhortned, and from term of life reduced unto ten years; it being thought likely that they would govern the better, when they knew that they were afterwards to live private men under the command of others. I follow *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, in applying their times unto thoſe yeares of the *Olympiads*, wherein the Chronologicall Table, following this work, doth ſet them. For he not only profeſſeth himſelfe to have taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted alwayes the years of the *Greeks*, how they did anſwer unto the things of *Rome*, throughout all the continuance of this Hiſtorie. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of *Rome*, in the firſt yeare of the ſeventh *Olympiad*, and affirmes, that the ſame was the firſt yeare of *Charops* government of *Athens*; I hope I ſhall not need excuſe, for varying from *Pauſanias*, who ſets the beginning of theſe *Athenians* ſomewhat ſooner.

*Dion.Halic.l.1. fol.43.& 45.*

In the reign of *Manaſſes* it was, that *Midas*, whom the Poets fained to have had Aſſes eares, held the kingdome of *Phrygia*. Many fables were deviſed of him; eſpecially that he obtained of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all things which he ſhould touch, might immediately be changed into Gold: by which meanes he had like to have been ſtarved (his meate and drinke being ſubject to the ſame transformation) had not *Bacchus* delivered him from this miſerable facultie, by cauſing him to waſh himſelfe in the River *Pactolus*, the ſtreame whereof hath ever ſince, forſooth, abounded in that precious metall. Finally, it is ſaid he dyed by drinking Buls bloud; being invaded by the *Scythians*.

In this age flouriſhed that *Antimachus*, who (ſaith *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*) obſerved the Moones Eclipſe at the foundation of *Rome*.

The *Mileſians*, or, (as *Euſebius* hath it) the *Athenians* having obtained ſome power by Sea, founded *Macicratis* a Citie on the Eaſt of *Egypt*. *Pſammiticus* herein ſeems to have aſſiſted them, who uſed all meanes of drawing the *Greeks* into *Egypt*, accounting them his ſureſt ſtrength. For neither *Miletus* nor *Athens* were now of power ſufficient to plant a Colonie in *Egypt* by force.

Plut. & Euſeb.

About this time *Archias* with his companion *Miſcellus*, and other *Corinthians* founded *Syracuſa* in *Sicilie*, a Citie in after times exceeding famous.

* Whence in *Strabo* there is *ſinus Aſtacenus* a part of *Propontis* where this Citie ſtandeth.

The Citie of *Nicomedia* ſometime* *Aſtacus*, was enlarged and beautified in this age by *Zipartes* native of *Thrace*. *Sybilla* of *Samus*, according to *Pauſanias*, lived much about this time.

Pauſ.l.5. Hal.l.3. Strab.l.6.

About theſe times alſo was *Croton* founded upon the Bay of *Tarentum* by *Miſcellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built *Syracuſæ*. *Strabo* makes it ſomewhat more ancient: and ſo doth *Pauſanias*.

Juſtin.l.3. Pauſ.l.10.

About the ſame time the *Parthenians* being of age, and baniſhed *Lacedæmon*, were conducted by *Phalantus* into *Italie*; where it is ſaid they founded *Tarentum*: but *Juſtine* and *Pauſanias* finde it built before, and by them conquered and amplified: and about the ſame time, *Manaſſe* yet living, the Citie *Phaſelis* was founded in *Pamphylia*, *Gela* in *Sicilie*, *Interamne* in the Region of the *Umbri*, now *Urbin* in *Italie*. About which time alſo *Chalcedon* in *Aſia*, over againſt *Byzantium* (now *Conſtantinople*) was founded by the *Megarenſes*: who therfore were upbraided as blind, becauſe they choſe not the other ſide of *Boſphorus*. It were a long work to rehearſe all that is ſaid to have bin done in the five and fiftie yeares of *Manaſſes*: that which alreadie hath been told is enough: the reſt being not greatly worth remembrance, may wel be omitted, reſerving only *Ben Merodach*, and *Nabulaſſar*, to the buſineſſe that will ſhortly require more mention of them.

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# CHAP. XXVIII.

## *Of the times from the death of* Manaſſes *to the deſtruction of Jeruſalem.*

### §. I.

### *Of* Ammon *and* Joſias.

2 Kin.21. 2 Chron.33.

AMmon the ſonne of *Manaſſe*, a man no leſſe wicked than was his Father before his converſion, reſtored the exerciſe of all ſorts of Idolatrie: for which God hardened the hearts of his owne ſervants againſt him: who ſlew him after he had reigned two years. *Philo*, *Euſebius*, and *Nicephorus* give him ten yeares, following the Septuagint.

2 Kin.22. 2 Chron.34.

1 Kin.13.

*Joſias* ſucceeded unto *Ammon*, being but a child of 8. years old, he began to ſeek after the God of *David* his Father; and in his twelfth yeare he purged *Juda* and *Jeruſalem from the high places, and the groves, and the carved and molten Images: and they brake downe in his ſight the Altars of Baalim*: He cauſed all the Images, as well thoſe which were graven, as molten, to be ſtampt to powder, and ſtrewed on their graves that had erected them; and this he commanded to be done throughout all his dominions. He alſo ſlew thoſe that ſacrificed to the Sun and Moon, and cauſed the Chariots and horſes of the Sun to be burnt. Of *Joſias* it was prophecied in the time of *Jeroboam* the firſt, when he erected the Golden Calfe at *Bethel*, that a child ſhould be born unto the houſe of *David*, *Joſias* by name, and upon thee (ſaid the Prophet ſpeaking to the Altar) ſhall he ſacrifice the Prieſts of the high places, that burne incenſe upon thee: a prophecie very remarkeable.

2 Chron.34.24.

In the eighteenth yeare of his raigne, he re-built and repaired the Temple, at which time *Helkiah* the Prieſt found the Booke of *Moſes*; called *Deuteronomie*, or, of the Law, which he ſent to the King: which when he had cauſed to be read before him, and conſidered of the ſevere commandements therein written, the proſperitie promiſed to thoſe that obſerve them, and the ſorrow and extirpation to the reſt, he rent his garments, and commanded *Helkiah*, and others, to aske counſell of the Propheteſſe *Huldah*; or, *Olda*, concerning the Book; who anſwered the meſſengers in theſe words: *Thus ſaith the Lord, Behold, I will bring evill upon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curſes that are written in the Book, which they have read before the King of Juda, becauſe they have forſaken*

*forſaken mee, and burnt incenſe to other gods.* Only for the King himſelfe, becauſe he was a lover of God and his Lawes, it was promiſed that this evill ſhould not fall on Juda and Jeruſalem in his dayes, but that he himſelfe ſhould inherit his grave in peace.

2 Kin.22.15.
2 Chron.34.

*Joſias* aſſembled the Elders, cauſed the Booke to be read unto them, made a covenant with the Lord, and cauſed all that were found in Jeruſalem and Benjamin to doe the like, promiſing thereby to obſerve the Lawes and Commandements in the Book contained.

The execution done by *Joſias* upon the Altar, idols, monuments, and bones of the falſe Prophets at Bethel, argueth his Dominion to have extended unto thoſe Countries, that had beene part of the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. Yet I doe not thinke, that any victory of *Joſias* in war got poſſeſſion of theſe places; but rather that *Ezechias*, after the flight & death of *Sennacherib*, when *Merodach* oppoſed himſelfe againſt *Aſarhaddon*, did uſe the advantage which the faction in the North preſented unto him, and laid hold upon ſo much of the Kingdome of Iſrael, as he was able to people. Otherwiſe alſo it is not improbable, that the Babylonian finding himſelfe unable to deale with *Pſammiticus* in Syria (as wanting power to raiſe the ſiege of *Azotus*, though the Towne held out nine & twenty yeers) did give unto *Manaſſes*, together with his liberty, as much in Iſrael as himſelfe could not eaſily defend. This was a good way to breake the amity that the Kings of Juda had ſo long held with thoſe of Egypt, by caſting a bone between them, & withall by this benefit of enlarging their Territories with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeem the friendſhip of the Jewes, which had been loſt by injuries done, in ſeeking to bereave them of their owne. When it is ſaid, that *Manaſſes* did after his deliverance from impriſonment, *put Captaines of War in all the ſtrong Cities of Juda*; it may be that ſome ſuch buſineſſe is intimated, as the taking poſſeſſion, and fortifying of places delivered into his hands. For though it be manifeſt that he tooke much paines, in making Jeruſalem it ſelfe more defenſible; yet I ſhould rather beleeve, that he, having already compounded with the Babylonian, did fortifie himſelfe againſt the Egyptians, whoſe ſide he had forſaken, than that he travelled in making ſuch proviſions only for his mindes ſake. The earneſtneſſe of *Joſias* in the King of Babel his quarrell, doth argue, that the compoſition which *Manaſſes* had made with that King or his Anceſtor, was upon ſuch friendly termes, as required not onely a faithfull obſervation, but a thankfull requitall. For no perſwaſions could ſuffice to make *Joſias* ſit ſtill, and hold himſelfe quiet in good neutrality, when *Pharao Necho* King of Egypt paſſed along by him, to war upon the Countries about the River of Euphrates.

2 Chron.33.14.

The laſt yeer of *Joſias* his reigne it was, when as *Necho* the ſon of *Pſammiticus*, came with a powerfull Army towards the border of Judæa, determining to paſſe that way, being the neareſt toward Euphrates, either to ſtrengthen the paſſages of that River about Carchemiſh, or Cercuſium, for the defence of Syria (as long after this, *Diocleſian* is ſaid by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to have done,) or perhaps to invade Syria it ſelfe. For it ſeemeth that the travaile of *Pſammaticus* had not beene idlely conſumed about that one Towne of *Azotus*, but had put the Egyptians in poſſeſſion of no ſmall part of Syria, eſpecially in thoſe quarters, that had formerly belonged unto the Adades Kings of Damaſco.

2 Chron.35.20.

Neither was the induſtry of *Necho* leſſe than his Fathers had bin, in purſuing the war againſt Babel. In which warre, two things may greatly have availed the Egyptians, and advanced their affaires and hopes: the extraordinary valour of the mercenary Greekes, that were far better Souldiers than Egypt of it ſelfe could afford; & the danger wherein Aſſyria ſtood, by the force of the Medes, which under the command of more abſolute Princes, began to feele it ſelfe better; and to ſhew what it could doe. Theſe were great helpes, but of ſhorter endurance than was the warre; as in place more convenient ſhall be noted. At the preſent it ſeems, that either ſome preparation of the Chaldæans to reconquer, did enforce, or ſome diſability of theirs to make reſiſtance, did invite the King of Egypt, into the Countries bordering upon Euphrates; whither *Pharao Necho* aſcended with a mighty Army.

Theſe two great Monarchs, having their ſwords drawne, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, *Joſias* adviſed with himſelſe to which of theſe he might adhere, having his Territory ſet in the mid-way between both, ſo as the one could not invade the other; but that they muſt of neceſſity tread upon the very face and body of his Country. Now though it were ſo that *Necho* himſelfe deſired by his Embaſſadours, 2.Chron.35. leave to paſſe along by *Judæa*, proteſting that he directed himſelfe againſt the *Aſſyrians* only, without all harmefull purpoſe againſt *Joſias*; yet all ſufficed not, but the King of *Iſrael* would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendſhip of *Egypt* could bring to thoſe that had affiance therein: as that of *Hoſea* the laſt King of *Iſrael*, who when he fell from the dependance of the *Aſſyrian*, and wholly truſted to *Sabacus*, or **Sous** King of *Egypt*, was utterly diſappointed of his hopes, and in concluſion loſt both his life and eſtate, which the *Aſſyrian* ſo rooted up and tare in pieces, as it could never after be gathered together or replanted. The calamities alſo that fel upon *Juda* in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of *Ezechia*, whileſt that good king and his people relied upon *Sethon*; and more lately, the impriſonment of *Manaſſes*, were documents of ſufficient proofe, to ſhew the ill aſſurance, that was in the helpe of the *Egyptians*, who (neare neighbors though they were) were alwaies unreadie, when the neceſſities of their friends required their aſſiſtance. The remembrance hereof might be the reaſon why *Neco* did not ſeeke to have the Jewes renew their ancient league with him, but only craved that they would be contented to ſit ſtill, and behold the paſtime between him and the *Aſſyrians*. This was an eaſie thing to grant; ſeeing that the countenance of ſuch an Armie, as did, ſoone after this, out-face *Nabulaſſar* upon his own borders, left unto the *Jewes*, a lawfull excuſe of feare, had they forborne to give it any checke upon the way. Wherefore I beleeve that this religious and vertuous Prince *Joſias*, was not ſtirred up only by politick reſpects, to ſtop the way of *Neco*; but thought himſelf bound in faith and honor, to doe his beſt in defence of the *Babylonian* Crown; whereunto his Kingdome was obliged, either by covenant made at the enlargement of *Manaſſes*, or by the gift of ſuch part as he held in the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. As for the Princes and people of *Juda*, they had now a good occaſion to ſhew, both unto the *Babylonians*, of what importance their friendſhip was, and to the *Egyptians* what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their enemie.

Some think that this action of *Joſias* was contrary to the advice of *Jeremy* the Prophet; which I doe not find in the Prophecie of *Jeremie*, nor can find reaſon to beleeve. Others hold opinion that he forgat to ask the counſell of God: and this is very likely; ſeeing he might beleeve that an enterpriſe grounded upon fidelitie and thankfulneſs due to the King of *Babel*, could not but be diſpleaſing unto the Lord. But the wickedneſs of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken ſuch root, as all the care of *Joſias* in reforming the Land, could not pluck up) was queſtionleſſe far from hearkening how the matter would ſtand with Gods pleaſure, and much farther from enquiring into his ſecret will, wherin it was determined that their good king, whoſe life ſtood between them and their puniſhment, ſhould now be taken from among them, and that in ſuch ſort, as his death ſhould give an entrance to the miſeries enſuing. So *Joſias* levying all the ſtrength he could make, neare unto *Megiddo*, in the halfe Tribe of *Manaſſes*, encountred *Neco*: and there he received the ſtroak of death, which lingring about him till he came to *Jeruſalem*, brought him to the Sepulchres of his Anceſtors. His loſſe was greatly bewailed of all Lam.4.20. the people and Princes of *Juda*, eſpecially of *Jeremie* the Prophet, who inſerted a ſorrowfull remembrance thereof in his Book of Lamentations.

## §. II.

### *Of Pharao Neco that fought with Joſias: Of Jehoahaz and Jehojakim Kings of Iſrael.*

OF theſe warres, and particularly of this victorie, *Herodotus* hath mention among the acts of *Neco*. He tels us of this King, that he went about to make a channell, whereby Ships might paſſe out of *Nilus* into the Red Sea. It ſhould have reached above an hundred miles in length, and been wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the middeſt of the worke, an Oracle foretold that the *Barbarians* ſhould have the benefit of it, which cauſed *Neco* to deſiſt when halfe was done. There were conſumed in this toyleſome buſineſſe twelve hundred thouſand *Egyptians*; a loſſe great enough to make the King forſake his enterpriſe, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. Howſoever it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore he built a Fleet, and levied a great Armie, wherewith he marched againſt the King of *Babel*. In this expedition, he uſed the ſervice, as well of his Navie, as of his land-forces; but no particular exploits of his therein are found recorded, ſave only this victorie againſt *Joſias*, where *Herodotus* cals the place *Magdolus*, and the *Jewes Syrians*; which is a ſmall error, ſeeing that *Judæa* was a Province of *Syria*, and *Magdolus* or *Magdala* is taken to have bin the ſame place (though diverſly named) in which this battell was fought. After this, *Necus* tooke the Citie of *Cadytis*, which was perhaps *Charchemiſh*, by *Euphrates*, and made himſelfe Lord, in a maner, of all *Syria*, as *Joſephus* witneſſeth.

*Joſ. Ant. Jud. lib. 10. cap. 7.*

Particularly we find, that the *Phœnicians*, one of the moſt powerful Nations in *Syria*, were his Subjects, and that by his command they ſurrounded all *Africa*, ſetting ſail from the gulfe of *Arabia*, and ſo paſſing along all the coaſt, whereon they both landed, as need required, and ſowed corne for their ſuſtenance in that long voyage, which laſted three yeares. This was the firſt Navigation about *Africa*, wherein that great Cape, now called *Of good hope*, was diſcovered; which after was forgotten, until *Vaſco de Gama* the Portingall found it out, following a contrarie courſe to that which the *Phœnicians* held; for they, beginning in the Eaſt, ranne the way of the Sun, South and then Weſtward, after which they returned home by the pillars and ſtreights of *Hercules* (as the name was then) called now the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, having *Africke* ſtill on the right hand; but the *Portingals*, beginning their voyage not far from the ſame ſtreights, leave *Africke* on the Larboord, and bend their courſe unto the Eaſt. That report of the *Phœnicians*, which *Herodotus* durſt not beleeve, how the Sun in this journey was on their right hand, that is, on the North ſide of them, is a matter of neceſſary truth; and the obſervation then made hereof, makes me the better to beleeve, that ſuch a voyage was indeed performed. But leaving theſe diſcourſes of *Neco* his magnificence, let us tell what he did, in matters more importing his Eſtate. The people of *Juda*, while the *Egyptians* were buſie at *Charchemiſh*, had made *Jehoahaz* their King, in the roome of his father *Joſias*. The Prophet *Jeremie* calls this new King *Shallum*, by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the ſhort reigne of *Shallum* King of the ten Tribes: for *Shallum* of *Iſrael* reigned but one moneth; *Jehoahaz* no more than three. He was not the eldeſt ſon of *Joſias*: Wherefore it may ſeem that he was ſet up as the beſt affected unto the king of *Babel*; the reſt of his houſe being more inclined to the *Egyptian*, as appeares by the ſequele. An Idolater he was, and thrived accordingly. For when as *Neco* had diſpatched his buſineſs in the North parts of *Syria*, then did he take order for the affaires of *Judæa*. This Countrie was now ſo far from making any reſiſtance, that the King himſelfe came from *Riblah* in the land of *Hamath*, where the matter went ſo ill on his ſide, that *Neco* did caſt him into bonds, and carry him priſoner into *Egypt*, giving away his Kingdome to *Eliakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. The Citie of *Riblah*, in after times called *Antiochia*, was a place unhappy to the Kings and Princes of *Juda*, as may be obſerved in divers examples. Yet here *Jehojakim*, together with his new name, got his Kingdome; an ill gain, ſince he could no better uſe it. But how-ever *Jehojakim* thrived by the bargaine, *Pharao* ſped well, making that Kingdome Tributarie, without any ſtroke ſtricken; which three moneths before was too ſtout to give him peace, when he deſired it. Certaine it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater taske lying upon his hands, than would permit him to waſt his forces upon *Judæa*: but now the reputation of his good ſucceſſe at *Megiddo*, and *Charchemiſh*, together with the diſſention of the Princes *Joſias* his ſonnes (of whom the eldeſt is probably thought to have ſtormed at the preferment of his younger brother) gave him power to doe even what ſhould pleaſe himſelfe. Yet he did forbeare to make a conqueſt of the Land, perhaps upon the ſame reaſon, which had made him ſo earneſt in ſeeking to hold peace with it. For the *Jewes* had ſuffered much in the *Egyptians* quarrell, and being left by theſe their friends, in time of need, unto all extremities, were driven of neceſſitie to forſake that partie, and to joyne with the enemies; to whom if they ſhewed themſelves faithfull, who could blame them? It was therefore enough to reclaim them; ſeeing they were ſuch a people as would not upon every occaſion ſhift ſide, but endure more than *Pharao*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth ſhould lay upon them: ſo good a Patron did he meane to be unto them. Neverthe leſſe he laid upon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of ſilver, and one Talent of gold; that ſo he might both reap at the preſent ſome fruit of his paines taken, and leave unto them ſome document in the future, of

*Herod. l. 4.*

*Jer. 22. 32.*

*2 Kin. 34. 32.*

greater puniſhment than verball anger, due to them, if they ſhould rebell. So he departed, carrying along with him into Egypt the unfortunate King *Jehoahaz*, who died in his Captivitie.

The reigne of *Jehoahaz* was included in the end of his Fathers laſt yeare; otherwiſe it would hardly be found, that *Jehojakim* his ſucceſſor, did reign ten whole years; whereas the Scriptures give him eleven, that are current and incomplete. If any man will rather caſt the three moneths of this ſhort reigne, into the firſt yeare of the brother, than into the fathers laſt; the ſame arguments that ſhall maintaine his opinion, will alſo prove the matter to be unworthie of diſputation; and ſo I leave it.

*Jehojakim* in impietie was like his brother, in faction he was altogether *Egyptian*, as having received his Crown at the hand of *Pharao*. The wickedneſſe of theſe laſt Kings, being expreſſed in Scriptures none otherwiſe, than by generall words, with reference to all the evill that their Fathers had done; makes it apparent, that the poyſon wherewith *Ahaz* and *Manaſſes* had infected the Land, was not ſo expelled by the zealous goodneſſe 2 Chron.36.14. of *Joſias*, but that it ſtill cleaved unto the chiefe of the people, *Yea unto the Prieſts alſo*; and therefore it was not ſtrange, that the Kings had their parts therein. The Royall authoritie was much abaſed by the dangers wherein the Countrey ſtood, in this troubleſome age: the Princes did in a manner what they liſted; neither would the Kings forbeare to profeſſe, that they could deny them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Jehojakim* had the countenance of the *Egyptian* to grace it, which made him inſolent and cruell; as we finde by that example of his dealing with *Uria* the Prophet: though herein alſo the Princes do appeare to have been inſtigators. This holy man denounced Gods judgments againſt the Citie and Temple, in like ſort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the ſame age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poore man fled into *Egypt*: but ſuch regard was had unto *Jehojakim*, that *Uria* was delivered unto his Embaſſadour, and ſent backe to the death; contrarie to the cuſtome uſed, both in thoſe dayes, and ſince among all civill Nations, of giving refuge unto ſtrangers, that are not held guiltie of ſuch inhumane crimes, as for the generall good of mankind ſhould be exempted from all priviledge.

It concerned *Pharao* to give all contentment poſſible to *Jehojakim*: for the *Aſſyrian* Lyon, that had not ſtirred in many yeares, began about theſe times to roare ſo loud upon the bankes of *Euphrates*, that his voice was heard unto *Nilus*, threatning to make himſelfe Lord of all the Forreſt. The cauſes that hitherto had withdrawne the houſe of *Merodach* from oppoſing the *Egyptian* in his conqueſt of *Syria*, require our conſideration in this place; before we proceed to commit them together at *Carchemiſh*, where ſhortly after this the glory of Egypt is to fall.

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## §. III.

### *Of the Kings of Babylon and Media. How it came to paſſe that the Kings of Babel could not give attendance on their buſineſſe in Syria; which cauſed them to loſe that Province.*

MErodach the ſonne of *Baladan*, who taking the advantage that *Senacheribs* miſadventure and death, together with the diſſention between his children, preſented, made himſelfe King of *Babylon*, was eleven years troubled with a powerfull Enemie, *Aſarhaddon* the ſon of *Senacherib*, reigning over the *Aſſyrians* in *Nineve*; from whom whileſt he could not any other way divert his cares, he was faine to omit all buſineſſe in *Syria*, and (as hath beene formerly ſhewed) to make over unto *Ezechia*, ſome part of the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. From this moleſtation, the death of *Aſarhaddon* did not only ſet him free, but gave unto him ſome part of *Aſſyria*, if not (as is commonly, but leſſe probably thought) the whole Kingdome. How greatly this was to the liking of the *Aſſyrians*, I will not here ſtand to enquire: his long reigne following, & his little intermeddling in matters of *Syria*, make it plain, that he had work enough at home, either in defending or in eſtabliſhing that which he had gotten. *Joſephus* gives him the honour of having wonne *Nineve* it ſelfe, which we may beleeve; but ſurely he did not hold it long. For in the times ſoone following, that great Citie was free, and vanquiſhed *Phraortes* the *Median*. Perhaps it yeelded upon ſome capitulation:

and refuſed afterwards to continue ſubject, when the Kings, being of the Chaldæan race, preferred Babylon before it.

Some thinke that this was the Aſſyrian King, whoſe Captaines tooke *Manaſſes* priſoner; but I rather beleeve thoſe that hold the contrary, for which I have given my reaſons in due place. To ſay truth, I finde little cauſe why *Merodach* ſhould have looked into thoſe parts, as long as the Jewes were his friends, and the Egyptians, that maligned the Northerne Empire, held themſelves quiet at home, which was untill the time of *Pſammaticus*, about the end of this Kings Reigne, or the beginning of his ſon.

*Ben Merodach* the ſon and ſucceſſour of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is he named by good conſent of Authors, and that ſpeake little of his doings. The length of his Reigne is gathered by inference to have beene one and twenty yeeres; for ſo much remaineth of the time that paſſed betweene the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephewes Reignes (which is a knowne ſumme) deducting the yeeres of his Father, and of his ſonne *Nabulaſſar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manaſſes* Priſoner, and releaſed him. Hee ſped ill in Syria; where *Pſammiticus*, by the vertue of his Mercenary Greekes, did much prevaile. This may have been ſome cauſe that he releaſed *Manaſſes*, and did put into his hands ſome part more of the Kingdome of Samaria: which is made probable by circumſtances alledged before.

*Nabulaſſar* that reigned in Babylon after his father *Ben Merodach*, had greater buſineſs in his owne Kingdome, than would permit him to looke abroad: inſomuch as it may be thought to have been a great negligence or over-ſight of *Pſammiticus* & *Neco*, that they did not occupy ſome good part of his Dominions beyond Euphrates. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* King of the Medes invaded Aſſyria, and beſieged Nineve; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulaſſar*, but conſtrained to remove by the comming of the Scythians, who in theſe ages did over-flow thoſe parts of the world, laying hold upon all that they could maſter by ſtrong hand. Of theſe Scythians, and the Lordſhip that they held in Aſia, it is convenient that I ſpeak in this place; ſhewing briefly afore-hand, how the Medes, upon whom they firſt fell, were buſied in the ſame times with hopes of conquering Aſſyria.

*Phraortes*, the ſonne of *Deioces*, King of the Medes, having by many victories enlarged his Dominions, conceived at length a faire poſſibility of making himſelfe Lord of Nineve.

That City (as *Herodotus* reports it) having been a Soveraigne Lady, was not forſaken of all her dependants; yet remained in ſuch caſe, that of her ſelfe ſhe was well enough. *Herod.lib.1.*

This makes it plain, that howſoever *Merodach* had gotten poſſeſſion of this imperiall ſeat, and made it ſubject as was the reſt of the Country; yet it found the meanes to ſet it ſelfe at liberty: as after this againe it did, when it had been regained by *Nabulaſſar* his Grande-childe.

Sharpe warre, and the very novelty of ſuddaine violence, uſe to diſmay any State or Country, not inured to the like: but cuſtome of danger hardeneth even thoſe that are unwarlike. Nineve had been the Palace of many valiant Kings lately reigning therein; it had ſuffered, and reſiſted, all the fury, wherewith either Domeſticall tumults between the ſons of *Sennacherib*, or forreigne war of the Babylonians, could afflict it: and therefore it is the leſſe wonderfull, that *Phraortes* did ſpeed ſo ill in his journey againſt it. He and the moſt of his Army periſhed in that expedition: whereof I finde no particular circumſtances (perhaps hee undervalued their forces, and brought a leſſe power than was needfull.) It is enough, that herein we may beleeve *Herodotus*.

*Cyaxares* the ſon of *Phraortes*, a braver man of war than his Father, wan as much of Aſia the leſſe, as lay Eaſtward, from the River of Halys; hee ſought revenge upon the Aſſyrians for the death of his father, & beſieged Nineve it ſelfe, having a purpoſe to deſtroy it. I rather beleeve *Euſebius*, *That hee tooke the City, and fulfilled his diſpleaſure upon it*, than *Herodotus*, *That the Scythian Army came upon him whileſt hee lay before it*. For where equall authorities are contradictory (as *Euſebius*, though far later than *Herodotus*, yet having ſeen other Authors that are now loſt, it is to be valued according to his great reading) there do I hold it beſt, to yeeld unto the beſt likelihoods.

To thinke that the Scythians came upon *Cyaxares*, whileſt he lay before Nineve, were to accuſe him of greater improvidence, than ought to be ſuſpected in one commended as a good Souldier. But to ſuppoſe that he was faine to leave the Towne, when a Warre ſo dangerous fell upon his owne Country, doth well agree both with the condition of ſuch buſineſſe as that Scythian expedition brought into thoſe parts, and with the State of the Chaldæan and Aſſyrian affaires enſuing.

The deſtruction of this great City is both foretold in the Booke of *Tobit*, and there ſet down as happening about theſe times; of which book whoſoever was the Author, he was ancient enough to know the Story of thoſe ages, & hath committed no ſuch errour in reckoning of times, as ſhould cauſe us to diſtruſt him in this. As for the Propheſie of *Nahum*, though it be not limited unto any certaine terme, yet it appeares to have taken effect, in the finall deſtruction of Nineve by *Nabuchodonoſor*, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a conqueſt of Egypt, foregoing this calamity, whereof we will ſpeake in due place. Some that aſcribe more authority than the reformed Churches yeeld, to the booke of *Tobit*, are carefull, as in a matter of neceſſity, to affirme, that about theſe times, Nineve was taken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the victory over it to *Ben Merodach*: a needleſs conjecture, if the place of *Euſebius* be wel conſidered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulaſſar* the ſon of *Ben Merodach*, did ſeize upon it, and place a King or Vice-roy therein, about ſuch time as the Country of Aſſyria was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the Scythian Warre over-whelmed Media. For then was the Conqueſt wrought out ready to his hand; the ſwelling ſpirits of the Ninevites were allayed, and their malice to Babylon ſo much aſſwaged, that it might bee though a great favour, if *Nabulaſſar*, appointing unto them a peculiar King, tooke him & them into protection: though afterwards to their confuſion, this unthankfull People and their King rebelled againe, as ſhall be ſhewed in the Reigne of *Nabuchodonoſor*.

## §. IV.

## *The great expedition of the Scythians, who ruled in Aſia eight and twenty yeeres.*

### †. I.

### *The time of this expedition.*

NOw that I have ſhewed what impediment was given by the Aſſyrians and the Medes, to the Babylonians, who thereby were much diſabled to performe any action of worth upon the Egyptians in Syria; it is time that I ſpeake of that great Scythian expedition, which grievouſly afflicted not only the Babylonians, but the Medes & Lydians, with the Countries adjacent, in ſuch wiſe, that part of the trouble redounded even to the Egyptians themſelves. Of the Scythian people in generall, *Herodotus* makes very large diſcourſe, but interlaced, as of matter ill knowne, with many Fables; of this expedition he tels many particulars, but ill agreeing with conſent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will bee needleſſe to recite them; for they are farre enough diſtant from the buſineſſe in hand. The computation of times which by inference out of his relations, may ſeeme very ſtrange, needeth ſome anſwer in this place: leſt otherwiſe I ſhould either ſeeme to make my ſelfe too bold with an Authour, in citing him after a manner different from his owne tale; or elſe to bee too forgetfull of my ſelfe, in bringing to act upon the Stage, thoſe perſons, which I had already buried. Eight and twenty yeeres, hee ſaith, that the Scythians reigned in Aſia, before *Cyaxares* delivered the Countrey from them. Yet hee reports a warre betweene *Cyaxares* and *Haliattes* the Lydian, as foregoing the ſiege of Nineve; the ſiege of Nineve being ere the Scythians came. And further he tels, how the Scythians, having vanquiſhed the Medes, did paſſe into Syria, and were encountred in Paleſtina by *Pſammiticus* King of Egypt, who by gifts and entreaty procured them to depart from him. Theſe narrations of *Herodotus* may, every one of them, be true; though not in ſuch order of time, as he hath marſhalled them. For *Pſammiticus* was dead before *Cyaxares* began to reigne: and *Cyaxares* had ſpent halfe of his forty yeeres, ere *Halyattes* was King of Lydia, ſo that hee could not, after thoſe Lydian Warres, reigne eight and twenty yeeres together with the Scythians. It is true, that *Euſebius* doth alſo call *Pſammis* the ſonne of *Pharao Neco*, by the name of *Pſammiticus*; and this King *Pſammis* may, by ſome ſtrained conjecture, be thought to have beene he that met with the Scythians: for hee lived with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Euſebius* himſelfe referres all that buſineſſe of the Scythian irruption into Palæſtina, to *Pſammiticus* the Father of *Necho*, whom he leaves dead before the Reigne of *Halyattes*. Therefore I dare not relye upon *Herodotus*, in this matter, otherwiſe than to beleeve him, that ſuch things were in theſe ages, though not in ſuch order as he ſets them downe.

It remaines, that I collect as well as I can, thoſe memorials which I finde of this expedition ſcattered in divers places: a worke neceſſary, for that the greatneſſe of this action was ſuch, as ought not to be omitted in a generall Hiſtory; yet not eaſie, the conſent of thoſe that have written thereof, being nothing neare to uniformity.

I have noted before, that in the reigne of *Ardys* King of Lydia, the Cimmerians overran that Kingdome, and were not expelled, untill *Halyattes* the Nephew of *Ardys* got the upper hand of them. In theſe times therefore of *Ardys*, *Sadiattes*, and *Halyattes*, are we to finde the eight and twenty years, wherein the Scythians reigned ouer Aſia. Now foraſmuch as *Pſammiticus* the Egyptian had ſome dealings with the Scythians, even in the height of their proſperity, wee muſt needs allow more than one or two of his laſt yeares unto this their Dominion. But the beginning of *Halyattes* his Reigne in Lydia, being three and twenty yeers compleat after the death of *Pſammiticus*, leaves the ſpace very ſcant, either for the great victories of the Scythians, neceſſarily ſuppoſed before they could meete the Egyptian in Syria, or for thoſe many loſſes, which they muſt have received ere they could be driven quite away. To increaſe this difficulty, the victorious Reigne of *Nabuchodonoſor* in Babylon, is of no ſmall moment. For how may wee thinke it poſſible, that hee ſhould have adventured the ſtrength of his Kingdome againſt the Egyptians & Jewes, had he ſtood in daily feare of loſing his owne, to a more mighty nation, that lay upon his necke? To ſpeake ſimply as it appeares to me, the victories aſcribed to *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* over theſe warlike people, were not obtained againſt the whole body of their Army, but were the defeatures of ſome troopes, that infeſted their ſeverall Kingdomes; other Princes, and among theſe, *Nabulaſſar*, having the like ſucceſſe, when the pleaſures of Aſia had mollified the courages of theſe hardy Northerne Laddes. Wherefore we may probably annexe the eight and twenty years of the Scythians rule, to as many almoſt the laſt of *Nabulaſſars* Reigne, in compaſſe whereof their power was at the greateſt. This is all that I can ſay of the time, wherein Aſia ſuffered the violence of their oppreſſors.

### †. II.

### *What Nations they were that brake into Aſia; with the cauſe of their Journie.*

TOuching the expedition it ſelfe, *Herodotus* tels us, that the Cimmerians being driven out of their Country by the Scythians, invaded and waſted ſome part of Aſia; & that the Scythians, not contented with having won the land of the Cimmerians, did follow them; I know not why, into farre removed quarters of the world, ſo (as it were by chance) falling upon Media & Egypt, in this purſuit of men that were gone another way into Lydia. Hereby we may gather that the Cimmerians were an odious & baſe people; the Scythians, as miſchievous & fooliſh; or elſe *Herodotus*, & ſome other of his Country-men, great ſlanderers of thoſe, by whom their Nation had been beaten, and Ionia, more than once, grievouſly ranſackt. The great valour of the Cimmerians or Cimbrians is ſo well known, and their many Conqueſts ſo well teſtified in Hiſtories of divers Nations, that the malice of the Greekes is inſufficient to ſtaine them with the note of Cowards. Theſe were the poſterity of *Gomer*, who peopled the greateſt part of our Weſterne World; and whoſe re-flow did overwhelm no ſmall portion of Greece & Aſia, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we do now entreat. He that would more largely informe himſelfe of their originall and actions, may peruſe *Goropius Becanus* his *Amazonica*; of many things in which Booke, that may be verified, which the learned *Ortelius* is ſaid to have ſpoken, of all *Goropius* his works, *that it is eaſie to laugh at them, but hard to confute them*: There we finde it proved, by ſuch arguments and authorities, as are not lightly to be regarded, that the Cimmerians, Scythians and Sarmatians, were all of one Linage and Nation; howſoever diſtinguiſhed in name, by reaſon of their divers tribes, profeſſions, or perhaps dialect of ſpeech. *Homer* indeed hath mention of the Cimmerians; whoſe Country whether he placeth in the Weſt, as neare unto the

Ocean and bounds of the Earth, or in the North, as being farre from the Sunne, and covered with eternall darkneſſe; certain it is that he would have them near neighbours to Hell: for hee had the ſame quarrell to them which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would have made them ſeeme a kinde of Goblins. It was the manner of this great Poet (as *Herodotus* writing his life affirmes) to inſert into his works the names of ſuch as lived in his owne time, making ſuch mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himſelfe deſerved. And for this reaſon it is proved by *Euſtathius*, that the Cimmerians were ſo diſgraced by him, becauſe they had waſted his Country. Perhaps that invaſion of Phrygia by the Amazons, whereof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Priamus* his diſcourſe with *Helen*, was the very ſame, which *Euſebius* noteth to have happened ſomewhat before the age of *Homer*, at what time the Cimmerians with the Amazons, together invaded Aſia.

This is certain, that both the Amazons & the Cimmerii (who in after-times were called Cimbri) did often breake into Greece and Aſia; which though it be not in expreſſe termes written, that they did with joynt-forces, yet ſeeing they invaded the ſelfe-ſame places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One journey of the Amazons into Greece, mentioned alſo by *Euſebius*, was by the ſtreights of the Cimmerians, as we finde in *Diodore*, who further telleth us, that the Scythians therein gave them aſſiſtance. The ſame Authour, before his entry into thoſe diſcourſes of the Amazons, which himſelfe acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to have beene wives of the Scythians, and no leſſe Warre-like than their Husbands; alledging the example of that Queen who is ſaid to have ſlaine the great Perſian *Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the Cimbri to carry their wives along with them to the warres; and how deſperate the courage was of thoſe Women; the terrible deſcent of them into Italy, when *Marius* the Romane overthrew them, gives proofe ſufficient. I will not here enter into a diſcourſe of the Amazons; another place will give me better leiſure to ſpeake of them: but ſeeing that they are noted by divers Hiſtorians to have belonged unto the Cimmerians, to the Scythians, and to the Sarmatians, we may therefore the better approve *Goropius* his concluſion, That theſe three nations were one, at leaſt that they were neare allies.

*Diod.lib.4.c.2.*

*Diod.lib.2.c.11.*

Now as concerning the expulſion of the Cimmerians by the Scythians, it appeares to have beene none other than the ſending a Colony of them forth into Aſia, with an Army of Scythians to helpe them, in purchaſing a new ſeate, and eſtabliſhing the plantation.

The Sarmatians alſo were companions in this journey. For the City of Novograd in Ruſſia (which Country is the ſame that was called Sarmatia) ſtood in their way homewards, as ſhall anon bee further ſhewed. So that all the North was up in Armes: and therefore it is no marvell though many Countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voyage was that, which the ſame people made five hundred years and more after this, when they were encountred by the Romans. For they iſſued from the parts about the Lake Mæotis; they were then likewiſe aſſiſted (ſaith *Plutarch* in the moſt likely report of them) by the Scythians their neighbours; they had in their Armie above three hundred thouſand fighting men, beſides a huge multitude of women and children; they wandred over many Countries, beating all downe before them; and finally, thinking to have ſettled themſelves in Italy, they divided their Company, for the more eaſie paſſage thither, and were conſumed in three terrible battailes by the Roman Conſuls. Meere neceſſity enforced theſe poore Nations to trouble the World, in following ſuch hard adventures. For their Countrey being more fruitfull of men than of ſuſtenance, and ſhut up on the North ſide with intolerable cold, which denied iſſue that way to their over-ſwelling multitudes; they were compelled to diſcharge upon the South, and by right or wrong to drive others out of poſſeſſion, as having title to all that they had power to get, becauſe they wanted all, that weaker, but more civill, people had. Their ſturdy bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardneſſe, gave them great advantage over ſuch as were accuſtomed unto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thouſand ſuperfluities. Wherefore moſt commonly they prevailed very farre; their next neighbours giving them free paſſage, that they might the ſooner bee ridde of them; others giving them, beſides paſſage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthy places; others hiring them to depart with great preſents; ſo as the

*Plutarch* in the life of *Marius*.

the farther they went on, the more pleaſant Lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

## †. III.

### *Of the Cimmerians warre in Lydia.*

THe firſt Company of theſe, conſiſting for the moſt part of Cimmerians, held the way of the Euxine Seas, which they had ſtill on the right hand; leaving on the other ſide, & behinde them, the great Montains of Caucaſus. Theſe having paſſed through the Land of Colchis, that is now called Mengrelli, entered the Country of Pontus, & being arrived in Paphlagonia, fortified the Promontory, whereon Synope, a famous Haven Towne of the Greeks, was after built. Here it ſeemes that they beſtowed the weakeſt and moſt unſerviceable of their traine, together with the heavieſt part of their carriages, under ſome good guard: as drawing near to thoſe Regions, in conqueſt wherof they were to trie the utmoſt hazzard. For in like ſort afterwards did the Cimbri (of whom I ſpake even now) diſpoſe of their impediments, leaving them in a place of ſtrength, where Antwerpe now ſtands, when they drew neare unto Gaule, upon which they determined to adventure themſelves in the purchaſe. From Sinope, the way unto Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, was faire and open to the Cimmerians, without any ledge of Mountaines, or any deep Rivers at all to ſtay their march: for Iris and Halys they had already paſſed.

*Herod. lib. 4.*

What battels were fought between theſe invaders and the Lydians, & with what variable ſucceſſe the one or other part wanne and loſt, I finde not written, nor am able to conjecture. This I find, that in the time of *Ardys*, the Cimmerians got poſſeſſion of Sardes the capitall City of Lydia; only the Caſtle holding out againſt them. Further I obſerve, that whereas *Herodotus* tells of the acts performed by *Gyges* and *Ardys* Kings of Lydia, before this invaſion, and by *Halyattes* and *Crœſus* in the times following, all that *Ardys* did againſt the Cimmerians, and all, ſave burning the Mileſians Corn fields, that was done in twelve years by *Sadyattes* his Son (who perhaps had his hands ſo full of this buſineſſe, that he could turne them to nothing elſe) is quite omitted: whereby it may ſeeme, that neither of the two did any thing worthy of remembrance in thoſe wars, but were glad enough that they did loſe all.

Certainly the miſeries of war are never ſo bitter and many, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, forſaking their owne ſeats, labour to root out the eſtabliſhed poſſeſſours of another Land; making roome for themſelves, their wives and children. They that fight for the maſtery, are pacified with tribute, or with ſome other ſervices and acknowledgements; which had they beene yeelded at the firſt, all had been quiet, and no ſword bloudied. But in theſe migrations, the aſſailants bring ſo little with them, that they need all which the defendants have, their Lands and Cattell, their houſes and their goods, even to the cradles of the ſucking infants. The mercileſſe termes of this controverſie arme both ſides with deſperate reſolution: ſeeing the one part muſt either winne, or periſh by famine; the other defend their goods, or loſe their lives without redemption. Moſt of the Countries in Europe have felt examples thereof; and the mighty Empire of Rome was overthrowne by ſuch invaſions. But our Iſle of Britaine can beſt witneſſe the diverſity of Conqueſts; having by the happy victory of the Romans, gotten the knowledge of all Civill Arts, in exchange of liberty, that was but ſlenderly inſtructed therein before; whereas the iſſue of the Saxon and Daniſh Wars, was, as were the cauſes, quite contrary. For theſe did not ſeeke after the Dominion onely, but the entire poſſeſſion of the Country, which the Saxons obtained, but with horrible cruelty, eradicating all of the Britiſh Race, & defacing all memoriall of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the Danes (who are alſo of the Cimmerian bloud) found ſuch end of their enterprize, as it may ſeem that the Cimmerians in Lydia, & Scythians in the higher Aſia, did arrive unto. So that by conſidering the proceſſe of the one, we ſhall the better conceive the fortune of the other. Many battailes the Danes wonne, yet none of ſuch importance, as ſufficed to make them abſolute Conquerours: Many the Saxons won upon the Danes, yet not ſo great, as could drive them quite away, and backe from hence, after they had gotten firme footing. But in courſe of time, the long continuance even of utter enmity, had bred ſuch acquaintance betweene them, as bowing the natures of both theſe people, made the one more pliant unto the other. So their diſagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced into one milde temper, no ſmall number of the Danes became peaceable cohabitants with the Saxons in England, where great ſlaughter had made large roome; others returning home, found their owne Country wide enough to receive them, as having diſburthened it ſelfe of many thouſands, that were ſent to ſeeke their graves abroad. And ſuch (as I thinke) was the end of the Cimmerian warre in Lydia; whereunto though ſome victory of *Halyattes* may have haſtened the concluſion, yet the weariſome length of time ſeems to have done moſt, in compelling them to deſire of reſt. I know not why I ſhould feare to adde hereunto my further conjecture; which is, that the matter was ſo compounded between the Cimmerians & *Halyattes*, that the River of Halys ſhould divide their Territories. For Halys was henceforth the border of the Lydians, and on the Easterne ſide of the River was the Country of the Amazons, that is indeed, of the Cimmerians and other Scythian people; whoſe wives and daughters theſe warlike women are ſuppoſed to have been.

And hereunto the quarrell enſuing betweene *Halyattes* and *Cyaxares* the Mede, hath very good reference. For *Halyattes* (as is ſaid) fought in defence of certain Scythians, upon whom the Median ſought revenge. And it ſtands with reaſon, that the Lydians and Cimmerians, being much weakened with mutuall ſlaughters, ſhould have joyned in a league of mutuall defence for their common ſafety: though otherwiſe it had been dangerous to *Halyattes*, if hee had permitted the Median to extend his Kingdome ſo farre Weſtward, whatſoever the pretences might be, of taking revenge upon ſuch as had ſpoiled each of their Countries. As for that occaſion of the Warre betweene theſe two Kings, which *Herodotus* relates, I finde it of little waight, and leſſe probability. Hee tells of Scythians, that being chaſed out of their Country by faction, came unto *Cyaxares*; who committed unto them certaine Boyes, to be inſtructed in the Scythian tongue, and feate of Archery. Now it ſo fell out (ſaith he) that theſe Scythians uſing much to hunt, & commonly bringing home ſomewhat with them, did nevertheleſſe other-whiles miſſe of their game, and came home as they went. Hereupon the King being froward & cholericke, bitterly reviled them; & they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boyes that was under their charge, whom dreſſing like Veniſon, they preſented unto him; which done, they fledde unto *Halyattes*. This *Herodotus* delivers, as the ground of a war that laſted ſixe yeeres betweene the Medes and Lydians; the one King demanding theſe Fugitives to be delivered into his hand, the other refuſing to betray ſuch men as were become his ſuppliants. To this I will ſay no more, than that I ſee no cauſe that might induce the Scythians to betake themſelves to either of theſe Kings, unto whom their Nation had wrought ſo much diſpleaſure. Particularly, they had reaſon to diſtruſt *Cyaxares*, for the treachery that he ſhewed in the maſſacring of their Country-men that were in his Kingdome, of whom it is now meet that we ſhould ſpeake.

Herod. lib. 1.

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## †. IV.

### *The Warre of the Scythians in the higher Aſia.*

As the Cimmerians held their courſe weſterly, along the ſhores of the Euxine ſea: ſo the Scythians & Sarmatians took the other way, & having the Caſpian Sea on their left hand, paſſed between it & Caucaſus through Albania, Colthene, and other obſcure Nations, where now are the Countries of Servan and Georgia, & ſo they entered into Media. The Medes encountred them in Armes; but were beaten, & thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in the time of *Phraortes*, whileſt *Pſammaticus* reigned in Egypt. If it were in the ſixt yeere of *Nabulaſſars* Reigne over Babylon (ſuppoſing him to have reigned five & thirty; otherwiſe we muſt allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then doe the eight & twenty yeares of their Dominion end, one year before the great *Nabuchodonoſor* was King; ſo giving him good leave to provide ſecurely for the invaſion of Syria; which expedition hee began while his Father yet lived, as *Joſephus* out of *Beroſſus* relates the Hiſtory.

Now the Medes, deſirous to ſave themſelves as well as they might, from this terrible nation, which when they had no luſt to a ſecond triall of the ſword, refuſed not to undergoe the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing diſhonourable, that would ſerve to remove theſe troubleſome gueſts into ſome other lodging. On the other part, the Scythians finding ſtill the Countries pleaſanter & better, the further that they marched into the South, did ſuffer themſelves to be perſwaded, that a little more travaile would adde a great deale more to their content. For they relyed ſo much upon their owne valour, that they feared no reſiſtance; & being the braveſt men, they thought it reaſon that they ſhould dwell in the beſt Region. That *Phraortes* perſwaded them into Egypt, I doe not think: Babylon was neare enough; whither if he could ſend theſe Locuſts to graze, then ſhould not his unfriendly Neighbours have cauſe to laugh at his misfortune. What ſhift *Nabulaſſar* made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I do not reade. But it is well known that his Dominions lay in the middeſt betweene Media & Egypt; as alſo, that they made all thoſe parts of Aſia Tributary; wherefore we may very well beleeve, that they watered their horſes in his Rivers, and that he alſo was content to give them provender.

*Pſammiticus* hearing of their progreſſe (like the jealous Husband of a faire Wife) took care that they might not looke upon Egypt; leſt the ſight thereof ſhould more eaſily detaine them there, than any force or perſwaſion that hee could uſe, would ſend them going. Therefore hee met them in Syria, preſuming more on the great gifts which he meant to beſtow upon them, than on his Army that ſhould keepe them backe. Egypt was rich; and halfe the riches had not been ill ſpent in ſaving all. Yet *Pſammiticus* tooke the moſt likely courſe, whereby to make his part good againſt them by ſtrong hand, in caſe they had been ſo obſtinate as to refuſe all indifferent compoſition. For he lay cloſe upon the edge of the Wilderneſſe in Gaza (as I take it) the Southermoſt border of Palæſtina: whence he never advanced to meete with the Scythians; but gave them leave to feele as much of the ſcalding Sunne-beames, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of Syria could beate upon them. When they were come as farre as Aſcalon, the next City to Gaza, then did he aſſay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to work ſo much the better, by how much the worſe they were pleaſed with the heate of a Climate ſo farre different from their owne. *Pſammiticus* had at his backe a vaſt wilderneſſe, over the ſcorching ſands whereof, the Scythians more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrary diſtempers, could ill have endured to purſue him through unknowne wayes, had they fought with him and prevailed: eſpecially the Kingdome of Egypt being ready to entertaine him with reliefe, and them with new trouble at the end of their weary journey. Wherefore they were content to be intreated, & taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to viſit their acquaintance in the high Countries: The Egyptian King (beſides that hee preſerved his owne Eſtate from a dangerous adventure, by hyring this great Army to depart from him) found all his Coaſt well repayed in the proceſſe of his wars in Syria, where the Nations beyond Euphrates had no power to moleſt him, being more than ever troubled themſelves with the returne of their oppreſſors. For the Scythians, reſolving now to ſeeke no further, began to demand more than the Tribute formerly impoſed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals with grievous exactions, they preſumed to live at diſcretion upon the Countrey, taking what they liſted from the Owners; and many times (as it were to ſave the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This Tyrannous Dominion they long uſed over the higher Aſia, that is, over the Country lying between the Caſpian and Red Seas; and betweene India and Aſia the leſſe. Happy it was for the poore people, that in ſo large a ſpace of ground, there was room enough for theſe new comers; otherwiſe the calamity that fell, as it were by chance, upon thoſe private men, to whoſe wealth any Scythian did beare a fancy, would have lighted in generall upon all at one clap, leaving few alive, and none able to relieve their fellowes. Yet it ſeemes that the heavieſt burthen lay upon Media; for it was a fruitfull Countrey not farre from their owne home, and lay under a Climate well agreeing with the conſtitution of their bodies; there alſo it was that they had the fatall blow, by which their inſolent Rule was taken from them.

*Cyaxares* King of the Medes, who in this extremity was no better than a Rent-gatherer for the Scythians, perceiving that his Land lay unmanured and waſte, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppreſſions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, reſolved to prove what might be done by ſtratagem.

*Herod. lib.1.*

ſtratagem. The manging of the buſineſſe is thus delivered in briefe; That he, and his Medes, feaſted the better part of the Scythians, made them drunke, and ſlew them; recovering hereby the poſſeſſion of all that they had loſt.

Such another ſlaughter was committed upon the Danes in England; but it was revenged by their Countrimen, with greater cruelty than ever they had practiſed before. That the Scythians which eſcaped this bloudy feaſt, made any ſtirre in Media, I do not find; neither do I reade that either in revenge hereof, or upon other pretence, the Medes were troubled by invaſſon from Scythia in time following.

This is the more ſtrange, for that the Army returning home out of Media, was very ſtrong, & encountred with oppoſition (as *Herodotus* reports it) no leſſe than it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the device of *Cyaxares* to free his Country, tooke good effect, with leſſe bloud-ſhed than hath been ſuppoſed. For if he ſurpriſed all the chiefe of them, it was no hard matter to make a good compoſition. Many of them doubtleſſe in eight and twenty years had ſo well ſetled themſelves, that they were deſirous of reſt, and might be permitted, without any danger, to remaine in the Country; many (of whom I ſhall ſpeake anon) having done what they could in the buſineſſe, for which they came forth, were willing to returne home with what they had gotten; ſuch as were not pleaſed with either of theſe two courſes, might goe joyne with the Cimmerians in Lydia, or ſeeke their fortunes in other Provinces among their owne Companions. Whereas all the Families of the North are ſaid to have bin with *NabuchadneZZar*, it may be underſtood, that a great part of the Scythians, upon hope of gaine, or deſire to keepe what they had already gained, were content to become ſubject unto *Nabulaſſar*: mens love of their wealth being moſt effectuall, in taming the more unquiet love of inordinate liberty. This is certaine, that *NabuchadneZZar*, as ever after, ſo in his firſt beginning of warre, did beate the Egyptians, who in ages foregoing had been accuſtomed to deale with the Babylonians after another faſhion: & this new ſucceſſe of that King may be imputed, in regard of humane meanes, to ſuch addition as this of new forces.

*Herod. lib. 4.*

Jerem. 35. 9.

Of the Scythian Army returning out of Media, divers Authors report a Story, which confirmes me in the opinion, that this Company went forth to aſſiſt their kinred and friends, in acquiring a new ſeat, and eſtabliſhing their plantation. For theſe had left their wives behinde them; a good argument to prove that they meant to come againe. The Scythian women, to comfort themſelves in their husbands abſence, became bed-follows to their ſlaves. Theſe got a luſty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with Fathers-in-Law, & therfore prepared to fight with them at their returne. If they were onely the children of ſlaves, which compounded an Army (as *Herodotus* would have it, who tels us, that the Scythians were wont to pull out all their bond-mens eyes) it muſt needes be that they were very Boyes, or elſe that the Women did very little while continue chaſte. Wherefore I rather beleeve that tale as it is told by the Ruſſes themſelves, who agreeing in the reſt with the conſent of Hiſtories, make that report of their Anceſtors returning homewards, which I will ſet down, as I finde it in Maſter *Doctor Fletcher* his exact diſcourſe of the *Ruſſe Common-wealth. They underſtood by the way, that their Chrolopey, or Bond-ſlaves, whom they left at home, had in their abſence poſſeſſed their townes, lands, houſes, Wives, and all. At which newes being ſomewhat amaZed, and yet diſdaining the Villany of their ſervants, they made the more ſpeede home: and ſo not farre from Novograd met them in warlike manner marching againſt them. Whereupon adviſing what was beſt to bee done, they agreed alſo to ſet upon them with no other ſhew of weapon but with their horſe whips (which, as their manner is, every man rideth withall) to put them in remembrance of their ſervile condition, thereby to terrefie them, and abate their courage. Aud ſo marching on, & laſhing all together with their whips in their hands, they gave the onſet: which ſemed ſo terrible in the eares of their Villaines, and ſtrooke ſuch a ſenſe into them of the ſmart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like Sheepe before the Drivers. In memory of this victory, the Novogradians ever ſince have ſtamped their Coine (which they call a Dingoe Novogradskoy, currant through all Ruſsia) with the figure of a Horſeman ſhaking a whip aloft in his hand.* It may ſeeme, that all the women of that Country have fared the worſe ever ſince, in regard of the univerſall fault: for ſuch a Pudkey or whip, as terrefied thoſe ſlaves, curiouſly wrought by her ſelfe, is the firſt preſent that the Moſcovian wife, even in time of wooing, ſends to him that ſhall be her husband, in tooken of ſubjection; being

Ruſ. Commonw. Cap. 4.

well aſſured to feele it often on her own loines. But this was a Document unto the Scythians, or rather Sarmatians (for Novograd ſtands in the Country that was called Sarmatia) to beware of abſenting themſelves any more ſo long from their wives; which after this, I finde not that they did.

Thus much I thought good to ſet down of the Scythian expedition; not only becauſe it is the moſt memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Hiſtories, and terrible to many Countries; but for that it appeares to have been a great cauſe of the Egyptians prevailing hitherto in Syria, and about Judæa, which continues yet a while the center of our diſcourſe.

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## §. V.

### *Of Princes living in divers Countries, in theſe ages.*

HAving thus far digreſſed from the matters of Juda, to avoide all further occaſion of doing the like, I will here inſert a note of ſuch Kings, and men of marke, as were betweene the death of *Manaſſes*, and the ruine of Jeruſalem. Of the Egyptians, Babylonians, Medes, and Lydians, I have ſpoken as much as I thought needfull. In Rome, *Tullus Hoſtilius* held the Kingdome, untill the one and twentieth yeere of *Joſias*; at which time *Ancus Martius* ſucceeding, reigned foure and twenty yeeres. After him *L. Tarquinius Priſcus*, a new-come ſtranger, but very rich, prevailed ſo farre, by his graciouſneſſe among the people, that he got the Kingdom to himſelf, diſappointing the ſonnes of *Ancus*, over whom he was Tutor. He began in the fourth yeere of *Zedekia*, and reigned eight and thirty yeares. In this time it was, namely, in the ſecond year of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the Lacedæmonians bethinking them how to be avenged of the Arcadians, who gave ſuccour to the Meſſenians againſt them in the former war, entred their Territory, took the City of Phigalia or Phialia, from whence their Garriſons were ſoone after beaten out. *Cypſelus* expelling the race of the Bacidæ, made himſelfe Lord of Corinth about theſe times, & governed it in peace thirty yeeres; leaving for ſucceſſour his ſonne *Periander*, one of the ſeven Sages, but a cruell Tyrant: who among other vile acts, ſlew his owne wife, & afterwards, as in her honour, ſtripped all the Corinthian women ſtark naked, burning their apparell, as an acceptable offering to her Ghoſt. Hereby we may perceive, that the wiſedome of the Greekes was not excellent in thoſe dayes, when ſuch a one as this could bee admired as excelling all the Country.

In theſe times alſo were *Zaleucus* & *Draco*, famous Lawgivers, the one among the Locrians in Italy, the other in the City of Athens. The Lawes of *Draco* were ſo rigorous, that he was ſaid to have written them with bloud: for he rewarded every ſmall offence with death. Wherefore his Conſtitutions were ſoon abrogated, & power given to *Solon* by the Athenians, to make new in their ſtead. But the Lawes of *Zaleucus* were very mild. He forbad any Gentlewoman to walk abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, *unleſſe it were when ſhe was drunke*; or to goe forth of the Towne by night, unleſſe it were to ſome ſweet-hearts bed; or to dreſſe her ſelfe up in immodeſt bravery, unleſſe it were to inveigle a lover. By which pleaſant Ordinances he effected his deſire; for none would ſeeme, in breaking the Statutes, to be in ſuch caſe as challenged the diſpenſation. It is noted in this man as a ſingular example of juſtice, that when his own ſon had committed adultery, and was therefore to loſe both his eyes, he did not cauſe him to be pardoned, but gave one eye of his owne to ſave the young man (who alſo loſt one) from utter blindneſſe.

I ſhall not henceforth neede ſo farre to wander, as hitherto I often have done, in purſuing of actions collaterall to the Hiſtory, for inſerting them in their order of time. The Chaldæans will ſoon fall under the Perſians; ere long, encounter with the Greeks; the Greeks, with the Romans; the Romans, with many Nations. Concerning all theſe, as they ſhall ſucceſſively preſent themſelves, in their flouriſhing Eſtate, it will be enough to recapitulate the moſt memorable accidents, that befell them in their Minority. But in the long ſpace of more than thirteen hundred yeeres, which paſſed betweene the calling of *Abraham*, and the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, wee finde little matter, wherein the Hiſtory of Iſrael had any dealing with other Nations, than the very neareſt borderers. Yet read we of many Kingdomes, that in theſe many ages were erected, and throwne downe; as likewiſe, many memorable acts were performed in Greece and elſewhere, though not following one another at any neare diſtance; all which muſt have beene quite omitted, or elſe reſerved unto a very unſeaſonable rehearſall, had they not beene diſpoſed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conveniency, may pardon the neceſſity.

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## §. VI.

### *The oppreſsion of Judæa, and deſtruction of Jeruſalem by the Chaldæans.*

NOw to returne to the Jewiſh Story, from whence we have ſo farre digreſſed. In the third year of *Jehojakim, Nabuchodonoſor* the ſecond, his Father yet living, entred Judæa with a great Army, who beſieging and forcing Jeruſalem, made *Jehojakim* his Vaſſall in deſpight of *Necho*, that had eſtabliſhed him King, and tooke with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a childe, with *Ananias, Miſael,* and *Azarias*. Alſo he tooke a part of the Church treaſures; but ſtayed not to ſearch them throughly; for *Necho* haſted to the ſuccour of *Jehojakim*, hoping to find *Nabuchodonoſor* in Judæa: wherein this great Babylonian had no diſpoſition to hazzard himſelfe and his Army, it being a Country of an evill affection towards him, as alſo far off from any ſuccour or ſure place of retrait. If he had, as may be ſuppoſed, any great ſtrength of Scythian horſ-men in his Army; it was the more wiſely done of him, to fall backe, out of the rough, mountainous, and over-hot Countrey, into places that were more even and temperate. But beſides all theſe reaſons, the death of his father happening at the ſame time, gave him juſt occaſion to returne home, and take poſſeſſion of his owne Kingdome; before hee proceeded further in the ſecond care, of adding more unto it. This hee did at reaſonable good leiſure: for the Egyptian was not ready to follow him ſo farre, and to bid him battaile, untill the new yeere came in; which was the fourth of *Jehojakim*, the firſt of *Nabuchodonoſor*, and the laſt of *Necho*. In this yeere the Babylonian lying upon the Bank Euphrates (his owne Territory bounding it on the North-ſide) attended the arrivall of *Necho*. There, after a reſolved contention for victory, *Necho* was ſlaine, and his Army remaining forced to ſave it ſelfe; which full ill it did, by a violent retrait. This victory *Nabuchodonoſor* ſo well purſued, as he recovered all Syria, and whatſoever the Egyptians held out of their proper Territory towards the North. The Egyptians being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the preſent diſcouraged, *Jehojakim* held himſelf quiet, as being friend in heart unto the Egyptian, yet having made his peace with the Chaldæan the year before; who contented with ſuch profit as hee could then readily make, had forborne to lay any Tribute upon Juda. But this coole reſervedneſſe of *Jehojakim*, was, on both ſides, taken in ill part. The Egyptian King *Pſammis*, who ſucceeded unto *Necho*, began to thinke upon reſtoring *Jehoahaz*, taken priſoner by his Father, and ſetting him up as a Domeſticall Enemy, againſt his ungratefull brother. Againſt all ſuch accidents, the Judæan had prepared the uſuall remedy, practiſed by his fore-fathers: for hee had made his owne ſonne *Jechonia* King with him long before, in the ſecond yeere of his own Reigne, when the Boy was but eight years old. As for this rumour of *Jehoahaz* his returne; the Prophet *Jeremy* foretold, that it ſhould prove idle, ſaying: *He ſhall not returne thither, but he ſhall die in the place whither they have led him captive, and ſhall ſee this Land no more.* The Egyptians indeede, having ſpent all their Mercenary forces, and received that heavie blow at Carchemiſh, had not remaining ſuch proportion of ſharpe ſteele, as of faire gold, which without other helpe, is of little effect. The valour of *Necho* was not in *Pſammis Apries*, who reigning after *Pſammis*, did once adventure to ſhew his face in Syria; but after a bigge looke, hee was glad to retire, without adventuring the hazzard of a battaile. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought onely with brave words, telling ſuch frivolous tales, as men that meane to doe nothing, uſe, of their glorious acts fore-paſſed, againſt *Joſias* & *Jehoahaz*. In this caſe it was eaſie for *Jehojakim* to give them ſatisfaction, by letting them underſtanding the ſincerity of his affection towards them, which appeared in time following. But *Nabuchodonoſor* went to worke more roundly. He ſent a peremptory meſſage to *Jehojakim*, willing him not to ſtand upon any nice points, but acknowledge himſelfe a Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding hereunto ſuch fearefull threats, as made the poore Judæan lay aſide all thought of *Pharaoh*, and yeeld to doe, as the more mighty would have him. So hee continued in the

2 Chron.36.9.

Jerem.22.11.& 12.

*Joſeph. Antiq. lib.10.c.7.*

the obedience of *Nabuchodonoſor* three years. At this time *Jeremy* the Prophet cried out againſt the Jewes, putting them in minde that he had now three and twenty yeares exhorted them to repentance, but becauſe they had ſtopt their eares againſt him, and the reſt of the Prophets, hee now pronounced their captivity at hand, and that they ſhould endure the yoke of bondage full ſeventy yeares. The ſame calamity hee threatned to all the neighbouring Nations, to the Egyptians, Moabites, Ammonites, Idumæans, & the reſt; foretelling that they ſhould all drink out of the Babylonian Pitcher, the wine of his fury, whom they had forſaken; and after the ſeventy yeeres expired, that the Babylonians themſelves ſhould taſte of the ſame Cup, and be utterly ſubverted by the Medes, & the Judæans permitted to returne againe into their owne Fields and Cities. The firſt impriſonment of the Prophet *Jeremy* ſeemes to have been in the fourth yeere of this *Jehojakim*, at which time *Baruch* the Scribe wrote all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom he ſent to reade them unto the People, and afterward to the Princes, who offered them to the King: but fearing the Kings fury, they had firſt ſet *Jeremy* at liberty, and adviſed him and *Baruch* to hide themſelves.

Jerem. 25.

*Jehojakim*, after he heard a part of it &, perceived the ill newes therin delivered, made no more adoe, but did cut the Booke in pieces and caſt it into the fire. All which *Jeremy* cauſed to be new written with this addition; that the dead body of *Jehojakim* ſhould be caſt out, expoſed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the froſt, & there ſhould be none of his ſeed to ſit on the Throne of *David*.

Time thus running on, while *Jehojakim* reſted ſecure of all danger, as Tributary to the Babylonian, yet well thought of by the Egyptian; the mighty City of Tyre oppoſed it ſelfe againſt the Chaldæan forces; & upon juſt confidence of her own ſtrength, deſpiſed all preparation that could be made againſt her. Now foraſmuch as the terme of ſeventy yeeres was preſcribed unto the deſolation, as well of Tyre, as of Jeruſalem, and other townes & countries; it is apparent, that they which referre the expugnation of this City unto the nineteenth yeere of *Nabuchodonoſor*, have ſure authority for their warrant. Whereupon likewiſe it followes of neceſſity, that the ſiege thereof began in the ſeventh of his Reigne; as having laſted thirteen yeeres.

Here I will take leave to intrude a briefe note, concerning the ſeverall beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath riſen much diſputation. The third yeere of *Jehojakim*, was the laſt of *Nabulaſſar*, who being delivered from other cares, tooke notice of ſuch as had revolted from him unto *Pharao Necho*, and ſent this Noble Prince his ſonne, with an Army into Syria, to reclaime them. In this expedition was *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the ſame yeer. The yeer next following, being the fourth of *Jehojakim*, was the firſt of *Nebuchadnezzar*; which *Jeremy* affirmeth in expreſſe words; and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth yeere he conquered Egypt; and then began to reigne as a great Monarch, finding none that durſt offend him. The ſecond from this yeere it was, wherein hee ſaw that viſion, of the Image conſiſting of ſundry Metals, which did prefigurate the ſucceſſion of great Kingdomes, that ſhould rule the Earth, before the comming of Chriſt. I will not ſtand to diſpute about this, which is the beſt concluſion that I finde, of long diſputations: but returne unto the ſiege of Tyre, which began in the ſeventh of his Reigne.

Dan. 1. 1.
Jerem. 25. 1.

The City of Tyre covered all the ground of an Iſland, that was divided from the maine, by a deep and broad channell of the Sea. The Chaldæans had no Fleet, and were no Sea-men; the Tyrians, in multitude of goodly Ships, & skill to uſe them, excelled all other Nations; and every winde, from one part or other, brought needfull proviſions into the City. Wherefore neither force, nor famine could greatly hurt the place; whereof nevertheleſſe the judgements of God (denounced againſt it by *Eſay*, *Jeremy*, *Ezechiel*) had threatned the deſtruction; and the obſtinate reſolution of *Nabuchodonoſor*, had fully determined to performe it. This high-minded King, impatient of reſiſtance, undertook a vaſt piece of worke, even to fill up the Sea, that parted the Iſland from the Continent. The City of old *Tyrus*, that ſtood oppoſite to the new, upon the firme Land, and the mountain of Libanus near adjoyning that was loaden with Cedars, and abundance of other trees, might furniſh him with materials. Thirteene yeeres were ſpent in this laborious, and almoſt hopeleſſe buſineſſe. Which needeth not ſeeme ſtrange: for *Alexander* working upon that foundation which was remayning of *Nabuchodonoſors* Peere; and

Eſay 23.
Jerem. 25.
Ezek. 26.

being withall aſſiſted by a ſtrong Fleet, was yet ſeaven moneths ere he could make way into the City. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carry away that wherewith *Alexander* laboured to cover a ſhelve; with much more violence could it overturn, and as it were conſume, the worke of *Nabuchodonoſor*, who laid his foundations in the bottome of the deepe; ſtriving as it were, to fill the empty belly of this Cormorant, whereas the Macedonian did only ſtop the throat of it. Every man knowes, God could have furthered the accompliſhment of his owne threats, againſt this place (though it had not pleaſed him to uſe, either miracle, or ſuch of his more immediate weapons, as are Earthquakes, and the like) by making at leaſt the Seas calme, and adding the favourable concurrence of all ſecond helps. But ſo it pleaſeth him oftentimes, in chaſtiſing the pride of man, to uſe the hand of man; even the hand of man ſtriving, as may ſeem, againſt all reſiſtance of nature and fortune. So in this exceſſive labour of the Chaldæans, *Every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder was made bare.* Yet *Nabuchodonoſor* would not give over till he was maſter of the Towne.

Ezek. 29.

*Joſeph. Antiq. Jud.lib.10.c.7.*

When he was entred upon this deſperate ſervice; whether it were ſo, that ſome loſſes received, ſome mutiniy in his Army, or (which is moſt likely; & ſo *Joſephus* reports it) ſome glorious rumours of the Egyptians, gave courage to his evill willers; *Jehojakim* renounced his ſubjection, & began to hope for the contrary of that which quickly fel out. For *Nabuchodonoſor* gave him no leiſure to doe much hurt: but with part of his Army marched directly into Judæa; where the amazed King made ſo little reſiſtance (the Egyptians having left him, as it were, in a dream) that he entred Jeruſalem, and layed hands on *Jehojakim*: whom he firſt bound & determined to ſend to Babylon, but changing counſell, hee cauſed him to be ſlaine in the place, and gave him the Sepulchre of an Aſſe, to be devoured by beaſts and ravenous birds, according to the former Prophecies: leaving in his place, *Jehojakim* or *Jechonias* his ſonne; whom, after three moneths & ten daies, *Nabuchodonoſor* removed, and ſent priſoner to Babylon, with *Ezekiel*, *Mardochaus* & *Joſedech*, the high Prieſt. The mother of *Jechonias*, together with his ſervants Eunuchs, and all the ableſt men, and beſt Artificers of the Land, were alſo then carryed away Captives. This *Jechonias*, following the counſell of *Jeremy* the Prophet, made no reſiſtance; but ſubmitted himſelfe to the Kings will: wherein hee both pleaſeth God, and did that which was beſt for himſelfe; though at the preſent it might ſeeme otherwiſe, to ſuch as conſidered the evill that befell him, rather than the greater evill that he thereby avoided. This onely particular act of his is recorded; which was good. But it ſeems that hee was partaker, at leaſt of his Fathers faults, if not an inſtigator: which was the cauſe, that his ſubmitting himſelfe to Gods pleaſure did not preſerve his Eſtate: for ſo we reade in generall words, that *he did evill in the ſight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done*. In his ſtead *Nabuchodonoſor* eſtabliſhed *Mathania* his Uncle in the Kingdome of Juda, and called him *Zedechias*, which is as much to ſay, as *the juſtice of God*. For like as *Neco* King of Egypt had formerly diſplaced *Jehoahaz*, after his Father *Joſias* was ſlaine, & ſet up *Jehojakim*, the ſon of another mother; ſo *Nabuchodonoſor* ſlew *Jehojakim*, who depended on the Egyptians, and carrying his ſon *Jechonias* Priſoner to Babel, gave the Kingdome to this *Zedechias*, that was whole Brother to that *Jehoahaz*, whom *Neco* tooke with him into Egypt. From *Zedechias* he required an oath for his faithfull obedience, which *Zedechias* gave him, and called the living God to witneſſe in the ſame, that he would remaine aſſured to the Kings of Chaldæa.

In the firſt yeere of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* ſaw and expounded the Viſion of the ripe and rotten Grapes, the one ſignifying thoſe Judæans that were carried away captive, the other thoſe that ſtayed and were deſtroyed.

In the fourth of *Zedechias*, *Jeremy* wrote in a booke all the evill that ſhould fall upon Babylon, which book or ſcrole he gave to *Sheraia*, when he went with the King *Zedekias* to Babylon, to viſit *Nabuchodonoſor*; willing him firſt to read it to the Captive Jewes, and then to binde it to a ſtone, and caſt it into Euphrates, pronouncing theſe words: *Thus ſhall Babel be drowned, and ſhall not riſe from the evill that I will bring upon her.* This journie of *Zedechias* to Babel is probably thought to have beene in way of viſitation, carrying ſome preſents. But I further thinke, that he had ſome ſuite there to make, which his Lordly Maſter refuſed to grant, and ſent him away diſcontented. For at his returne all the bordering Princes ſent Meſſengers to him, inciting him (as it ſeemes) to thoſe unquiet courſes, from which *Jeremy* dehorted both him and them. The Prophet, by Gods appointment, made bonds and yokes, one of which he wore about his own neck, others he ſent unto the five Kings, of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre* and *Zidon*, by thoſe Meſſengers which came to viſit *Zedechias*: making them know, that if they and the Kings of *Juda* abode in the obedience of *Babylon*, they ſhould then poſſeſſe and enjoy their own countries; if not, they ſhould aſſuredly periſh by the ſword, by fire, and by peſtilence.

He alſo foretold them, that thoſe Veſſels which as yet remiained in *Jeruſalem*, ſhould alſo travell after the reſt, and at length they ſhould be reſtored againe.

The ſame yeare *Ananias*, the falſe Prophet, tooke off the woodden Chaine which *Jeremy* wore in ſigne of the Captivity of the *Jewes*, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two years God would breake the ſtrength of *Babel*, and the yoke which he layd on all Nations; reſtore *Jechonias* and all the *Jewes*, with the Veſſels and riches of the Temple, and give an end to all theſe troubles. But *Jeremy*, in ſtead of his woodden yoke, wore a Coller of yron: and in ſigne that *Ananias* had given a deceitfull and falſe hope to the people, he foretold the death of this cold Prophet, which ſeized upon him in the ſecond Moneth. After this, when *Zedechias* had wavered long enough between Faith and Paſſion, in the eighth yeare of his reigne he practiſed more ſeriouſly againſt *Nabuchodonoſor*, with his Neighbours the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Tyrians*, and others that were promiſed great aydes of the *Egyptians*: in confidence of whoſe reſiſtance, he determined to ſhake off the *Babylonian* yoke. Hereof when *Nabuchodonoſor* had knowledge, he marched with his Army in the dead of Winter, toward *Jeruſalem*, and beſieged it. *Jeremy* perſwaded *Zedechias* to render the City and himſelf: but being confident of the helpe from *Egypt*, and being perſwaded by his Counſellors and falſe Prophets, that it was impoſſible that the Kingdome of *Juda* ſhould be extirpate, untill the comming of *Silo* (according to the Prophecy of *Jacob*) he deſpiſed the words of *Jeremy*, and impriſoned him. For *Jeremy* had told the King that the City ſhould be taken and burnt; that the King ſhould not eſcape, but be taken priſoner, and brought to the preſence of *Nabuchodonoſor*; that he ſhould not periſh by the ſword, but being carried to *Babel*, die his naturall death.

Gen.49.10.
Jer.32.& 34.

*Jeruſalem* being the following yeare ſurrounded by *Nabuchodonoſors* Armie; the King of *Egypt*, *Pharao Hophra*, according to *Jeremy*, (*Herodotus* calleth him *Apries*) entred the border of *Juda* with his Army to ſuccour *Zedechias*, of whoſe revolt he had beene the principall Author. But *Jeremy* gave the *Jewes* faithfull counſell, willing them not to have any truſt in the ſuccours of *Egypt*: for he aſſured them that they ſhould returne againe, and in no ſort relieve them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the *Chaldeans* removed from *Jeruſalem* to encounter the *Egyptians*, theſe vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterpriſe, and taking *Gaza* in their way homeward, returned into *Egypt*, as if they had already done enough; leaving the poore people of *Jeruſalem* to their deſtined miſeries.

Jer.44.
*Herod lib.2.*

In the meane while the *Jewes*, who in their firſt extremity had manumiſed their *Hebrew* Bond-men (as Gods Law required at the year of *Jubile*) and made them free, thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now upon the breaking up of the *Chaldean* Army, repent them of their Charity: and thinking all had beene at an end, held them perforce to their former ſlavery. But the *Chaldees* being returned to the ſiege, the Prophet *Jeremy*, when the State of *Jeruſalem* began now to grow to extremity, counſelled *Zedechias* to render himſelfe unto them; aſſuring him of his owne life, and the ſafetie of the Citie, if he would ſo do. But his obſtinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelitie and perjurie, had provided for him.

Levit.25.39. 40.&c.
Jer.34.
Jer.39.

Three and twenty Moneths (as ſome do reckon it) or, according to *Joſephus*, eighteen, the *Babylonian* Army lay before *Jeruſalem*, and held it exceeding ſtraightly beſieged. For *they built Forts againſt it round about*, or (as *P. Martyr* hath it) *extruxerunt contra eam turrem ligneam per circuitum: They ſurrounded the Citie with woodden Towers*, ſo as the beſieged could neither ſally out, nor receive into the Citie any ſupply of men or victuals. *Joſephus* reports, that they over-topped the Walls with high Towers raiſed upon Mounts; from which they did ſo beat upon the Wall with their Engines, that the defendants were compelled to forſake their Stations. Now although it were ſo that the beſieged alſo raiſed Counter-buildings, like unto theſe, yet the great King of *Babel*, who commanded all the Regions there-abouts, and had the Woods and Rivers

Jer.39.
2 Kings 25.2.
*Joſ.Ant.Jud.lib.10.cap.11.*

to obey him, found means to overthrow all the Citizens endeavours; and to beat down as faſt from without, as they raiſed from within; the body and foundation of his owne workes being guarded by the Walles of *Jeruſalem* interpoſed; and theirs within, layd open to their enemies diſturbance. Beſides, both Famine and Peſtilence (which commonly accompany men ſtraightly beſieged) grew on faſt upon them, whereby, when the number, ſtrength, and courage of the *Jewes* failed, the *Chaldæans* made a breach, and forcing an entry, their Princes did ſeat themſelves, as Lords of the Towne, in the middle gate. *Zedechias* beholding this uncomfortable ſight, and finding no remedy of the danger preſent, loſt both his courage and his hope at once; and ſhifted himſelfe, together with his Wives, Children, Princes, and principall ſervants, out of the Citie, by a way under ground; leaving his amazed and guideleſſe people, to the mercileſſe ſwords of their enemies. Thus he, who, when *Jeremy* the Prophet perſwaded him to render himſelfe, deſpiſed both the counſell of God and the force of *Nabuchodonoſor*; uſed now that remedy, which *Wolphius* truely termeth, *Triſte, turpe, & infælix: Wofull, ſhamefull, and unfortunate.*

*Joſ.Ant.l.10.c.11*

By this ſecret ſubterrane vault, *Zedechias* making his ſtealth, recovered (by the helpe of the darke night) the Plaines or Deſarts of *Jericho*: but by reaſon of the train that followed him and his (every one leading with him thoſe whom they held moſt deare unto them) he was eaſily traced and purſued. How great ſoever the company was that attended on him, yet, as *Joſephus* reports it, they, on whoſe fidelity he moſt repoſed himſelf, no ſooner beheld the *Chaldæans* approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and ſhifted themſelves into the Deſarts as they could. For whom God had forſaken, no man followed, but the miniſters of his vengeance; by whom *Zedechias* being made Priſoner, with his Children and Princes, he was conveyed to *Rebla* or *Reblath*, a City (as ſome thinke) of *Nephtalim*, where *Nabuchodonoſor* then lay, as a place indifferent between *Jeruſalem* and *Tyre*, with both which at once he had to doe.

*Ezek.12.*

Now after *Nabuchodonoſor* had layd before *Zedechias* the many graces and benefits conferred upon him, together with the notable falſhood and perjury, wherewith he had requited them; he commanded his Children, Princes and Friends to be ſlaine before his face. This being done, to the end that ſo lamentable a ſpectacle ſhould bee the laſt that ever he ſhould behold in the World, he cauſed his eyes to be torne out of his head, and ſo carried him in a ſlaviſh manner to *Babel*, where he conſumed the reſt of his wretched life in perpetuall impriſonment. Herein this moſt marvellous Prophecy of *Ezechiel* was performed; *Adducam eum in Babyloniam, & ipſam non videbit: I will bring him into Babylon, and he ſhall not ſee it.*

Thus in the eleventh and laſt year of *Zedechias*, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonoſor*, the *Chaldæans* entred the City by force, where ſparing no ſexe nor age, they committed all to the ſword that they therein found.

3534.

In the year next following, *Nabuzaradan* Generall of the Army, burnt the Kings Palace, and the reſt of *Jeruſalem*: and after this fire had laſted from the ſeventh to the tenth day, he alſo burnt the Temple of God to the ground, when it had ſtood foure hundred thirty and one years.

*2 King.ult.*

After this, upon a ſecond ſearch, *Nabuzaradan* (not yet ſatiated with bloud) commanded ſeventy and two others to be ſlaughtered, which had hidden themſelves from the firſt fury, to wit, the chiefe and the ſecond Prieſt, two Commanders of *Zedechias* his men of Warre, five of his Houſe-hold ſervants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ableſt of the people throughout all *Judæa*; and leaving the pooreſt labouring ſoules, with ſome that followed the party of *Nabuchodonoſor*, to till the ground: over whom he left Governour, *Godolia* the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Joſias* had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his juſtice and equity, by *Joſephus* highly commended. This man, a *Jew* by Nation, left *Zedechias*, as it ſeemeth, in the beginning of the Warre: and by *Jeremies* deſire to live with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the ſame advice which the Prophet gave unto *Zedechias*; which was, to ſubmit himſelfe altogether to the *Babylonian*; who being ordained by God to exerciſe his juſtice, was therefore reſiſtleſſe. The Prophet *Jeremy* being left to his own choice, either to live in *Chaldæa* or elſewhere, he made election of *Godoliah*, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced *Jeremy*, but gave comfort to all the other *Jewes* that were left under his charge, promiſing them favour & liberty, ſo long as they remained obedient ſubjects to *Nabuchodonoſor*, by whom he was eſtabliſhed Provinciall Governour of his owne Nation.

But ere that year was expired, a Prince of the late Kings houſe (who during the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*, had kept himſelf out of the ſtorme, with *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*) being followed by ten other choſen men, while *Godoliah* feaſted them in *Maſpha* or *Miſpa*, the City of his reſidence, trayterouſly ſlew him, together with divers *Chaldæans* and *Jewes* that accompanied him. This done, he made an eſcape, and in his way encountring with eighty perſons, repairing towards *Godoliah* with preſents, he ſlew the moſt of them, and ſpared the reſt, becauſe they promiſed to diſcover unto him ſome Treaſures hidden in the fields during the war. He alſo took with him a Daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Godoliah* by *Nabuchodonoſor*. This practice and intent of *Iſmael* had beene formerly diſcovered unto *Godoliah* by *Johanan*, one of the Leaders of the few remaining *Jewes*; but *Godoliah* was incredulous.

*Judæa* being now left without a Governour (for *Iſmael* durſt not take it upon him, but retired himſelfe, or rather fled as faſt as he could to the *Ammonites*) the reſidue of the *Jewes*, fearing the revenge of the *Chaldæans*, reſolved to flye away into *Egypt*, and beſought *Jeremy* to aske counſell of God for them: who readily made them anſwer, that if they remained in *Judæa*, God would provide for them, and ſhew them mercy; but if they ſought to ſave themſelves in *Egypt*, that they ſhould then undoubtedly periſh. Notwithſtanding this advice, the *Jewes* held their determination; and deſpiſing the Oracle of God, and conſtraining *Jeremy* and *Baruch* to accompany them, they travelled into *Egypt*, and inhabited by the permiſſion of *Pharao*, neare unto *Taphnes*: where
when *Jeremy* often reprehended them for their Idolatry, foretelling both the de-
ſtruction of themſelves, and the *Egyptians* alſo, hee was by theſe his
owne hard-hearted and ungratefull Country-men, ſtoned to
death; and by the *Egyptians*, who greatly reve-
renced him, buried neare the Se-
pulchre of their own
Kings.

## *Finis Libri ſecundi.*

# THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE VVORLD:

## Intreating of the Times from the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, *to the time of* PHILIP *of* MACEDON.

## *THE THIRD BOOKE.*

### CHAP. I.

### *Of the time paſsing between the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the fall of the Aſſyrian Empire.*

### §. I.

### *Of the connexion of ſacred and prophane Hiſtorie.*

THE courſe of Time, which in profane Hiſtories might rather be diſcerned through the greateſt part of his way, hitherto paſſed in ſome out-worne foot-ſteps, than in any beaten path, having once in *Greece* by the *Olympiads*, & in the Eaſterne countries by the accompt from *Nabonaſſar*, left ſurer marks, & more appliable to actions concurrent, than were the war of *Troy*, or any other token of former date; begins at length in the ruine of *Jeruſalem* to diſcover the connexion of antiquity fore-ſpent, with the ſtory of ſucceeding ages. Manifeſt it is, that the originall and progreſſe of things could ill be ſought in thoſe that were ignorant of the firſt creation: as likewiſe that the affaires of Kingdomes and Empire afterwards growne up, are not to be found among thoſe that have now no ſtate nor policy remaining of their own. Having therefore purſued the ſtory of the World unto that age, from whence the memory of ſucceeding accidents is with little interruption of fabulous diſcourſe derived unto us, I hold it now convenient briefly to ſhew by what means & circumſtances the Hiſtory of the *Hebrews*, which of all other is the moſt ancient, may bee conjoyned with the following times, wherein that Image of ſundry mettals, diſcovered by God unto *Nebuchadnezzar*, did reigne over the earth, when *Iſrael* was either none, or an unregarded Nation.

Herein I doe not hold it needfull to inſiſt upon thoſe authorities which give, as it were by heare-ſay, a certaine year of ſome old *Aſſyrian* King unto ſome action or event, whereof the time is found expreſſed in Scripture: for together with the end of *Ninus* his line in *Sardanapalus*, if not before, all ſuch computations were blotted out; the ſucceſſion of *Belochus* & his iſſue that occupied the kingdome afterwards, depending upon the uncertaine relations of ſuch as were neither conſtant in aſſigning the years of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relye upon. Let it therefore ſuffice that the conſent and harmony which ſome have found in the years of thoſe over-worne Monarchs, doth preſerve their names, which otherwiſe might have been forgotten. Now concerning the later Kings of that Nation, howſoever it be true that we finde the names of all or moſt of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Hiſtorians, yet hereby could we only learne in what age each of them lived, but not in what year his reigne began or ended, were it not that the reigne of *Nabuchadnezzar* is more preciſely applyed to the times of *Jehojakim* and *Zedechia*. Hence have we the firſt light whereby to diſcover the meanes of connecting the ſacred and prophane Hiſtories. For under *Nabuchadnezzar* was the beginning of the captivity of *Juda*, which ended when 70. yeares were expired; and theſe 70. years took end at the firſt of *Cyrus*, whoſe time being well knowne, affords us meanes of looking back into the ages paſt, and forwards into the race of men ſucceeding. The firſt yeare of *Cyrus* his reigne in *Perſia*, by generall conſent, is joyned with the firſt yeare of the 55. *Olympiad*, where, that he reigned three and twenty yeares before his Monarchy, and ſeven years afterwards, it is apparent, and almoſt out of controverſie. Giving therefore foure hundred and eight yeares unto the diſtance between the fall of *Troy*, and the inſtauration of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*; we may eaſily arrive unto thoſe antiquities of *Greece*, which were not meerly fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whileſt in ſundry parts of the world, S. *Auguſtine* and others may be truſted in ſetting down their times, which they had by Tradition from Authors of well-approved faith and induſtry.

From *Cyrus* forwards, how the times are reckoned unto *Alexander*, and from him to the battell of *Actium*, it were (peradventure) in this place impertinent to ſet downe. But ſeeing that the beginning and end of the *Babylonian* captivity are marks whereby we are chiefly directed, in paſſing from the firſt unto the lateſt years of the world through any ſtory, with leaſt interruption; it is very expedient that wee take ſome paines to informe our ſelves truly of the 70. years during which it continued, even from *Nabuchadnezzar* unto *Cyrus*.

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## §. II.

*A briefe rehearſall of two opinions touching the beginning of the captivity: with an anſwer to the cavils of* Porphyrie, *inveighing againſt* S. Matthew *and* Daniel, *upon whom the later of theſe opinions is founded.*

MAny Commentators, and other Hiſtorians and Chronologers finde that the captivity then began when *Jechonias* was carried priſoner into *Babylon*, eleven years before the final deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* under *Zedechias*. This they prove out of divers places in *Ezechiel*, eſpecially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plaine diſtinction betweene the beginning of the Captivity, and utter deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Nabuzaradan*, in theſe words: *In the five and twentieth yeare of our being in Captivitie, in the beginning of the yeare, in the tenth day of the moneth, in the fourteenth yeare after that the Citie was ſmitten.* In which words hee beginneth the captivity in plaine termes, eleven years before the City was deſtroyed. *Beroaldus* is of opinion that it began in the firſt of *Nabuchodonoſor*, and the fourth of *Joakim*; which he endeavours to prove out of the ſecond of *Chronicles*, but more eſpecially out of Saint *Matthew*, and *Daniel*, whoſe words afford matter of diſputation, but ſerve not to make good ſo much as *Beroaldus* would enforce. That place of S. *Matthew*, and the whole booke of *Daniel* have miniſtred occaſion of ſcoffing and railing at the Chriſtian Religion to that wretched man *Porphyrie*, who, not underſtanding how the ſonnes of King *Joſias* were called by divers names, as *Epiphanius* hath ſhewed at large, thought that the Apoſtle had ſpoken he knew not what in reckoning the ſonnes, or, according to ſome Tranſlations, the Sonne and Nephewes of that good King, begotten about the time of the Captivity. Upon *Daniel* alſo the ſame *Porphyrie* doth ſpend the twelfth of his malicious bookes written againſt the Chriſtians; affirming, that theſe prophecies and viſions remembred by *Daniel*, were written long after his death, and at, or neare the time

Ezech. c. 1. v. 2. c. 3. v. 11. & 15.

Mac.1.11.

Joſ.ant.11.

of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This fond ſuppoſition of his *Euſebius*, *Apollonius*, and others, have ſufficiently anſwered. For the ſeventy Interpreters, who converted the old Teſtament about an hundred yeares before *Epiphanes*, did alſo turne this booke of *Daniel* out of *Hebrew* into *Greeke*, as a part of Scripture received. And were there no other argument to confound *Porphyrie*, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, it were ſufficient, who lived divers yeares before *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For *Jaddus* the high Prieſt ſhewed that great Conquerour, when he came towards *Jeruſalem* to have deſtroyed it, this booke of *Daniel*, wherein he beheld his owne glory foretold, as the ſame was plainly expounded unto him; which not only ſtayed his hand from the harme of that City and people, but his aſſurance and reſolution was ſo confirmed and ſtrengthened thereby, as deſpiſing all future perill and reſiſtance, hee conquered *Darius*, and the Eaſterne Empire in a ſhorter time than *Nabuchodonoſor* had done one City, to wit, *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*.

Mat.24 15.
Marke 13.14.

Dan.12.

It is true indeed that the *Jewes* themſelves give leſſe authority to *Daniel*, than to *Moſes* and the *Prophets*, accompting his booke among thoſe which they call *Cetaphim*, or *Hagiographa*, or holy Writings, which they ſay *Eſdras* and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their returne from *Babylon*. But firſt, that the booke of *Daniel* (I meane ſo much as is found in the *Hebrew*) is Canonicall: ſecondly, that it was written by *Daniel* himſelfe, and not by *Eſdras* and the Seniors, we may aſſure our ſelves by teſtimony of Councels and Fathers. For in the Councell of *Laodicæa* held about the year of our Lord 368. after the death of *Jovinian* the Emperour, and after the *Nicene* Councell three and forty yeares, this booke of *Daniel* was received, verified and confirmed among the other Canonicall Scriptures, as in the *Epitomy* of the ſame Councell it may be ſeene; and ſo doth *Meliton* the moſt ancient Biſhop of *Sardis* number it, witneſſe *Euſebius* in his Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory, the fourth booke, and five and twentieth chapter: ſo doth the ſame Author in the Catalogue of Canonicall books upon *Origen*: ſo doth *Hilarius* in his Preface upon the Pſalmes, and *Epiphanius* in his book of Weights and Meaſures, &c. To theſe I may adde Saint *Hierome*, *Gregorie Nazianzene*, and others. For the *Hagiographa* books or holy Writings, the *Jewes* and *Rabbines* reckon to be theſe, *Daniel*, *Pſalms*, *Proverbs*, *Job*, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Heſter*, *Eſra*, *Nehemia*, and the *Chronicles*. And that it was *Daniel*, and not *Eſdras*, that wrote this booke, Gods commandement unto him by his Angell, to ſeale up the ſame to the time appointed, is an unanſwerable teſtimony. Yea, that which exceedeth all ſtrength of other proofe, our Saviour Chriſt, who citeth no Apocryphall Scripture, in *Matthew* & *Mark* alledgeth *Daniel* the Prophet, to wit, the laſt verſe of his ninth chapter. Further, in the fifth of *John*, Chriſt diſtributeth the riſen from the dead, as in *Daniel* the twelfth, verſe the ſecond. Saint *Paul* deſcribeth *Antichriſt* out of *Daniel*, and the Revelation is wholly an interpretation of *Daniels* viſions.

## §. III.

### *That the 70. years of captivity are to be numbred from the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; not from the migration of* Jechonia.

HAving thus farre digreſſed in maintaining that authority which muſt often bee cited in the preſent argument, it is now convenient, that we returne unto the differences of opinion concerning the beginning of theſe 70. yeares. Neither will I ſtand to trouble my ſelfe and others with laying open the grounds or weakeneſſe of that which *Euſebius* and ſome few nameleſſe Authors have ſometimes held in this point, which is lately revived by *Beroaldus*; but will forth-with enter into conſideration of that opinion, which many both ancient and late Writers have ſo earneſtly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Foure Kings of *Juda* were carried away captives to *Babylon*: Firſt, *Manaſſes*; then *Jehojakim*, and with him among others, *Daniel* the Prophet: thirdly, *Jeconias*, and with him *Ezechiel*: laſtly, *Zedechias*, at which time the city & temple were deſtroyed. To the firſt of theſe captivities the beginning of the 70. yeares is referred by none that I have read; to the ſecond, by few and with weak proofe; to the third, by very many and with much confidence. For beſides thoſe places of *Ezechiel* already cited, there is a ſtrong argument gathered out of *Jeremy*, which may ſeeme to make the matter plaine. For the Prophet in comforting the people that were carried away with *Jechonias*, uſeth theſe words: *Thus ſaith the Lord, After 70. years be accompliſhed at Babel, I will viſit you, and performe my good promiſe towards you, and cauſe you to returne to this place.*

Jer.29,10.

But it ſtands indeed with little reaſon that we ſhould ſeeke the interpretation of a prophecy out of circumſtances, when the prophecy is ſuch as doth ſufficiently expound it ſelfe. *Jeremy* hath already, in the fourth yeare of *Jehojakim*, denounced the judgement of God againſt the Land, for the ſinnes and impenitency of that obſtinate people, in theſe words: *Behold, I will ſend and take to me all the families of the North, ſaith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babel, my ſervant; and will bring them againſt this Land, and againſt the Inhabitants thereof, and againſt all theſe Nations round about, and I will deſtroy them, and make them an aſtoniſhment, and an hiſsing, and a continuall deſolation. Moreover, I will take from them the voyce of mirth, and the voyce of gladneſſe, the voyce of the Bridegroome, and the voyce of the Bride, the noyſe of the mil ſtones, and the light of the candle, and this whole Land ſhall be deſolate, and an aſtoniſhment, and theſe Nations ſhall ſerve the King of Babel 70. yeares. And when 70. yeares are expired, I will viſit the King of Babel.* Here we ſee preſcribed unto the captivity the terme of 70. yeares, which were to commence, neither when the prophecy was uttered; nor when *Jehojakim*, who then reigned, was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*; nor yet in the time of *Jechonia*; but with the utter deſolation of the City, whereof *Jeremy* did againe give notice to thoſe that were already in *Babylon*, at ſuch time as he ſent them the comfort of deliverance before rehearſed. And ſo did the people underſtand this prophecy, in thoſe times when they ſaw it accompliſhed, beginning the 70. yeares at the time of the deſolation, as manifeſtly appeares in the end of the Hiſtory of *Juda*, where it is ſaid thus: *They burnt the houſe of God, and brake downe the wall of Jeruſalem, and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious veſſels thereof to deſtroy all: And they that were left by the ſword, carried he away to Babel, and they were ſervants to him and to his ſonnes, untill the kingdome of the Perſians had rule, to fulfill the word of the Lord by the mouth of* Jeremia, *untill the Land had her fill of her Sabbaths: for all the dayes that ſhe lay deſolate, ſhee kept Sabbath, to fulfill 70. yeares. But in the firſt yeare of* Cyrus *King of Perſia (when the word of the Lord, ſpoken by the mouth of* Jeremia, *was finiſhed) the Lord ſtirred up the ſpirit of* Cyrus. We ſeldome finde one piece of Scripture ſo preciſely and plainely expounded by another, as in this prophecy, to have afterwards beene the ſubject of altercation. For one can hardly deviſe how either the deſolation could have been expreſſed more ſenſibly than it was by the Prophet, or the event of the prophecy have been more exactly ſet downe, than it was in the place now laſt of all cited. If it be requiſite that we bring more proofe in ſo evident a caſe, the ninth Chapter of *Daniel* yeelds teſtimony ſufficient, unto this expedition of *Jeremia* his prophecy, that *Jeruſalem* was to lye waſte 70. yeares. For in the firſt yeare of *Darius* the *Mede*, which was the laſt of the 70. *Daniel* obtained of God the deliverance that had been promiſed by prayer, which he made upon conſideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth in theſe words: *In the firſt yeare of his reigne, I* Daniel *underſtood by bookes the number of the yeares whereof the Lord had ſpoken unto* Jeremiah *the Prophet, that he would accompliſh 70. years in the deſolation of Jeruſalem*. So that howſoever the time of *Daniel* his owne captivity be reckoned from the taking of *Jehojakim*, and that the people carryed away with *Jeconia*, did accompt, as well they might, the years of their owne captivity; yet with the generall deſolation of the Country, wherein were few or none of the *Iſraelites* left remaining to inhabite, began in the nineteenth yeare of *Nabuchodonoſor* the great captivity, which by Gods appointment continued unto the end of ſeventy yeares.

Jer.29.ver.16, 17.& 18.

2 Chro.36.19.

Dan.9,2.]

This I will not further ſeek to prove, by the authority of *Joſephus* and others affirming the ſame; foraſmuch as that which already hath been produced, is enough to ſatisfie any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrary.

## §. IV.

### *Sundry opinions of the Kings which reigned in Babylon during the 70.years.*

Xenoph. Cyroped. lib.1.

WHat Kings reigned in *Babylon*, during theſe ſeventy years of the Captivity, & how long each of them did wear the Diademe, it is a matter of no great importance to know, foraſmuch as neither their acts were notable in the age wherein they lived, nor the length of their reignes, any way helpfull to the concordance of times, foregoing or ſucceeding. The conqueſts recounted by *Xenophon* of *Syria*, *Arabia* (or rather ſome part of it) *Hyrcania*, *Bactria*, & perhaps of ſome other Countries, may ſeeme fruits of the victories obtained by *NebuchadneZZar* the Great (or by ſome of his Anceſtors) in the former part of his life, before he betooke himſelfe to eaſe, and to the ſumptuous building of his great *Babel*, for the houſe of his Kingdome, and for the honour of his Majeſty, where it may ſeeme that hee and his Heires kept a great ſtate, and did very little. The idle behaviour of the *Aſſyrian* Souldiers, in ſuch skirmiſhes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, doth argue no leſſe. For whereas under *NabuchadneZZar*, they were ſo ſtout and induſtrious, that (to omit other proofes) they attempted, and finiſhed that hardy piece of worke, of winning the ſtrong City of *Tyre*, by joyning unto it the continent, filling up the deepe and broad channell of the Sea, dividing it from the maine with a mole or piece of earth, and other matter; the reparation whereof when the Sea had waſhed it away, was the very greateſt of *Alexanders* workes: in the times following, they became timerous, that they durſt not approach nearer to the enemy than their bowes would carry, but were ready to turne their backs, as ſoone as any, though inferiour in numbers, adventuring within the diſtance offered to charge them.

Xenoph. Cyroped. l.1.& l.3.

Now as their actions from the end of *NabuchadneZZars* warres, till the ruine of their Empire, were not worthy to be recorded; ſo was the diſtinction of their times, and reigne of their ſeverall Kings, unworthy of the great labour that hath in vaine beene taken in that buſineſſe. For when it is granted, that the captivity of *Juda*, ending with that Empire, laſted 70. yeares, we may as reaſonably forbeare to ſearch into the particular continuance of two or three ſlothfull Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the *Patriarchs*, and their children living in the *Egyptians* ſervitude; reſting ſatisfied in both with the generall aſſured ſumme.

Yet foraſmuch as many have travelled in this buſineſſe, upon deſire (as I take it) to approve the beginning and end of the 70. years, not only by the reigns of other Princes, ruling elſewhere, but by the times of the *Aſſyrians* themſelves: I will not refuſe to take a little paines in collecting their opinions, and ſhewing what I thinke may beſt be held for likely, if the certaine truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themſelves, and in ſetting downe the years of their ſeverall reignes. The firſt (as I take it) the ſureſt, is theirs, who meerely follow the authority of the Scriptures, without borrowing any helpe from others. Theſe name onely three Kings, *NabuchadneZZar*, *Evilmerodach*, and *Balthaſar*. Neither have they only the ſilence of *Daniel*, who names none other to be their warrant, but the prophecy of *Jeremy* preciſely, and in a manner purpoſely teaching the very ſame. For God, by the mouth of that Prophet, ſhewing that he being abſolute Lord of all, would diſpoſe of all according to his owne will, and making it known that he had put ſome Countries here named, into the hands of the King of *Babel*, ſaith thus: *And all Nations ſhall ſerve him, and his Sonne, and his Sonnes Sonne, untill the very time of his land come alſo; then many Nations and great kings ſhall ſerve themſelves of him.* Theſe words expreſſing the continuance of the *Chaldæan* Empire, and number of the Kings, will hardly be qualified with any diſtinction. But indeed I finde no other neceſſity of qualification to be uſed herein, than ſuch as may grow out of mens deſire to reconcile the Scriptures unto profane Authors. And this deſire were not unjuſt, if the conſent of all hiſtories were on the one ſide, and the letter of the holy Text were ſingle on the other ſide.

Jer.27.7.

But contrariwiſe, the Authors which are cited in this caſe, are ſo repugnant one to the other, & the proofes of their different reports are ſo ſlender & unſufficient, that the ſucceſſion of theſe Princes, had it not bin thus delivered in Scriptures, but only ſet down by ſome Author of equall credit with the reſt, might very well have found and deſerved as good beliefe, as any of thoſe things which they have delivered in this point. For ſome there are, who following *Joſephus*, derive that Empire, as by deſcent, from father to ſon, through five generations; beginning with *Nabuchodonoſor* the great, and giving to him 43. yeares; to *Evilmerodach* 18. to *Nigliſar* the ſon of *Evilmerodach*, 40. to *Laboſardach* the ſon of *Nigliſar* 9. moneths, and laſtly, to *Balthaſar* (whom *Joſephus* intimates to be of the race of *Nabuchodonoſor*, without naming his father) 17. yeares. And this opinion (ſave that he forbeares to reckon the yeares, and plainely calls *Balthaſar* the ſonne of *Laboſardach*) Saint *Hierome* doth follow, alledging *Beroſus* and *Joſephus* as a ſectator of *Beroſus*, for his Authors; though *Beroſus*, as he is cited by *Joſephus*, report the matter far otherwiſe. For he tels us that *Evilmerodach* the ſonne of *Nabuchodonoſor* did reigne but two yeares, being for his wickedneſſe and luſt, ſlaine by his ſiſters husband *NiZigliſſoroor*; who occupied the kingdome after him foure yeares, and left it to his owne ſonne *Laboſardach*; who being an ill-conditioned boy, was at the end of nine moneths ſlaine by ſuch as were about him, and the kingdome given to one *Nabonidus*, who held it by the election of the Conſpirators, and left it unto *Cyrus* after 17. yeares. This relation ill agrees with that of *Joſephus*, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number either of yeares, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, have procured unto them ſome authority, ſo that the names which they have inſerted, are taken as it were upon truſt. There is a third opinion which makes the three laſt Kings brethren, and ſonnes of *Evilmerodach*; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather beleeve *Xenophon*, who ſaith that the laſt King of *Babylon* was immediate ſucceſſour to his father. But whereas the Author of the Scholaſticall Hiſtory, who is founder of this opinion, placeth between him that took *Jeruſalem*, and *Evilmerodach*, another *Nabuchodonoſor*: plaine enough it is that he hath, out of any Hiſtory ſacred or profane, as little warrant to guide him, as we have reaſon to follow him. *Euſebius*, *Sulpitius*, *Severus* and *Theodoret*, upon better ground have ſuppoſed, that *Evilmerodach* and *Balthaſar* were brethren and ſonnes of the great *Nabuchodonoſor*. This is built on the fifth Chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthaſar* (for of *Evilmerodach* there is none that ever doubted) is often called *Nabuchodonoſor* his ſonne. And ſo common grew this explication, that S. *Hierome* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Jeremy* before cited, proves that *Balthaſar* was not the ſon indeed, but the grand-childe of that great Conqueror, though by the phraſe very common in Scriptures, and familiar in thoſe *Eaeſtrne* languages, he was called the ſon.

*Joſ.ant.l.10.c.12*

*Joſ.cont.App.l.1.*

*Xenoph. Cyroped. lib.4.*

*Annius* his *Metaſthenes* hits very rightly the ſeventy years of captivity, giving to *Nabuchodonoſor* 45. yeares, to *Evilmerodach* 30. yeares, and to the three ſons of *Evilmerodach*, Nephewes of *Nabuchodonoſor*, fourteen years; that is, to *Reg-Aſſar* the eldeſt ſon, three yeares, to *Lab-Aſſar Dach* the ſecond ſonne, ſixe yeares, and to *Balthaſar* the third ſonne, five.

To this accompt agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole ſumme of yeares, and in the number of generations, I have ſometime ſubſcribed, as not daring to reject an appearance of truth, upon no greater reaſon than becauſe the Author was of *Annius* his edition. Yet could I not ſatisfie my ſelfe herein; both for that none of the Ancient, and few ſuch of the moderne Writers as deſerve to be regarded, have conſented with this *Metaſthenes*; and for that in making *Balthaſar* ſucceed unto his brother in the kingdome, and not unto his father, he is wholly againſt *Xenophon*, whoſe Hiſtory of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Aſſyrian* warre I cannot ſlightly value in many reſpects, and eſpecially becauſe it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the king was at his drunken feaſt.

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumſtances that might give any light in this obſcurity, I found manifeſt proofe, that the time allotted unto *Balthaſar* by *Annius* his *Metaſthenes*, was farre ſhort of the truth, which is enough to render all ſuſpected that he hath ſaid in diſtributing what part of the 70. yeares he pleaſed amongſt the reſt. For in the third yeare of *Balthaſar*, *Daniel* ſaw a viſion, after which he was ſicke certain dayes, but when he roſe up, he did the Kings buſineſſe: from which buſineſſe, that he did afterwards withdraw himſelfe, and live retired, ſo long, that he was forgotten in the Court, it appeares plainly, both by the many words which the old Queene uſed to ſet out his ſufficiency, and by the Kings asking of him, when he came into his preſence, whether he

Dan.8.1.& 27.

were

Dan.5.11,12,13. Dan.2.49. were *Daniel*. Now to think that a man of ſuch account and place as *Daniel* had held, could in two yeares have been worne out of remembrance, were in my judgement a very ſtrange conceit, which rather than I would entertaine, I can well be contented to think the whole ſtory (thus related) a part of *Annius* his impoſtures.

Out of theſe reports of *Joſephus*, *Beroſus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by conjectures of late Writers. For the endurance of the captivity being 70. yeares, and theſe years extending unto the firſt of *Cyrus*, in which courſe of time *Nabuchadnezzar*, his ſon and grand-child, muſt have reigned; it hath ſeemed needfull to ſupply the years of theſe three deſcents, by inſerting ſome, whoſe reignes might fill up the whole continuance of the captivity; with which the time allotted by *Beroſus* and others, to *Evilmerodach* and *Balthaſar*, joyned unto the yeares following the nineteen of *Nabuchadnezzar*, (wherein *Jeruſalem* was laid deſolate) are nothing even.

Therefore *Mercator* and others following him, faſhion the yeares of *Evilmerodach* in this ſort. They ſay, that the 18. yeares given to him by *Joſephus* in the tenth of his Antiquities, ſhould be read and numbred 28. years, and the two years that *Beroſus* hath allowed to *Evilmerodach* ſhould be written 23. in the firſt number the figure of (1) is miſtaken for the figure of (2.) and in the latter there ſhould have bin added the figure of (3) to that of (2.) this granted (to wit) that *Evilmerodach* reigned 28. years, whereof five together with his father, and 23. after his death, and the ſame number of 23. added to the 25. which *Nabuchodonoſor* lived after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, make 48. then 4. years of *Nigliſar* according to *Beroſus*, 9. moneths of *Labaſſardach* his ſon, and 17. years of *Labonidus* or *Balthaſar*, make up the number of 70. years to the firſt of *Cyrus*. But whether by errour in figures, or in words, the numbers be utterly miſtaken in all copies extant; upon how weake a foundation do they build, who having nothing to help them, ſave onely the bare names of two unknown Kings, found in authors manifeſtly corrupted, and ſuch as if they had been entirely extant, were not worthy to have that place of *Jeremy* called into diſpute, in regard of their authority?

## §. V.

### *A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, perſons, and reigns of the Babylonian Kings.*

OTher ſuppoſitions, little different in ſubſtance from this of *Mercator*, I purpoſely forbeare to rehearſe, as falling under the ſame anſwer. That of *Joſeph Scaliger* I may not forget, as deſerving to be conſidered apart from the reſt. Hee gives to *Nabuchadnezzar* 44. years, to *Evilmerodach* two, to *Belſazer* five: and to *Nabonidus* 17. So that from the 19. of *Nabuchadnezzar*, in which *Jeruſalem* was deſtroyed, unto the time of *Cyrus*, he accounteth only 59. years; beginning (as many do) the captivity 11. years ſooner from the tranſportation of *Jechonia*. But hereof enough hath bin ſaid already. That which we are now to conſider, is his diſtribution of the time running between the 19. of *Nabuchadnezzar*, and the fall of the *Caldæan* Empire: wherein if he have erred, then is all further inquiſition frivolous.

Concerning the length of *Nabuchadnezzars* reigne, I ſhall hereafter upon better occaſion deliver my opinion. The time which he gives to *Evilmerodach* is very ſhort, and more preciſely agreeing with *Beroſus* than with the Scriptures. For we finde in *Jeremy*, that this *Evilmerodach* in the firſt of his reign, ſhewing all favour to *Jechonia*, did, among other things, take order for him at his table; and that he did continually eat bread before him all the dayes of his life. His portion was a continuall portion given him of the King Jer.52.33,34. of *Babel*, every day a certaine, all the dayes of his life untill he died. The very ſound of theſe words (which is more to be eſteemed than the authority of *Beroſus*, were he perfectly extant) imports a farre longer time than two yeares, wherein *Jechonia*, under this gentle Prince, enjoyed the comfort ſent by God, whoſe commandement he had obeyed in yeelding himſelfe to *Nabuchadnezzar*. Indeed how long *Jechonia* did live, it cannot be proved; but plaine it is hereby, that all his remaining dayes he did eat bread before this King. Now that he lived not ſo ſhort a while after this as 2. yeares, it is more than likely; for he was but 55. yeares old when he was ſet at liberty, having bin 37. yeares in the priſon, whereinto he was caſt at the age of 18. yeares; after which time it ſeemes plaine that he begat *Salathiel*, as well by the age of *Zorobabel*, who is ſaid to have beene but a young man, and one of *Darius* his Pages threeſcore years after this, as by other circumſtances of his impriſonment it ſelfe.

Of *Belſazer*, to whom *Scaliger* gives the next five years, naming him alſo *Laboroſoardoch*, I ſhould wonder why he cals him *Nebuchadnezzars* daughters ſon, were it not that herein I find him very carefull to help out *Beroſus*, by ſhifting in his *Nirigliſſoroor*, as huſband to *Nebuchadnezzars* daughter, and Protector of his ſon foure of theſe years; by which means there remaines about one year to *Belſazer* alone, agreeing nearly with the nine moneths aſſigned by *Beroſus* to the ſonne of *Nigliſar*. But *Jeremy* hath told us that it was to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and to his ſon, and to his ſons ſon (not to his daughters ſon) that the Empire was promiſed: which difficulty, if *Scaliger* could not help, it was well done of him to paſſe it over with ſilence.

*Nabonidus* the laſt of theſe, whom others (deſirous to reconcile *Beroſus* to the Scriptures) have judged to be all one with *Balthaſar*, is by *Scaliger* thought to be *Darius* of the *Medes*. But herein *Scaliger* is no firme *Beroſian*: for *Beroſus* makes him of the ſame ſtock or race, a *Babylonian*. I ſpeake not this to diſgrace the travell of that moſt learned man (for it highly commends his diligence and judgement, that he was not ſo wedded to any author, as affected with the love of truth) but to ſhew that he himſelfe, having in ſome points diſliked thoſe Writers, whom in generall he approveth, might with greater reaſon have wholly reformed them by the Scriprures, wherin can be no error. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirme this opinion in *Scaliger*, that he whom *Beroſus* cals *Nabonidus*, was the ſame whom *Daniel* had called *Darius* of the *Medes*: Firſt, the phraſe of Scripture, which ſignifies unto us, that *Darius* took the Kingdome, not ſaying that he wanne it by force of armes: Secondly, a fragment of *Megaſthenes* found in *Euſebius*, wherein this *Nabonidus* is called the *Median*. Touching the word of the Originall, or of the Greek tranſlation, which expreſſing no force of armes, doth only ſignifie that *Darius* took or received the Kingdome; I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould thereupon inferre, that the next King entred by Election: ſeeing *Daniel* relateth not the meanes and circumſtances of *Balthaſars* death, but onely the ſwift accompliſhment of his owne prophecy. Neither could it indeed have properly been ſaid (if *Daniel* had cared to uſe the moſt expreſſive termes) that *Darius* of the *Medes*, breaking into the City, did winne the Kingdome; ſeeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the abſence of *Darius*, though by his forces, and to his uſe. Now concerning the fragment of *Megaſthenes*, true it is, that in *Euſebius* his works printed at *Baſile*, in the yeare 1559. I finde onely thus much of *Megaſthenes*, cited out of *Alpheeus*; That *Nabuchodonoſor* was more valiant than *Hercules*; that he ſubdued all *Lybia*, and the reſt of *Aſia*, as far as to the *Armenians*; and that, as the *Chaldaans* report, being returned into his kingdome, and rapt with a divine fury, he cryed with a loud voyce: *O* Babylonians, *I foretell ye of a great calamity that ſhall come upon you, which neither* Bel, *nor any of the gods ſhall avert: There will come a* Perſian, *halfe an Aſſe, that ſhall bring ſlavery upon yee:* and that, this and the like when he had ſpoken, he vaniſhed. Of all this I beleeve little or nothing, ſaving that *Nabuchodonoſor* knew beforehand, that his Empire ſhould be tranſlated, as *Daniel* had foretold, from the golden head, to the ſilver breaſt. But that he wanne all *Affrica* or *Lybia*, I doe hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaligers* copy of *Euſebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megaſthenes* tells us that *Nabuchodonoſor* wanne both *Affrick* and *Spaine*, I beleeve the fragment ſo much the leſſe: and am as little moved with the authority of it, where it calls a *Median* the pride and confidence of the *Aſſyrians*; as where it tels of *Nebuchadnezzar* his owne vaniſhing away. Indeed that ſame title of halfe an Aſſe, by which he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to ſuſpect the fable, as cunningly forged out of *Apollo* his Oracle, wherein he termeth him a *Mule*, becauſe his parentage was more noble on the mothers ſide than on the fathers; as *Mules* are begotten by *Aſſes* upon *Mares*. And thus much in anſwer of the two principall foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnity and coherence which it had within it ſelfe, I eaſily allow it. But this proves nothing; for meere fictions have not wanted theſe commendations: neither can any man beleeve that one ſo judicious, induſtrious, and deeply learned as *Joſeph Scaliger*, would overſhoot himſelfe, in ſetting downe repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeale. And herein it ſeems that *Scaliger*, well knowing his own ſufficiency, hath beene little carefull to ſatisfie men that would frame Arguments againſt him. For if the prophecy of *Daniel* were true, that the Kingdome of *Balthaſar* was divided, and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*, either we muſt thinke that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not *Nabonidus*, or elſe we muſt bethinke our ſelves what *Perſian* it might be that ſhared the Kingdome with him. For it is not more certaine that *Balthaſar* loſt his life and Kingdome, than that his Kingdome was divided and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Perſians* fall out and fight for it, as by ſuppoſing *Nabonidus* to have been *Darius*, they ſhould be thought to have done; but theſe two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords over all the ſubject Provinces, inſomuch that the Greek Hiſtorians did commonly call thoſe Warres which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made upon *Greece*, The Warres of the *Medes*. Yea, to cleare this point, even *Daniel* himſelfe reſembles that King, with whom *Alexander* fought, unto a Ramme with two hornes, calling him the King of the *Medes* and *Perſians*. Dan.8.20. Wherefore the whole Nation of *Chronologers* were not to have beene condemned by *Joſeph Scaliger*, for maintaining upon ſuch good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes* was partner with *Cyrus* in his victories, and not a *Chaldæan* King by him ſubdued. Neither was *Joſephus* to be the leſſe regarded, for affirming that *Balthaſar* was deſtroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his Nephew *Cyrus*, though herein he varied from *Beroſus* and others, whoſe authority elſewhere he gladly citeth. For *Joſephus* had no reaſon to beleeve any mans faith or knowledge of thoſe times halfe ſo wel as *Daniels*, whom I beleeve that he underſtood as farre as was needfull in this caſe. Lawfull it was for him to alledge all Authors that had any mention, though unperfect, of the ſame things that were contained in the writings of the *Jewes*, to whoſe Hiſtories thereby he procured reputation in the *Romane* world, where they were ſtrangers, and might ſeeme fabulous. Even ſo doe *Euſebius* and other Writers willingly embrace the teſtimonies of Heathen bookes making for the truth in ſome particulars; yet will they not therefore be tryed in generall by the ſelfe ſame *Ethnicke* Philoſophers, but leave them where they are againſt the truth; as *Joſephus* in this caſe hath left *Beroſus*. And thus much I thought it meet to ſay of *Scaligers* opinion in this point; holding neverthelesse in due regard his learning and judgement, which if in ſome things it had not failed, the miracle had then beene very great.

## §. VI.

### *What may bee held as probable of the Perſons and Times of* Nabuchodonoſor *his ſucceſſors.*

IT now remaines that I freely acknowledge mine owne weakeneſſe, who cannot find how the 70. years of captivity are to be divided among them which reigned in *Babylon*, though I finde that the diſtribution made of them, in ſuch wiſe as already is rehearſed, be ill agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truely ſay with *Pererius*, that we ought liberally to pardon thoſe whoſe feet have failed them in the ſlippery waies of *Chronology*, wherein both learning and diligence are ſubject to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulneſſe, or heedleſſe reckoning. Yet will I adventure to deliver my opinion, wherein the judgement of *Lyra* and others (holding thoſe only to have reigned over the *Chaldæans*, whoſe names are found in the Scriptures) appeares more conformable to reaſon and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Conjectures before rehearſed. Not that I will take upon me to defend *Lyra* his Conjectures, when he ſuppoſeth by *Nigliſar* and *Laboſardach* to be meant the ſame perſons which are called in Scriptures *Evilmerodach* and *Balthaſar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained) but only to ſhew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to have occupied the whole time of ſeventy years. Firſt therefore let us conſider the reigne of *Nabuchadnezzar*, in whoſe eighteenth yeare *Jeruſalem* was taken and ſackt, but in his nineteenth laid utterly deſolate.

Moſt of Writers have given to him 43. years of reigne, following therein *Beroſus*. There are who have added one yeare more; and ſome have made it up 45. To diſpute about the certainty were needleſſe: for in ſhewing by what length of time the Scriptures meaſure him, we ſhall ſhew the certaine truth.

Manifeſt it is, that the 19. year of *NebuchadneZZar*, is joyned with the 11. of *Zedechia*; as alſo that his eighth yeer, was the firſt yeere of *Jechonia* his captivity; the reigne of *Zedekia* occupied all the meane ſpace, being of 11. years. This is generally agreed upon, ſo that it needs no further proofes: As for the beginning of his ſucceſſor *Evilmerodach*, it was in the ſeven and thirtieth yeare of *Jechonia* his captivity; ſo that *NebuchadneZZar* after his 8. yeare (which was the firſt of *Jechonia* his bondage) reigned 35. whole years, and peradventure a good part of the ſixe and thirtieth, foraſmuch as *Jechonia* was inlarged with ſo great favour, not untill the end of the year. Subſtracting therefore out of theſe foure and forty, which *NebuchadneZZars* reigne did well neere occupie, thoſe eighteene years of his which paſſed away before the captivity of Juda, and ruine of the city, we have remaining ſixe and twenty years of the ſeventy, that were almoſt wholly ſpent when his ſon began to reigne.

2 King 2.5. 8. & Jerem. 51.12.
2 King 24. 12.
2 King 25.27. & Jerem. 52.31.

It is now to be conſidered how the remainder of the ſeventie yeares were divided between the Kings ruling in Babylon untill the firſt of *Cyrus*. A queſtion more difficult (as I ſaid before) than greatly needfull: the whole ſome being certaine, and the diſtinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who were ſlothfull Princes. Neither can any man the more juſtly ſuſpect the beginning or end of the whole 70. years, for that the diſtribution of ſome part of them is only conjecturall; ſeeing that none who gives any other termes to their beginning or end, hath refuſed to follow both unlikely and deſperate conjectures in dividing them. I will therefore be bold to doe as others have done; knowing well before-hand, that whoſoever ſhall diſcover my error, muſt do me the pleaſure (which I could rather wiſh in a caſe more materiall) of making me to underſtand the truth.

Of the foure and forty yeeres remaining in accompt of *NebuchadneZZars* death, wee are to take away the laſt, which was the firſt of *Darius* the Mede, & then having authority good enough to warrant us from blame of preſumption, in giving us ſeventeene years to *Balthaſar*, we finde left in our hands to beſtow upon *Evilmerodach* ſixe & twenty yeares. Of the yeare belonging unto *Darius* the Mede, I have already ſpoken what I thought ſufficient, in delivering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this captivity. That *Balthaſar* did reigne ſeventeen yeeres, we have the authority of *Joſephus*, before cited in expreſſe words; Wee have alſo the generall conſent of all, or the moſt late Writers, interpreting *Beroſus* his *Nabonidus*, who reigned ſo long; & *Balthaſar* to have been one. But nothing moveth me ſo much to beleeve this Tradition, as firſt thoſe evident places in *Daniel*, ſhewing that in the third yeare of *Balthaſar* hee followed the Kings buſineſſe, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his reigne, (a proofe ſufficient of no few yeeres, paſſing under this man, eſpecially ſeeing it is no where found that *Daniels* employments tooke end either that yeare or the next.) Secondly, the conſideration of *Cyrus* his warres againſt the Aſſyrians, which beginning with the death of this mans father, & being alwaies proſperous, could hardly have occupied any longer time; though wee make large allowance to his deeds in the lower Aſia, which fell out in the middeway: I have already ſhewed, that there appeares in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the reigne of *Evilmerodach* was not ſhort, and that men of great judgment have found it moſt probable, that he was a King three and twenty years. More, I thinke, they would have allowed him, had not the deſire of ſatisfying *Beroſus*, cauſed them to reſt content with this. And ſurely it were greatly to bee wiſhed, that bookes of ſuch antiquitie, as thoſe of *Beroſus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yeeld in many darke paſſages of Antiquitie. I will yet confeſſe, that were his workes never ſo excellent, and in all things elſe unqueſtionably true, I would not therefore condeſcend unto him in ſome one point, wherein the Scriptures were his open enemie: How much leſſe ought I obey a broken fragment of his, containing onely ſeven or eight lines, and part even of the title corrupted, as they beleeve that follow him in the reſt: The Scriptures have told us that God gave the Empire to *NebuchadneZZar*, to his ſonne, and to his ſonnes ſonne: How long each of them held it, wee finde not expreſſed; yet would we gladly know it of *Beroſus*, or of any other that would teach us; provided alwayes, that helping us in a particularity, he deſtroyed not thereby the generall truth. More words are needleſſe. It is enough to ſay with others, that *Beroſus*, or *Joſephus* who cited him, hath beene wronged by the careleſneſſe of Scribes; and that it was as eaſie for thoſe Scribes to erre in writing two

Dan. 8. 1. & 27. & cap. 5. v. 11. 12. & 13.

Jerem. 27. 7.

for ſixe and twenty, as for three & twenty, or perhaps more eaſie. For, the omiſſion of the ſecond figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character 5. ſignifying 6. hath a neerer reſemblance of β that ſtands for 2. than hath γ which is uſed for 3. So that the numerall notes β5. expreſſing 26. were not ſafe enough from being miſtaken in the true copie, and might bee altered, as ill written, if ſome crooked hand, or other miſchance not unuſuall, had omitted the firſt ſtroke of the former letter, or added a daſh to the latter, which might cauſe them to ſeeme not two different figures, but the one a correction of the other, which how it could bee ſuppoſed in βγ ſtanding for 23. I doe not well perceive. As for the Arithmeticall figures now in uſe, they were long after the time of *Joſephus* brought in by the Arabians, and therefore doe not appertaine unto this buſineſſe; unleſſe wee ſhould gheſſe that his workes were corrupted in that unlearned age, which following the Saracen conqueſt, was little occupied in the ſtudies of humanity, but in a ſort wholly given over to the doctrine of *Ariſtotle*. If this will ſerve to make *Beroſus* our friend, ſo let it be; if not, I will not purchaſe the favour of his authority, by forſaking *Jeremy* and *Daniel*, when they ſeeme to be his oppoſites.

## §. VII.

### *Of the victories which* Nabuchodonoſor *obtained betweene the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and conqueſt of Egypt.*

WIth what actions this time of 70. years was entertained by the Babylonian Kings, few have written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peradventure have been ſome cauſe that the time it ſelfe was, & is yet ſought to bee abridged, as not having left ſufficient matter to witneſſe the length of it. But by ſuch an argument we might as well deny to many people even their being. For every Nation (I know not whom I ſhould except) betweene the beginning and laſt end of it, hath in ſome ſlothfull age rather dreamt away the time, than ſpent it. It is therefore no marvell, if the poſterity of *Nabuchodonoſor*, finding all things ready to their hand, which their hearts could have deſired, betooke themſelves to their eaſe and pleaſures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigall ſons of greedy fathers, their own wiſedome greater, which knew how to enjoy, than that of their Anceſtors, which wearied away their dayes in the reſtleſſe travell of purchaſing: Though indeed the reigne of *Nabuchodonoſor* was ſo divided, that his youthfull and ſtronger yeares having been exerciſed in victorious armes, no ſmall part of his life was remaining to be ſpent in eſtabliſhing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthie labours paſt. The nineteenth yeere of his reigne it was, when deſtroying utterly the great and mighty Citie of Jeruſalem, hee enriched himſelfe with abundance of ſpoile, & terrefied all that would offer to reſiſt him, by that fearefull example. From that time forward, he, untill his three and twentieth yeare, laboured in the conqueſt of thoſe adjoyning Regions, which God had expoſed unto his ſword, and commanded to weare his yoke; namely, the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Tyrians, Sydonians, and Egyptians, though ſome of theſe were already become his followers, and ſerved under him, when Jeruſalem was beaten down and burnt. But the Tyrians, whoſe Citie was founded on an Iſland, ſafe enough from any danger of a Land-army, & whoſe fleet was ſo ſtrong, that they needed not to feare any enemy at ſea, were neither daunted with the fall of their neighbour cities, nor with the obſtinate reſolution of this mighty Prince, imploying all his power to their ſubverſion.

Ezek. 26.2.

That the City of Tyre was rather well pleaſed, than any way diſcouraged with the fall of Jeruſalem (which had held the ſame courſe that *Tyrus* did, and endured all that might bee in the ſame quarrell againſt the common enemie) it appeares by the words which *Ezekiel* condemneth as the common voice of *Tyrus*; Aha, *the gate of the people is broken, it is turned unto me; for ſeeing ſhe is deſolate, I ſhall be repleniſhed.* Yet at length, even in the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonoſor*, that great worke of his, whereof we have already ſpoken, began to appeare above the waters, and threaten them with inevitable miſchiefe.

Jerem. 25.
Iſai. 23. 15.

But thoſe prophecies of *Jeremy* & of *Eſay*, which appoint unto this deſolation of Tyre the ſame terme of 70. years, that was preſcribed unto the reign of the Chaldæans, doe plainly ſhew, that ſhe followed Jeruſalem, the ſame nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonoſor*, in the ſame, or a very like fortune. The particularities, which doubtleſſe were memorable in the iſſue of ſo great and laborious a ſiege, are in a manner utterly loſt. Thus much we finde, That the Citizens perceiving the Town unable to hold out, embarked themſelves, and fledde into the Iſle of Cyprus. Neverthleſſe it ſeemes that this evaſion ſerved only the principall men, who eſcaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer ſort unto the enemies fury. For, not onely ſuch people of Tyre as dwelt on the Continent, (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the ſword; but the like execution was done in the ſtreets, into which, with exceſſive labour, the Aſſyrian made way for his Horſes and Chariots. Thus *Nabuchodonoſor cauſed his Armie to ſerve a great ſervice againſt* Tyrus, *wherein every head was made bald, and every ſhoulder was made bare, yet had hee no wages, nor his Armie*; but was faine to reſt contented with the Honour of having deſtroyed that Citie, which in all mens judgements had beene held invincible.

Ezech.29.18.

The deſtruction of theſe two great and powerfull cities, having made the name of the Chaldæans dreadfull in the eares of all the Nations thereabout, *Nabuchodonoſor* uſed the advantage of that reputation which he had obtained by victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable, with leſſe paine. The Kingdome of Egypt was the marke at which he aimed; a Country ſo abounding in all riches and pleaſures, that it might well have tempted any Prince, finding himſelfe ſtrong enough to ſeek occaſion of quarrell againſt it; and ſo farre an enemie to the Crown of Babylon, that had it bin poorer, yet either it muſt have beene ſubdued, or the conqueſt of Syria could ill have been eſtabliſhed. Neverthleſſe it was needfull, that before hee entred into this buſineſſe, the Countries adjacent ſhould bee reduced into ſuch termes, that either they ſhould wholly ſtand at his devotion, or at leaſt be unable to worke him any diſpleaſure. And herein the decree of God concurred, as in all proſperous enterpriſes, with reaſon of ſtate. For, the people of Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damaſcus, Kedar, Hazar, and other adjoyning Regions, whom God for their ſinnes had condemned to fall under the Babylonian ſwords, were ſuch, as regarding only their owne gaine, had ſome of them, like Ravens, followed the Chaldæan Armie, to feed upon the karcaſſes that fell by the cruelty thereof; others taking advantage of their neighbours miſeries, occupied the Countries which were by his victories belonging to *Nabuchodonoſor*: all of them thinking, that when the Aſſyrian had ſatisfied his fury, he ſhould be faine to forſake thoſe deſolate parts, and leave the poſſeſſion to thoſe that could lay hand upon it. Particularly the Edomites and Philiſtims had ſhewed much malice to the Jewes when their city was taken. What good ſervice they had done to the Chaldæans, I finde not; if they did any, it is likely to have beene with reference to their owne purpoſes, wherein they were diſappointed. The Ammonites were not contented to rejoyce at the fall of Jeruſalem, but preſently they entered upon the Country of Gad, and took poſſeſſion, as if not the Aſſyrians, but they, had ſubdued Iſrael. Neither can I perceive what other ground that practice had of *Baalis* King of the Ammonites, when he ſent *Iſmael*, a Prince of the bloud of Juda, to murther *Gedalia*, whom the King of Babel had left Governour over thoſe that remained in Iſrael, and to carry captive into the Ammonites Countrey the people that abode in Mizpah, than a deſire of embroiling *Nabuchodonoſor* with ſo many labours at once, as ſhould make him retire into his owne Countrey, and abandon thoſe waſted Lands to himſelfe and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such or the like policy the Moabites did exerciſe; whoſe pride and wrath were made fruſtrate by God, & their diſſimulation condemned, as not doing right.

Ezech.25.12.& 15.
Ezech. 25.3.
Jerem. 49.1.
Jerem. 40.14.& 41. 2. & 10.
Jere.28.27. &c.

All theſe nations had the art of ravening, which is familiar to ſuch as live or border upon deſarts; and now the time afforded them occaſion to ſhew the uttermoſt cunning of their theeviſh wits. But *Nebuchadnezzar* did cut aſunder all their devices by ſharpe and ſuddaine warre, over-whelming them with unexpected ruine, as it were in one night; according to the prophecies of *Eſay*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, who foretold, with little difference of words, the greatneſſe and ſwiftneſſe of the miſery that ſhould come upon them. With which of them hee firſt began, I finde not; it ſeemes that *Moab* was the laſt which felt his hand: for ſo doe many good Authors interpret the propheſie of *Eſay*, threatning Moab with deſtruction after three yeeres, as having reference to the third year following the ruine of Jeruſalem; the next yeer after it being ſpent in the Egyptian

Eſay 16.14.

expedition. This is manifeſt, that all the principall townes in theſe Regions were burnt, and the people ſlaine, or made ſlaves, few excepted, who being preſerved by flight, had not the courage to returne to their habitations over-haſtily, much leſſe to attempt any thing againſt *Nabuchodonoſor*, but lived as miſerable out-lawes, or at leaſt oppreſſed wretches, untill the end of the ſeventy yeares, which God had preſcribed unto the deſolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of Juda.

## §. VIII.

### *That Egypt was conquered, and the King therein reigning ſlaine by* Nabuchodonoſor, *contrarie to the opinion of moſt Authors: who, following* Herodotus *and* Diodorus, *relate it otherwiſe.*

WHen by a long courſe of victory *Nabuchodonoſor* had brought into ſubjection all the Nations of Syria, & the bordering Arabians, in ſuch wiſe, that no enemy to himſelf, nor friend of the Egyptian, was left at his backe, that might give impediment unto his proceeding, or take advantage of any miſfortune; then did he forth-with take in hand the conqueſt of Egypt himſelfe, upon which thoſe other Nations had formerly bin depending. Of this expedition, and the victorious iſſue thereof, the three great Prophets, *Eſay*, *Jeremy*, and *Ezekiel*, have written ſo plainely, that I hold it altogether needleſſe to looke after more authoritie, or to cite for proofe halfe of that which may bee alleged out of theſe. Neverthelеſſe, wee finde many and good Authors, who following *Herodotus*, & *Diodorus Siculus*, are well contented to ſtraine theſe Prophecies with unreaſonable diligence unto ſuch a ſenſe, as gives to *Nabuchodonoſor* little more than the honour of having done ſome ſpoile in Egypt, omitting the conqueſt of that Land by the Babylonian, and referring the death of *Apries* or *Hophra* to a chance long after following, which had no coherence with theſe times or affaires. So prepoſterous is the delight which many men take in the meanes and ſecond helpes conducing to their purpoſe, that oftentimes they doe preferre the Commentator before the Author; and to uphold a ſentence, giving teſtimony to one clauſe, doe careleſly overthrow the hiſtory it ſelfe, which thereby they ſought to have maintained. The reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the Kings of Egypt, which reigned about theſe times, are already rehearſed in the former booke: but that which they have ſpoken of *Apries*, was purpoſely reſerved unto this place. *Herodotus* doth affirme that he was a very fortunate King, but wherein he telleth not; (unleſſe we ſhould underſtand that he was victorious in the Warre, which he is ſaid to have made upon Tyrus and Sydon) that he reigned five and twenty yeeres, and was finally taken and put to death by his owne Subjects; who did ſet up *Amaſis*, as King, which prevailed againſt him. The rebellion of the Egyptians hee imputeth to a great loſſe which they received in an expedition againſt the Cyrenians, by whom almoſt their whole army was deſtroyed. This calamity the people of Egypt thought to bee well pleaſing to their King, who had ſent them on this dangerous expedition, with a purpoſe to have them conſumed, that ſo he might with greater ſecuritie reigne over ſuch as ſtaied at home. So they who eſcaped, and the friends of ſuch as were ſlaine, rebelled againſt *Apries*, who ſent *Amaſis* to appeaſe the tumult; but *Amaſis* became Captain of the rebells, & was by them choſen King. Finally, the whole Land conſented unto this new Election; whereby *Apries* was driven to truſt unto his forraine Mercenaries, the Ionians and Carians, of whom he kept continually in readineſſe thirty thouſand good Souldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were at length vanquiſhed by the great number of the Egyptian forces, amounting unto two hundred and fiftie thouſand, which were all by birth and education men of Warre. *Apries* himſelfe being taken priſoner, was gently intreated by *Amaſis* for a while, untill the Egyptians, exclaiming upon him, as an extreme enemie to the Land, got him delivered into their hands, and ſtrangled him, yet they gave him honourable buriall. Such is the report of *Herodotus*, with whom *Diodorus Siculus* doth neerely agree, telling us that *Apries* did vanquiſh the Cyprians and Phœnicians in battell at Sea, tooke by force and demoliſhed Sydon, wanne the other townes of Phœnicia, and the Iſle of Cyprus, and finally, periſhed, as is before rehearſed, when he had

Herod. l.2 & l.4.

Diod.Sic. l.1.c.2.

had reigned two and twenty yeeres. This authority were enough (yet not more than enough) to informe us of *Apries* his hiſtory, if greater authority did not contradict it. But the deſtruction of Egypt by the Babylonian, foretold by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with theſe relations, hath greater force to compell our beliefe, than have the traditions of Egyptian Prieſts (which the Greeke Hiſtorians followed) and greater probabilities to perſwade thoſe that looke only into humane reaſons. For *Eſay* prophecied long before of the ſhamefull captivity of the Egyptians, whom the King of Aſhur ſhould carry away naked, young & old, in ſuch wiſe, that the Jewes, who fled unto them for deliverance from the Aſſyrian, ſhould bee aſhamed of their owne vaine confidence in men ſo unable to defend themſelves.

Eſa.20. ver. 4.5. & 6.

But *Ezekiel* & *Jeremy*, as their prophecies were neerer to the time of execution, ſo they handled this argument more preciſely. For *Ezechiel* telleth plainly, that Egypt ſhould be given to *Nabuchadnezzar*, as wages for the ſervice which he had done at Tyre: Alſo hee recounteth particularly all the chiefe Cities in Egypt, ſaying, That theſe by name ſhould be deſtroyed, and goe into captivity, yea, that *Pharao and all his Army ſhould be ſlaine by the ſword*. Wherefore it muſt needes bee a violent expoſition of theſe Prophecies, which by applying the iſſue of ſuch threatnings to an inſurrection and rebellion concludes all, without any other alteration in Egypt, than change of the Kings perſon, wherein *Amaſis* did ſucceed unto *Apries*, by force indeed, but by the uniforme conſent of all the people. Certainely, if that notable place of *Jeremy*, wherein hee foretelleth how the Jewes in Egypt ſhould ſee *Pharao Hophra* delivered into the hand of his enemies, as *Zedekia* had beene, were to be referred unto the time of that rebellion, whereof *Herodotus* hath ſpoken, as the generall opinion hath over-ruled it; then was it vainely done of the ſame Prophet (which God forbid that any Chriſtian ſhould thinke, ſeeing hee did it by the appointment of God himſelfe) to hide in the clay of a Bricke-hill, thoſe very ſtones, upon which the Throne of *Nabuchodonoſor* ſhould bee ſet, and his Pavilion ſpred. Yea then was that prophecy no other than falſe, which expreſſed the end of *Pharaoh* thus: *Behold, I will viſit the common people of No, &* Pharaoh, *and Egypt, with their gods and their Kings, even* Pharaoh, *and all that truſt in him: and I will deliver them into the hands of thoſe that ſeeke their lives, and into the hand of* Nabuchadnezzar, *King of Babel, and into the hands of his ſervants.* The clearneſſe of this prophecy being ſuch as could not but refute that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of *Amaſis*, it cauſed me to wonder what thoſe Commentators would ſay to it, who are elſewhere ſo diligent in fitting all to the Greeke Hiſtorians. Wherefore looking upon *Junius*, who had in another place taken the enemies of *Pharao Hophra* to bee *Amaſis* and his followers, I found him here acknowledging that the Egyptian Prieſts had notably deluded *Herodotus* with lies, coyned upon a vain-glorious purpoſe of hiding their owne diſgrace and bondage. And ſurely it may well bee thought, that the hiſtory of *Nabuchadnezzar* was better knowne to the Jewes, whom it concerned, than to the Greekes, that ſcarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I ſee no cauſe why we ſhould not rather beleeve *Joſephus*, reporting that *Nabuchodonoſor* in the three and twentieth yeer of his reigne, and the fift yeere of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, did conquer Egypt, kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his ſtead, than *Herodotus* or *Diodore*; who being meere ſtrangers to this buſineſſe, had no great reaſon to labour in ſearching out the truth, but might reſt contented with any thing that the Prieſts would tell them. Now if ſetting aſide all advantage of authority, we ſhould onely conſider the relations of *Joſephus*, and of the Greeke Hiſtorians, as either of them might be verified of it ſelfe by apparent circumſtances, without reflecting upon the Hebrew Prophets, or Egyptian Prieſts; me thinkes the death of *Apries* can no way be approved as having beene wrought by conſent of the people, but affords great matter of ſuſpition; yea, though no man had oppoſed the reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodore*. For the great love & honor which the Egyptians did beare unto their Kings, is notorious by the uniforme teſtimony of all others that have handled the matters of that Countrey, as well as by the report of *Diodore* himſelfe. How then can we thinke it probable, that *Apries* having wonne great victories, did for one onely loſſe fall into the hatred of all his people, or which may ſerve to perſwade us, that a King of Egypt would ſeeke, or ſo demeane himſelf, that he might be thought to ſeek the deſtruction of his naturall ſubjects? As for that Army of thirty thouſand ſouldiers, Carians and Ionians, which the King

Ezech.29. v.20. &c.30.
Ezech.32.33.
Jerem. 44 20.
Jerem. 45. 10.
Jerem. 46. v. 25. & 26.
*Jun. in Jerem. cap.44. v.36.*
*Joſeph. Ant. Jud. lib.10.c.11.*

of Egypt, whom *Amaſis* tooke priſoner, is ſaid to have kept for his defence: doth it not argue that he was a forrainer, and one that armed himſelf againſt the Egyptians, wiſhing them few and weake; rather than any of the *Pharaohs*, who accounted the force of the Countrey, as aſſuredly their owne, as the ſtrength of their owne bodies? It were more tedious than any way needfull, to uſe all Arguments that might be alledged in this caſe. The very death of this ſuppoſed *Apries*, which the clamours of the people obtained of *Amaſis*, who ſought to have kept him alive, doth intimate that hee was ſome forraine Governour, not a naturall Prince; otherwiſe the people would have deſired to ſave his life, and *Amaſis* to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to diſprove that opinion, whereunto I ſhould not have yeelded, though it had ſtood upon great appearance of truth, conſidering that the voice of truth it ſelfe cries out againſt it; but leave the circumſtances, proving the Conqueſt of Egypt by *Nabuchodonoſor*, to be obſerved where due occaſion in courſe of the ſtory following ſhall preſent them.

## §. IX.

### *How* Egypt *was ſubdued and held by* Nabuchadnezzar.

IT is a great loſſe, that the generall Hiſtory of the World hath ſuffered, by the ſpoile and waſte which Time hath made of thoſe Monuments, that ſhould have preſerved the memory of ſuch famous actions as were accompliſhed by this mighty Prince *Nabuchodonoſor*; wherein, whether his Vertue, or Fortune were greater, it is now uncertaine. That his Victories following the Conqueſt of Syria, and the Neighbour-Provinces, were ſuch as did more enlarge his Dominion, than all the former Warres had done, it may eaſily bee gathered out of *Ezekiel*, who reckoneth up in his thirtieth Chapter (beſides the whole Countrey of Egypt) Phut and Lud, with other Nations that may ſeeme to have reached out into Mauritania, as people ſubdued by this great Babylonian. The circumſtances of theſe Warres are in a manner utterly loſt; but that the victory was eaſie and ſwift, any man ſhall finde, who will take the paines to conferre the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I thinke worthy of more particular obſervation; that *Pharaoh*, who (as is already noted in the former Booke) thought himſelfe moſt ſafe in Egypt by the well defenced ſituation of his Countrey, did very unwiſely in ſuffering his enemies to ſweepe the way cleane unto his owne doores, by conſuming all his friends and adherents in Syria. For as the labour of this buſineſſe did more harden than weary the Chaldæan Army, ſo the confidence and vaine ſecurity of the Egyptians, relying upon the difficult paſſages which the enemy was to make thorow the Arabian deſarts, and the much advantage which the great river of Nilus would affoord unto themſelves, did little availe them in proviſion for the war, and much aſtoniſh them (as may juſtly be thought) in the time of execution: it being uſually ſeene, that the hearts of men faile, when thoſe helpes faile, in which they had repoſed more confidence than in their owne vertue. Hitherto the Kingdome of Egypt had flouriſhed under the rule of the *Pharaohs*, about a thouſand five hundred and foureſcore yeeres; but from this time forward it remained forty yeeres without a King, under the ſubjection of the Babylonians; & then at length it began to recover by little and little the former greatneſſe, yet ſo, that it was never dreadfull unto others, God having ſaid of that people, *I will diminiſh them, that they ſhall no more rule the Nations*. For whereas it hath beene ſaid of *Pharaoh: I am the ſonne of the wiſe, I am the ſonne of the ancient Kings:* & whereas he had vaunted, *The River is mine, and I have made it*; the Princes of Egypt now became fooles, the river failed them, the King himſelfe was taken & ſlaine, and that ancient linage quite extinguiſhed. This came to paſſe in the firſt yeere after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and the three and twentieth of *Nabuchadnezzar*, at which time (ſaith *Joſephus*) *Hee ſlew the King then reigning, placed another in his roome, and carried captives thence to* Babylon, *the* Jewes *whom he found in that Country*. Now concerning the time which *Joſephus* gives unto this buſineſſe, and the buſineſſe it ſelfe, I have already ſhewed, that it is warranted by all the propheſies which inſinuate the ſame. As likewiſe the laſt deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and carrying away thoſe unto Babel, who inhabited the miſerable ruines of that great city, which was in the ſame *three & twentieth yeer of Nabuchadnezzar*, is not unprobably thought by good

Ezek.29.13.14. &15.
Eſay 19.11.
Ezech. 29.9.
*Joſeph. Ant. Jud. lib. 10. c. 11.*
Jerem. 52.30.

good authors to have beene at the returne from this Egyptian expedition. But whereas *Joſephus* tels us, that there was another King put in the roome of *Apries* by *Nabuchadnezzar*, we muſt underſtand, that he was only a Vice-roy, and not (as ſome have miſtaken it) thinke that this was *Amaſis*. For to place the beginning of *Amaſis* his reigne in the three and twentieth of *Nabuchadnezzar*, were as well repugnant unto the prophecies before alledged, as to all Chronology and Hiſtory. Some there are, which to help this inconvenience, imagine that there were two ſucceſſively bearing the name of *Amaſis*; others, that there were two *Apries*, the one ſlaine by *Nabuchadnezzar*, other by *Amaſis*: a queſtion of ſmall importance, becauſe the difference is onely about a name, it being once granted that the perſon mentioned in Scriptures, was deprived of life & Kingdome by the Aſſyrians. Yet for any thing that I can perceive, that *Apries*, of whom the Greeke Hiſtorians wrote, could not be the Deputy of *Nabuchadnezzar*, ſeeing that he was the Grand-childe of *Pharao Necho*, & made war (as they report) upon the Phœnicians, who wer,ebefore the Egyptians, become ſubject unto the Crowne of Babylon. I might adde, perhaps, that he whom *Nabuchadnezzar* left as Governour of Egypt, was more likely to have had ſome Chaldæan or Aſſyrian, than Egyptian name; unleſſe wee ſhould thinke that he had beene a traitor to his naturall Prince, and ſo rewarded by the Conquerour with Lievtenantſhip of the Countrey: about which it were but frivolous to diſpute. Thus much in briefe we ought to beleeve, that *Nabuchodonoſor* made an abſolute Conqueſt of Egypt; that he was not ſo fooliſh as to give it away, any man may gheſſe; that he appointed one to rule the Countrey, it is conſequent unto the former, and hath authority of *Joſephus*; that his Governour (or ſome Succeſſour of his) was afterwards taken and ſlaine by *Amaſis*, I ſee probability enough to perſwade my ſelfe, and yet can well be content, that others uſe their liberty, and beleeve what they liſt. As for the army which this Egyptian King *Apries* is ſuppoſed to have kept of Ionians & Carians; I hold them to be none other than the garriſons of mercenary ſouldiers which were left by the Aſſyrian for the guard of his Viceroy, and cuſtody of the new ſubdued Province: as likewiſe the company returning from Cyrene & Barce, who together with the friends of ſuch as were ſlaine in that expedition, remembred before out of the Greek Hiſtorians, depoſed & ſlew *Apries*, I take them to have been the Egyptian fugitives, which then recovered their own Countrey. Sure it is that this Prophecy of *Ezekiel* was verified, *At the end of forty years will I gather the* Egyptians *from the people where they were ſcattered, and I will bring againe the captivity of* Egypt, *and will cauſe them to returne into the land of* Pathros, *into the land of their habitation, & they ſhall be there a ſmall Kingdome.* If the Egyptian Prieſts alluded hereunto in the tale which they made of *Amaſis* his obtaining the Kingdome, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they deviſed matter that had no ſhadow of truth, only to keepe the Greeks from knowledge of their Countries diſgrace; then are they little to be regarded, ſince we know the truth with them.

Ezek. 30. v. 13. & 14.

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## §. X.

## *Of the ſundry accounts drawne from ſundry acts of* Nabuchadnezzar, *and of the deſtruction of* Nineve, *by him; the time of which action is uncertaine.*

These victories brought the greatneſſe of the Aſſyrian Empire to the full, & from them was reckoned the time of *Nabuchadnezzars* reigne in ſundry places of Scripture. To ſpeake any more of the queſtions ariſing about the ſupputation of *Nabuchadnezzar* his times, might ſeeme to be the over-handling of one Argument: Yet thus much I will note; that whereas *Daniel* was carried captive in the third yeere of *Jehojakims* reign (which ran along with ſome part of *Nabuchadnezzars* firſt yeare) & was kept in diet three years more, before hee was brought into the Kings preſence; it could not be the ſecond of *Nabuchadnezzars* Kingdome, wherein he interpreted the forgotten dream of the great Image, foreſhewing the ſucceſſe of Monarchies, but the ſecond of his Empire. The ſame or the like may be ſaid of divers places which referre ſundry matters unto their ſet years; as that of *Ezekiel* before cited, where he fore-tels, that Egypt ſhould bee given in reward for the ſervice done before *Tyrus*, dating his prophecy in the ſeven and twentieth year; and that of *Daniel*, placing the erection of the golden Image in the eighteenth yeare: for theſe yeares held no dependance upon either the beginning of

Dan. 1. & 2.

*Nabuchadnezzars* Kingdome, or of his Empire, nor yet upon any of the captivities, but had reference to ſome memorable actions, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not eaſie to be found; nor worth the labour of uncertaine ſearch.

Of any warre made by *Nabuchadnezzar*, after ſuch time as he returned from the Conqueſt of Egypt, I doe not reade: excepting that againſt Nineve, the deſtruction whereof was fore-told by the Prophet *Nahum*. Nineve had long before been taken by *Merodach* (as in due place hath beene ſhewed) and together with the reſt of Aſſyria made ſubject to Babylon. Yet was it left under a peculiar King, who rebelling againſt the Chaldæan, as *Jehojakim* and *Zedechias*, tributary Kings of Juda, had done, taſted likewiſe of the ſame fortune. That the deſtruction of Nineve followed the Conqueſt of Egypt, it appeareth by the compariſon which *Nahum* the Prophet made betweene this City, that was to fall, and the City of No in Egypt, that was fallen already. But how long after this came to paſſe, it is (me thinkes) impoſſible to finde out. For whereas it is found in an Hebrew Chronology, that it was in the firſt of *Nabuchadnezzars* reign, the place of *Nahum* laſt cited is enough to diſprove it. Whereas it is referred by ſome unto the firſt of his Monarchy, which began at the end of the Egyptian warres; the whole Prophecy of *Nahum* which went betweene the one and the other, argueth ſtrongly, that there was a longer ſpace of time intercurrent. So that to enquire into the very yeare of this deſtruction, or other circumſtances of the Warre, whether managed by *Nabuchodonoſor* in perſon, or by his Lievtenants, were ſomewhat like unto the vaine curioſity of *Tyberius Cæſar*, enquiring who was the Mother of *Hecuba*, or to the like idle paines which he ſhould take, who would ſeek to learne what woman that *Huzzab* Queen of Nineve was, whoſe woefull captivity the ſame Prophet *Nahum* likewiſe did fore-tell.

Nahum 3. 8.

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## §. XI.

### *Of the latter time of* Nabuchadnezzar; *his buildings, madneſſe, and death.*

OF the time which this great Monarch ſpent in quiet, I think there are no monuments extant; ſave thoſe which we finde among the prophecies of *Daniel*. Among theſe we may reckon his great workes of Babylon, wherewith he pleaſed himſelfe ſo well, that he brake out into theſe glorious words: *Is not this great Babel that I have built for the houſe of the Kingdome, by the might of my power, & for the honour of my Majeſty?* Surely if thoſe things be true that are by *Joſephus* rehearſed of him out of *Beroſus* & *Megaſthenes*, he might well delight himſelf with the contemplation of ſuch goodly & magnificent buildings. For it is ſaid, That he fortified Babylon with a triple wall; that beſides other ſtately works, he raiſed thoſe huge arches wherewith were borne up the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the aire, & equalling the tops of Mountaines; which moſt ſumptuous frame, that out-laſted all the remainder of the Aſſyrian, and all the Perſian Empire, is ſaid to have beene reared, and finiſhed in fifteene dayes.

Dan. 4. 27.

But of all this, & other his magnificence, we find little elſe recorded, than that (which indeed is moſt profitable for us to conſider) his over-valuing of his owne greatneſſe abaſed him unto a condition, inferiour to the pooreſt of men. And not undeſervedly fell theſe judgements of God upon him. For whereas God had honoured him, not onely with many victories, and much happineſſe in his owne life, but with a diſcovery of things to come after him, yea and had approved the certainty of his dreame, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memory, and interpretetion thereof by *Daniel* the Prophet: hee neverthieleſſe became ſo forgetfull of God, whoſe wonderfull power he had ſeene and acknowledged, that he cauſed a golden Image to be ſet up and worſhipped: ordaining a cruell death as reward unto them that ſhould dare to diſobey his Kingly will and pleaſure, which was utterly repugnant to the law of him that is *the Kings of kings*. Hereof S. *Hierome* hath well noted; *Velox oblivio veritatis, ut qui dudum ſervum Dei quaſi Deum adoraverat, nunc ſtatuam ſibi fieri jubeat, ut ipſe quaſi Deus in ſtatua adoraretur*; *A haſtie forgetfullneſſe of the truth, that he who ſo lately had worſhipped* (Daniel) *the ſervant of God, as if hee had beene God himſelfe, ſhould now command a ſtatua to bee erected unto himſelfe, wherein himſelfe might bee worſhipped as God.* From this impiety it pleaſed God to reclaime him, by the ſtrange and wonderfull delivery of thoſe bleſſed Saints out of the fierie fornace; who being throwne into it bound, for refuſing to commit Idolatry, were aſſiſted by an Angell; preſerved from all harme of the fire; looſened from their bands; and finally called out with gracious words, and reſtored to their former honour, by the King: who amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his Image he had violated. Yet this devotion of *Nabuchadnezzar* was not ſo rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit anſwerable to his haſtie zeale. Therfore was he forewarned by God in a dreame of the terrible judgement hanging over his head, which *Daniel* expounding, adviſed him to *breake off his ſinne by righteouſneſſe, and his iniquitie by mercy towards the poore, that there might be an healing of his errour*. Hereby it ſeemes that injuſtice and crueltie were the faults, for which hee was threatned: but this threatning ſufficed not unto his information. For, that ſo great a Monarch ſhould be driven from among men; (according to the tenor of the dream & interpretation) yea, compelled to dwell with the beaſts of the field, and made to eate graſſe as the Oxen, was a thing ſo incredible in mans judgement, that eaſily it might be thought an idle dreame; and much more eaſily be forgotten at the yeeres end. One whole yeares leaſure to repent was given to this haughty Prince: which reſpite of the execution may ſeem to have bred in him a forgetfulneſſe of Gods ſentence. For at the end of twelve moneths, walking in the royall Palace of Babel, he was ſo over-joyed and tranſported with a vain contemplation of his owne ſeeming happineſſe, that without all feare of Gods heavie judgement pronounced againſt him, he uttered thoſe loftie words before rehearſed, in vaunting of the Majeſticall workes which he had reared, as well beſeeming his majeſticall perſon. But his high ſpeeches were not fully ended, when a voyce from heaven, telling him that his Kingdome was departed from him, rehearſed over unto him the ſentence againe, which was fulfilled upon him the very ſame houre.

That *Salomon*, and many other Princes, and great ones, have taken delight in their own buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I doe not remember that ever I have read of any, that were puniſhed for rejoycing in workes of this kinde (though it is hard in joy, or any paſſion of the minde, to keepe a juſt meaſure) excepting onely this *Nabuchadnezzar*.

The like may be ſaid of *David*: for other (and ſome very godly) Kings have muſtred all their forces to the very laſt man; but few or none have been knowne to have beene puniſhed as *David* was. Surely I not only hold it lawfull to rejoyce in thoſe good things wherewith God hath bleſſed us; but a note of much unthankfulneſſe to entertain them with a ſullen and unfeeling diſpoſition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obſcure clouds, hindring the influence of that bleſſed light, which clarifies the ſoule of man, and prediſpoſeth it unto the brightneſſe of eternall felicity; ſo that inſolent joy, which man in the pride of his vaine imagination conceiveth of his own worth, doth above all other paſſions blaſt our mindes, as it were with lightning, & make us to reflect our thoughts upon our ſeeming inherent greatneſſe, forgetting the whileſt him, to whom we are indebted for our very being. Wherefore theſe *Mala mentis gaudia*; *The evill joyes of the minde*, were not unaptly, by the Prince of Latine Poets, beſtowed in the entrance of hell, and placed further inward than ſorrowes, cares, and feares: not far from the yron Cabbins of the Furies. And certainly it is no unlikely token of vengeance neere at hand, when theſe unreaſonable fluſhes of proud and vaine joy, doe rage in a minde, that ſhould have beene humbled with a juſt repentance, and acknowledgement of ill deſerving.

This was verified upon *Nabuchadnezzar*, whoſe puniſhment was ſingular and unexampled. For hee ran among beaſts in the fields and woods, where for ſeven yeeres hee lived, not onely as a ſalvage men, but as a ſalvage beaſt, for a beaſt he thought himſelfe, *ſecundum ſuam imaginationem*, as *Thomas* noteth, and therefore fed himſelfe in the ſame manner, and with the ſame foode that beaſts doe; Not that hee was changed in figure externall, according to *Mediana*, inſomuch as hee appeared a beaſt to other mens eyes, as S. *Hierome* in the life of *Hilarius* (how true God knowes) ſpeakes of a woman that appeared to all other mens ſight a Cow, but to *Hilarius* onely a woman; neither was hee changed as *Iphigenia* the daughter of *Agamemnon* was ſaid to be, into a Hinde; nor made a Monſter, as *Dorotheus* and *Epiphanius* dreamed: but according to S. *Jeromes* expoſition of theſe words: *At the ſame time was my underſtanding reſtored unto me, &c. Quando dicit* (ſaith S. *Jerome*) *ſenſum ſibi redditum, oſtendit non formam ſe amiſiſſe, ſed mentem*; *When he ſaith that his ſenſe was reſtored unto him, he ſhewed that hee had not loſt his humane ſhape,*

*L.2. de Reg. pri.*

*Med. l.2. de Recta in Deum fide, cap. 7.*

*Dor. in Synopſ.*
*Ep. in vii. Dan.*

*but his underſtanding.* Seven yeares expired, it pleaſed God to reſtore *Nabuchodonoſor*, both to his underſtanding, and his eſtate; for which he acknowledged and praiſed God all the reſt of his life, confeſſing his power, and everlaſting being; that he was the Lord of heaven and earth, and wrought without reſiſtance what he pleaſed in both; that his workes were all truth, and his wayes righteous. Which gave argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his ſalvation; namely, S. *Auguſtine*, *Theodoret*, *Lyra*, *Carthuſianus*, and others. And for that place of *Eſay* the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may bee gathered, the aforenamed Authors apply the ſame to *Balthaſar*, becauſe *Iſay*, both in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapters, ſpeaketh of the King, and the deſtruction of Babylon jointly.

Dan.4.32.34.

## §. XII.

## Of Evilmerodach.

HAving already ſpoken what I could of the ſucceſſion and yeeres of *Nebuchadnezzars* poſterity; the moſt that may bee ſaid of him, is ſaid of *Evilmerodach*, which I will not here againe rehearſe.

He loſt ſome part of that which his father had gotten; and left his Kingdome burning in a warre that conſumed it to aſhes. Hee loſt Egypt by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth yeare of his reign, which was forty yeeres after his Father had conquered it. But this agrees neither with the accompt of *Herodotus*, who allowes to *Amaſis* foure & forty yeares of reigne; nor with that of *Diodorus*, who gives him five and fifty, ſaying, that he died in the third yeere of the threeſcore and third Olympiad, when *Cambyſes* did conquer Egypt. There were indeed but ſeven and thirty yeeres, which paſſed between the ſecond yeere of the foure and fiftieth Olympiad, (which was the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach*, and the firſt of *Amaſis*) and the fift of *Cambyſes* his reigne, wherein he wan Egypt; of which ſeven and thirty yeers it is credibly held, that *Pſammiticus*, the ſon of *Amaſis*, reigned three: ſo that *Amaſis* could bee no longer King than foure and thirty yeeres. But ſeeing that theſe two Greek Hiſtorians have bin abuſed by Egyptian Prieſts, in the ſubſtance of that which was ſpoken of *Amaſis*, it is no marvell though they were alſo deceived in the length of his reigne. This is the plaine anſwer to this objection. For to ſay either that the numbers were miſ-written, & foure & forty ſet down inſtead of foure and thirty, or that *Amaſis* did temporize a while with the Aſſyrians, and not beare himſelf as abſolute King of Egypt, untill the nineteenth of *Evilmerodach* (at which time, and not before, it hath been proved out *Ezechiel*, that Egypt became againe a Kingdome) I hold it a ſuperfluous excuſe.

Whether theſe Egyptian troubles did animate the King of the Medes to deale with *Evilmerodach*, as with a Prince greater in fame & reputation, gotten by the decayed valour of his people, than in preſent forces; or whether (as I rather thinke) ſome foyle received by the Aſſyrian invading Media, emboldned the Egyptians to rebell againſt him: I will neither undertake, nor ſeek to define. *Xenophon* tels, that the firſt ſervice of young *Cyrus* in warre, was under *Aſtyages* King of the Medes, his Grand-father, in a proſperous fight againſt the Aſſyrian Prince, who did ſet upon him; at which time *Cyrus* was fifteene or ſixteene yeares old. If therefore *Cyrus* lived threeſcore and three yeares (as he is ſaid to have died well ſtricken in yeares) which is held to be the ordinary terme of no ſhort life, then was this encounter in the third yeere of *Evilmerodach* his reigne. Yet by the ſame reckoning it ſhould follow, that the warre began more early between theſe Nations, for as much as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumſtances inſinuating as much, are found in the ſame place of *Xenophon*. And it may well bee, that the death or deſtruction of *Nabuchodonoſor* gave courage unto thoſe that had felt him a troubleſome neighbour, to ſtand upon prouder termes with the Aſſyrians, than in his flouriſhing eſtate they durſt have uſed. Howſoever the quarrell beganne, we find that it ended not before the laſt ruine of the Aſſyrian Monarchie. For the Babylonian, being too proud to digeſt the loſſes which he received by the Medes and their Allies the Perſians, drew unto his partie the Lydians, and all the people of the leſſer Aſia, with gifts and ſtrong perſwaſions, hoping ſo to over-whelme his enemies with a ſtrong invaſion, whom in vaine hee had ſought to wearie out with a lingring Warre.

*Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 1.*

*Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 8.*

This happened after the death of *Aſtyages*, who left the world in the nineteenth year of *Evilmerodach*, at which time *Amaſis* tooke poſſeſſion of Egypt. So that the Aſſyrian having his hands already full of buſineſſe, which more earneſtly did affect him, ſeemes thereby to have given the better meanes unto the Egyptiaas, of new erecting their Kingdome, which by long diſtance of place did ſundry times find occaſion to rebell in after-ages, and ſet up a King within it ſelfe, againſt the far more mighty Perſian.

The iſſue of theſe great preparations made by *Evilmerodach* againſt the Medes, was ſuch as opened the way unto the fulfilling of thoſe prophecies, which were many years before uttered againſt Babel, by *Eſay* and *Jeremy*.

For, the Aſſyrians and their Confederates, who, truſting in their numbers, thought to have buried the Medes and Perſians under their thicke ſhowres of arrowes and darts, were encountred with an army of ſtout and wel-trained men, weightily armed for cloſe fight, by whom they were beaten in open battell, wherein *Evilmerodach* was ſlaine. So that great frame of Empire which *Nabuchodonoſor* had raiſed and up-held, being ſhaken and grievouſly crackt under his unfortunate ſon, was left to be ſuſtained by his unworthy Nephew: a man more likely to have overthrown it, when it was greateſt and ſtrongeſt, than to repaire it, when it was in way of falling.

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## §. XIII.

*A private conjecture of the Author; ſerving to make good thoſe things, which are cited out of* Beroſus, *concerning the Succeſſors of* Evilmerodach, *without wrong to the truth. The qualitie, and death of Balthaſar.*

THough I have already (as it ſeemes to me) ſufficiently proved that *Balthaſar* was the Son, and immediate Succeſſour to *Evilmerodach*, yet conſidering earneſtly the conjectures of thoſe Writers, which following *Beroſus*, inſert *Negliſar*, or *Nirigliſſoroor*, and his ſon *Labaſſardach* betweene them: as alſo that which I finde in *Herodotus* of *Nitocris*, a famous Queene of Babylon, who greatly adorned and fortified that City; I have thought it not ſuperfluous here in this place to ſhew, by what means it was poſſible that ſome errour might have crept into the Hiſtorie of thoſe times, and thereby have brought us to a needleſſe trouble of ſearching out the truth, as it were by candle-light, in the uncertaine fragments of loſt Authors, which we might have found by day-light, had we adhered only to the Scriptures. Firſt therefore I obſerve, that the time which *Beroſus* divides betwixt *Evilmerodach*, and the two next Kings, agrees with the yeares in which *Nebuchadnezzar* lived wilde among brute beaſts in the open field: Secondly, that the ſuddenneſſe of this accident, which came in one houre, could not but work much perturbation in that State, wherein doubtleſſe the honour of ſo noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamity pitied, and his reſtitution hoped; the prediction of *Daniel* finding reputation in that clauſe which promiſed his recoverie, as being verified in that which had bin more incredible. Now if we doe in common reaſon judge, what courſe was like to be taken by the great ones of the Kingdome, for ſetling the government, whileſt the King was thus diſtracted, wee ſhall finde it moſt likely, that his Son and Heire did occupie the Royall Throne, with condition to reſtore it unto his Father, when God ſhould enable him to repoſſeſſe it. In this his rule *Evilmerodach* being to ſupply the utter want of underſtanding in his Father, as Protectors doe the unripeneſſe of it in young, but reaſonable Kings, might eaſily either commit the inſolences, or fall into the troubles, incident to ſuch an office. That he had in him very ſmall abilitie of government, it appeares by his ill maintaining the Empire, when hee held it in his owne right. That his ſiſter *Nitocris* (if *Nitocris* were his ſiſter) was a woman of an high ſpirit, it appeares by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, ſaying, that ſhee was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appeared in her magnificent and uſefull workes about the River of Euphrates, and her fortification of Babylon againſt the Medes, who had gotten many Townes from the Aſſyrians, and amongſt them Nineve. Wherefore it were not unreaſonable to thinke, that ſuch a woman, ſeeing how the Empire went to decay through her brothers miſgovernment, uſed practices to get the rule into her owne hands, and afterwards, as a mother, to leave it unto her ungracious ſon. Other time than this, wherein *Nitocris* could have reigned, wee doe not finde; but wee finde in *Beroſus* (as *Joſephus* hath cited him) that *Nigliſſar*, who got the Kingdom from *Evilmerodach*, was his ſiſters husband; *Herodot. lib. 1.*

husband; which argues this to have been the ſame woman. As for *Labaſſardach* the ſon of *Nigliſſar*, if at the end of nine moneths reigne he were for his lewd conditions ſlaine by the Nobility, as the ſame *Beroſus* reporteth, it ſeemes that God prepared hereby the way for *Nabuchadnezzars* reſtitution (whoſe terme of puniſhment was then expired) by raiſing ſuch trouble, as ſhould make him the more deſired, both of the Princes and the people. I will not here uſe many words to confute that which *Beroſus* hath further ſet down of *Evilmerodach*, telling us that he was ſlaine by his ſiſters husband: for the plain words of the Scripture, named the yeare wherein he gave liberty to *Jechonia*, do plainly teſtifie that he out-lived the three or foure and fortieth yeare of his Fathers reign, which was the laſt of his life.

This may ſuffice to ſhew, that they who are ſaid to have ſucceeded *Evilmerodach* in the Kingdom, might indeed have ſo done, though not when he held it in his owne right. Of *Balthaſar*, who was his Son and Heire, we finde, that he had ſuch conditions, as God permitted to be in a King for the ruine of the people. Hee was from his young yeeres of a miſchievous nature; having in his Fathers time ſlaine a Noble young man that ſhould have married his ſiſter, only for ſpight and envie to ſee him kill two wilde beaſts in hunting, at which himſelfe having throwne his Javeline had miſſed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, becauſe a Gentlewoman commending his beauty, ſaid it were a happie woman that ſhould be his wife. Such barbarous villanies cauſed many which had loved his Father (as a good and gracious, though unfortunate Prince) to revolt from him unto the enemie as ſoone as hee was King. Neither doe I finde that hee performed any thing worthy of record, but as a coward and a foole he loſt all; ſitting ſtill, and not once daring to give battell to them that daily took ſomewhat from him. Yet careleſly feaſting when danger had hemmed him in on every ſide, & when death arreſted him by the hands of thoſe whom hee had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was baſe & miſerable; for hee died as a foole taken in unexcuſable ſecurity, yet had not that happineſſe, ſuch as it is, of a death free from apprehenſion of feare, but was terrefied with a dreadfull viſion; which had ſhewed his ruine not in many houres before, even whileſt he was drinking in that wine, which the ſwords of his inſulting enemies drew out of him, together with his lateſt bloud. It is therefore in this place enough to ſay of him, That after a diſhonourable reigne of ſeventeene yeares, he periſhed like a beaſt, and was ſlaine as he deſerved. The reſt that concerneth him in queſtion of his time, hath beene ſpoken heretofore; in matter of his affaires, ſhall be handled among the acts of *Cyrus*, to whoſe ſtory that of *Balthaſar* is but an appendix.

## CHAP. II.

### *Of the originall and firſt greatneſſe of the Perſians.*

### §. I.

### *That the Medes were chiefe actors in the ſubverſion of the Babylonian Empire.*

THE Line of *Belochus* being now extinguiſhed in *Balthaſar*, the Empire of Babylon, and of Aſſyria, was joyned firſt to that of Media, which then was governed by *Cyaxares* or *Darius Medus*, after whom *Cyrus* became Lord and Monarch, both of Aſſyria and of Media it ſelfe.

Of the race of *Phul Belochus* there were tenne Kings beſides himſelfe, and of *Arbaces* as many are found by *Metaſthenes*. Theſe two Provinciall Governours having cut downe the laſt branch of Ninus in *Sardanapalus*, divided betweene them the Eaſterne Empire. *Cyaxares* (whom the Scriptures call *Darius Medus*) the laſt of the race of *Arbaces*, dying about two yeeres after that the line of *Belochus* was ended in *Balthaſar*; the Dominions aſwell of the Conquerour, as of the conquered, fell to a third Family, namely, to *Cyrus* of the houſe of *Achamenes*, the Princes of which bloud reigning in Perſia, had formerly been dependants on the *Medes*, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the world.

Of the Familie of the *Achæmenes*, and Line of the *Perſian* Kings, we ſhall hereafter finde occaſion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the *Medes* deſcended from *Madai* the third ſonne of *Japhet*; that they had Kings ſoone after the Floud, *Lactantius* and *Diodorus* have found record; For *Lactantius* remembreth an ancient King of the *Medes* called *Hydaſpes*, and *Diodore* ſpeaketh of *Pharnus* with his ſeven ſonnes, ſlain by the *Aſſyrian* in the beginning of their Empire.

But of theſe who ſucceeded *Arbaces* the firſt, that freed his Nation from the *Aſſyrians*, I take the liſt and number from *Euſebius*, adding *Darius Medus*: of whom I have ſpoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are theſe.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Arbaces.* | reigned | 28. years. |
| *Soſarmus.* | | 30. years. |
| *Medidus.* | | 40. years. |
| *Cardiceas.* | | 13. years. |
| *Diocles.* | | 53. years. |
| *Phraortes.* | | 24. years. |
| *Cyaxares.* | | 32. years. |
| *Aſtyages.* | | 38. years. |
| *Darius Medus.* | | |

And though the *Greekes* aſcribe the conqueſt of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone, yet the Scriptures teach us, that *Darius* was not only King of *Media*, and had the *Perſians* his followers, but that the Armie victorious over *Balthaſar* was his; as the *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Empire alſo was during his owne life. For we finde in *Daniel*, that *Darius* of the *Medes* took the Kingdome being threeſcore and two years old: And further, what Officers it pleaſed him to ſet over the Kingdome. And ſo was it prophecied by *Iſay* long before: *Behold, I will ſtirre up the Medes againſt them, &c.* And by Jeremie; *The Lord hath raiſed up the Spirit of the King of the Medes: for his purpoſe is againſt Babel to deſtroy it*; and in the eight and twentieth Verſe, *Prepare againſt her the Nations, with the King of the Medes, the Dukes thereof, the Princes thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion.* Theſe Scriptures *Julius Affricanus* doth well open, who taking authoritie from *Diodore*, *Caſtor*, *Thallus*, and others, delivereth that *Babylon* was taken before *Cyrus* began to reign; which alſo agreeth with *Strabo*, where he ſaith, That as the *Medes* were ſubjugated by the *Perſians*, ſo before that, both the *Babylonians* and *Aſſyrians* were maſtered by the *Medes*. And therefore the reports of *Juſtine* and *Herodotus* are not to be received, who attribute the taking of *Babylon* to *Cyrus* alone.

Cap. 13. v. 17.
51. v. 11. & 28.

Lib. 16.

### §. II.

*By what means the Empire was tranſlated from the Medes to the Perſians.*

HOw the Kingdome of the *Medes* fell into the hands of *Cyrus*, it is a doubt not ſufficiently cleared by Hiſtorians, but rather their different relations of his beginnings have bred the former opinion of thoſe who give the conqueſt of *Babel* to the *Perſian* only. For ſome there are who deny that *Aſtyages* had any other Succeſſor than *Cyrus* his grand-child by *Mandane*. Whereas *Cteſias* on the contrary ſide affirmeth, that *Cyrus* was no way deſcended from *Aſtages* (whom he calleth *Aſtigas* or *Apania*) but only that having vanquiſhed him in battell, and confined him to *Bactria*, he married his Daughter *Amytis*. But I find the relations of *Cteſias* often cited & ſeldome followed, and himſelfe ſometimes very juſtly reproved of wilfull untruth.

*Viginier*, a diligent and learned Hiſtorian of this age, produceth many probable reaſons that *Aſtyages* had no ſuch ſon as *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; and to confirm this opinion the more, he citeth *Diodore*, *Juſtine*, *Strabo*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Iſocrates*, and before them *Caſtor*, *Thallus*, and *Phlegon*; who doe not find any ſuch ſucceſſor. Neither do *Tatianus*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Julius Affricanus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Juſtine Martyr*, *Lactantius*, *Euſebius*, S. *Hierome*, or S. *Auguſtine*, make report out of any faithfull Author by them read, that hath given other Son or Succeſſor to *Aſtyages* than *Cyrus*.

*Zon.l.1.c.19.*
*Joſ.an.l.10.c.13.*
*Xen.l.8.Pæd.*

Yet ſeeing that this manner of argument *ab authoritate negative*, doth never inforce conſent; we may be the bolder (all this great liſt of noble Writers by him alledged notwithſtanding) to affirme, that either *Aſtyages* himſelfe muſt have beene *Darius* of the *Medes*, which cannot agree with his place in the courſe of time; Or elſe to give him ſome other Succeſſor, according to *Joſephus* and *Xenophon*, the ſame whom *Daniel* calleth *Darius*. For it is manifeſt and without diſpute, that the King of the *Medes* commanded in chiefe, and was abſolute Lord of that Conqueſt, *Cyrus* during his life, being no other than the Lievtenant of his Armie, and ſubject to his authoritie; The ſtrength of both Nations, to wit, the *Medes* and *Perſians*, with other the Vaſſals of *Darius*, being joyned together to compound it.

But it is very certaine that the honour of that great victorie over *Babylon* was wholly given to *Cyrus*, who was the inſtrument preordained and forenamed by God himſelf for this action, but for the deliverie of his Church; a greater worke not only in the eyes of God, than the ſubverſion of any State or Monarchie how powerfull ſoever.

And it may well be thought, that the Souldiers imployed in that ſervice did rather aſcribe the glorie to him that was the beſt man of war, than to the *Median*, who was greateſt in riches and power. All which alſo falling upon *Cyrus* by ſucceſſion, and continuing in his poſteritie, did much augment the fame of his vertue; which among profane hiſtorians overgrew altogether the honour due to *Cyaxares*, both becauſe he was old, and did nothing in perſon; as alſo becauſe he ſoon after quitted the world, and left all to *Cyrus*, who was poſſeſt of whatſoever belonged to *Darius*, before the fame of any ſuch King or Conqueror was carried farre off.

And for the *Greek* Hiſtorians, they took all things from the relation of the *Perſians*, who gave to *Cyrus* all the praiſe of a moſt excellent Prince, making none his equal. Only *Daniel* in the firſt, fift, and ſixt Chapters of his Prophecie, makes it plain, that himſelfe not onely lived a great Officer under King *Darius*, but that he continued in that eſtate to the firſt of *Cyrus*; which being the year of *Daniels* death, could not have bin diſtinguiſhed from the reigne of *Darius*, if they had begun together and raigned joyntly: Neither can it be imagined that *Darius* held the Kingdome by *Cyrus* permiſſion, conſidering that *Cyrus* began after him.

### §. III.

### Xenophons *relation of the Warre with the Medes and Perſians, made with joynt forces upon the Aſſyrians and others.*

THeſe Teſtimonies of the Scriptures, which need no other confirmation, yet made more open to our underſtanding, by that which *Xenophon* hath written of theſe wars: The cauſe whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the *Aſſyrian* had enlarged his empire with victories, and was become Lord of all *Syria*, and many other Countries, he began to hope that if the *Medes* could be brought under his ſubjection, there ſhould not then be left any Nation adjoyning able to make head againſt him. For the King of the *Medes* was able to bring into the field threeſcore thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, to which the forces of *Perſia* being joined, made an exceeding ſtrong Armie.

The *Aſſyrian* conſidering the ſtrength of ſuch a Neighbour, invited *Crœſus* King of *Lydia*, a Prince very mightie both in men and treaſure, and with him other Lords of *Aſia* the leſſe, to his aſſiſtance, alledging, that thoſe Eaſterne Nations were very powerfull, and ſo firmely conjoyned by league and many alliances, that it would not be eaſie, no not poſſible for any one Nation to reſiſt them. With theſe incitements, and ſtrengthened with great preſents, he drew to himſelf ſo many adherents, as he compounded an Armie of two hundred thouſand foot, and threeſcore thouſand horſe; of which, tenne thouſand horſe, and fortie thouſand foot were led by *Crœſus*, who had great cauſe of enmitie with the *Medes*, in regard of the Warre made by them againſt his Father *Alyattes*; But this great Armie was by *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*, and by *Cyrus* Generall of the *Perſian* forces, utterly broken; Upon which defeat the *Aſſyrian* King being alſo ſlaine, ſo many of the *Aſſyrians* revolted, as *Babylon* it ſelfe could not longer be aſſured without the ſuccours of Mercenaries, waged with great ſummes of money out of *Aſia* the leſſe, *Egypt*, and elſewhere. Which new gathered forces were alſo ſcattered by *Cyrus*, who following his advantage, poſſeſt himſelfe of a great part of the leſſer *Aſia*; at which time it was, as I take it, that *Crœſus* himſelfe was alſo made priſoner.

The attempt of *Babylon* following ſoon after, the Armie lying before it being paid by *Darius*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, & led by *Cyrus* his ſiſters ſon, prevailed againſt *Balthaſar*, as in due time ſhall be ſet downe.

Thoſe *Perſians* which followed *Cyrus*, and by him levied, are numbred thirtie thouſand foot-men, of which a thouſand were armed Gentlemen, the reſt of the common ſort were Archers, or ſuch as uſed the Dart or Sling. So far *Xenophon*. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he deſcribed in *Cyrus* the pattern of a moſt Heroicall Prince, with much Poeticall addition: ſo it cannot be denied, but that the bulke and groſſe of his Narration was founded upon meere Hiſtoricall truth.

Neither can it indeed be affirmed of any the like writers, that in every ſpeech and circumſtance he hath preciſely tyed himſelfe to the phraſe of the ſpeaker, or nature of the occaſion, but borrowed in each out of his own invention, appropriating the ſame to the times and perſons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the Morall and Politicke diſcourſe, and examining but the Hiſtorie of things done, it will eaſily appear, that *Xenophon* hath handled his under-taken ſubject in ſuch ſort, that by beautifying the face thereof, he hath not in any ſort corrupted the bodie.

## §. IV.

### *The eſtate of the Medes and Perſians in times fore-going this great War.*

FOr it is commonly agreed upon, that *Achæmenes* the ſonne of *Perſes* being Governour of *Perſia*, did aſſociate himſelfe with *Arbaces*, who commanded in *Media* in that rebellion againſt *Sardanapalus*, and that each of them after the victorie obtained, held for himſelfe the Dominion of thoſe Countries, which he had formerly ruled for the *Aſſyrians*; as alſo that they conveyed over the ſame honor and power to their poſteritie; which in *Media* was not abſolutely Regall, but with ſome reſtraint limited, untill ſuch time as *Deioces* tooke upon him the full authoritie and majeſtie of a King. From the death of *Sardanapalus* to the reigne of *Deioces*, are uſually acounted about an hundred and fortie years, in the laſt ſixty whereof there reigned in *Aſſyria* mightie Princes, namely, *Salmanaſſar* and his Succeſſors; whoſe great atchievements in *Syria* and elſewhere, witneſſe, that the *Medes* and *Perſians* found it not for their advantage to undertake any offenſive war againſt thoſe victorious Kings, it being alſo probable that the league continued as yet between theſe the ſucceſſors of *Belochus* and *Arbaces*, who had formerly ſhared the Empire.

Now from the beginning of *Deioces* to the firſt of *Aſtyages*, there paſt above ninetie years, in which, if *Herodotus* have written truly, that *Phraortes* conquered *Perſia*, and how he and other Kings of *Media* by many victories greatly enlarged their Dominions, and commanded many parts of *Aſia*, it had bin but an unadviſed enterpriſe of the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, to have waſted themſelves againſt the *Syrians* and *Egyptians*, leaving ſo able and victorious a Nation on their backes. But that the *Medes* had done nothing upon the South parts of *Perſia*, and that the *Perſians* themſelves were not maſters of *Suſiana* in *Nabuchodonoſors* time, it is manifeſt in *Daniel*, who was then Governour for the *Babylonian* in *Suſa*, or *Suſan*, the chiefe Citie thereof. It is true indeed, that the *Medians*, either under *Cyaxares* or *Aſtyages*, or both, had quarrell with *Halyattes* the father of *Crœſus*, which after ſome ſixe yeares diſpute was compounded.

How the affaires of *Perſia* ſtood in ſo many ages, I doe not finde any memorie. It ſeemeth that the roughneſſe of the mountainous Countrey which they then poſſeſt; with the confederacie which they continued with the *Medes*, gave them more ſecuritie than fame: For if their Kings, being the poſteritie of *Achæmenes*, had done any memorable acts, the greatneſſe which they afterward obtained would not have ſuffered any forgetfulneſſe thereof. But as we finde all *Xenophons* reports, both of theſe Warres and the ſtate of thoſe countries to be very conſonant and agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors, ſo it appeares, that the race of *Achæmenes* held the Principalitie of *Perſia* from Father to Sonne for many deſcents. And therefore we may better give credit to *Xenophon*, who affirmeth, That *Cambyſes* the father of *Cyrus* was King of *Perſia*; than to thoſe that make him a meane man, and ſay, that *Aſtyages* gave him his daughter *Mandane* in marriage, to the end that her ſon (whoſe nativitie he feared) might be diſabled from any great undertaking by his fathers ignobilitie.

For what cauſe of griefe could it be to *Aſtyages*, that the ſon of his daughter ſhould become Lord of the beſt part of *Aſia*? No, it was more likely, that upon ſuch a Prophecie his love to his grand-childe ſhould have encreaſed, and his care been the greater to have married her to ſome Prince of ſtrength and eminent vertue.

Yea, the ſame *Herodotus*, who is the firſt Author, and as I think the deviſer of the miſchiefe intended againſt *Cyrus* by his Grandfather, doth confeſſe, That the line of the *Achæmenidæ* was ſo renowned, that the great King *Xerxes* in the height of his proſperitie did thence derive himſelfe, and vaunt of it: which he would never have done, had they bin ignoble, or had they bin the vaſſals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this ſort *Xerxes* in the ſeventh of *Herodotus* deriveth himſelfe.

*Achæmenes.*
*Cambyſes.*
*Cyrus.*

*Teiſpeus.*
*Ariaramnes.*
*Arſamnes.*

*Hyſtaſpes.*
*Darius.*
*Xerxes.*

Of the *Achæmenidæ* there were two races: of the firſt was *Cyrus* the great, whoſe iſſue male failed in his two ſonnes, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*. This royall familie is thus ſet downe by the learned *Reineccius*.

*Achæmenes*, the ſon of *Perſes*, firſt King of *Perſia*.
*Darius*.
*Cyrus*, the firſt of that name, had *Cambyſes* and *Atoſſa*; who married to
*Pharnaces*, King of *Cappadocia*, had *Artyſtona* and other daughters.
*Cambyſes* had
*Cyrus* the Great: *Cyrus* had
*Cambyſes*, who ſucceeded him, and *Smerdis*, ſlaine by his brother *Cambyſes*.

Of the ſecond were thoſe ſeven great Princes of *Perſia*, who having overthrowne the uſurped royaltie of the *Magi*, choſe from among themſelves *Darius*, the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, King.

This Kingdome of *Perſia* was firſt known by the name of *Elam*, ſo called after *Elam* the ſon of *Sem*, and the people therein inhabiting, *Elamitæ*; by *Elianus*, *Elymæ*; by *Joſephus*, *Elymi*.

*Euſ.l.6.c.8.de Præp.Evang.*

*Suidas* derives this Nation ſometimes from *Aſſur*, ſometimes from *Magog*, of whom they were called *Maguſæi*; which *Maguſæi*, according to *Euſebius*, are not to be taken for the Nation in generall, but for thoſe who were afterward called the *Magi* or Wiſemen. So doe the *Greeks*, among many other their ſayings of them, affirme, That the *Perſians* were anciently written *Artæi*, & that they called themſelves *Cephenes*. But that they were *Elamitæ*, *Moſes* & the Prophets, *Eſay*, *Jeremie*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel* and *Eſdras*, in many places confirme: Which alſo S. *Hierome* upon *Jeremie* the five and twentieth, upon *Daniel* the eight, and alſo in his Hebrew queſtions, approveth, ſaying: Elam, *à quo Elamitæ Principes Perſidis*; Elam, *of whom were the Elamites Princes of Perſia*.

Gen.10.
Eſay 11.21.22.
Jer.25.& 29.
Ezech.32.
Dan.8.
Eſd.4.

2 Mac.9.
1 Mac.6.

And that Citie which the Author of the ſecond book of the *Maccabees* calleth *Perſepolis*, is by the Author of the firſt called *Elimais*, but is now called *Siras*, being the ſame which *Antiochus*, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted in vaine, and to his great diſhonour. And yet this Citie, now called *Siras*, was not the old *Perſepolis*; for *Alexander* at the requeſt of *Thais* the Harlot, burnt it.

The firſt King of *Perſia* to us known, if we follow the current of Authors interpreting the fourteenth chapter of *Geneſis*, was *Chedorlaomer*, who lived with *Amraphel* or *Ninias*, and joyned with him in the war againſt thoſe *Arabians*; who was afterward extinguiſhed by the forces of *Abraham*.

# Chap. III.

## *Of* Cyrus.

### §. I.

### *Of* Cyrus *his name, and firſt actions.*

AS touching the name of *Cyrus*, *Strabo* ſaith, That the ſame was taken from a river which watereth *Perſia*; this great Prince having *Agradatus* for his proper name. But the great *Cyrus* was not the firſt of that name. *Herodotus* otherwiſe; and that *Cyrus* ſignifieth a father in the *Perſian* Tongue, and therefore ſo intituled by the people. Strab.l.15.

It is true that for his Juſtice and other excellent vertues he was indeed called a Father; but that the name of *Cyrus* had any ſuch ſignification, I think it be miſtaken.

*Plutarch* hath a third opinion, affirming, That *Cyrus* is as much to ſay as the Sunne, in the ſame Language. Howſoever it be, yet the Prophet *Eſay*, almoſt two hundred yeares before *Cyrus* was borne, gives him that name, *Thus ſaith the Lord unto* Cyrus *his Annointed, &c.* Plut.in vit. Artax.

Before the Conqueſt of *Babylon*, the victories which *Cyrus* obtained were many and great: among which, the Conqueſt of *Lydia*, and other Provinces thereto ſubject, together with the taking of *Cræſus* himſelfe, are not recounted by *Euſebius*, *Oroſius*, and others, but placed among his latter atchievements: whoſe opinion for this difference of time is founded upon two reaſons; namely, That of the *Median* there is no mention in that laſt war againſt *Cræſus*: and that the obtaining of *Sardis* is referred to the eight and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and the glorious victorie which *Cyrus* had over *Babylon*, to the five and fiftieth *Olympiad*.

The former of which might have bin uſed (and was by the *Greekes*) to exclude the *Medes* from the honour of having won *Babylon* it ſelfe, which in due place I have anſwered. The latter ſeems to have reference to the ſecond War which *Cyrus* made upon *Lydia*, when it rebelled; at which time he ſo eſtabliſhed his former Conqueſt, as after that time theſe Nations never offered to revolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to beleeve with *Herodotus*, whom the moſt of Chronologers follow, and finde the enterpriſe of *Sardis* to precede that of *Babylon*.

### §. II.

### *Of* Crœſus *the King of* Lydia, *who made warre upon* Cyrus.

I Have in the laſt Book ſpoken ſomwhat of *Cræſus*, of his race and predeceſſors, as alſo of thoſe kings which governed *Lydia* in more ancient times: of which the firſt (to prophane Authors known) was *Lydus* the ſon of *Atys*: which Familie extinguiſhed, the kingdome was by an Oracle conferred upon *Argon*, deſcended from *Hercules*, whereof there were two and twentie generations, *Candaules* being the laſt, who by ſhewing his fair wife naked to *Gyges* his favorite, he was by the ſame *Gyges* (thereto urged upon peril of his own life by the Queen) the next day ſlain. Which done, *Gyges* enjoyed both the Queen and the Kingdome of *Lydia*, and left the ſame to *Atys* his ſon, who was father to *Sadyattes*, the father of *Halyattes* (who thruſt the *Cimmerians* out of *Aſia*) and *Halyattes*, begat *Cræſus*. Which five Kings, of a third race, enjoyed that kingdome an hundred and ſeventie years. *Halyattes* the father of *Cræſus* was an undertaking Prince, and after he had continued a war againſt *Cyaxares* the *Median*, a Prince very powerfull, and maintained it ſixe years, a peace was concluded upon equall conditions between them. Herod.l.1.pag. 4.& 5.

*Aſtyages*, the ſon of *Cyaxares*, and grandfather to *Cyrus*, thought himſelfe greatly honoured by obtaining *Aryenes*, *Cræſus* ſiſter, whom he married.

But *Crœſus* ſo farre enlarged his dominions after his father's death, as he was nothing inferior in territory to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that time there were foure in effect of equall ſtrength; to wit, the *Median*, the *Babylonian*, the *Egyptian*, and the *Lydian*: only *Nabuchodonoſor*, after he had joyned *Phœnicia*, *Palæſtina*, and *Egypt* to his Empire, had thence-forward no Competitor during his owne life.

But *Crœſus*, notwithſtanding the men and treaſure ſpent in the quarrell of the *Babylonians*, he yet maſtered *Æolis*, *Doris*, and *Ionia*, Provinces poſſeſt by the *Greeks* in *Aſia* the leſſe, adjoyning to *Lydia*; gave law to the *Phrigians*, *Bithynians*, *Carians*, *Myſians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other Nations. And that he alſo inforc't the *Epheſians* to acknowledge him, notwithſtanding they compaſſed their Citie with *Diana*'s girdle, *Herodotus* witneſſeth. Moreover, *Athenaus* out of *Beroſus* (which alſo *Strabo* confirmeth) makes report of a Signall victorie which *Crœſus* obtained againſt the *Sacæans*, a Nation of the *Scythians*, in memorie whereof the *Babylonians* his allies did yearly celebrate a Feaſt, which they called *Sacæa*: All which he performed in fourteen years.

*Her.l.5.*
*Athe.l.14.c.17.*

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and envious of *Cyrus* fame, doubting alſo, that his proſperous undertakings might in the end grow perillous to himſelfe, he conſulted with the Oracle of *Apollo*, whom he preſented with marvellous rich gifts, what ſucceſſe he might hope for againſt *Cyrus*, if he undertooke him: from whom he received this riddle; Crœſus, *paſſing over the River Halys, ſhall diſſolve a great Dominion*. For the divell being doubtfull of the ſucceſſe, payed him with merchandize of both ſides alike, and might be inverted either way, to the ruine of *Perſia*, or of his owne *Lydia*.

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## §. III.

### Crœſus *his Expedition againſt* Cyrus.

HEreupon *Crœſus* being reſolved to ſtop the courſe of *Cyrus* fortunes, if he could, deſpiſed all the arguments uſed by *Sandanes* to the contrary, who deſired him to fore-think, That he urged a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous Region, a people not covered with the ſoft ſilke of worms, but with the hard skins of beaſts; not fed with ſuch meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of water, not of wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and proſperous; over whom if he became victorious, he could thereby enrich himſelfe in nothing but fame, in which he already excelled: and if by them beaten, and ſubjected, ſo great would his loſſe appeare of all things which the world hath in account, as the ſame could neither haſtily be told, nor readily conceived.

Notwithſtanding this ſolid counſel, *Crœſus* having prepared a powerful armie, he led the ſame toward *Media*, but in his paſſage he was arreſted at *Pterium*, a City of great ſtrength in *Cappadocia*; which while he ſought by all means to ſurpriſe or to force, *Cyrus* came on, and found the *Lydians* encamped before it. That each was inferior to other in ſtrength or opinion, I doe not find: for out of doubt, *Crœſus*, as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and abilitie; ſo was he not under any in territorie and fame that then lived.

But as *Cratippus* of *Mitylene* anſwered *Pompey* when he complained againſt the gods, becauſe they favoured a diſturber and uſurper of the Common-weale againſt him who fought for the *Romane* libertie, That Kingdomes and Common-weals had their encreaſe and period from divine Ordinance: ſo at this time was the winter of *Crœſus* proſperitie at hand, the leaves of his flouriſhing fortune ready to fall, and that of *Cyrus* but in the flower and firſt ſpring. The God of all power, and not *Admetis* Herdman, *Apollo*, had given a date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When theſe two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of divers skirmiſhes, the *Perſians* and *Lydians* began to joyn in groſſe troupes: ſupplies from both Kings thruſt on upon the falling off, and advancement of either Nations: and as the *Perſians* had ſomewhat the better of the day, ſo when the darke vaile of night had hidden each Armie from the others view, *Crœſus* doubting what ſucceſſe the riſing Sunne would bring with it, quitted the field to *Cyrus*, and with all ſpeed poſſible retyred, and taking the next way into *Lydia*, recovered *Sardis* his firſt Citie and Regall Seat, without any purſuit made by *Cyrus* to retard him. Where being arrived, and nothing ſuſpecting *Cyrus* approach, or any other warre for that Winter, he diſmiſſed the Souldiers, and ſent the troupes of his ſundrie Nations to their owne Provinces, appointing them to re-aſſemble at the end of five moneths, acquainting his Commanders with his intents for the renewing of the warre at the time appointed.

## §. IV.

### *The Conqueſt of Lydia by* Cyrus.

Cyrus in the following morning finding the *Lydians* departed, put his Armie in order to purſue them, yet not ſo haſtily, and at their heeles, as to be diſcovered. But having good intelligence of *Crœſus* his proceeding, he ſo meaſured his marches, as he preſented not himſelfe before *Sardis*, till ſuch time as *Crœſus* had diſpoſed his Armie to their wintring garriſons: which being altogether unlooked for, and unfeared, he ſurrounded *Sardis* with his Armie; Wherein *Crœſus* having no other Companies than his Citizens and ordinary Guards, after fourteen dayes ſiege the ſame was entred by aſſault, and all executed that reſiſted. *Crœſus* having now neither arms to fight, nor wings to flie, *Sardis* being on all parts ſtrongly encompaſſed, thruſt himſelfe into the heape and miſerable multitude of his vaſſals, and had undergone the common fortune of common perſons vanquiſhed, had not a ſon of his, who had been dumb all his life (by extremitie of paſſion and feare enabled) cried out to the Souldiers to ſpare *Crœſus*. Who thereupon being taken and impriſoned, deſpoyled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and ſet on the top of a great and high heape of wood, to be conſumed to aſhes thereon. To which when the fire was ſet and kindled, remembring the diſcourſe which he had with the *Athenian* Law-giver, he thrice cried out on his name, *Solon, Solon, Solon:* and being demanded what he meant by that invocation, he firſt uſed ſilence: but urged againe, he told them, That he had now found it true which *Solon* had long ſince told him, That many men in the race and courſes of their lives might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could diſcerne himſelfe for happy indeed, till his end.

*In communi calamitate ſuam quiſque habet fortunam, Curt.*

*Memoriam metus perimit: timor vocis eſt incitamentum, &c. Solin. c. 7.*

*Homo qui in homine calamitoſo miſericors eſt, meminit ſui, Caſſ.*

Of which anſwer *Cyrus* being ſpeedily informed, remembring the changes of fortune and his owne mortalitie, he commanded his miniſters of Juſtice to withdraw the fire with all diligence, to ſave *Crœſus*, and to conduct him to his preſence: Which done, *Cyrus* demanded of him, Who it was that had perſwaded him? or what ſelfe reaſon had conducted him to invade his territorie, and to make him of a friend an enemie? To whom he thus anſwered; It was thy proſperous, and my unproſperous deſtiny (the *Grecian* god flattering therewithall my ambition) that were the inventers and conductors of *Crœſus* warre againſt *Cyrus*.

*Cyrus* being pierc't with *Crœſus* anſwer, & bewailing his eſtate, though victorious over it, did not only ſpare his life, but entertained him ever after as a King and his companion, ſhewing therein a true effect of mercy indeed, *Quæ non cauſam, ſed fortunam ſpectat.*

And herein is the reall difference diſcerned between that behaviour which we call *beneficium latronis*, and *gratiam Principis:* A theefe ſometime ſparing the life of him which is in his power, but unjuſtly: A King that giveth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cauſe and author of his owne evill.

The report made by *Xenophon*, is, That *Cyrus* did friendly entertain *Crœſus* at the firſt ſight, not mentioning that which *Herodotus* delivers, and is here already ſet down, that he ſhould have bin burnt alive. It may very well be, that *Xenophon* pourtraying (in *Cyrus*) an heroicall Prince, thought an intent ſo cruell, fitter to be forgotten than rehearſed, as too much miſ-beſeeming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that neereneſſe of alliance might with-hold *Cyrus* (had he bin otherwiſe vicious) from ſo cruell a purpoſe againſt his grandmothers brother. Howſoever it was, the morall part of the Storie hath given much credit and reputation to the report of *Herodotus* (as to many the like it often doth) and made it paſſe for currant, though the truſt repoſed in *Crœſus* afterwards may ſeem to argue, that *Cyrus* did not uſe him inhumanely at the firſt.

For as *Herodotus* himſelfe telleth us, when *Cyrus* paſt with his Armie over *Araxes* into *Scythia*, he left *Crœſus* to accompany and adviſe his ſonne *Cambyſes*, Governour of the Empire in his abſence, with whom he lived all the time of *Cyrus*, & did afterward follow

*Cambyſes* into *Egypt*, where he hardly eſcaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was, I doe not find.

But in this time the races of three of the greateſt Kings in that part of the world took end; to wit, of the *Babylonians*, *Medians*, and *Lydians*; in *Balthaſar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Crœſus*.

## §. V.

### *How* Cyrus *won* Babylon.

AFter this *Lydian* War enſued the great Conqueſt of *Babylon*, which gave unto *Cyrus* an Empire ſo large & mightie, that he was juſtly reputed the greateſt Monarch then living upon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action took up, it is uncertain; only it ſeems, that ten whole years did paſſe between his taking thoſe two Cities of *Sardis* and *Babylon*; which nevertheleſſe I doe not thinke to have bin wholly occupied in proviſion for the *Aſſyrian* war, but rather to have bin ſpent in ſettling the Eſtate which he had already purchaſed. And hereunto perhaps may be referred that which *Cteſias* hath in his fragments of a war made by *Cyrus* upon the *Scythians*, though related as foregoing the victorie obtained againſt *Crœſus*. He telleth us, That *Cyrus* invaded *Scythia*, and being victorious over that Nation, took *Amorges* their King priſoner: but being in a ſecond battell overthrown by the wife of *Amorges*, *Sparetha*, and therein taken, the one King was delivered for the other.

Likewiſe it may be thought, that no ſmall part of thoſe troubles which aroſe in the lower *Aſia*, grew ſoon after the departure of the victorious armie, before the Conqueſt was fully eſtabliſhed.

For after *Cyrus* was returned out of *Aſia* the leſſe, many Nations, conquered formerly by *Crœſus*, and now by *Cyrus*, revolted from him; againſt whom he imployed *Pactias*, and then *Harpagus*, who firſt reduced the *Phocians* under their former obedience, and then the reſt of the *Greekes* inhabiting *Aſia* the leſſe, as the *Ionians*, *Carians*, *Æolians*, and *Lycians*, who reſolvedly (according to the ſtrength they had) defended themſelves. But in the attempt upon *Babylon* it ſelfe, it is not to be doubted, that *Cyrus* employed all his forces, having taken order before-hand, that nothing ſhould be able to divert him, or to raiſe that ſiege, and make fruſtrate the work upon which he did ſet all his reſt. And great reaſon there was, that he ſhould bend all his care and ſtrength unto the taking of that citie, which beſide the fame and reputation that it held, as being head of an Empire thereon depending, was ſo ſtrongly fenced with a treble wall of great height, & ſurrounded with waters unfoordable, ſo plentifully victualled for many years, that the inhabitants were not only free from all doubt aud fear of their eſtate, but deſpiſed and derided all purpoſes and power of their beſiegers.

The only hope of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, who deſpaired of carrying by aſſault a Citie ſo wel fortified & manned, was in cutting off all ſupplies of victuals and other neceſſaries: whereof though the Town was ſaid to be ſtored ſufficiently for more than 20. years, yet might it well be deemed, that in ſuch a world of people as dwelt within thoſe gates, one great want or other would ſoon appear, & vanquiſh the reſolution of that unwarlike multitude. In expecting the ſucceſs of this courſe, the beſiegers were likely to endure much travel, & all in vain, if they did not keep ſtreight watch & ſtrong guards upon all quarters.

This was hard to doe, in regard of the vaſt circuit of thoſe walls which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men ſufficiently aſſured unto their commander: The conſideration whereof miniſtred unto the *Babylonians* matter of good paſtime, when they ſaw the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Cappadocians*, and others, quartered about their Town to keep them in, who having bin their ancient friends and allies, were more likely to joyne with them, if occaſion were offered, than to uſe much diligence on the behalfe of *Cyrus*, who had, as it were, yeſterday layd upon their neckes the galling yoake of ſervitude. Whileſt the beſieged were pleaſing themſelves in this deceitfull and vaine gladneſſe, that is the ordinarie fore-runner of ſudden calamitie; *Cyrus*, whom the Ordinance of God made ſtrong, conſtant, and inventive, deviſed by ſo many channels and trenches as were ſufficient and capable of *Euphrates*, and ſo to draw the ſame from the walls of *Babylon*, thereby to make his approach the more facile and aſſured: which when by the labour of many hands hee had performed, he

*Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 7.*

he ſtayed the time of his advantage for the execution: for he had left certain bankes or heads un-cut, between the maine river which ſurrounded the Citie, and his owne Trenches.

Now *Balthaſar*, finding neither any want or weaknes within, nor any poſſibilitie of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding ſumptuous feaſt, publike Playes and other Paſtimes, and thereto invited a thouſand of his Princes or Nobilitie, beſides his wives, curtizans, & others of that trade. This he did either to let the beſiegers know, that his proviſions were either ſufficient, not onely for all needfull uſes, but even for jollitie and exceſſe: Or becauſe he hoped that his enemies, under the burthen of many diſtreſſes were well neere broken; or in honour of *Bel* his moſt reverenced Idoll: Or that it was his birth or coronation day: Or for many or all theſe reſpects. And hee was not contented with ſuch magnificence as no Prince elſe could equall, but (uſing *Daniels* words) *He lifted himſelf up againſt the Lord of Heaven:* for he & his Princes, wives & concubines, made carowſing cups of the Veſſels of God, in contempt of whom he praiſed his own puppets, made of Silver and Gold, of Braſſe, Iron, Wood, and Stone; *Quanta fuit ſtultitia in vaſibus aureis bibentes, ligneos & lapideos deos laudare; How great a fooliſhneſſe was it* (ſaith S. *Hierome*) *drinking in golden Cups, to praiſe gods of Wood and Stone.* While *Balthaſar* was in this ſort triumphing, and his braines well filled with vapors, he beheld a hand, which by divine power wrote on the wall oppoſite unto him, certaine words which he underſtood not: wherewith ſo great a feare and amazement ſeized him, as the joynts of his loynes were looſed, and his knees ſmote one againſt the other. Which paſſion when he had in ſome part recovered, he cried out for his Chaldæans, Aſtrologians, and Soothſayers, promiſing them great rewards, and the third place of honor in the kingdome to him that could reade and expound the writing; but it exceeded their Art. In this diſturbance and aſtoniſhment the Queen hearing what had paſt, and of the Kings amazement, after reverence done, uſed this ſpeech: *There is a man in thy Kingdome, in whom is the ſpirit of the holy Gods, and in the dayes of thy father, light, and underſtanding, & wiſedome, like the wiſedome of the Gods, was found in him, whom the King Nabuchodonoſor, thy father; the King (I ſay) thy father made chiefe of the Inchanters, Aſtrologians, Chaldeans, and Soothſayers, becauſe a more excellent ſpirit, and knowledge, and underſtanding, &c. were found in him, even in* Daniel, *&c. Now let* Daniel *be called, and he will declare the interpretation.*

Dan.5.6.

This Queen, *Joſephus* takes for the grandmother; *Origen* and *Theodoret* for the mother of *Balthaſar*; either of which may be true: for it appeareth, that ſhe was not any of the Kings wives, becauſe abſent from the feaſt; and being paſt the age of dancing and banquetting, ſhe came in upon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the King in his diſtraction: And whereas *Daniel* was forgotten and neglected by others both of younger yeares and times, this old Queene remembred well what he had done in the dayes of *Nabuchodonoſor*, grandfather to this *Balthaſar*, and kept in mind both his religion and divine gifts.

*Orig. & Theod. in Dan. Joſeph. Ant.10.*

When *Daniel* was brought to the Kings preſence, who acknowledged thoſe excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promiſes of reward and honour, to reade and interpret thoſe words miraculouſly written; to whom *Daniel* made anſwer in a farre different ſtyle from that he uſed towards his Grandfather: for the evill which he foretold *Nabuchodonoſor*, he wiſhed that the ſame might befall his enemies; but to this King (whoſe neglect of God and vice he hated) he anſwered in theſe words, *Keepe thy rewards to thy ſelfe, and give thy gifts to another, yet will I reade the writing unto the King, and ſhew him the interpretation.* Which before he had performed, he gave him firſt the cauſe of Gods juſt judgement againſt him, and the reaſon of this terrible ſentence, whereof the King and all his Wiſe men were utterly ignorant. Which being written at large in *Daniel*, hath this effect, That forgetting Gods goodneſſe to his Father, whom all Nations feared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of thoſe benefits, as he deprived him of his eſtate and underſtanding; ſo upon the acknowledgement of Gods infinite power he reſtored him to both. This King notwithſtanding lifted himſelfe up againſt the ſame God, and preſuming both to abuſe thoſe veſſels dedicated to holy uſes, and neglecting the Lord of all power, praiſed and worſhipped the dead Idols of Gold, Silver, Braſſe, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore thoſe words, from the Oracle of a true God delivered, (to wit) *Mene, Tekel, Upharſin,*

Dan.5.18.19.20

gave the King knowledge, that God had numbred the time of his kingdome, and finiſhed it: That he was weighed in the ballance of Gods juſtice, and found too light; and that his Empire was divided and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*.

The very evening or night of this day, wherein *Balthaſar* feaſted and periſhed, *Cyrus*, either by his eſpiall, according to *Xenophon*, or inſpired by God himſelfe, whoſe enſigne he followed in this warre, found the time and opportunitie to invite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobilitie were no leſſe filled with the vapors of wine, than their hearts with the feare of Gods judgement, he cauſed all the banks and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut downe with that diligence, as by them hee drew the great River of *Euphrates* dry for the preſent, by whoſe channell running, his Armie made their entrance, finding none to diſturbe them. All the Town lay buried (as the Poet ſaith) in ſleepe and wine: ſuch as came in the *Perſians* way, were put to the ſword, unleſſe they ſaved themſelves by flight, as ſome did, who ranne away crying, and filling the ſtreets with an uncertaine tumult.

Such *Aſſyrian* Lords as had revolted from *Balthaſar*, and betaken themſelves to the partie of *Cyrus*, did now conduct a ſelected companie to the Kings Palace; which having eaſily forced, they ruſhed into the chamber where the King with his Princes were banquetting, ſlew both him and them without any mercie, who ſtruggled in vain to keep thoſe lives which God had newly threatned to take away. And now was the prophecie of *Jeremie* fulfilled, and that of *Eſay*, two hundred yeares before this ſubverſion, who in his ſeven and fortieth Chapter, and elſewhere, writeth this deſtruction ſo feelingly and lively as if he had beene preſent both at the terrible ſlaughter there committed, and had ſeene the great and unfeared change and calamitie of this great Empire; yea, and had alſo heard the ſorrowes and bewailings of every ſurviving ſoule thereunto ſubject. His Prophecie of this place he beginneth in theſe words: *Come downe, and ſit in the duſt, O virgin daughter of Babel: ſit on the ground, there is no Throne, &c.* And again, *Sit ſtill and get thee into darkeneſſe, O daughter of the Chaldæans, for thou ſhalt no more be called the Ladie of Kingdomes.* For though it cannot be doubted, that God uſed *Nabuchodonoſor* and the *Chaldæans*, to puniſh the Idolatrie of the *Judæans*, yet *Eſay* teacheth us in this place, That he did not yet forget, that the execution of his judgements was mixt with a rigorous extremitie. For (ſaith *Eſay*) in the perſon of God, *I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine inheritance, and given them into thine hand: thou didſt ſhew them no mercy, but thou didſt lay thy very heavy yoak upon the ancient. I will riſe up againſt them, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, and will cut off from Babel the name and the remnant, and the ſonne and the nephew.* And in the thirteenth, *Every one that is found, ſhal be ſtricken thorow: and whoſoever joyneth himſelf, ſhal fall by the ſword, their children alſo ſhall be broken in pieces before their eies, their houſes ſpoyled, and their wives raviſhed.* So as there is no Hiſtorian who was either preſent at this victory of *Cyrus*, or that received the report from others truly as it was, that could better leave the ſame to poſteritie after it happened, than *Eſay* hath done in many places of his Prophecies, which were written two hundred years before any thing attempted.

Jer.27.
Eſay 47.

Cap.47.

Iſai.14.
To wit *Evilmerodach* and *Balthaſar*.

The greatneſſe and magnificence of *Babylon*, were it not by divers grave Authors ſet down, might ſeem altogether fabulous: for, beſides the reports of Saint *Hierome*, *Solinus*, and *Oroſius*, *Ariſtotle* in the third of his *Politikes*, the ſecond Chapter, received the report for true, That one part of the Citie knew not that the reſt was taken three dayes after. Which is not impoſſible, if the teſtimonie of *Diodorus Siculus* may be taken; who findes the compaſſe thereof at three hundred and threeſcore Stadia or Furlongs, which makes five and fortie miles: the walls whereof had ſo great a breadth, that ſixe Chariots might paſſe in front thereon. And of height, according to *Cteſias* and *Clitracus*, three hundred threeſcore and five foot, garniſhed with an hundred and fiftie Towers. *Strabo* in the beginning of his ſixteenth Booke of Geographie gives it a greater circuit, adding five and twentie furlongs more to the former compaſſe, reckoning the ſame at three hundred foureſcore and five furlongs, which makes eight and fortie mile and one furlong, but finds the wall farre under that which *Diodore* reports: and ſo doth *Curtius* meaſure their thickneſſe but at two and thirtie foot, and their height at an hundred cubits, which is alſo very much; every cubit containing a foot and halfe of the large meaſure, though to the whole circuit of the Citie he gives the ſame with *Siculus*, and eight furlongs more. *Herodotus* findes a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, foure hun-

*Diod.l.3.*

dred and foureſcore furlongs circle; the thickneſſe of the wall he meaſures at fiftie cubits, and the height at two hundred of the ſame regall cubit. For entrance it had an hundred gates of Braſſe, with poſts and hookes to hang them on of the ſame mettall: and therefore did the Prophet *Eſay* rightly intitle *Babylon*, The Princeſſe and Glory of kingdomes.

*Her.l.1.* Eſay 47.& 13.

But when *Cyrus* had wonne her, he ſtript her out of her Princely Robes, and made her a ſlave; dividing not onely all her goodly houſes, and her whole Territorie, with all the riches therein contained, among his Souldiers; but beſtowing the inhabitants themſelves as bond-ſlaves upon thoſe that had taken poſſeſſion of their goods.

Touching the reigne of *Cyrus*, and the time which he enjoyed in reſt and pleaſure, I can ſay no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologers to have laſted only ſeven yeares: in which time he made ſuch Conſtitutions as differ little from the ordinances of all wiſe Kings that are deſirous to eſtabliſh a Royall power to themſelves and their poſteritie.

## §. VI.

### *The end of* Cyrus.

THe laſt warre, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diverſly written. *Herodotus* and *Juſtine* deliver, That after the Conqueſt of *Aſia* the leſſe, *Cyrus* invaded the *Maſſagetes*, a very warlike Nation of the *Scythians*, governed by *Tomyris* their Queene: and that in an incounter between the *Perſians* and theſe Northerne *Nomades*, *Tomyris* loſt her armie, and her Son *Spargapiſes* that commanded it: In revenge whereof, this Queen making new levies of men of War, and following the War againſt *Cyrus*, in a ſecond battell beat the *Perſian* Armie, and taking *Cyrus* priſoner, cut off his head from his bodie, and caſt the ſame into a boule of bloud, uſing theſe words; *Thou that haſt all thy life time thirſted for bloud, now drinke thy fill, and ſatiate thy ſelfe.*

It ſhould hereby ſeeme, that *Cyrus* knowing the ſtrength and multitude of thoſe frozen Nations, was perſwaded to abate their furie by ſome forcible invaſion and depopulation, becauſe in the time of *Cyaxares*, father to *Aſtyages*, thoſe *Scythians* invaded *Media* and *Aſia* the leſſe, and held the ſame in a ſervile ſubjection eight and twenty yeares.

This war which *Metaſthenes* calleth *Tomyrique*, laſted (ſaith he) ſixe years, and took end at the end of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I beleeve with *Viginier*, that this *Scythian* War was rather the ſame which *Cyrus* made againſt the *Sacians*, before the conqueſt of *Lydia*, according to *Cteſias* before cited, who calleth *Tomyris*, *Sparetha*, though he deliver the ſucceſſe of that war otherwiſe than *Herodotus* doth: The rather (ſaith *Viginier*) becauſe *Strabo* in his eleventh book reciteth, that *Cyrus* ſurprized the *Sacians* by the ſame ſtratagem by which *Juſtine* ſaith he defeated the ſon of *Tomyris*. And the ſame *Cteſias* alſo reporteth, That the laſt war which *Cyrus* made, was againſt *Amorrhæus* king of the *Derbicians*, a Nation (as the reſt) of *Scythia*; whom though he overcame, yet he then received the wound of his death, which he ſuffered three dayes after.

*Vig prim.part. Bib.* *Cte.l.15.hiſt.part.*

*Strabo* alſo affirmeth, That he was buried in his owne Citie of *Paſagardes*, which himſelfe had built, and where his Epitaph was to be read in his time; which is ſaid to have bin this: *O vir quicunque es, & undecunque advenis, neque enim te adventurum ignoravi: Ego ſum* Cyrus *qui Perſis imperium conſtitui, puſillum hoc terræ quo meum tegitur corpus mihi ne invidias; O thou man, whoſoever thou art, or whenceſoever thou commeſt; for I was not ignorant that thou ſhouldeſt come: I am* Cyrus *that founded the Perſian Empire, doe not envie unto me this little earth, with which my bodie is covered.*

*Strab.l.15.*

This Tombe was opened by *Alexander*, as *Qu. Curtius* reporteth, either upon hope of treaſure, ſuppoſed to have been buried with him, or upon deſire to honour his dead bodie with certaine ceremonies; in which there was found an old rotten Target, two *Scythian* Bowes, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his bodie lay, *Alexander* cauſed to be covered with his owne garment, and a Crowne of gold to be ſet upon it. Theſe things well conſidered, as they give credit to the reports of *Xenophon* and *Zonaras*, ſo they derogate much from *Herodotus*, who leaves his bodie in the hands of *Tomyris*.

*Q.Curt.l.* *Xen.pæd.8.* *Zon.l.1.c.20.*

And ſurely, had *Cyrus* loſt the Armie of *Perſia* in *Scythia*, it is not likely, that his ſon would ſo ſoone have tranſported all his remaining forces into *Egypt*, ſo farre off from that quarter: the *Scythian* Nation then victorious, and bordering *Media*; neither had *Cambyſes* beene able in ſuch haſte to have undertaken and performed ſo great a Conqueſt. Wherefore I rather beleeve *Xenophon*, ſaying, That *Cyrus* dyed aged and in peace; and that finding in himſelfe that he could not long enjoy the world, he called unto him his Nobilitie, with his two ſonnes, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*; or after *Xenophon*, *Tanaoxares*; and after a long Oration, wherein he aſſured himſelfe, and taught others of the immortalitie of the Soule, and of the puniſhments and rewards following the good and ill deſerving of every man in this life; he exhorted his ſons by the ſtrongeſt arguments he had, to a perpetuall concord and agreement. Many other things he uttered, which make it probable, that he received the knowledge of the true God from *Daniel*, when he governed *Suſa* in *Perſia*; and that *Cyrus* himſelfe had read the Prophecie of *Eſay*, wherein he was expreſſely named, and by God (for the deliverie of his people) preordained. Which act of delivering the *Jewes* from their Captivitie, and of reſtoring the holy Temple and Citie of *Hieruſalem*, was in true conſideration the nobleſt work that ever *Cyrus* performed. For in other actions he was an inſtrument of Gods power, uſed for the chaſtiſing of many Nations, & the eſtabliſhing of a government in thoſe parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the grace to be an inſtrument of Gods goodneſſe, and a willing advancer of his Kingdome upon earth; which muſt laſt for ever, though heaven and earth ſhall periſh.

## §. VII.

### *Of* Cyrus *his Decree for building the Temple of God in Jeruſalem.*

HAving therefore ſpoken of his great victories, mentioned by ſundrie Hiſtorians, the glory of all which was a reward of this his ſervice done unto him that was Author of them and of all goodneſſe: I hold it meet at length to ſpeake of the Decree made in the firſt of his Raigne, being perhaps the firſt that ever he made after his poſſeſſion of the *Babylonian* Empire: That the captive *Jewes* ſhould returne againe into their owne Territorie, and re-build the Houſe of God in *Jeruſalem*, having now endured and finiſhed the threeſcore and ten years captivitie, by the Prophets foretold. For the accompliſhing whereof, hee gave order to his Treaſurers to furniſh them with all things neceſſary and wanting. He alſo reſtored unto them five thouſand foure hundred threeſcore and nine Veſſels of Gold and Silver, wherof *Nabuchodonoſor*, the grandfather of *Balthaſar* had formerly robbed the Temple.

1 Eſd.2.
2 Eſd.7.
*Phil.in bre.*

The number of the *Jewes* which returned out of *Chaldæa* under their Leader *Zorobabel*, the ſon of *Salathiel*, and Nephew to King *Jeconias*, and *Jeſus* or *Joſua* the ſon of *Joſadak*, were about fifty thouſand; where, as ſoon as they arrived, they built an Altar to the living God, and ſacrificed thereon, according to their own law, and afterward bethought themſelves how to prepare materials for the rebuilding of the Temple.

1 Eſd.3.3.
Eſd.5.
Eſd.4.& 5.
*Joſ.l.Ant.*11.

But no ſooner did the *Jewes* begin to lay any one ſtone, than the *Samaritans* and other idolatrous Nations adjoyning, gave all the impediment they could. So did the Governours of thoſe Provinces under *Cyrus* altogether countenance the diſturbers, and in no ſort favoured the *Jewes*, nor the labours nor purpoſes they had in hand. And not onely thoſe which were but Provinciall Lievtenants and other officers of leſſe place, but *Cambyſes* himſelfe; who having the charge of the whole Empire, while *Cyrus* was buſied otherwiſe, countermanded the building begun. And whereas ſome Authors make doubt, that whatſoever *Cambyſes* did when himſelfe had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of *Cyrus* there was no ſuch impediment or prohibition: They may herein reſolve themſelves out of *Eſdras*, That by the conſpiracies of the neighbouring Nations, the building was hindered all the time of King *Cyrus* life, &c. And therfore it is true, that the *Jewes* themſelves affirm, as it is written in the ſecond of *John*, That the Temple was 46. years in ſetting up, having received ſo many hinderances from the firſt foundation to the ſecond of *Darius*.

1 Eſd.2.16.
Eſd.2. 16.
1 Eſd.5.33.
1 Eſd.4.5.

And if we ſeek the naturall and politique courſes which moved *Cambyſes* to withſtand his fathers decree, as well while he governed under him, as when himſelfe became ſole and ſoveraigne Monarch, we ſhall find them in that Epiſtle remembred by *Eſdras*, written by *Belemus, Mithridates*, and the reſt, Preſidents and Councellors in *Phœnicia*, wherein they complaine that the *Jewes* were evermore rebellious and troublers of Kings; that their City being once built, they would then refuſe to pay tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other kings. Eſdr.1.c.4.

But that which for that preſent ſeemed the moſt forcible impediment, was, that *Cambyſes* having it in his reſolution to invade *Egypt*, and that it was a common opinion, That the *Jewes* were deſcended of thoſe Nations, becauſe they iſſued thence under *Moſes*, when they conquered *Judaa*; their Citie being once repaired and fortified, they might returne to their old vomit, and give the ſame diſturbance to *Cambyſes* Conqueſt, which they did to *Sennacherib*, *Nabuchodonoſor*, and other Kings of *Babylon*. For as it is written in *Ezechiel*, *Egypt was the confidence of the houſe of* Iſrael. Ezech.c.29.

But it is to be underſtood, as *Codoman* and others have obſerved, that *Artaxerxes*, to whom the Counſellors and Governors of *Phœnicia* complained againſt the *Jewes*, did not precede, but ſucceed *Darius Hiſtaſpes*, as in the ſixth and ſeventh chapters of *Eſdras* it is made plain: and alſo that thoſe Governors (whoſe Epiſtle ſheweth as much) did not withſtand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and encloſing of the City, as by the reaſons given in the ſaid Epiſtle, and by the Kings anſwer, it is evident.

Alſo in the ſixt of *Ezra*, the fourteenth verſe, the kings are named in order as they governed, and *Artaxerxes* written after *Darius*; as: *And they built and finiſhed it* (to wit the Temple) *by the appointment of the God of Iſrael, & by the commandement of* Cyrus *&* Darius, *and* Artahſhaſte *Kings of Perſia*. Laſtly, in the ſeventh of *Ezra* it is written; *Now after theſe things, in the reigne of* Artahſhaſte *King of Perſia*: which was as much to ſay, as after the finiſhing of the Temple in *Darius* time. And therefore *Artaxerxes* in the ſecond of *Eſdras* is there named by anticipation, not in his owne time and place.

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the Citie and Temple of *Hieruſalem*: Which action though proſpered by the hand of God, was very ſlowly purſued by the men whom it moſt concerned, but firſt ſet on foot by *Cyrus*. The other ordinances of *Cyrus*, with his forme and manner of government, are to be found in *Xenophon*. At his death he bequeathed the Empire unto his eldeſt ſonne *Cambyſes*, appointing *Smerdis* or *Tanaoxares* his yonger ſon to be *Satrapa*, or Lievtenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Caduſia*; and then died, after he had reigned (ſaith *Herodotus*) one and thirty years, or (according to *Juſtine*) but thirty.

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## §. VIII.

### *Of* Cyrus *his iſſue: and whether* Atoſſa *were his daughter, or (as ſome thinke) were the ſame with Queene* Heſter.

Cyrus had iſſue two ſons, *Cambyſes* and *Smerdis*, with three daughters, *Atoſſa*, *Meroe*, and *Artyſtona*: *Cteſias* addeth to theſe, *Amytis*. *Atoſſa* and *Meroe* their brother *Cambyſes* married; *Artyſtona*, *Darius Hyſtaſpes* obtained; ſo did hee *Atoſſa*, *Cambyſes* being dead: who (as ſome Writers have ſuppoſed) inflamed both her husbands, *Darius*, and *Xerxes* after him, to invade *Greece*, to bee avenged of the whole Nation for the cruell intent that *Aman* (whom the old Tranſlation calleth a *Macadonian*) had againſt the *Jewes*, though the opinion of *Joſephus* be more probable, who finds *Aman* to be an *Amalekite*. But it is hard to be underſtood, how *Atoſſa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, ſhould have beene *Eſther*, whoſe Hiſtory ſeemes rather to appertaine to the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than of *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, or of *Xerxes*. The deſire of *Atoſſa* to have *Greece* brought under the yoke of *Perſia*, was partly grounded upon the honour which thereby ſhe thought her husband might obtaine, partly upon a feminine humour of getting many brave Dames, *Corinthians*, *Athenians*, and others of that Nation to bee her bond-women. Wherefore I cannot give aſſent to the opinion of *Codoman*, who upon the neare ſound of the two names, *Atoſſa* and *Hadaſſa*, (by the latter of which *Eſther* was alſo called) makes them to have been one perſon. For though it bee true that *Eſther* concerning her parentage, a while might bee taken for a great Lady; yet *Codomans* inference is nothing probable, that ſhe ſhould therefore, and for the great affection which the King bare unto her, be thought the daughter of *Cyrus*. Certaine it is, that *Eſther* did at length diſcover her Kindred and Nation ; whereby, if Hiſtories could be kept free from this errour, yet the people, and eſpecially the Nobility, muſt needs have underſtood the truth: who neverthelesſe did ſo well know the parentage of *Atoſſa*, that for her ſake, as being daughter of *Cyrus*, her ſon *Xerxes* was preferred to the kingdome before his elder brother, againſt whom alſo he could have pretended a very weake claime. But of theſe things more hereafter in fitter place.

# CHAP. IV.

## *The eſtate of things from the death of* CYRUS *to the reigne of* DARIUS.

### §. I.

### *Of the number and names of the Perſian Kings.*

OF the ſucceſſors of *Cyrus*, and the continuance of the *Perſian* Empire, there are many opinions; As that of *Metaſthenes*, who hath numbred the *Perſian* Kings, and their times as followeth.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Darius Medus*, and *Cyrus* joyntly. | 2 | |
| *Cyrus* alone. | 22 | |
| *Priſcus Artaxerxes.* | 20 | |
| *Darius Longimanus.* | 37 | |
| *Darius Nothus.* | 19 | yeares. |
| *Ataxerxes Mnemon.* | 55 | |
| *Artaxerxes Ochus.* | 26 | |
| *Arſes*, or *Arſames.* | 4 | |
| *Darius* the laſt, conquered by *Alexander.* | 6 | |

To which *Philo* agreeth; which number of yeares added, make in all an hundred ninetie and one. But in this Catalogue *Metaſthenes* hath left out *Cambyſes* and *Xerxes*, and names *Artaxerxes Aſſuerus* for the immediate ſucceſſor of *Cyrus*; in place (ſaith *Melancton*) of *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*: for *Metaſthenes*, as *Melancton* conjectureth, doth not account *Cambyſes* in the Catalogue, becauſe his reigne was confounded with that of *Cyrus*.

There is a ſecond opinion, though ridiculous, of *Sedar Olam*, who finds but foure *Perſian* Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

*Genebrard*, *Schubert*, and *Beroaldus* have alſo a differing account from the *Greekes*; whom neverthelesſe *Euſebius* and moſt of the Latines follow, and ſo doth *Krentzheim*, who hath fully anſwered, and, as I take it, refuted all the former Authors varying from that account. For in this ſort doe the *Greekes* marſhall the *Perſian* Kings with the times of their reignes.

*Chro.Kyen.ſo.*135

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Melancton* gives *Cyrus* but 29. | *Cyrus* in all. | 30 | |
| | *Cambyſes* with the *Magi.* | 8 | |
| | *Darius Hyſtaſpes.* | 36 | |
| *Melanct.* but 20. | *Xerxes.* | 21 | |
| | *Artaxerxes Longimanus.* | 40 | |
| | *Darius Nothus.* | 19 | yeares. |
| *Melanct.* but 40. | *Artaxerxes Mnemon.* | 43 | |
| *Melanct.*26. | *Artaxerxes Ochus.* | 23 | |
| | *Arſames.* | 3 | |
| *Melanct.*4. | *Darius* the laſt. | 6 | |

Which numbers put together, make in all two hundred and thirty.

This account (as I have ſaid) the moſt Chronologers and the beſt learned approve. Theſe *Perſian* Princes, being all warranted by the authority of the Scriptures, as *Peucer* in his hiſtoricall Animadverſions hath gathered the places; finding firſt *Cyrus* in the ſecond of *Chronicles, ch.*36.*ver.*22,23. *Ezra.*1.*ch.*1.*ver.*1.and often elſewhere.

Secondly, *Cambyſes* in the eleventh of *Daniel*, who may indeed be well eſteemed for one of thoſe three Kings in the ſecond verſe named, and ſo the marginall Commentor upon the *Geneva* undeſtands that place; but, under correction, miſtakes the matter greatly, when he ſaith in the ſame note, that *Darius Hyſtaſpes* was an enemy to the people of God, and ſtood againſt them: his great favour and liberality to the *Jewes* being elſewhere proved.

Thirdly, is *Darius Hyſtaſpes* found in *Ezra* the firſt, *c.*4.*v.*5. who in the ſixt verſe is alſo named *Ahaſſuerus*.

Fourthly, in the eleventh of *Daniel* verſe the ſecond, *Xerxes* is plainely foretold and deſcribed, and the great warre which he ſhould make againſt the *Greekes* by *Daniel* remembred.

Fiftly, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in *Ezra* the fourth, verſe ſeven, who is alſo called *Arthaſaſta, c.*4.*l.*1.*Ezr.v.*7.and *cap.*7.*v.*7.

Sixtly, *Darius Nothus, Ezra cap.*4. *verſe* 24. and *cap.* 5. *verſe* 6. *Nehem. cap.* 12. *verſe* 22.

Seventhly, *Artaxerxes Mnemon* in *Nehem.c.*2.*v.*1. who was father to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Arſames*: for *Darius* the laſt, he was of another Family, the Line of *Cyrus* the Great ending in *Ochus*, who deſcended from *Xerxes* the ſon of *Atoſſa, Cyrus* his daughter; and the iſſue male of *Cyrus* failing with his owne ſons.

But to proceed, *Euſebius* with the *Latines*, following the *Greeks*, apply the beginnings and ends of every *Perſian* King with their Acts, to ſome certaine Olympiad; As the war of *Aſtyages* (*Cyrus* his maternall Grand-father) and *Alyattes* (*Cræſus* his father) to the nine and fortieth Olympiad; The beginning of *Cyrus* reigne to the beginning of the five and fiftieth Olympiad; The taking of *Sardis* by *Cyrus* to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad; The invaſion of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes* to the third year of the threeſcore and third Olympiad, and ſo of the reſt. Which reference with good agreement between ſeverall formes of computation, adde the more credit unto both.

Againe, this hiſtoricall demonſtration is confirmed by the Aſtronomicall computation of *Ptolomie*, who refers the death of *Alexander* the Great, who died the 12. of November, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, to the foure hundred and foure and twentieth yeare after *Nabonaſſar*. And the *Æra* of *Nabonaſſar* began on the ſixe and twentieth of February: which conferred with the Olympiad, was in the ninth Moneth of the firſt yeare of the eighth Olympiad; So that whether wee follow the accounts of the Olympiads, as doe the *Greeke* Hiſtorians, or that of *Nabonaſſar* with *Ptolomie*, we ſhall finde every memorable accident to fall out right with each computation.

*Ptol.in Alm.l.*3. *cap.*8.

For *Ptolomy* reckons the time anſwerable to two hundred and foure and twenty *Julian* years, and an hundred and forty dayes from *Nabonaſſar* to the ſixteenth of *July* in the ſeventh year of *Cambyſes*.

The *Greekes*, and namely, *Diodorus Siculus*, place the taking of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes* in the ſecond or third yeare of the threeſcore and third Olympiad, and the beginning of *Cambyſes* ſeventh yeare, in the firſt of the threeſcore and fourth Olympiad: which firſt of the threeſcore and fourth Olympiad runs along with part of the two and twentieth of *Nabonaſſar*. The like agreement is conſequently found about the beginning and end of *Cyrus*.

Likewiſe the twentieth of *Darius*, who ſucceeded *Cambyſes*, is according to *Ptolomie* the two hundred and ſixe and fortieth of *Nabonaſſar*, which (obſerving the differences of *Nabonaſſars Æra* and the Olympiad, *viz.* eight and twenty yeares) agrees with the third of the threeſcore and ninth Olympiad, wherein it is placed by the *Greeks*. In this *Joſephus* agrees with the *Greekes* throughout, ſaving that he joyneth *Darius Medus*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, with *Cyrus* in the deſtruction of *Babylon*; which is true, and not contrary to the *Greeke* computation, but may very well ſtand with it.

Laſtly, the diſagreements & confuſed accompts of thoſe that follow the other Catalogue of the *Perſian* kings formerly rehearſed, doth give the greater credit to this of the

*Greekes*, which being conſtant in it ſelfe, accordeth alſo with the computation of other Hiſtorians, and Aſtronomers, and likewiſe with the holy Scriptures.

### §. II.

### Of Cambyſes, *and the conquering of Egypt by him.*

WEe will therefore according to the truth give the Empire of *Perſia* to *Cambyſes*, the ſon of *Cyrus*, though degenerate in all things, ſaving the deſire to increaſe the greatneſſe of his Empire: whereof he was poſſeſt in his Fathers time while *Cyrus* made war in the North. *Cteſias* with others give him a longer reigne than agreeth with the *Grecian* accompt before received.

Lib.2.c.2.
Her.l.3.pag.83, 84,85.

In the fifth yeare of his ſole reigne, and in the third yeare of the threeſcore and third Olympiad, according to *Diodore* and *Euſebius*, he invaded *Egypt*, and having overthrown the King thereof, *Pſammeniticus*, he not onely cauſed him to be ſlaine, but alſo did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the moſt of his children.

*Herodotus* and *Cteſias* give for cauſe of this war (being no other indeed than the Ambition of *Cambyſes*) that when he ſent to *Amaſis* king of *Egypt*, to have his daughter in marriage, *Amaſis* preſented him with *Nitetis* the daughter of *Apries* his predeceſſor, which *Cambyſes* diſdained.

Howſoever it were; true it is, that *Cambyſes* gathered an Armie fit for ſuch an enterpriſe, and cauſed the ſame to march. But before they entred *Egypt*, *Amaſis* died, and left *Pſammeniticus*, whom *Cteſias* called *Amyrteus*, his ſucceſſor; who enjoyed *Egypt* after his father (according to the beſt copies of *Herodotus*) but ſixe Moneths, though other Chronologers give him ſixe yeares.

But how long ſoever he held the Crowne, in one battell hee loſt it, and was himſelfe taken priſoner.

It is ſaid that *Cambyſes*, following therein the example of *Cyrus*, did not only ſpare life to the conquered King, but that he alſo truſted him with the government of *Egypt*, and that upon ſome revolt, or ſuſpicion thereof, he cauſed him to be ſlaughtered. But the race of this King was not ſo extirpated, if we may beleeve *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, but that he left a ſon called *Inarus*, who cauſed the *Egyptians* to revolt both from *Xerxes* and *Artaxerxes*.

That *Pſammeniticus* was at the firſt entreated gently by *Cambyſes*, I hold it very improbable, if it bee true which is alſo written of him, That he ſo much hated *Amaſis* the King of *Egypt*, who died before his arrivall, that he cauſed his body to be drawne out of the grave, and after divers indignities uſed, commanded the ſame to be burnt, contrary to the cuſtome both of the *Egyptians* and *Perſians*. For the *Egyptians* uſed to powder their dead bodies with ſalt, and other drugs, to the end the wormes might not devoure them. The * *Perſians* durſt not conſume them with fire, which they eſteemed as a God, and therefore feared to feed it with Carrion.

* Neither did the Romanes ever conſume their dead to aſhes, till the time of *Sylla* Dictator, who cauſed his owne to be devoured by that element, fearing the Law called *Talionis*, or like for like, becauſe himſelf had untombed the carkaſſe of *Caius Marius* after his death.

### §. III.

### *The reſt of* Cambyſes *his Acts.*

Her.l.3. Plin.l.6. c.54.
Stra.& Juſt.l.1. Pag.87.88.
Her.l.3, Sen.l.7.

AFter this victory obtained in *Egypt*, *Cambyſes* ſent an Army into *Cyprus*, and conſtrained *Evelthon* King thereof to acknowledge him, who before held that Iland of the *Egyptians*.

While *Cambyſes* yet buſied himſelfe in *Egypt*, he ſo much deteſted the Idolatry of that Nation, as he cauſed the images themſelves, with the Temples wherein they were worſhipped, to be torne downe and defaced. This done, he directed a part of his Armie into *Lybia*, to overturne the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*; but the Divell in defence of his *Oratorie* raiſed ſuch a Tempeſt of Sand, wherewith the greateſt part of that Country is covered, as the *Perſians* were therewith choked and over-whelmed.

Notwithſtanding which miſadventure, *Herodotus* and *Seneca* report, that diſdaining to be reſiſted, he prepared the reſt of his Army, which himſelf meant to conduct into thoſe parts, but that finding a beginning of thoſe incommodities, which his firſt-ſent troupe had tryed, he changed his purpoſe. For though conquering Kings have power over men, yet the elements doe not obey them, according to that old *Engliſh* proverbe, *Goe, ſaith the King; Stay, ſaith the Tide.*

After his returne from the attempt of *Æthiopia*, he cauſed *Apis* the *Egyptian Bull*, worſhipped by that Nation as God, to be ſlaine: a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeale, and been executed as in ſervice of him that onely is, and liveth. But ſoone afterwards, when in a dreame it ſeemed unto him that *Smerdis* did ſit in the royall throne of *Perſia* (which apparition was verified in *Smerdis* the *Magus*) he gave it in charge to his favorite *Praxaſpes*, to murther *Smerdis* his brother. And having married his own ſiſters, contrary to the *Perſian* Lawes, he committed a moſt cauſeleſſe and moſt deteſtable murder upon the one of them called *Meroe*, then by himſelfe with child, becauſe ſhe bewailed the death of her brother *Smerdis*. I finde it written of this *Cambyſes*, That becauſe his Predeceſſors obſerved religiouſly the ordinances of their Empire, he aſſembled his Judges, and enquired of them whether there were any Law among the *Perſians* that did permit the brother to marry his owne ſiſter: it being his owne intent ſo to doe. The Judges (who had alwayes either lawes or diſtinctions in ſtore to ſatisfie Kings and times) made anſwer, That there was not any thing written allowing any ſuch conjunction, but they notwithſtanding found it in their cuſtomes, that it was alwaies left to the will of the *Perſian* Kings to do what beſt pleaſed themſelves; and, ſo as *Nauclerus* termes it, *invenerunt occaſionem*: That is as much to ſay, as the Judges found a ſhift to pleaſe the King, and to ſecure themſelves. And yet, where it concerned not the Kings private ſatisfaction, he cauſed *Siſamnus* one of his Judges, and perchance one of thoſe which favoured his inceſtuous match, to be flayed alive, for an unjuſt judgement given, and the ſame his hide to be hung up over the judgement ſeate. After which, beſtowing the fathers Office on his ſon, he willed him to remember that the ſame partiality deſerved the ſame puniſhment. Her.p.89.90.

Among other his cruelties, that which he exerciſed againſt the ſonne of his beloved *Praxaſpes* was very ſtrange and ungratefull. For when he deſired to be truly informed by him what the *Perſians* thought of his conditions, *Praxaſpes* anſwered, That his vertues were followed with abundant praiſe from all men; onely it was by many obſerved, that he tooke more than uſuall delight in the taſt of Wine. With which taxation inflamed, he uſed this replication: And are the *Perſians* double-tongued, who alſo tell mee that I have in all things excelled my father *Cyrus*? thou *Praxaſpes* ſhalt then witneſſe, whether in this report they have done me right: for if at the firſt ſhot I pierce thy ſonnes heart with an arrow, then is it falſe that hath been ſpoken; but if I miſſe the marke, I am then pleaſed that the ſame be accounted true, and my ſubjects beleeved. This being ſpoken, he immediatly directed an arrow towards the innocent child, who falling downe dead with the ſtroke, *Cambyſes* commanded his body to be opened, and his heart being broched on the arrow, this monſtrous Tyrant greatly rejoycing, ſhewed it to the Father, with this ſaying in ſtead of an Epitaph: *Now* Praxaſpes, *thou maiſt reſolve thy ſelfe, that I have not loſt my wits with Wine, but the* Perſians *theirs, who make ſuch report.*

Many other barbarous cruelties he exerciſed, till at the laſt, according to the phraſe of our Law, he became *felon de ſoy*. For when he was informed that *Patizites*, and *Smerdis* the *Magi* (*Cedrenus* writeth them *Sphendanes* & *Cimerdius*) Miniſters of his domeſticall affaires, taking advantage of the great reſemblance between *Smerdis* the Kings brother, and *Smerdis* the *Magus*, poſſeſt themſelves of the Empire, he made all haſte towards *Perſia*, and in mounting haſtily on horſebacke, his ſword diſ-ſheathing, pierced his owne thigh, where-with deadly wounded, falling into an over-late and remedileſſe repentance of the ſlaughter which he had executed upon his own brother, he ſoone after gave up his wicked ghoſt, when he had reigned eight years, accounting therein thoſe ſeven Moneths in which the *Magi* governed, while he was abſent.

In *Cambyſes* the Male Line of *Cyrus* failed. For he had no iſſue either by *Atoſſa* or *Meroe*: yet *Zonaras* out of *Hierome* gives him a daughter called *Pantaptes*, and a ſon called *Orontes*, who being drowned in the river *Ophites* by *Antioch*, the ſame was afterward in memory of the Princes death called *Orontes*. Zon.Com.t.p.17

He built the Citie of *Babylon* in *Egypt*, in the place where *Latopolis* was formerly ſeated, and that of *Meroe* in the Iland of *Nilus*, calling it by the name of his ſiſter *Meroe*.

## §. IIII.

### *Of the* inter-regnum *betweene* Cambyſes *and* Darius.

CYrus and his two ſonnes being now dead, and the Kingdome in the poſſeſſion of one of the *Magi*, the counterfeit of *Smerdis*, the Princes, or *Satrapes*, or Provincial Governors of the Empire (to wit, *Otanes*, *Intaphernes*, *Gobrias*, *Megabyſus*, *Aſphatines*, *Hidarnes*, and *Darius*, who were all deſcended from *Achæmenes* the firſt *Perſian* King) having diſcovered the fraud of this impoſture, joyned their forces together, ſurpriſed and rooted out the Conſpirator with his Companions and Aſſiſtants. In which action (ſaith *Juſtine*) *Intaphernes* and *Aſphatines* were ſlaine: but *Herodotus* otherwiſe, that they were onely wounded; for he avoweth that all the ſeven Princes were preſent at the election following.

For the Empire being now without a Governour, theſe Princes grew into conſultation how the ſame might be ordered from thence-forth. *Otanes* one of the ſeven did not fancie any election of Kings, but that the Nobilitie and Cities ſhould confederate, and by juſt lawes defend their liberty in equality, giving divers reaſons for his opinion, being as it ſeemed greatly terrefied by the cruelties of *Cambyſes*; As firſt, that it was not ſafe to give all power to any one, ſeeing greatneſſe it ſelfe, even in good men, doth often infect the minde with many vices, and the liberty and freedome in all things is moſt apt to inſult, and to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Againe, that tyrants do commonly uſe the ſervices of wicked men, and favour them moſt; they uſurp upon the lawes of their Country; take other mens wives by force, and deſtroy whom they pleaſe without judgement.

*Megabyſus* was of another opinion, affirming that the tyranny of a multitude was thrice more intolerable than that of one. For the multitude doe all things without judgement, runne into buſineſſe and affaires with precipitation, like raging and overbearing floods.

He therefore thought it ſafeſt to make election of a few, and thoſe of the beſt, wiſeſt, and moſt vertuous; becauſe it is ever found, that excellent Counſels are ever had from excellent men.

*Darius* gave the third judgement, who perſwaded the creation of a King, becauſe even among few diuturnity of concord is ſeldome found, and in great Empires it doth ever happen that the diſcord of many Rulers hath enforc't the election of one Supreme. It were therefore, ſaith *Darius*, farre ſafer to obſerve the lawes of our Country, by which Kingly government hath been ordained.

The other foure Princes adhered to *Darius*, and agreed to continue the ſame Imperiall government by God eſtabliſhed, and made proſperous. And to avoyd partiality, it was accorded, that the morning following theſe ſeven Princes ſhould mount on Horſebacke, and on him the kingdome ſhould be conferred, whoſe Horſe after the Sun-riſing ſhould firſt ney or bray. In the evening after this appointment was made, it is ſaid that *Darius* conſulted with the Maſter of his Horſe *Ocbarus*, who in the Suburbs of the City where the election was reſolved of, cauſed the ſame Horſe, whereon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to cover a Mare, who as ſoon as he came into the ſame place, was the firſt Horſe that brayed. Whereupon the other ſixe Princes deſcended from their Horſes, and acknowledged *Darius* for their Lord and King.

Her.l.3.pag.200. 201.

*Plato* in the third of his Lawes affirmeth, that in memory of the ſeven Princes, whereof *Darius* himſefe was one, that delivered the Empire from the uſurpation of the *Magi*, he divided the whole into ſeven governments; *Herodotus* ſaith, into twenty *Satrapies*.

# CHAP. V.

## *Of* Darius *the ſonne of* Hyſtaſpes.

### §. I.

### *Of* Darius *his Linage.*

D*Arius* was deſcended of the ancient *Perſian* Kings, to wit, of the *Achæmenidæ*, of which, *Cyrus* the Great was the lineall ſucceſſor. For in this ſort *Herodotus* derives him as before.

*Cyrus* the firſt, who had
*Teiſpius*, who begat
*Ariaramnes*, who was father of
*Arſamnes*, the father of
*Hyſtaſpes*, the father of
*Darius*, ſurnamed *Celes*, the father of *Xerxes*. Curt.l.4.

*Hyſtaſpes* accompanyed *Cyrus* the Great, in the warres againſt the *Scythians*, at which time *Cyrus* being made jealous of *Darius* by a dreame of his owne, cauſed him to be ſent into *Perſia*, others ſay to be impriſoned, from whence by the death of *Cyrus* he was delivered, and made Governour of the *Perſian Magi*. He afterward followed *Cambyſes* into *Egypt*; he then joyned with the reſt of the Princes againſt the *Magi*, and either by the neying of his horſe, or, as others affirme, by ſtrong hand he obtained the Empire, which he the more aſſured to himſelfe by taking two of *Cyrus* Daughters, and as many of his Neeces for his wives. Her.l.1.& 3.

*Hyſtaſpes*, according to * *Herodotus*, had beſides *Darius*, theſe three ſonnes, who were great Commanders in the warre which *Darius* made in *Aſia* the leſſe, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; *Atarnes*, *Artabernes*, and *Artabanus*, who diſſwaded *Xerxes* from the ſecond *Grecian* warre. *Hyſtaſpes* had alſo a Daughter married to *Gobryas* the Father of *Mardonius*, who commanded the Army of *Darius* in *Macedon*, and marryed the Daughter of *Darius*, *ArtoZoſtre* his Coſen germane.

*Reineccius* gives to *Hyſtaſpes* five ſonnes, *Darius* who ſucceeded *Cambyſes*, *Artabanus*, *Artaphernes*, *Otanes*, and *Atarnes*, with two daughters.

* Her.pag.237.
Pag.154.
Pag.130.
Pa.101 & 202.
Pag.180.190.
Her.l.6.p.180.
Pag.180.190.
Pag.199.
Pag.200.204.
& pag.213.285.
286.
Pag.214.254.
De Reg.Perſar.
Fol.32.

### §. II.

### *Of* Darius *his Government, and ſuppreſsing the rebellion of Babylon.*

D*Arius* deviſed equall lawes whereby his ſubjects might be governed, the ſame being formerly promiſed by *Cyrus*. He gave acceſſe to all his ſubjects, and behaved himſelfe ſo mildly to all men, that many Nations deſired and offered themſelves to become his Vaſſals: Only he layd divers payments and taxes on the people, which had not beene accuſtomed in *Cyrus* time, to the value of fourteene thouſand five hundred and threeſcore talents, ſaith *Herodotus*.

The war which *Cambyſes* made a far off in *Egypt*, and the contention between the *Magi* and the Princes of *Perſia*, for the Empire, gave heart to the *Babylonians* to recover their liberty, and to ſhake off the *Perſian* yoke; whereof *Darius* being advertiſed, he prepared an Army to recover that Citie and State revolted. But finding the ſame a difficult work, he uſed the ſervice of *Zopirus*, who for the love he bare *Darius*, did cut off his own Ears and Noſe, and with other wounds yet freſh bleeding, he ſeemed to flye to the *Babylonians* for ſuccour, to whom he accuſed the cruelty of *Darius*: who for having given him advice to give over the ſiege of their City, had in this ſort diſmembred and deformed him; whereupon the *Babylonians* gave him that credit, as they truſted him with the diſpoſition and commandement of their greateſt forces: which when *Zopirus* had obtained, after ſome ſmall colourable over-throwes given to the *Perſians* upon ſallies, he delivered the Citie into *Darius* his hands, who had lyen before it twenty moneths. Her.l.3.

§. III. *Of*

## §. III.

### Of Darius *his favour to the Jewes in building the Temple.*

IN the ſecond yeare of *Darius*, hee gave order that the building of the Temple at *Hieruſalem* ſhould goe on, and commanded that the ſame ſhould bee finiſhed at his owne charge, and out of the revenues of the Crowne. And whereas the Governours of thoſe Provinces which are ſituate between *Euphrates* and the *Phœnician*, and mid-land Sea (whom *Ezra* calleth the Captaines beyond the River) had hindred the worke in *Cambyſes* his time, *Darius* gave commandement that they ſhould not thenceforth come neare unto *Jeruſalem*, to give any impediment to the building, but that they ſhould with-draw themſelves, and get them far off till all were finiſhed, and at an end. In the old *Latine* it is written, *Procul recedite ab illis ; with-draw your ſelves far from them*; In our *Engliſh*, *Be ye far from thence*, to wit, from the City and Temple now in building.

Ezra.c.6.

He alſo made a decree which concerned his owne Subjects, That whoſoever ſhould thenceforth hinder the ſetting up of the Temple of God, that his houſe ſhould be torne downe, and the diſturber hanged on a Gallowes made of the timber thereof. He alſo in the ſame decree maketh invocation to God; *That hath cauſed his Name to dwell there (to) deſtroy all Kings and People that put their hands to alter, and to deſtroy this houſe of God which is in Jeruſalem, &c.* In foure years after which decree (the *Jewes* being really furniſhed with money and all things neceſſary from *Darius*) the Temple was in all finiſhed, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the ſixth yeare of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, and in the two and fortieth after their firſt returne.

Ezra.6.11.

Ezra6.

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## §. IV.

### Of Darius *his Scythian Warre.*

AFter the recovery of *Babylon* he invaded the *Scythians*, whoſe king *Juſtine* calleth *Lanthinus*; and ſaith, that *Darius* undertooke this warre againſt him, becauſe he refuſed him his daughter in marriage. The better to convoy his Army into *Scythia*, he built a bridge of ſmall Veſſels over the River *Iſter* or *Danubius*, & gave the cuſtody of the ſame in charge (among others of *Aſia* the leſſe) to the *Ionians* & *Æolians*, among whom was *Miltiades*, who perſwaded the *Aſian Grecians* to breake downe the bridge, to the end *Darius* might not returne thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficulty; but the ſame was reſiſted by *Hiſtiæus* Prince of *Milet*, a Citie of *Ionia*, which Nation being a *Colonie* of the *Greeks*, *Diodorus* calleth Traytors to their Countrey, becauſe they joyned themſelves to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly termed them good ſlaves, for as much as they would not runne away from their Maſter, but were more mindfull of doing their duties, than of ſhaking off their bondage, when they were preſented with as faire an occaſion of liberty as could have beene deſired. For the great Armie of *Darius* entring the deſart Countrey called *Beſſarabia*, found in it neither people to reſiſt them, nor any ſuſtenance to relieve them. For the *Scythians* were then, as are the *Chrim Tartars*, their poſterity, at this day all Horſe-men, uſing the Bow and Sword. They were not Plough-men, but Graſiers, driving their Heards from one place to another, as opportunity of Paſture led them. Standing Townes they had none, but uſed for Houſes the Waggons wherein they carried their wives and children. Theſe Waggons they place at every Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of a great Towne, removeable at their pleaſure. Neither hath the Emperour himſelfe, called now the great *Chrim*, any other Citie than ſuch as *Agora*, (as they name it) or Towne of Carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himſelfe, and waſted his proviſion in thoſe deſolate Regions, wherein he found neither wayes to direct him, victuals to refreſh him, nor any houſes, fruitfull trees, or living creatures, nor any thing at all, which either he himſelfe might make uſe of, or by deſtroying it might grieve his enemies; he began to perceive his owne folly, and the danger into which he had brought him. Yet ſetting a good face upon a bad game, he ſent brave meſſages to the *Scythian*, bidding him to ceaſe his flight, and either to make triall of his valour & fortune in plaine battell: Or, if he acknowledged himſelfe the weaker, then to yeeld

Her.l.4.
Juſt.l.2.
Diod.l.11.

by faire meanes, and become his Subject, giving him Earth and Water, which the *Perſians* uſed to demand as a ſigne that all was yeelded unto them. To this challenge the *Scythian* returned an *Hieroglyphicall* anſwer; ſending a *Bird*, a *Frog*, a *Mouſe*, and five *Arrowes*: which dumbe ſhew *Darius* interpreting by his owne wiſh, thought that he did yeelde all the Elements wherein thoſe creatures live, and his weapons withall into his hands. But *Gobryas*, one of the ſeven Princes, who had ſlaine the *Magi*, conſtrued their meaning aright, which was thus; *O ye Perſians, get ye wings like Birds, or dive under the water, or creepe into holes in the earth, for elſe ye ſhall not eſcape our arrowes.* And this interpretation was ſoone verified by the *Scythians* themſelves, who aſſailed the *Perſian* campe, drave the horſemen into the trenches, and vexed the Armie with continuall Allarums day and night; were ſo fearleſſe of this great Monarch, and ſo little regarded him, that within his hearing, and even in his ſight, they did not forbeare the paſtime of courſing a Hare, which they had ſtarted by chance. By this boldneſſe of theirs, *Darius* was ſo diſcouraged, that he forſooke his Campe by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were ſick and weake behinde him, and ſo with all ſpeed marched away towards the River *Iſter*. He was purſued hardly by the *Scythians*, who miſt him; yet arriving at the Bridge before him, perſwaded the *Ionians* to depart, aſſuring them that the *Perſian* king ſhould never more be able to do them either good or harm. Which words had certainly been proved true, had not *Hyſtiæus* the *Mileſian* prevailed with his people, to attend the comming of *Darius*, whom the *Scythians* did likewiſe faile to meet, when they returned from *Iſter* to ſeeke him out.

## §. V.

### *Some actions of the Perſians in Europe, after the Scythian Warre.*

DArius having thus eſcaped out of *Scythia*, determined the invaſion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in which Warre he employed *Megabaſus*, who maſtered the *Pæonians*, and tranſplanted them, and poſſeſt *Perinthus*, *Chalcedon*, *Byzantium*, and other places, being alſo ſoone after ſubjected, and added to the *Perſian* Empire by *Otanes*, the ſon of *Syſamnes*, whom *Cambyſes* had excoriated for falſe judgment. So were the Cities of * *Selybria*, and * *Cardia* likewiſe taken in for the *Perſian*, who having now reduced under his obeyſance the beſt part of *Thrace*, did ſend his Embaſſadors to *Amintas* King of *Macedon* adjoyning, demanding of him by the Earth and Water, the Soveraignty over that kingdome. *Amintas* doubting his owne ſtrength, entertained the Embaſſadors with gentle words, and afterwards invited them to a ſolemne and magnificent feaſt; the *Perſians* greatly deſired that the *Macedonian* Ladies might be preſent: which being granted, the Embaſſadors, who were well filled with wine, and preſumed upon their greatneſſe and many victories, began to uſe ſuch embracings, and other laſcivious behaviour towards thoſe Noble Ladies, as *Alexander* the Kings ſon, great Grandfather to *Alexander* the Great, diſdaining the *Perſians* barbarous preſumption, beſought his father to with-draw himſelfe from the aſſembly, continuing notwithſtanding all honourable reſpect towards the Embaſſadors, whom withall he entreated that the Ladies might refreſh themſelves for a while; promiſing their ſpeedy returne. This being obtained, *Alexander* cauſed the like number of well-favoured yong men to clothe themſelves in the ſame garments, & to uſe the ſame attires which the Ladies had worn at the feaſt, giving them in charge, That when the *Perſians* offered to abuſe them, they ſhould forthwith tranſpierce them with their long knives, of which they were provided for that purpoſe, which was accordingly performed. Charge was ſoone after given by *Darius* for a ſevere revenge of this murder. But *Alexander* ſomewhat before the death of *Amintas*, gave his ſiſter *Gygea* in marriage to *Bubaris*, a principall Commander of *Darius* forces on that ſide, who perſwading her huſband how helpfull the Alliance of *Macedon* would prove for the invaſion of *Attica* intended, ſo prevailed, as *Alexander* eſcaped that tempeſt, which threatned to fall upon him very ſuddenly; the war of *Aſia* the leſſe, called *Ionick*, falling out at the ſame time.

*Her. l.5.*

* A maritimate City of *Thrace* to the South of *Conſtantinople*.

a *Cardia*, a City upon the *Cherſoneſus* of *Thrace*, afterward *Lyſimachia*. *Pto. Pauſ.*

§ VI. *The*

## §. VI.

### *The firſt occaſion of the War which* Darius *made upon Greece, with a rehearſall of the government in Athens, whence the quarrell grew.*

NOw the better to underſtand the reaſon and motives of that great War, which followed ſoone after, between the *Perſians* and *Grecians*, it is neceſſary to make a ſhort repetition of the ſtate of *Athens*, which Citie endured the hardeſt and worſt brunt of *Darius* invaſion on that ſide the Sea, with admirable ſucceſſe. Neither do I hold it any impertinency to be large in unfolding every circumſtance of ſo great a buſineſſe as gave fire to thoſe wars, which never could be throughly quenched, untill in the ruine of this great *Perſian* Monarchy, *Perſepolis* the capital City of the Empire, was at the requeſt of an *Athenian* Harlot conſumed with a flame, as dreadfull as in the pride of their greatneſſe, the *Perſians* had raiſed in *Athens*.

Now therefore as out of the former books it may be gathered, how *Athens* and other parts of *Greece*, were anciently governed, the ſame being already ſet downe, though ſcatteringly, & in ſeverall times, among other the Contemporary occurrents of the Eaſterne Emperors, and the Kings of *Judaa*; ſo I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember againe the two laſt changes in the State of *Athens*. As for the *Lacedæmonians*, they maintained ſtill their ancient policy under Kings, though theſe alſo after ſome fifteen deſcents were bridled by the *Ephori*.

*Codrus* King of the *Athenians*, in the former bookes remembred, who willingly died for the ſafety of his people, was therefore ſo honoured by them, as (thinking none worthy to ſucceed him) they changed their former government from Monarchicall to Princes for terme of life, of which *Medon* the Son of *Codrus* was the firſt, after whom they were called *Medontida*; and of theſe there were twelve Generations beſides *Medon*, to wit,

*Ageſtus*.
*Archippus*, in whoſe times the *Greekes* tranſported themſelves into *Ionia*, after *Troy* an hundred and foureſcore yeares, according to *Euſebius*: which migration all other Chronologers (ſuch as follow *Euſebius* herein excepted) finde in the yeare after *Troy* fallen one hundred and forty.
*Therſippus*.
*Phorbas*.
*MeZades*.
*Diogenetus*, in whoſe time *Lycurgus* gave Lawes to the *Spartans*.
*Pheredus*.
*Ariphron*.
*Theiſpius*, in whoſe time the *Aſſyrian* Empire was over-throwne by *Belochus* and *Arbaces*.

Pauſ.pag.159.
Dionyſ.l.3.
Pauſ.p.169.
Pauſ.170.
Pag.331.

*Agamneſtor*.
*Æſchylus*, in whoſe time the *Ephori* (according to *Euſebius*) were erected in *Lacedamon*.
*Alcamenon*, the laſt Prince for life, after whoſe death the *Athenians* elected *Decennall* Governours: the former Princes for life having continued in all three hundred and ſixteene years. The firſt of thoſe that governed for ten years, or the firſt *Archon*, was
*Charops*, then
*Æſymedes*.
*Elydicus*.
*Hyppomenes*.
*Leocrates*.
*Abſander*.
*Erixias* was the laſt *Archon* of the *decennal* Governours, which forme continuing threeſcore and tenne yeares, was then changed into *annuall* Magiſtrates, Maiors, or Burg-maſters, of which *Theſeus* was the firſt, according to *Pauſanias*: others finde *Leoſtratus*; and then
*Anthoſthenes*.
*Archimedes*.
*Miltiades*.
*Damaſias*.
*Draco*.
*Megacles*.
*Solon*, & others, who are the leſſe to be regarded, by reaſon of the yearly change.

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wiſedome, gave Lawes to the *Athenians*, which were publiſhed, according to *Gellius*, in the three and thirtieth year of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, and were in after Ages derived unto the *Romanes*, and by the *Decem viri* (Magiſtrates in *Rome* created for that purpoſe) reduced into twelve Tables, which were the ground of the *Romane* lawes. But theſe goodly ordinances of *Solon*, were in his owne dayes violated, and for a while almoſt quite extinguiſhed. For whereas they were framed unto the practice and maintenance of a popular government; the ſtate of *Athens* was very ſoone changed into a Monarchie by *Pſiſtratus* the ſon of *Hippocrates*: who finding the Citizens diſtracted into two factions, whereof *Megacles* & *Lycurgus*, two Citizens of noble Families, were become the heads, tooke occaſion by their contention and inſolency to raiſe a third faction more powerfull than the other two, and more plauſible, for that he ſeemed a Protector of the Citizens in generall. Having by this meanes obtained love and credit, he wounded himſelſe, and fained that by malice of his enemies he had like to have been ſlaine for his love to the good Citizens; he procured a guard for his defence, and with that band of men ſurpriſing the State-houſe, or Cittadell of *Athens*, he made himſelfe Lord of the towne; *Hegeſiſtratus* being then Governor. But the Citizens, who in every change of government had ſought to remove themſelves further and further from the forme of a Monarchie, could ſo ill brooke this uſurpation of *Piſiſtratus*, that he was driven for lack of help, to flye the towne, as ſoone as *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* (joyning their forces) attempted his expulſion. Yet as the building of his tyranny, founded upon the diſſention of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; ſo was it ſoone after wel reedified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when *Megacles* found the power of *Lycurgus* to grow greater than his own, he did (as is the uſuall practice of the weaker ſide) call in the common enemy *Piſiſtratus*, to whom he gave his Daughter in marriage; by which alliance the Family of the *Alcmaeonidæ*, wherof *Megacles* was chief, became very powerfull, yet ſo, that *Piſiſtratus* by their power was made Maſter both of them and all the reſt. But this agreement held not long; the *Alcmaeonidæ*, and eſpecially *Megacles* being incenſed againſt *Piſiſtratus* for his miſdemeanour towards his Wife. Wherefore they practiſed with the Souldiers of the Towne, proceeding in their treaſon ſo ſecretly, and ſo farre, that *Piſiſtratus* upon the firſt diſcovery of their intent, perceived no other remedy for his affaires, than to with-draw him ſelfe to *Eretria*, where he remained eleven yeares. Which time being expired, having hired Souldiers out of many parts of *Greece*, he againe recovered the principality of *Athens*: after which third obtaining his eſtate, he governed *Athens* ſeventeene yeares, according to *Ariſtotle*, and reigned in all thirty and three yeares, ſaith *Elianus*, but as *Juſtine* hath it, foure and thirty, accounting the time belike as well before as after his ſeverall expulſions. *Herodotus* gives the Father and the Son ſixe and thirty years; *Ariſtotle* five and thirty. But *Thucidides* affirmeth, that he died very old, leaving for his Succeſſors, his two Sonnes, *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, who governed the *Athenians* with ſuch moderation, as they rather ſeemed the Lineall ſucceſſors of a naturall Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, & ſome three years before *Hippias* was expelled out of *Athens*, his brother *Hipparchus* was murdered by *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*. The cauſe why, and the manner how performed, *Thucidides* hath written at large. And though *Hipparchus* were charged with unnaturall luſt, after *Harmodius*, yet *Plato* in his Dialogue, intituled *Hipparchus*, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that he was a Prince of as many eminent vertues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers & authors of that ſcandall. *Hippias* fearing that this enterpriſe upon his brother had more and deeper roots than were apparent, firſt ſought to diſcover the further intents of *Hermodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, by a Harlot of theirs called *Lemnia*: who becauſe ſhe would not reveale her Companions, did cut out her owne tongue. Then did *Hippias*, the better to ſtrengthen himſelf, enter into a ſtrait amity with *Æantides*, Tyrant of the City *Lampſacus*, whom he knew to be greatly favoured by *Darius*, to whoſe ſon *Hypoclus* he gave one of his Daughters in marriage. But ſome three years after the death of his brother, doubting I know not what ſtrong practice againſt himſelfe, he began to uſe the Citizens with great ſeverity, which neither *Piſiſtratus* the Father, nor *Hippias* himſelfe had ever exerciſed, during their uſurpation till this time. And therefore the *Athenians* fearing leſt that this diſeaſe might rather increaſe, than diminiſh in *Hippias*, they ſtirred up *Cliſtines* one of the nobleſt and beſt able of their City, to practiſe their delivery: who calling to his aſſiſtance the baniſhed *Alcmanidæ*, together with an Army of the *Lacedæmonians* led by *Cleomenes* their King, ſo affrighted *Hippias*, as by compoſition he gave over his eſtate, and the poſſeſſion of *Athens*, and from thence imbarking himſelfe, took land at * *Sigeum*, whence he went to *Lampſacus* in *Myſia* governed by *Æantides*, who preſented him to *Darius*. He was deprived of his eſtate, as *Herodotus* and *Thucidides* agree, twenty years before the battell of *Marathon*: all which time he continued, partly with *Æantides*, at other times with *Artaphernes* Lievtenant for

*Her.l.*12.

*Eretria* a City of *Eubœa*, by others called *Melane*, by *Stephanus Erotria*.

*Pol.*5.

*Heraclid. apud Elian. pag.*262.

*Juſt. pag.*28.

*Her.l.*6.

*Thucid.l.*6.*c.*10.

*Lampſacus* a city of *Myſia* upon the *Heleſpont*

*Her.l.*5.

*Thucid.l.*6.*c.*1.

* *Sigeum* a promontory oppoſite to the Ile of *Tenedos*, which *Ariſt. in* 5. *Animal.* cals *Ida promontorium*.

*Darius* in *Sardis*, the *Metropolis* of *Lydia*; perſwading and practiſing the enterpriſe upon *Athens*, which *Darius* in the end to his great diſhonour undertooke, twenty yeares after *Hippias* had reſigned his eſtate.

Thus farre I have digreſſed from *Darius*, to the end the Reader may conceive the better the cauſes and motives of this warre: whereof the hope that *Hippias* had to be reſtored to *Athens* by the help of *Darius*, which made him ſolicite and perſwade the *Perſians* to conquer *Greece*, was one, but not the moſt urgent.

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## §. VII.

### *Of the Ionian Rebellion, which was the principall cauſe of the warres enſuing betweene Greece and Perſia.*

ANother, and a ſtrong motive to this expedition, was the *Ionick* warre, breaking out in *Aſia* about the ſame time. The Colonies tranſported out of *Greece* into *Aſia*, which occupied the greateſt part of the Sea-coaſt, having enjoyed their liberty about 500. yeares, even from the *Ionick* migration, to the time of *Crœſus*, were by this *Lydian* King made Tributaries, and afterwards as parcell of his Dominions, were taken in by *Cyrus*, and left as hereditary Servants to the Crowne of *Perſia*.

But as it is the cuſtome of Nations halfe conquered (witneſſe *Ireland*) to rebel againe upon every advantage and opportunity: ſo did the *Ionians*, and other *Grecians*, both in *Cyrus* his life, and after him, ſeeke by all meanes poſſible to free themſelves.

At this time they found ſuch men ready to ſpurre them into Rebellion, as had by the *Perſian* been given unto them for bridles to hold them in ſubjection. Every one of thoſe Townes had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the govenment of one man) called their Tyrants. Theſe Lords were very true to the *Perſian*, by whoſe onely might they held the people in ſubjection. And this their dutifull affection they had well declared, when, *Darius* being in great extremity, they uſed all meanes to deliver him and his Armie (that otherwiſe had been loſt) out of the *Scythians* hand. Of this great piece of ſervice *Hiſtiæus* the tyrant of *Miletus* expected the chiefe thanks, as having been chiefe Author of their expecting *Darius*, when the reſt, either perſwaded by the *Scythians*, or carried away with their owne deſires, were ready to have abandoned him. But it came ſo to paſſe, that *Darius* being more fearefull of the harme that *Hiſtiæus* (being powerfull and crafty) might doe to him in the future, than mindfull of the good which he had already received at his hand, found meanes to carry him along to *Suſa*, where he detained him with all kinde uſage of a friend, yet kept ſuch good eſpiall upon him, as an enemy, he could not ſtart away. *Hiſtiæus* had ſubtlety enough to diſcover the kings purpoſe, which ill agreed with his owne deſires. For he thought it more pleaſant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one faire Citie, having a ſmall Territory, than to ſit and feaſt at the great Kings table, and heare the counſels by which a large Empire was managed; being himſelfe an idle beholder, and enjoying with much reſtraint of liberty, none other pleaſures than a private man might beſtow upon himſelfe.

Wherefore he bethought himſelfe of raiſing of ſome tumults in the lower *Aſia*, to pacifie which, if he might be ſent, as one that had great experience and authority in thoſe quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to ſtay at home, and either ſatisfie the King with excuſes, or deale as occaſion ſhall require. Reſolving upon this courſe, he ſent very ſecret inſtructions to *Ariſtagoras* his kinſman, whom he had left his Deputy at *Miletus*, adviſing him to ſtirre up ſome Rebellion. Theſe directions came ſeaſonably to *Ariſtagoras*, who having failed in an enterpriſe upon the Iſle of *Naxos*, through the falſe dealing of a *Perſian* his Aſſociate, ſtood in feare of diſgrace, if not of ſome further ill that might befall him, as one that had waſted the Kings treaſures to no good purpoſe.

Therefore he readily embraced the counſell: and the better to draw the whole Country of *Ionia* into the ſame courſe which he determined to run, he abandoned his tyranny, and did ſet *Miletus* at liberty. This plauſible beginning wan unto him the hearts of the *Mileſians*: and his proceeding with other *Ionian* Tyrants (of whom ſome he tooke and ſold as ſlaves to their Citizens, others he chaſed away) cauſed the whole Nation to be at his command. The *Perſian* Fleet, whereof he lately had beene Admirall in the enterpriſe of *Naxos*, he had ſurpriſed in his firſt breaking out, together with the principall

Officers and Captaines, ſo that now he thought himſelfe able to deale with the great Kings forces, lying thereabout, either by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all *Aſia* would ſhortly be upon his neck, and cruſh both him and his aſſiſtants to pieces, unleſſe he were able to raiſe an Armie that might hold the field, which the *Ionians* alone were inſufficient to performe. Therefore he took a journey to *Sparta*, where having aſſayed in vaine with many arguments, and the offer of fiftie Talents, to win to his partie *Cleomenes* King of the *Lacedæmonians*: he went from thence to *Athens*, and with better ſucceſſe beſought the people to lend him their aſſiſtance. The *Athenian* Embaſſadours which had beene ſent to the *Perſian* Kings Lievtenant in the lower *Aſia*, deſiring them not to give countenance to *Hippias*, now a baniſhed man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill anſwers, having found very churliſh entertainment. So that the evill which they were to expect in all likelihood from the *Perſian*, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpoſe, their conſanguinitie with the *Ionians*, and the perſwaſions of *Ariſtagoras*, drew them on a-pace, if perhaps his treaſure were not helping. Twentie ſhips the *Athenians* furniſhed for this voyage; to which the *Eratrians* furniſhed five more, in regard of the ancient kindneſſe that had paſſed between the *Ionians* and them. With theſe and their own forces joyned, the *Ionians* entred the River *Caiſtrus*, which falleth into the Sea by *Epheſus*: by which advantage they ſurpriſed *Sardis* when no enemie was heard of or ſuſpected; inſomuch, as *Artaphernes*, who ruled as Vice-roy in thoſe parts, had no other hope of ſafetie, than by retraiting himſelf into the caſtle, which the *Grecians* could not force: from whence he beheld the ſlaughter of the Citizens, and the Citie flaming.

The *Perſians*, at length, mixt with the *Burgers*, began to encourage them to defence, and recovered the Market place, ſtrengthened by the river *Pactolus*, which ran through it; and borrowing courage from deſparation, they both defended themſelves, and charged their enemies; who well adviſing themſelves, made all the haſte they could toward the ſea ſide. But *Artaphernes* having gathered all the ſtrength he could, purſued the *Grecians*, and found them neere *Epheſus*; where ſetting reſolvedly upon them, he ſlaughtered a great part of their Armie, the reſt ſaving themſelves in *Epheſus*. In this fight *Evalcides*, Captaine of the *Eretrians* periſhed: but his fame and memorie was by that excellent Poet *Simonides* preſerved. After this overthrow, the *Athenians*, which were before ſent unto *Ariſtagoras* and to the *Ionians*, could by no arguments of theirs, no not by their teares, be perſwaded to make any ſecond triall of their fortunes on that ſide the Sea.

Yet the burning of *Sardis* made a greater noiſe in the world, than the late good ſucceſſe which the *Perſians* had in one or two skirmiſhes, could raiſe. Wherefore the *Ionians* bravely proceeding, won a great part of *Caria*; and ſending their Fleet into the *Helleſpont*, got *Bizantium* and other Townes into their hands. Yea, the *Cyprians*, lately ſubdued by *Cambyſes*, began hereupon to take heart; and entring into confederacie with the *Ionians*, who were able to give them aide by Sea, rebelled againſt the *Perſians*.

Theſe newes comming to the eare of *Darius*, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreme hatred of the *Athenians*, upon whom he vowed to take ſharpe revenge. As for the *Ionians*, his contempt of them, and their knowledge of his power, made him to thinke, that they would not have dared to attempt ſuch things, but by the inſtigation of thoſe, to whom the ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to provoke him. This was the maine ground of the Warre commenced by *Darius*, and purſued by *Xerxes* againſt *Athens*: To which the ſolicitation of *Hippias*, before remembred, gave onely ſome forme and aſſiſtance: the buſineſſe, when once it was thus far on foot, being like enough to have proceeded, though he had periſhed ere it were advanced any further.

Some other occurrents in this *Ionian* commotion extended the quarrell of *Darius* againſt many of the Ilanders, if not againſt the whole Nation of the *Greekes*; for all of them gave to his Rebels free harbour: the Ilanders moreover did helpe to furniſh out a Navie of three hundred and ſixtie ſaile againſt him. Theſe provocations did rather breede in him a deſire to abate their pride, than any feare of harme that they were like to doe him. For what they had done at *Sardis*, was but by ſurprize. In every fight they were beaten by the *Perſians*, who had not yet loſt the fruits of their diſcipline, wherein *Cyrus* had trained them, nor all their ancient Captaines. In one ſea-fight by the Iſle of *Cyprus*, the *Ionians* indeed had the upper hand; but they were *Phœnicians*, *Egyptians*, and *Cilicians*, whom they vanquiſhed: neither was that victorie of any uſe to them; the *Cyprians*, in whoſe aide they came, being utterly beaten by the *Perſian* Armie at Land, and reduced into their old ſubjection. So had the *Perſians* likewiſe by open warre and faire force overthrowne the *Carians* in two battels, and reclaimed that Nation; as alſo they had recovered the Townes upon *Helleſpont*, with ſome *Æolian* and *Ionian* Cities, when *Ariſtagoras* with his friends quitting *Miletus*, fled into *Thrace*, deſirous to ſeat himſelfe in *Amphipolis*, a Colonie of the *Athenians*. But the *Edonians*, on whoſe Territorie belike he landed, overthrew him, & cut his troups in pieces.

About the ſame time, *Hiſtiæus*, the firſt mover of this inſurrection, came downe into thoſe quarters; who having undertaken the performance of great matters to *Darius*, was glad to flye from his Lievtenants, by whom his double dealing was detected.

But this evaſion preſerved him not long. For after many vaine attempts that he made, he was taken in fight by the *Perſians*, and haſtily beheaded, leſt the King ſhould pardon him upon remembrance of old good turnes; as it ſeems that he would have done, by the buriall which he commanded to be given to his dead bodie that was crucified, and by his heavie taking of his death.

*Hiſtiæus* had ſought to put himſelfe into *Miletus*; but the Citizens doubting his conditions, choſe rather to keepe him out, and make ſhift for themſelves, without his helpe. The ſtrength of their Citie by land, which had in old time withſtood the *Lydian* Kings, and their good Fleet, which promiſed unto them the libertie of an open Sea, emboldened them to trie the uttermoſt, when very few friends were left upon that Continent to take their part. But their Navie was broken as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forſaking them upon hope of pardon; and many being daunted with the cauſeleſſe flight of thoſe that ſhould have aſſiſted them. Neither was it long before the Towne it ſelfe, being aſſaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens ſlaine, their wives and children made ſlaves, and their goods a bootie to the *Perſians*, whom for ſixe years ſpace they had put to ſo much trouble.

## §. VIII.

### *The warre which* Darius *made upon Greece, with the battell of* Marathon, *and* Darius *his death.*

THis Warre with good ſucceſſe finiſhed by the *Perſians*, and ſome attempts made on *Europe* ſide with variable ſucceſſe: *Darius* obſtinate in the enterpriſe and Conqueſt of *Greece* (though at firſt hee pretended to make the Warre but againſt the *Athenians* and *Eritræans*, who joyntly aſſiſted the *Ionians* againſt him, and burnt *Sardis* in *Lydia*) did now by his Embaſſadours demand an acknowledgement from them all: among whom, ſome of them not ſo well reſolved as the reſt, ſubmitted themſelves; as the *Æginets* and others. Againſt theſe, the *Athenians* being inflamed, (by the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians*) after divers encounters forc't them to give pledges, and to relinquiſh the partie of the *Perſians*. *Cleomenes* led the *Lacedæmonians* in this warre, and cauſed his companion-King *Demantus* to bee depoſed: who thereupon fled to *Darius*, farre the more confident of victorie, by reaſon of theſe diſcords, alienations, and civill warres among the *Greekes*. He therefore gave order to *Hippagoras* to prepare a Fleete of ſhips fit to tranſport his Armie over the *Helleſpont*: the ſame conſiſting of an hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. The charge in chiefe of his Armie he committed to *Datis*, accompanied and aſſiſted by *Hippias*, the ſon of *Piſiſtratus*, expelled out of *Athens* twentie yeares before, and by *Artaphernes* his brother, Governour of *Sardis*, and the Sea-coaſt of *Aſia* the leſſe. Theſe Commanders having their Companies brought down to the Sea-ſide,

*Herod.l.6.* Whether this Citie or People were of *Peloponneſus* in *Sicyonia*, or of *Ægæa*, between *Theſſalia* and *Macedon*, I doe not know: but thoſe borderers, and next the enemy were more likely to compound than the reſt far off. There is alſo a Citie called *Æginum*, not far from *Ægæa*, *Livie* 32 33.&c.

imbarked themſelves in ſixe hundred Gallies and other Veſſels;and firſt of all attempted the Iſlands called *Cyclades*, which lay in the mid-way between *Aſia* the leſſe, and *Greece*. For (obtaining thoſe places) the *Perſians* had then nothing to hinder the tranſportation of their forces over the *Ægean* Sea;but on the contrarie they might alwaies both relieve themſelves in their paſſage, and ſhroud themſelves from all ſudden tempeſts and outrage.

To this end they firſt poſſeſt themſelves of *Samos*; ſecondly, they attempted *Naxos*: Which Iſland, the inhabitants deſpairing of their owne forces, abandoned. So did the people of *Delos*, of which *Apollo* was native: Which Iſland *Darius* did not only forbear to ſacke, but recalling the inhabitants, he gave order to beautifie the places and Altars of Sacrifice to *Apollo* erected. And having recovered theſe and other Iſlands, the *Perſians* directed their courſe for *Eretria* in *Eubœa*: for that Citie (as alreadie hath been ſhewed) had aſſiſted the *Ionians* at the taking and firing of *Sardis*. In this Iſland the *Perſians* took ground, and beſieged *Eretria* very ſtraitly, and after ſixe daies aſſault, partly by force, and in part by the treaſon of *Euphabus* and *Philagius*; they tooke it, ſackt it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus far the winds of proſperous fortune filled their ſayles. From *Eubœa* the *Perſians* paſt their Armie into *Attica*, conducted and guided by *Hippias*, late Prince of *Athens*, and marching towards it, they encamped at *Marathon*, in the way from the Sea, where they landed, towards *Athens*.

*In Herod.*

The *Athenians* finding the time arrived, wherein they were to diſpute with their own vertues againſt Fortune, and to caſt lots for their libertie, for their wives, their children, and their lives, put themſelves in the beſt order they could to make reſiſtance, and withall ſent away with ſpeed to the *Lacedæmonians* for ſuccour, imploying in that Negotiation one *Phidippides*; who paſſing through *Arcadia*, encountred in the way a familiar Divell, which he ſuppoſed to be *Pan*, who willed him to aſſure the *Athenians* of victorie, promiſing that ſome one of the gods ſhould be preſent at the battell, to aſſiſt them and defend them againſt the multitude of their enemies. *Phidippides* at his reture ſeeing he could not bring with him any preſent ſuccours from *Sparta*, yet he thought it greatly availing to bring newes from the gods, and promiſe of aſſiſtance from Heaven, which no doubt (though the device was ſomewhat likely to be his owne, yet) it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages have bin more ſtirred up with fond Prophecies and other like ſuperſtitious fooleries, than by any juſt cauſe or ſolide reaſon.

The *Athenians* being now left to themſelves, with one thouſand onely of the *Platæans* (who having beene formerly defended by the *Athenians* againſt the *Thebans*, did in this extremitie witneſſe their thankefulneſſe and gratefull diſpoſition) began to diſpute, Whether it were moſt for their advantage to defend the walls of *Athens*, or to put themſelves into the field with ſuch forces as they had, the ſame conſiſting of ten thouſand *Athenians*, and one thouſand of the *Platæans*. In the end and after great diverſitie of opinions, *Miltiades*, who perſwaded the triall by battell, prevailed.

The Armies being now in view, and within a mile of each other, the *Athenians* diſpoſed themſelves into three troupes: two wings or hornes, as they terme them, and the bodie of a battell. The *Perſians* when they perceived ſo ſmall a troupe advancing towards them, thought the *Athenians* rather diſpoſſeſt of their underſtanding, than poſſeſt with the reſolution whereof they made ſhew. So invincible and reſiſtleſſe the *Perſians* eſteemed their owne numbers to be, and that ſmall troupe of their enemies then in view, rather to be deſpiſed than to be fought withall: But in concluſion, the victorie being doubtfully ballanced for a while, ſometime the vertue of the *Grecians*, and ſometimes the number of the *Perſians* prevailed, the *Grecians* fighting for all that they had, the *Perſians* for that they needed not, theſe great forces of *Darius* were diſordered and put in rout; the *Athenians* following their victorie even to the Sea-ſhore; where the *Perſians*, ſo many of them as loſt not their wits with their courage, ſaved themſelves in their ſhips.

The *Perſian* Armie conſiſted of an hundred thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe; of which there were ſlaine in the place ſixe thouſand three hundred, and of the *Grecians* an hundred foureſcore and twelve. For howſoever it came to paſſe, either by ſtrange viſions, which were afterward called *Panici terrores*, or by ſome other affright, it ſeemeth that the invading Armie, after the firſt encounter, fought with their backs towards their enemie, and loſt that number, by *Herodotus* ſet down, in their diſorderly retrait, or rather in their flat running away. As for *Juſtines* report, That two hundred thouſand of the *Perſian* armie were ſlain, the ſame hath no appearance nor poſſibilitie of truth. In this fight *Hippias* the perſwader of the enterpriſe was ſlain, ſaith *Juſtine* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tels us, That he eſcaped, and died moſt miſerably in *Lemnos*.

*Ad. Att.*

The greateſt honour of this victorie was caſt upon *Miltiades*, who both perſwaded the triall by battell, and behaved himſelfe therein anſwerably to the counſell which hee gave. *Themiſtocles* had his firſt reputation in this fight, being but young and of the firſt beard. Thoſe of the *Grecians*, of mark & commandement, that fell in the firſt encounter, were *Callimachus* and *Steſileus*. It is alſo ſaid, That *Cynegyrus* following the *Perſians* to their embarking, laid hands on one of their Gallies, to have held it from putting off the ſhore, and having his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arreſt it with his left; of which alſo being deprived, he took hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the firſt year of the threeſcore and twelfth *Olympiad*, about the time of the war made by *Coriolanus* againſt his fellow-*Romans*: *Alexander* the ſon of *Amyntas* being then King of *Macedon*, and *Phanippus* then Governour of *Athens*, according to *Plutarch*, or *Hybilides*, after *Halycarnaſſeus*.

*In vita Ariſt.*

This great fray thus parted, and the *Perſians* returned backe into the leſſer *Aſia*, *Miltiades* ſought and obtained an imployment againſt the Ilanders of *Paros*, one of the *Cyclades*, and paſſing over his Companies in threeſcore and ten Gallies, after ſixe and twentie dayes aſſault he brake his thigh, in ſeeking to enter it by the Temple of *Ceres*, wherewith himſelf being made unable, and his companies diſcouraged, he returned to *Athens*; where thoſe ungratefull Citizens forgetting all his ſervices paſt, and that of all other the moſt renowned at the battell of *Marathon*, did by the perſwaſion of *Xantippus*, the father of *Pericles* (who envied his fame) caſt him into priſon, and ſet on him a fine of fiftie Talents; where his weak and wounded bodie being not able to endure the one, nor his eſtate to pay the other, he after a few dayes ended his life.

Which envie of the better ſort to each other, with their private Factions, aſſiſted by the unthankfull and witleſſe people, brought them, not many yeares after, from a victorious and famous Nation, to baſe ſubjection and ſlaverie. *Miltiades* left behinde him one ſon called *Cymon*, begotten on *Hegeſipila*, daughter of *Olorus* King of *Thrace*, who (ſaith *Plutarch*) was neither inferior to his father in valour, nor to *Themiſtocles* in underſtanding, but exceeded them both in juſtice and good government.

Now *Darius* taking greater care how to recover his honour, than ſorrow for the loſſe received in *Greece*, gave order for new levies of men, & all other warlike proviſions. But the *Egyptians* revolting from his obedience (a Kingdome of great ſtrength and revenue) greatly diſtracted his reſolution for the re-invaſion of *Greece*. The diſſention alſo among his ſons, of whom the younger being born after he was king, and by ſo great a mother as *Atoſſa*, diſdained to give place to his elder brother, born before *Darius* obtained the Empire, greatly xexed him. And laſtly, death, who hath no reſpect of any mans affaires, gave end to all his conſultations and enterpriſes, and joyned him to the earth of his anceſtors, about a year after the battel of *Marathon*, & after that he had reigned ſixe & thirty years. He left behind him five ſons, namely, *Artabaſanes*, born before he obtained the kingdom, *Xerxes* who ſucceded him, *Achæmenes* Governour of *Egypt*, *Maſiſtes* and *Anabignes*.

CHAP.

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# Chap. VI.

## Of Xerxes.

### §. I.

### *The preparation of* Xerxes *againſt Greece.*

XErxes received from his father, as hereditarie, a double Warre, one to be made againſt the *Egyptians*, which he finiſhed ſo ſpeedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the ſame was performed: the other againſt the *Grecians*, of which it is hard to judge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the ſucceſſe ridiculous. In the conſultation for the proſecution of this War, which was chiefely bent againſt the *Athenians*, the Princes of *Perſia* were divided in opinion. *Mardonius*, who had formerly commanded in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, under *Darius*, and had alſo *Hyſtaſpes* for his grandfather, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes*, his ſiſter *Artozoſtres*, perſwaded by many arguments the *Europæan* warre. But *Artabanus*, brother to the late *Darius*, and uncle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrary counſell, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous ſucceſſe of the two late invaſions, which *Darius* had made contrary to his counſell: The one in perſon upon the *Scythians*, the other by his Lievtenants upon the *Greeks*; in each of which *Darius* left to his enemies both his Armie and his Honour.

He therefore beſought *Xerxes* to be right well adviſed before he did too far imbarke himſelf in this buſineſſe. For whatſoever undertaking hath deliberate and ſound counſell for conductor, though the ſucceſſe doe not alwaies anſwer the probability, yet hath Fortune nothing elſe thereof to vaunt, than the variableneſſe of his owne nature, which only the divine Providence, and not any humane power, can conſtraine.

But ſo obſtinate was the reſolution of *Xerxes* in proſecution of his former intent, that *Artabanus*, whether terrefied by Viſions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred, which he made knowne to all thoſe that oppoſed his deſire to this Warre (changing opinion and counſell) aſſiſted the *Grecian* Expedition with all the power he had.

After the war of *Egypt* was ended, foure years were conſumed in deſcribing and gathering an Army for this invaſion: which being compounded of all Nations ſubject to the *Perſian* Empire, conſiſted of ſeventeene hundred thouſand foot, and eightie thouſand horſemen, beſides Chariots, Camels, and other Beaſts for Carriage, if we may beleeve *Herodotus*: for of this multitude, *Trogus* findes the number leſſe by ſeven hundred thouſand footmen. *Her. l. 7.*

The Commanders of the ſeverall Nations were the Princes of the bloud of *Perſia*, either by marriage in the kings houſe, or otherwiſe: for to theſe were all commandements of this nature given, ſome few people excepted, who had of their owne Leaders.

The charge of the whole Armie was beſtowed on *Mardonius*, the ſon of *Gobrias* by a ſiſter of *Darius*, to whom were joyned ſome others of *Xerxes* his neareſt kinred, as Generalls over all; ſaving that the charge of ten thouſand ſelect *Perſians*, called the immortall Regiment (becauſe if any one of the whole number died, or were ſlaine, there was another preſently choſen in his ſtead) was given to *Hydarnes*; the eightie thouſand horſemen were led by the ſons of *Datis*, who commanded the late Armie of *Darius* in *Greece*.

The Fleet of Gallies were 2200. and eight, furniſhed by the *Phœnicians*, who had Commanders of their owne Nation, and by the *Cypriotes*, *Cilicians*, *Pamphilians*, *Lycians*, *Dorians*, *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and *Helleſpontines*; who were truſted with the furniſhing of their owne Veſſels, though commanded by the Princes of *Perſia*, as by *Ariabignes*, the ſon of *Darius*, and others. The reſt of the Veſſels for tranſportation were three thouſand. There were alſo certaine Gallies furniſhed by *Artemiſia*, the daughter of *Lygdames*, Princeſſe of *Halycarnaſſæus*, and the Ilands adjoyning, which her ſelfe commanded. Thoſe Gallies by her prepared and furniſhed, exceeded all the reſt of the Fleet, excepting thoſe of *Zidon*, in which *Xerxes* himſelfe was imbarked.

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## §. II.

Xerxes *Armie entertained by* Pythius: *his cutting off Mount Athos from the Continent: his bridge of Boats over the Helleſpont: and the diſcourſe betweene him and* Artabanus *upon the view of the Armie.*

WHen this world of an Armie was throughly furniſhed, he cauſed all the nations of which it was compounded, to make their *RendeZ-vous*, and repair at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. And when he had aſſembled to the number of ſeventeene hundred thouſand foot, as he entred the bodie of *Celanas*, he was by one *Pythius* the *Lydian* entertained, who out of his Flocks and Herds of Cattell gave food to *Xerxes* and his whole Armie. The feaſt ended, he alſo preſented him with two thouſand Talents of ſilver, and in Gold foure Millions, wanting ſeven thouſand of the *Perſian Darici*, which make ſo many of our Markes.

The King overcome with the exceeding liberalitie of *Pythius*, did not only refuſe his treaſure offred, but commanded that ſeven thouſand *Darici* ſhould be given him to make up his foure Millions; of which, ſo many thouſands were wanting when he made the preſent. But ſoone after, when *Pythius* beſought him to ſpare one of his five ſons from his attendance into *Greece* (becauſe himſelfe was old, and had none whom he could ſo well truſt as his owne ſon) *Xerxes* moſt barbarouſly cauſed the young man, for whom his father ſought exemption, to be ſundred into two parts, commanding that the one halfe of his carkaſſe ſhould be layed on the right, and the other halfe on the left hand of the common way by which the Armie marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea-ſide. The one was a paſſage for Gallies to be cut behinde Mount *Athos*, making the ſame (with the halfe Iſland or Headland, whereon it ſtood) to be an entire Iſland, ſundring thereby from the Continent of *Thrace* five Cities, beſides the Mountain and the *Cherſoneſus* or Necke of Land it ſelfe: a worke of more oſtentation than of uſe, and yet an enterpriſe of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent having but twelve furlongs (which make about a mile and halfe) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough only for two Gallies to paſſe in front. The Cities ſo ſevered from the maine, were *Dion*, *Olophyxus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thyſus* and *Cleona*.

He alſo gave order, that a Bridge upon Boats ſhould be made over the *Helleſpont* betwen *Abidus* and *Seſtos*, the Sea there having a mile of bredth, wanting an eighth part; which after the finiſhing, was by a Tempeſt torne aſunder and diſſevered: wherewith *Xerxes* being more enraged than diſcouraged, commanded thoſe to be ſlaine that were maſters of the worke, and cauſed ſixe hundred threeſcore and foureteene Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge; which by the art and induſtrie of the *Phœnicians* was ſo well anchored to reſiſt both winds blowing into and from the *Euxine* Sea, as the ſame being well boorded and rayled, the whole Armie of ſeventeen hundred thouſand foot, and foureſcore thouſand Horſe, with all the Moyles and Carriages, paſt over it into *Europe* in ſeven dayes and ſeven nights, without intermiſſion. This tranſportation of Armies did *Cæſar* afterward uſe. And *Caligula* that mad Emperour, in imitation of *Xerxes* his Bridge, did build the like.

The Bridge finiſhed, and the Armie brought neere to the Sea-ſide, *Xerxes* tooke a view of all his Troupes, aſſembled in the Plains of *Abidus*, being carried up, and ſeated on a place over-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adjoyning: and after he had gloried in his owne happineſſe, to behold and command ſo many Nations, and ſo powerfull an Armie and Fleet, he ſuddenly (notwithſtanding) burſt out into teares, moved with this contemplation, That in one hundred years there ſhould not any one ſurvive of that marvellous multitude: the cauſe of which ſudden change of paſſion when he uttered to *Artabanus* his Uncle; *Artabanus* ſpake to the King to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the diſſolution of this great Troupe within that number of yeares by the King remembred, is, That the life it ſelfe which we enjoy is yet more miſerable than the end thereof: for in thoſe few dayes given us in the world, there is no man among all theſe, nor elſewhere, that ever found himſelfe ſo accompanied with happineſſe, but that he oftentimes pleaſed himſelfe better with the deſire and hope of death, than of living; the incident calamities, diſeaſes, and ſorrowes whereto mankinde is ſubject, being ſo many and inevitable, that the ſhorteſt life doth oftentimes appear unto us over-long; to avoid all which, there is neither refuge nor reſt, but in deſired death alone.

With this melancholy diſcourſe, *Xerxes* being not much pleaſed, prayed *Artabanus* not to over-caſt thoſe joyes which they had now in purſuit with ſad remembrances. And holding ſtill a doubtfull conceit, that *Artabanus* utterly condemned the invaſion of *Greece*, againſt which he had formerly given many ſtrong reaſons, deſired him to deale freely with him, Whether he were returned to his firſt reſolution, that the enterpriſe of *Greece* could not be proſperous? Or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Viſion, he was confident of good ſucceſſe? *Artabanus*, notwithſtanding that he aſſured himſelfe of the Kings reſolution to goe on, and dared not by any new arguments to batter the great purpoſe it ſelfe, yet he told the King, That there were two things which marvellouſly affrighted him, and which the King ſhould finde, as he feared, to be moſt adverſe; to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, becauſe it had no where in that part of the world any Port capable of ſo great a Fleet: inſomuch, as if any tempeſt ſhould ariſe, all the Continent of *Greece* could hardly receive them, nor all the Havens thereof afford them any ſafety: and therefore when any ſuch ſhelter ſhall be wanting unto them, he prayed him to underſtand, that in ſuch a caſe of extremitie, men are left to the will and diſpoſition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and diſpoſition of men. The Land, beſides other incommodities, will be found by ſo much the more an enemie, by how much the unſatiate deſire of man to obtaine more and more thereof, doth lead him forward: for were there no man found to give reſiſtance, yet the want of meanes to feed ſuch an Armie, and the Famine, which cannot be prevented, will, without any other violence offered, diſ-inable and conſume it. By theſe Arguments *Artabanus* hoped to have diverted *Xerxes*, not daring perchance to utter what indeed he moſt feared; to wit, the overthrow of the Armie it ſelfe both by Sea and Land, which ſoone after followed. Theſe Cautions were exceeding weightie, if *Xerxes* his obſtinacie had not miſ-priſed them. For, to invade by Sea upon a perillous Coaſt, being neither in poſſeſſion of any Port, nor ſuccoured by any partie, may better fit a Prince preſuming on his fortune, than enriched with underſtanding. Such was the enterpriſe of *Philip* the ſecond upon *England* in the year 1588. who had belike never heard of this Counſell of *Artabanus* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the ſecond point, it is very likely, that *Xerxes* his Armie, which could not have in it leſſe than two millions of Soules, beſides his beaſts for Service and Carriage, ſhould after a few dayes ſuffer famine, and uſing *Machiavels* words, *Mourire ſans couſteo; die without a knife*. For it was impoſſible for *Greece*, being a ragged, ſtrait, and mountainous Countrey, to yeeld food (beſides what ſerved themſelves) for twentie hundred thouſand ſtrangers, whom they never meant to entertaine, but with the ſharpned points of their weapons, deſtroying withall whatſoever they could not well incloſe and defend. Nay, if we may beleeve *Herodotus*, the Armie of *Xerxes*, being reviewed at *Thermopylæ*, conſiſted of five millions, two hundred eightie three thouſand, two hundred twentie men, beſides Laundreſſes, Harlots, and Horſes, and was therefore likely to endure a ſpeedie famine.

The effect of *Xerxes* his anſwer was, That it was impoſſible to provide for all things; and that whoſoever ſhould enterpriſe any great matter, if he gave the hearing to all that could be objected of accidentall inconveniences, he ſhould never purſue the ſame farther than the diſpute and conſultation: which if his Predeceſſors, the *Perſian* Kings, had done, they had never growne to that greatneſſe, or poſſeſt ſo many Kingdomes and Nations as they now did; and therefore concluded, That great enterpriſes were never undertaken without great perils. Which reſolution of *Xerxes* was not to be condemned, if any neceſſitie had enforc't him to that warre. But ſeeing the many Nations newly conquered, which he alreadie commanded, were more than could be conſtrained to obedience any longer than the powerfull proſperitie of the *Perſians* endured, and that *Greece* was ſeparated by the Sea from the reſt of *Xerxes* his Dominions (of whoſe reſolution his Father *Darius* had made a deare experience) the fruit of this Warre was anſwerable to the plantation, and the ſucceſſe and end agreeable to the weake counſell whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, thoſe millions of men which he tranſported, and yet in his own judgement not ſufficient, (for he gathered in marching on, all the ſtrength of *Thrace* and *Macedon*) were an argument, that he rather hoped to feare the *Greekes* by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and reſolution, whom he conducted. For it is wiſely ſaid of thoſe uncountable multitudes: *Non vires habent, ſed pondus, & impedimenta potius ſunt quàm auxilium; They are great in bulke, but weake in forces, and rather a luggage than an aide.*

Beſides, as it was impoſſible to marſhal ſuch a world of men in one Armie, ſo the divers Nations, ſpeaking divers languages, bred the ſame confuſion among the *Perſian* commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of *Babel*, when they came to work. Whereas if *Xerxes* had of his five millions compounded ten Armies of fiftie thouſand choſen Souldiers in each, and ſent them yearly into *Greece* well victualled and furniſhed, he had either prevailed by the ſword, or forced them to forſake their territorie, or brought them into obedience by neceſſitie & famine, which cannot be reſiſted. But while *Xerxes* reſolved to cut down the banks of *Greece*, and to let in a ſea of men upon them, he was deceived both of his own hopes, and in their hearts whom he imployed, and beaten by the *Greeks*, both by Land and Sea; yea, he himſelf, conducted by his fear, fled ſhamefully into *Aſia*. A great part of his Armie was buried in *Greece*: the remainder whereof, which wintred in *Theſſalie*, and led by *Mardonius*, who perſwaded the enterpriſe, was in the Summer following utterly defeated, and himſelf ſlain.

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## §. III.

### *Of the fights at Thermopylæ and Artemiſium.*

AFter ſuch time as *Xerxes* had tranſported the Armie over the *Helleſpont*, and landed in *Thrace*, (leaving the deſcription of his paſſage alongſt that Coaſt, and how the River of *Liſſus* was drunke dry by his multitudes, and the lake neere to *Piſſyrus* by his cattell, with other accidents in his marches towards *Greece*) I will ſpeake of the encounters he had, and the ſhamefull and incredible overthrowes which he received. As firſt at *Thermopylæ*, a narrow paſſage of halfe an acre of ground, lying between the Mountains which divide *Theſſalie* from *Greece*, where ſometime the *Phocians* had raiſed a wall with gates, which was then for the moſt part ruined. At this entrance *Leonidas*, one of the Kings of *Sparta*, with three hundred *Lacedæmonians*, aſſiſted with one thouſand *Tegeatæ* and *Mantineans*, one thouſand *Arcadians*, and other *Peloponneſians*, to the number of three thouſand one hundred in the whole; beſides one thouſand *Phocians*, foure hundred *Thebans*, ſeven hundred *Theſpians*, and all the forces (ſuch as they were) of the bordering *Locrians*, defended the paſſage two whole dayes together againſt that huge Armie of the *Perſians*. The valour of the *Greeks* appeared ſo excellent in this defence, that in the firſt dayes fight, *Xerxes* is ſaid to have three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the deſtruction of his Armie by one handfull of thoſe men, whom not long before he had utterly deſpiſed: and when the ſecond dayes attempt upon the *Greeks* had proved vaine, he was altogether ignorant how to proceede further, and ſo might have continued, had not a run-agate *Grecian* taught him a ſecret way, by which part of his Armie might aſcend the ledg of Mountains, and ſet upon the backs of thoſe who kept the Straits. But when the moſt valiant of the *Perſian* Armie had almoſt incloſed the ſmall forces of the *Greeks*, then did *Leonidas*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, with his three hundred, and ſeven hundred *Theſpians*, which were all that abode by him, refuſe to quit the place which they had undertaken to make good, and with admirable courage not onely reſiſt that world of men which charged them on all ſides; but iſſuing out of their ſtrength, made ſo great a ſlaughter of their enemies, that they might well be called vanquiſhers, though all of them were ſlain upon the place. *Xerxes* having loſt in this laſt fight, together with twentie thouſand other Souldiers and Captains, two of his own brethren, began to doubt what inconvenience might befall him by the vertue of ſuch as had not bin preſent at theſe battels, with whom he knew that he ſhortly was to deale. Eſpecially of the *Spartans* he ſtood in great feare, whoſe manhood had appeared ſingular in this triall, which cauſed him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring into the field. It is reported of *Dieneces* the *Spartan*, that when one thought to have terrefied him by ſaying, That the flight of the *Perſian* arrowes was ſo thicke as would hide the ſun: he anſwered thus; It is very good newes: for then ſhall we fight in the coole ſhade.

Such notable reſolution having as freely been expreſſed in deeds, as it was uttered in words, cauſed the *Perſian* to ſtand in great doubt, when he heard that the Citie of *Sparta* could arme well-nigh eight thouſand men of the like temper, and that the other *Lacedæmonians*, though inferior to thoſe, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counſell of *Demaratus*, a baniſhed King of the *Spartans*, who had alwayes well adviſed and inſtructed him in the things of *Greece*, what courſe were fitteſt to be taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of *Demaratus* was, That all the Land-forces ſhould aſſemble together to defend the *Iſthmus*, that ſtreight necke of ground which joyneth *Peloponneſus* to the Continent. For which cauſe he adviſed, That three hundred ſhips well manned ſhould be ſent unto the Coaſt of *Laconia*, to ſpoile the country, and to hold the *Lacedæmonians* and their neighbours buſied at home, whileſt *Xerxes* at his leiſure having ſubdued the reſt, might afterward bring his whole power upon them, who remaining deſtitute of ſuccour, would be too weake alone to make reſiſtance. To this purpoſe alſo the ſame *Demaratus* further adviſed, That the ſaid Fleet of three hundred ſhips ſhould ſeize upon the Iland then called *Cythera*, now *Cerigo*, which lying neare to the Coaſt of *Laconia*, might ſerve as a fit place of *Rendez-vous* upon all occaſions, either of their own defence, or endamaging the enemie: whereby that ancient ſpeech of *Chilon* the *Lacedæmonian* ſhould bee verified, That it were better for his Countriemen to have that Ile drowned in the ſea, than ſtand ſo inconveniently as for them it did. What effect this counſell might have taken, had it bin followed, it is not eaſie to gheſſe. But a contrarie opinion of *Achæmenes* brother to King *Xerxes* was preferred as the ſafer. For the *Perſian* fleet had bin ſorely vexed with a grievous tempeſt, which continued three whole dayes together, wherein were loſt upon the Coaſt of *Magneſia*, foure hundred ſhips of war, beſides other veſſels innumerable, accordingly as *Artabanus* had foreſeen, that if any ſuch calamitie ſhould overtake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide enough to give them ſuccour. Therfore *Achæmenes* perſwaded his brother not to diſperſe his fleet; for if (ſaid he) after the loſſe of foure hundred ſhips we ſhall ſend away other three hundred to ſeek adventures, then will the *Greeks* be ſtrong enough by ſea to encounter the reſt of the Navie, which holding all together is invincible. To this counſell *Xerxes* yeelded, hoping that his Land-armie and fleet ſhould each of them ſtand the other in good ſtead, whileſt both held one courſe, and lay not far aſunder. But herein he was far deceived; for about the ſame time that his armie had felt the valour of the *Greeks* by land, his Navie likewiſe made a ſorrowfull proofe of their skill and courage at ſea. The *Grecians* fleet lay at that time at *Artemiſium* in the ſtraits of *Eubœa*, where the *Perſians* thinking to incompaſſe them, ſent two hundred ſayle about the Iland to fall upon them behinde, uſing a like ſtratagem to that which their King did practiſe againſt *Leonidas* in a caſe not unlike, but with far different ſucceſſe. For that narrow channell of the ſea which divideth *Eubœa* from the main, was in the ſame ſort held by a Navie of two hundred threeſcore and eleven ſaile againſt the huge *Perſian* Armada, as the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ* had formerly bin maintained by *Leonidas*, til he was circumvented, as this Navie might have bin, but was not. The departure of thoſe two hundred ſhips that were ſent about the Iland, and the cauſe of their voyage, was too well known in the *Perſian* fleet, and ſoone enough diſcloſed to the *Greeks*, who ſetting ſaile by night, met them with a counter-ſurpriſe, taking & ſinking thirty veſſels, inforcing the reſt to take the Sea, where being overtaken with foule weather, they were driven upon the rocks and caſt all away. Contrariwiſe, the Navie of the *Greeks* was increaſed by the arrivall of fiftie three *Athenian* ſhips, and one *Lemnian*, which came to their partie in the laſt fight. As theſe new forces encouraged the one ſide, ſo the feare of *Xerxes* his diſpleaſure ſtirred up the other to redeeme their loſſe with ſome notable exploit. Wherefore ſetting aſide their unfortunate policie, they reſolved in plain fight to repaire their honour, and caſting themſelves into the form of a Creſcent, thought ſo to incloſe the *Greeks*, who readily did preſent them battell at *Artemiſium*.

The fight endured from noone till night, and ended with equall loſſe to both parts. For though more of the *Perſian* ſhips were ſunke and taken, yet the leſſer loſſe fell altogether

gether as heavie upon the *Greekiſh* fleet, which being ſmall could worſe beare it. Herein only the *Barbarians* may ſeem to have had the worſe, that they forſook the place of fight, leaving the wrack and ſpoils to the enemie, who nevertheleſſe were fain to abandon preſently even the paſſage which they had undertaken to defend; both for that many of their ſhips were ſorely cruſht in the battel, and eſpecially becauſe they had received advertiſement of the death of *Leonidas* at *Thermopylæ*. Before they wayed anchors, *Themiſtocles*, Generall of the *Athenians*, engraved upon ſtone at the watering place an exhortation to the *Ionians*, that either they ſhould revolt unto the *Greeks*, or ſtand neutrall; which perſwaſion, he hoped would either take ſome place with them, or at the leaſt make them ſuſpected by the *Perſians*.

### §. IV.

### *The attempt of* Xerxes *upon* Apollo*'s Temple: and his taking of Athens.*

WHen *Xerxes* had paſt the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ*, he waſted the country of the *Phocians*, & the regions adjoining: as for the inhabitants, they choſe rather to flie, & reſerve themſelves to a day of battel, than to adventure their lives into his hands, upon hope of ſaving their wealth, by making proffer unto him of their ſervice. Part of his armie he ſent to ſpoil the Temple of *Delphi*, which was exceeding rich by means of many offerings that had bin made by divers Kings and great perſonages; of all which riches it was thought that *Xerxes* had a better Inventorie than of the goods left in his owne Palace. To make relation of a great aſtoniſhment that fell upon the companies which arrived at the Temple to have ſacked it, and of two Rockes that breaking from the Mount *Parnaſſus*, overwhelmed many of the *Barbarians*, it were peradventure ſomewhat ſuperſtitious. Yet *Herodotus*, who lived not long after, ſaith, That the broken Rockes remained even to his memorie in the Temple of *Minerva*, whither they rowled in their fall. And ſurely this attempt of *Xerxes* was impious; for ſeeing he beleeved that *Apollo* was a god, he ſhould not have dared to entertaine a covetous deſire of inriching himſelf by committing ſacriledge upon his Temple. Wherefore it may poſſibly be true, that licence to chaſtiſe his impietie, in ſuch maner as is reported, was granted unto the divell, by that Holy One, who ſaith, *Will a man ſpoile his gods?* and elſwhere; *Hath any Nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? Go to the Iles of Kittim, and behold, and ſend to Kedar, and take diligent heed, and ſee whether there be any ſuch things.* Now this impiety of *Xerxes* was the more inexcuſable, for that the *Perſians* alledged the burning of *Cybeles* Temple by the *Athenians*, when they ſet fire on the Citie of *Sardis* in *Aſia*, to be the ground and cauſe of the waſte which they made in burning of Cities and Temples in *Greece*. Wheras indeed, in the enterpriſe againſt *Delphos*, this vizzor of holy and zealous revenge falling off, diſcovered the face of covetouſneſſe ſo much the more ugly, by how much the more themſelves had profeſſed a deteſtation of the offence which the *Athenians* had committed in that kind by meer miſchance.

Mal.3.8.
Jer.2.9,10.

The remainder of that which *Xerxes* did, may be expreſſed briefly thus: *He came to Athens, which finding forſaken, he took and burnt the Cittadel and Temple which was therein.* The Cittadel indeed was defended awhile by ſome of more courage than wiſedome, who literally interpreting *Apollo*'s Oracle; *that Athens ſhould be ſafe in wooddenwalls*, had fortified that place with Boords and Paliſſadoes: too weak to hold out long, though by their deſperate valour ſo well maintained at the firſt aſſault, that they might have yeelded it upon tolerable conditions, had they not vainly relied upon the prophecie: whereof (being ſomewhat obſcure) it was wiſely done of *Themiſtocles*, to make diſcretion the interpreter, applying rather the words to the preſent need, than faſhioning the buſineſſe to words.

### §. V.

### *How* Themiſtocles *the Athenian drew the Greekes to fight at Salamis.*

THe *Athenians* had before the comming of *Xerxes* removed their wives and children into *Træzene*, *Ægina*, and *Salamis*, not ſo highly prizing their houſes and lands, as their freedome, and the common libertie of *Greece*. Nevertheleſſe, this great zeale, which the *Athenians* did ſhew for the generall good of their Countrie, was ill requited by the other *Greeks*, who with much labour were hardly intreated to ſtay for them at *Salamis*, whileſt they removed their wives and children out of the Citie. But when the Citie of *Athens* was taken, it was preſently reſolved upon, that they ſhould forſake the Ile of *Salamis*, and withdraw the fleet to *Iſthmus*: which necke of land they did purpoſe to fortifie againſt the *Perſians*, and ſo to defend *Peloponneſus* by land and ſea, leaving the reſt of *Greece* as indefenſible, to the furie of the enemie. So ſhould the Ilands of *Salamis* and *Ægina* have been abandoned, and the Families of the *Athenians* (which were there beſtowed as in places of ſecuritie) have been given over into mercileſſe bondage. Againſt his reſolution *Themiſtocles*, Admirall of the *Athenian* Fleet, very ſtrongly made oppoſition; but in vaine. For the *Peloponneſians* were ſo poſſeſſed with feare of loſing their owne, which they would not hazzard, that no perſwaſions could obtaine of them, to regard the eſtate of their diſtreſſed Friends and Allies. Many remonſtrances *Themiſtocles* made unto them, to allure them to abide the enemie at *Salamis*; As firſt in private unto *Eurybiades* the *Lacedæmonian*, Admirall of the whole fleet; That the ſelfe-ſame feare which made them forſake thoſe coaſts of *Greece*, upon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no checke at the firſt) cauſe them alſo to diſſever the Fleet, and every one of the Confederates to with-draw himſelfe to the defence of his owne Citie and Eſtate: Then to the Councell of War, which *Eurybiades* upon this motion did call together (forbearing to object what want of courage might worke in them hereafter;) he ſhewed that the fight at *Iſthmus* would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, having the fewer ſhips, to determine the matter in the ſtreights; and that, beſides the ſafeguard of *Ægina*, *Megara*, and *Salamis*, they ſhould by abiding where they then were, ſufficiently defend *Iſthmus*, which the *Barbarians* ſhould not ſo much as once look upon, if the *Greeks* obtained victory by ſea; which they could not ſo well hope for elſwhere, as in that preſent place which gave him ſo good advantage. All this would not ſerve to retaine the *Peloponneſians*, of whom one, unworthie of memorie, upbraided *Themiſtocles* with the loſſe of *Athens*, blaming *Eurybiades* for ſuffering one to ſpeake in the Councell, that had no Countrie of his own to inhabite. A baſe and ſhamefull objection it was, to lay as a reproach that loſſe, which being voluntarily ſuſtained for the common good, was in true eſtimation by ſo much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignitie did exaſperate *Themiſtocles*, and put into his mouth a replie ſo ſharp, as availed more than all his former perſwaſions. He told them all plainely, That the *Athenians* wanted not a fairer Citie than any Nation of *Greece* could boaſt of; having well-neare two hundred good ſhippes of Warre, the better part of the *Grecian* Fleet, with which it was eaſie for them to tranſport their Families and ſubſtance into any part of the World, and ſettle themſelves in a more ſecure habitation, leaving thoſe to ſhift as well as they might, who in their extremity had refuſed to ſtand by them. Herewithall he mentioned a Towne in Italy belonging of old to the State of Athens, of which Towne he ſaid an Oracle had foretold, That the Athenians in proceſſe of time ſhould build it a-new, and there (quoth he) will we plant our ſelves, leaving unto you a ſorrowfull remembrance of my words, and of your owne unthankfulneſſe. The Peloponneſians hearing thus much, began to enter into better conſideration of the Athenians, whoſe affaires depended not, as they well perceived, upon ſo weak termes, that they ſhould be driven to crouch to others; but rather were ſuch, as might enforce the reſt to yeeld to them, and condeſcend even to the uttermoſt of their owne demands.

For the Athenians, when they firſt embraced that Heroicall reſolution of leaving their grounds and houſes to fire and ruine, if neceſſity ſhould enforce them ſo farre, for the preſervation of their liberty; did employ the moſt of their private wealth, and all the common treaſure, in building a great Navie. By theſe meanes they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no ſuch calamity ſhould befall them by Land, as might not well be counterpoiſed by great advantages at Sea: Knowing well that a ſtrong fleet would either procure victory at home, or a ſecure paſſage to any other Country. The other States of Greece held it ſufficient, if building a few new ſhips, they did ſomewhat amend their navie. Wherby it came to paſſe, that, had they bin vanquiſhed, they could not have expected any other fortune than either preſent death, or perpetuall ſlavery; neither could they hope to be victorious without the aſſiſtance of the Athenians, whoſe forces by ſea did equall all theirs together; the whole conſiſting of more than three hundred and foureſcore bottomes. Wherefore theſe *Peloponneſians* beginning to ſuſpect their owne condition, which would have ſtood upon deſperate points, if the fleet of *Athens* had forſaken them; were ſoon perſwaded, by the greater feare of ſuch a bad event, to forget the leſſer, which they had conceived of the *Perſians*: and laying aſide their inſolent braverie, they yeelded to that moſt profitable counſell of abiding at *Salamis*.

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## §. VI.

### *How the Perſians conſulted about giving battell: and how* Themiſtocles *by policie held the Greekes to their reſolution; with the victorie at Salamis thereupon enſuing.*

IN the meane ſeaſon the *Perſians* had entred into conſultation, whether it were convenient to offer battell to the *Greekes*, or no. The reſt of the Captaines giving ſuch advice as they thought would beſt pleaſe the King their Maſter, had ſoon agreed upon the fight; but *Artemiſia* Queen of *Halicarnaſſæus*, who followed *Xerxes* to this warre in perſon, was of contrarie opinion: Her counſell was, that the King himſelfe directly ſhould march toward *Peloponneſus*, whereby it would come to paſſe, that the *Greeke* Navie (unable otherwiſe to continue long at *Salamis* for want of proviſion) ſhould preſently be diſſevered, and every one ſeeking to preſerve his owne Citie and goods, they ſhould, being divided, prove unable to reſiſt him, who had won ſo far upon them when they held together. And as the profit will be great in forbearing to give battell; ſo on the other ſide, the danger will be more (ſaid ſhe) which we ſhall undergoe, than any need requireth us to adventure upon; and the loſſe in caſe it fall upon us, greater than the profit of the victorie which we deſire. For if we compell the enemies to flie, it is more than they would have done, we ſitting ſtill: but if they, as better Sea-men than ours, put us to the worſt, the journey to *Peloponneſus* is utterly daſht, and many that now declare for us, will ſoon revolt unto the *Greekes*. *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had ſent for that purpoſe to the Fleet, related unto his Maſter the common conſent of the other Captaines, and withall this diſagreeing opinion of *Artemiſia*. The King well pleaſed with her advice, yet reſolved upon following the more generall, but farre-worſe counſell of the reſt; which would queſtionleſſe have beene the ſame which *Artemiſia* gave, had not feare and flatterie made all the Captaines utter that, as out of their owne judgement, which they thought to be moſt conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeed that *Xerxes* had entertained a vaine perſwaſion of much good, that his owne preſence upon the ſhore to behold the conflict, would worke among the Souldiers. Therefore he encamped upon the Sea-ſide, pitching his owne Tent on the mount *Ægalæus*; which is oppoſite unto the Iſle of *Salamis*, whence at eaſe he might ſafely view all which might happen in that action, having Scribes about him to write downe the acts and behaviour of every Captaine. The neere approach of the *Barbarians*, together with the newes of that timorous diligence, which their Countrimen ſhewed in fortifying the *Iſthmus*, and of a *Perſian* Armie, marching a-pace thither; did now againe ſo terrefie and amaze the *Peloponneſians*, that no intreatie, nor conteſtation would ſuffice to hold them together. For they thought it meer madneſſe to fight for a Country alreadie loſt, when they rather ſhould endeavour to ſave that which remained unconquered; propounding chiefly to themſelves what miſerie would befall them, if loſing the victorie, they ſhould be driven into *Salamis*, there to be ſhut up, and beſieged round in a poore deſolate Iland.

Hereupon they reſolved forth-with to ſet ſaile for *Iſthmus*: which had preſently bin done, if the wiſedome of *Themiſtocles* had not prevented it. For he perceiving what a violent fear had ſtopt up their eares againſt all good counſell, did practiſe another courſe, and forth-with labour to prevent the execution of this unwholeſome decree; not ſuffering the very houre of performance to finde him buſie in wrangling alteration. As ſoon as the Councell brake up, he diſpatched ſecretly a truſtie Gentleman to the *Perſian* Captaines, informing them truely of the intended flight, and exhorting them to ſend part of their Navie about the Iland, which incompaſſing the *Greekes*, might prevent their eſcape; giving them withall a falſe hope of his aſſiſtance. The *Perſians* no ſooner heard than beleeved theſe good newes, well knowing that the victorie was their owne aſſured, if the *Athenian* fleet joyned with them; which they might eaſily hope, conſidering what ability their Maſter had to recompence for ſo doing, both the Captaines with rich rewards, and the People with reſtitution of their City, and Territories. By theſe meanes it fell out, that when the *Greeks* very early in the morning were about to waigh Anchor, they found themſelves incloſed round with *Perſians*, who had laboured hard all that night, ſending many of their ſhips about the Iſle of *Salamis*, to charge the enemy in reare, and landing many of their men in the Iſle of *Pſittalea*, which lyeth over againſt *Salamis*, to ſave ſuch of their owne, and kill ſuch of the *Gracian* partie, as by any misfortune ſhould be caſt upon the ſhore. Thus did meere neceſſity enforce the *Gracians* to undertake the battaile in the Straights of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable victory, ſtemming the foremoſt of their enemies, & chaſing the reſt, who falling foule one upon another, could neither conveniently fight nor flie. I doe not finde any particular occurrences in this great battaile to be much remarkeable. Sure it is, that the Scribes of *Xerxes* had a weariſome taske of writing downe many diſaſters that befell the *Perſian* fleet; which ill acquitted it ſelfe that day, doing no one piece ſervice worthy the preſence of their King, or the regiſtring of his Notaries. As for the *Greekes*, they might well ſeeme to have wrought out that victory with equall courage, were it not that the principall honour of that day was aſcribed to thoſe of *Aegina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the *Barbarians* did flie towards *Phalerus*, where the Land-army of *Xerxes* lay, the ſhips of *Aegina* having poſſeſſed the Straights, did ſinke or take them, whileſt the *Athenians* did valiantly give charge upon thoſe that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of reſiſting.

## §. VII.

### *Of things following after the battaile of Salamis: and of the flight of* Xerxes.

AFter this victorie, the *Greeks* intending by way of Scrutinie, to determine which of the Captaines had beſt merited of them, in all this great ſervice; every Captain, being ambitious of that honour, did in the firſt place write downe his own name, but in the ſecond place, as beſt deſerving next unto himſelfe, almoſt every Suffrage did concur upon *Themiſtocles*. Thus private affection yeelded unto vertue, as ſoone as her owne turne was ſerved. The *Perſian* King, as not amazed with this calamity, began to make new preparation for continuance of warre; but in ſuch faſhion, that they which were beſt acquainted with his temper, might eaſily diſcerne his faint heart through his painted lookes. Eſpecially *Mardonius*, Author of the warre, beganne to caſt a wary eye upon his Maſter, fearing leſt his counſell ſhould be rewarded according to the event. Wherefore purpoſing rather to adventure his life in purſuite of the victorie, than to caſt it away by undergoing his Princes indignation; hee adviſed the King to leave unto him three hundred thouſand men, with which forces hee promiſed to reduce all *Greece* under the ſubjection of the *Perſian* Scepter. Herewithall he forgot not to ſooth *Xerxes* with many faire words; telling him, That the cowardiſe of thoſe *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Cilicians*, with others of the like metall, nothing better than ſlaves, who had ſo ill behaved themſelves in the late Sea-ſervice, did not concerne his honour, who had alwayes beene victorious, and had already ſubdued the better part of *Greece*, yea taken *Athens* it ſelf, againſt which the Warre was principally intended. Theſe words found very good acceptance in the Kings eare, who preſently betooke himſelf to his journey homewards, making the more haſt, for that he underſtood, how the *Greeks* had a purpoſe to ſaile to *Helleſpont*, and there to breake downe his bridge, and intercept his paſſage. True it was that the *Greekes* had no ſuch intent, but rather wiſhed his haſty departure, knowing that hee would leave his Armie not ſo ſtrong, as it ſhould have beene, had he in perſon remained with it. And for this cauſe did *Eurybiades* give counſell, that by no meanes they ſhould attempt the breaking of that bridge, leſt neceſſity ſhould inforce the *Perſians* to take more courage; and rather to fight like men, than die like beaſts. Wherefore *Themiſtocles* did, under pretence of friendſhip, ſend a falſe advertiſement unto this timorous Prince, adviſing him to convey himſelfe into *Aſia* with all ſpeed, before his bridge were diſſolved: which counſell *Xerxes* took very kindly, and haſtily followed, as before is ſhewed. Whether it were ſo that hee found the bridge whole, and thereby repaſſed into *Aſia*; or whether it were torne in ſunder by tempeſts, and he thereby driven to imbarke himſelf in ſome obſcure veſſell, it is not greatly materiall; though the *Greeks* did moſt willingly imbrace the latter of theſe reports. Howſoever it were, this flight of his did well eaſe the Country, that was thereby diſburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as Locuſts, had before overwhelmed it.

## §. VIII.

### *The negotiations betweene* Mardonius *and the Athenians, as alſo betweene the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians, after the flight of* Xerxes.

M*Ardonius* with his three hundred thouſand had withdrawne himſelf into *Theſſalie*, whence he ſent *Alexander*, the ſon of *Amyntas* King of *Macedon*, as Embaſſador to the *Athenians*, with promiſe of large amends for all their loſſes received; and of extending their Territories as farre as their owne deſires; allowing them to retaine their libertie and lawes, if they would make peace with *Xerxes*, and aſſiſt him in that warre.

The *Athenians* had now re-entred their city, but not as yet brought backe their wives and children; for as much as they well perceived that the place could not bee ſecure, till the Army of *Mardonius* were broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians*, underſtanding what faire conditions this Embaſſadour would propound, were perplexed with very great feare, leſt he ſhould finde good and ready acceptance. Hereupon, they likewiſe very ſpedily diſpatched their Embaſſadors for *Athens*, who arriving before the *Macedonian* had audience, uſed the beſt of their perſwaſion to retain the *Athenians* firm. They alledged, that neither *Xerxes* nor *Darius* had any pretence of Warre againſt the reſt of *Greece*, but had onely threatned the ſubverſion of *Athens*, till they and all their Confederates arming themſelves in defence of that City, were drawne into the quarrell, wherein the *Athenians* without much crueltie of injuſtice could not leave them. Wee know, ſaid they, that yee have endured great calamities, loſing the fruit of the grounds, and being driven to forſake the Towne, the houſes thereof bee ruined, and unfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, wee undertake to maintaine as our owne, your wives and children amongſt us, as long as the warre ſhall continue, hoping that yee, who have alwaies procured libertie to others, will not now goe about to bring all *Greece* into ſlavery and bondage. As for the *Barbarians*, their promiſes are large, but their words and oathes are of no aſſurance. It was needleſſe to uſe many arguments to the *Athenians*, who gave anſwer to *Alexander* in preſence of the *Spartan* Embaſſadors; That whileſt the Sunne continued his courſe, they would be enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither Gold nor any riches, with which hee might ſeeke to make purchaſe of their libertie. Concerning the maintenance of their wives and children, it was a burden which they promiſed to ſuſtaine themſelves, only deſiring the Lacedæmonians, that with all ſpeed they would cauſe their Armie to marche, foraſmuch as it was not likely, that *Mardonius* would long ſit ſtill in Theſſalie, having once received ſuch a peremptorie anſwer. In this their opinion of *Mardonius* his readineſſe to invade Attica, they found themſelves nothing deceived. For hee, as ſoone as *Alexander* had returned their obſtinate purpoſe of reſiſtance, did forthwith leade his army towards them, and their City: they having now the ſecond time quitted it, and conveyed themſelves into places of more ſecurity abroad in the Countrie, where they expected the arrivall of their confederates. From Athens he ſent his Agent unto them, with inſtructions, not only to perſwade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promiſes to allure the principall of them to his partie. His hope was, that either the people, wearied with forſaking their houſes ſo often, would be deſirous to preſerve them from fire, & to have thoſe which were already laid waſte, re-edified at the Kings charges: Or if this affection took no place with them, but that needs they would relie upon their old confederates, whoſe ſuccors did very ſlowly advance forwards, yet perhaps the leaders might be wonne with great rewards, to draw them to this purpoſe; all which projects, if they ſhould faile, the deſtruction of Athens would be a good meane to pleaſe his Maſter, King *Xerxes*, who muſt thereby needes underſtand, that *Mardonius* kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of Greece, in the ſtrongeſt part of their owne Countrie. But his expectation was beguiled in all theſe. For the Athenians ſo little regarded his offers, that when one *Lycidas*, or (as *Demoſthenes* calls him)

*Cyrcilus*, adviſed the *Senate* to accept the conditions, and propounded them to the people; all the *Senators*, & as many as abiding without the Counſaile-houſe, heard what he had ſaid, immediately ſet upon him, and ſtoned him to death; not examining whether it were feare or mony, that had moved him to utter ſuch a vile ſentence. Yea, the women of *Athens*, in the Ile of *Salamis*, hearing of his bad counſaile, and bad end, aſſembling together did enter his houſe there, and put his wife and children to the like execution. All this bravery notwithſtanding, when they perceived the ſlackneſſe of the *Peloponneſians* in giving them aide, they were faine to betake themſelves to *Salamis* againe, the old place of their ſecurity. Remaining there, and ſeeing little forwardnes in thoſe whom it moſt concerned to aſſiſt them, they ſent very ſevere meſſages to *Sparta*, complaining of their ſlacknes, and threatning withall, to take ſuch courſe as might ſtand beſt with their owne good, ſeeing that the common eſtate of all was ſo little regarded. Theſe meſſengers were at the firſt entertained with dilatory anſwers, which every day grew colder, when as the *Peloponneſian* Wall, builded a-thwart the *Iſthmus*, was almoſt finiſhed. But as the *Lacedæmonians* waxed careleſs and dull, ſo the *Athenians* hotly preſſed them to a quicke reſolution, giving them plainly to underſtand, that if they ſhould hold on in thoſe dilatory courſes, it would not be long ere the City of *Athens* took a new courſe, that ſhould little pleaſe them. All this while the *Perſian* fleet lay upon the coaſt of *Aſia*, not daring to draw nearer unto *Greece*, as being now too weak at Sea. Likewiſe the *Greekiſh* Navie contained it ſelfe within the Harbours upon *Europe* ſide; both to doe ſervice where need ſhould require at home; & withall to ſhunne the danger which might have befallen any part of it, that (being diſtracted from the reſt) had adventured over-farre. So mutuall feare preſerved in quiet the Ilands lying in the midſt of the *Aegean* Seas. But it was well and ſeaſonably obſerved by a Counſellor of *Sparta*, that the Wall upon *Iſthmus* would ſerve to little purpoſe for the defence of *Peloponneſus*, if once the *Athenians* gave eare to *Mardonius*: conſidering that many doores would bee opened into that Demie-Iland, as ſoone as the Enemy ſhould by winning the friendſhip of *Athens*, become the Maſter of the Seas about it. The *Lacedæmonians* upon this admonition, making better peruſall of their owne dangers, were very carefull to give ſatisfaction to the *Athenian* Embaſſadors, who not brooking their delaies, were upon point of taking leave, yea, as it ſeemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore diſpatching away five thouſand *Spartans* in the evening, under conduct of *Pauſanias*; they gave audience the next day to the Embaſſadors, whoſe complaints they anſwered with vehement proteſtations of their readineſſe; deeply ſwearing that the Army of *Sparta* was already farre upon the journey, and giving them leave to take up other five thouſand *Lacedæmonians*, out of the Region adjoyning, to follow after them.

The *Athenians*, though diſtaſting ſuch want of gravity, in a matter ſo important, were nevertheleſſe contented with the finall concluſion; & levying the number appointed of *Lacedæmonian* Souldiers, made what haſte they could to incampe in *Attica*. The other *Grecians* were nothing ſlacke in ſending forth Companies, whoſe neare approach cauſed *Mardonius* to forſake *Attica* as a rough Country, and therefore of much diſadvantage to Horſe, wherein conſiſted the beſt of his power. Before his departure he burnt the City of *Athens*, beating downe the Walls of it, and ruining all that had formerly eſcaped the fury of War.

## §. IX.

### *The great battaile of Platæa.*

IT were too long a rehearſall to ſhew all that happened in many skirmiſhes between the *Greekes* and him, in the Country of *Bœotia*, which *Mardonius* had choſen to bee the ſeate of that Warre. Much time was ſpent before the quarrell was decided by the triall of one maine battaile: for both parties did ſtand upon their guard, each expecting when the other ſhould aſſaile them.

The army of *Mardonius* contained about three hundred thouſand, which were by him choſen out of *Xerxes* his Army; to whom were adjoyned the forces of *Thebes*, *Macedony*, *Theſſaly*, and other parts of *Greece*, that now ſiding with the *Perſian*, furniſhed his Campe with fifty thouſand men. Againſt theſe the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, and their Confederates, had leavied an Army of one hundred and ten thouſand, of which forty thouſand were weightily armed, the reſt were only aſſiſtants to theſe forty thouſand, being armed more ſleightly, as rather to make excurſions and give chaſe, than to ſuſtaine any ſtrong charges.

Theſe two armies having eleven dayes confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of ſervice; *Mardonius*, whoſe victuals began to faile, reſolved to begin the fray. The *Greekes* were promiſed victory by an *Oracle*, if they fought in the Land of the *Athenians*, and in the plaine of *Ceres* & *Proſerpina*, making prayers unto certaine gods, Demi-gods, and Nymphes. But it was hard to finde the certaine place which the *Oracle* deſigned. For the plaine of *Ceres* was indeed in the Territory of *Athens*; but there was alſo an old Temple of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, neare unto the place where they lay at that time encamped, as likewiſe the memorialls of thoſe Nymphes and Demi-gods, were in the ſame place, upon Mount *Citharon*, and the ground ſerved well for foot-men againſt horſe; onely the Land belonged unto the *Platæans*, and not unto the *Athenians*.

Whileſt the *Greeks* were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtfull *Oracle*, the *Platæans* to make all cleere, did freely beſtow their land on that ſide the Towne upon the *Athenians*.

This magnificence of the *Platæans* cauſed *Alexander* the Great, many ages after, to re-edifie their City, which was ruined in the *Peloponneſian* wars.

All things being ready for battaile, the *Lacedæmonian* Generall thought it moſt meet, that the *Athenians* ſhould ſtand oppoſite that day to the *Medes* & *Perſians*, whom they had formerly vanquiſhed at *Marathon*; and that he, with his *Spartans*, ſhould entertaine the *Thebans* and other *Greekes* which followed *Mardonius*, as better acquainted with their fight, and having beaten them often-times before. This being agreed upon, the *Athenians* changed place with the *Lacedæmonians*; which *Mardonius* underſtanding (whether fearing the *Athenians*, of whoſe valour the *Medes* & *Perſians* had felt heavie proofe, or deſiring to encounter the *Spartans*, as thinking them the braveſt Souldiers in *Greece*) he did alſo change the order of his battaile, and oppoſe himſelfe to *Pauſanias*. All the *Greekes* might well perceive how the Enemy did ſhift his wings, and *Pauſanias* thereupon returned to his former Station; which *Mardonius* noting, did alſo the like. So one whole day was ſpent in changing to and fro. Some attempt the *Perſians* made that day with their Archers on horſe-back, who did ſo moleſt the *Greeks* at their watering place, that they were faine to enter into conſultation of retiring; becauſe they could not without much loſſe to themſelves, and none to the enemy, lye neare to that fountaine which did ſerve all the Campe. Having therefore concluded among themſelves to diſlodge; and part of the Army being ſent away before day-light: *Mardonius* perceived their departure in the morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their flight, (which to him ſeemed to proceed out of meer cowardiſe) he charged them in the reare with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valour, That the *Lacedæmonians* being over-taken by the enemies horſe, & over-whelmed with great flights of Arrowes, did quietly ſit ſtill, not making any reſiſtance or defence, till the Sacrifices for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and ſlaine, and ſome of eſpeciall marke loſt, before any ſigne of good ſucceſſe appeared in the entrailes.

But as ſoone as *Pauſanias* had found in the Sacrifice thoſe tokens, which the ſuperſtition of that Age and Country accounted fortunate; he gave the Signall of battaile: and thereupon the Souldiers, who till then did ſit upon the ground, as was their manner, aroſe altogether, and with excellent courage received the charge of the *Barbarians*, that came thronging upon them without any feare of ſuch notable reſiſtance. The reſt of the *Greeke* Army that was in march, being revoked by *Pauſanias*, came in a-pace to ſuccour the *Lacedæmonians*: only that part of the Army which was led by the *Athenians*, could not arrive unto the place of the great battaile, becauſe the *Thebans*, and others *Greekes* confederated with the *Perſians*, gave them checke by the way. Neverthelesſe, the *Spartans* with other their aſſiſtants, did ſo well acquit themſelves, that the *Perſians* were vanquiſhed, and *Mardonius* with many thouſands more ſlaine in the field; the reſt fled into the Campe, which they had fortified with woodden Walls, and there defended themſelves with ſuch courage as deſperate neceſſity inforced them unto, holding out the longer, becauſe the *Lacedæmonians* were not acquainted with the manner of aſſaulting Fortreſſes, and Walls. In the meane time the *Athenians* having found ſtrong oppoſition of the *Thebanes* and *Theſſalians*, did with much labour & courage obtain victory, which having not long purſued, they came to help the *Lacedæmonians*, whom they found wearily buſied in aſſaulting the Campe, with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themſelves under-took it, & in ſhort ſpace forced a paſſage through the Wall; at which breach firſt, and then on all ſides, the *Greekes* entred with ſuch fury, and juſt deſire of vengeance, that of three hundred thouſand they are ſaid not to have left three thouſand alive, excepting thoſe who fledde away with *Artabazus*, when as the *Perſian* Army firſt fell to rout.

If the execution were ſo great, as is reported, an eſpeciall cauſe of it was the fooliſh retrait, or rather flight into the Campe. For though it were ſo, that the place was well fortified, and the number of thoſe who caſt themſelves into it greater than any of the Aſſailants; yet they being of ſeverall Nations and Languages and having loſt their Generall with other principall Commanders, it was impoſſible that they in ſuch a terrour and aſtoniſhment ſhould make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemy Country, againſt an Army of men, farre more valiant than themſelves, and enflamed with preſent victory. Therefore the ſame wall which for a few houres had preſerved their lives, by holding out the enemy, did now impale them, and leave them to the ſlaughtering fury of unpitifull Victors. *Artabazus* fled into *Thrace*, telling the people of *Theſſaly*, and other Countries in his way, that he was ſent by *Mardonius* upon ſome piece of ſervice: For he well knew, that had they underſtood any thing of that great diſcomfiture, all places would have beene hoſtile unto him, and ſought with his ruine to purchaſe favour of the vanquiſhers. Therefore making ſo large marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble were left behinde and loſt, he came to *Byzantium*, whence he ſhipped his men over into *Aſia*. Such was the end of the vaine-glorious expedition, undertaken by *Xerxes* againſt the *Greekes*, upon hope of Honour, and Conqueſt, though ſorting otherwiſe, accordingly as *Artabazus* had fore-ſeene, and rather worſe, for as much as it began the quarrell, which never ended before the ruine of the *Perſian* Empire was effected by that Nation of the *Greekes*, deſpiſed and ſought to have beene brought into ſlavery. Hereby it may ſeeme, that the viſion appearing to *Xerxes*, was from God himſelfe, who had formerly diſpoſed of thoſe things, ordaining the ſubverſion of the *Perſian* Monarchie by the *Greeks*, who thus provoked, entred into greater conſideration of their owne ſtrength, and the weakneſſe of their Enemies.

## §. X.

### *The battaile of Mycale, with a ſtrange accident that fell out in the beginning of it: and examples of the like.*

THe ſame day on which the battaile was fought at *Platæa*, there was another battaile fought at *Mycale*, a Promontory, or Head-land in *Aſia*, where the *Perſian* fleet rode.

*Leutychides* the *Spartan*, with *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, Admirals of the *Greeke* Navie, at the requeſt of ſome Ilanders & *Ionians*, did ſaile into thoſe parts, to deliver the *Samians*, & procure the *Ionians* to revolt from the *Perſian*. *Xerxes* himſelfe at this time lay at *Sardis*, a city in *Lidia*, not farre from the Sea-ſide, having left threeſcore thouſand under the command of *Tigranes*, for defence of *Ionia* & the Sea-coaſt. Therfore when *Artayntes* and *Ithramitres*, Admirals of the *Perſian* fleete, underſtood that the *Greekes* bent their courſe towards them, they did forth-with draw their ſhips a ground, fortifying with *Paliſſadoes* & otherwiſe, as much ground as was needfull for the encamping of all their land & ſea-forces. *Leutychides* at his arrivall, perceiving that they meant to keep within their ſtrength, & reſolving to force them out of it, rowed with his gally cloſe aboord the ſhore, and called upon the *Ionians* (who more for feare than good will were encamped among the *Perſians*) exhorting them in the *Greek* tongue to remember liberty, & uſe the faire occaſion which they now had to recover it. Herein hee did imitate *Themiſtocles*, who had done the like at *Eubœa*, truſting that either theſe perſwaſions would prevaile, or if the *Perſians* did happen to underſtand them, that it would breed ſome jealouſie in them, cauſing them to fight in feare of their own companions. It need not ſeeme ſtrange, that this very ſame ſtratageme, which little or nothing availed *Themiſtocles*, did now very happily ſucceed. For *Xerxes* being in his full ſtrength, it was a matter of much difficulty, to perſwade thoſe inhabitants of *Aſia* to revolt; who now in his declining eſtate, gave a willing eare to the ſweet ſound of liberty. The *Perſians* likewiſe, who in their former bravery, little regarded and leſſe feared, any treaſon to bee contrived by their ſubjects, were now ſo wary, that from the *Samians* which were amongſt them, they tooke away their armes; the *Mileſians* whom they did ſuſpect, but would not ſeem to miſtruſt, they placed far from them, as it were for defence of the ſtreight paſſages of *Mycale*; pretending that theſe *Mileſians* did beſt of all others know thoſe places. But theſe devices little availed them. For the *Samians* perceiving that they were held as Traitors, took courage in the heate of the fight, and laying hold upon ſuch weapons as came to hand, aſſailed the *Perſians* manfully within the Campe; which example the *Ionians* preſently followed, being very glad to have found ſome that durſt beginne. It is ſaid that while the *Greekes* were yet in a march toward the Enemies Campe, a rumour ſuddenly ranne in the Army, that *Mardonius* was overthrowne in *Greece*, which (though perhaps it was given out by the Captaines to encourage the Souldiers) was very true. For the battaile of *Platæa* was fought in the morning, and this of *Mycale* in the evening of the ſame day.

The like report of that great battaile, wherein *Paulus Aemilius* overthrew *Perſeus* the laſt King of *Macedon*, was brought to *Rome* in foure dayes, as *Livie* with others do record. And *Plutarch* hath many other examples of this kinde. As that of the battaile by the River *Sagra* in *Italy*, which was heard of the ſame day in *Peloponneſus*: That of the battell againſt the *Tarquinians* & the *Latines*, preſently noiſed at *Rome*: And (which is moſt remarkable) the victory obtained againſt *Lucius Antonius*, who was Rebell to *Domitian* the Emperour. This *Lucius Antonius* being Lievtenant of the higher *Germanie*, had corrupted his Army with gifts and promiſes, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himſelfe Emperour; which newes much troubling the City of *Rome*, with feare of a dangerous Warre, it was ſodainly reported that *Antonius* was ſlaine, and his Army defeated.

Hereupon many did offer ſacrifice to the gods, and ſhew all manner of publique joy, as in ſuch caſes was accuſtomed. But when better inquiry was made, and the Authour of theſe tidings could not bee found; the Emperour *Domitian* betooke himſelfe to his journey againſt the Rebell; and being now with his Army in march, he received advertiſement by Poſte, of the Victory obtained, and the death of *Antonius*: whereupon remembring the rumour noiſed before in *Rome*, of the ſelfe-ſame victory, he found that the report and victory were borne upon one day, though twenty thouſand furlongs (which make about five & twenty hundred miles) a-ſunder. It is truely ſaid of *Plutarch*, that this laſt example gives credit unto many the like. And indeed it were very ſtrange, if among ſo many rumours, begotten by forgery or miſtakings, & foſtered by credulous imagination, there ſhould not bee found (as happens in dreams among many thouſand vaine and frivolous) a few preciſely true. Howbeit we may finde, that God himſelfe doth ſometimes uſe to terrefie thoſe who preſume upon their owne ſtrength, by theſe light meanes of tumultuous noiſes, as he raiſed the ſiege of *Samaria*, by cauſing a ſound of Horſes and Chariots to affright the *Aramites*; & as he threatned *Senacherib*, ſaying: *Behold, I will ſend a blaſt upon him, and he ſhall heare a noiſe, and returne to his owne land.* Wherefore it may well have beene true, that God was pleaſed by ſuch a meane as this, to animate the *Greekes*; who (as *Herodotus* notes) went towards the Enemies with heavie hearts, being in great feare, leſt their owne adventure ſhould by no meanes fall out well; conſidering in what danger they had left their owne Covntrey of *Greece*, which was ready to bee ſubdued by *Mardonius* whileſt they went wandring to ſeeke out enemies a-farre-off, upon the coaſt of *Aſia*. But the fame of the battaile fought at *Platæa* being noiſed among them; every man deſired that his own valour in the preſent fight, might be ſome help to worke out the full deliverance of *Greece*. In this alacrity of ſpirit, they divided themſelves into two Battalians, whereof the *Athenians* led the one, by the way of the plaine, directly towards the enemies Campe; the *Lacedæmonians* conducted the other, by the Mountaines and ſtreight paſſages, to winne the higher ground. The *Athenians* did firſt ſet upon the Campe (ere the *Lacedæmonians* could arrive on the other part) and being deſirous to get all the honour of the day to themſelves, did ſo

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forcibly aſſault it, that they brake way through the Paliſſadoes and Gabions,& made themſelves Maſters of the place, ſlaying all that could not ſave themſelves by flight. In this fight the *Samians* did good ſervice, as is formerly mentioned.

But the *Mileſians*, who upon the like jealouſie, were placed by the *Perſians* on the tops of *Mycale*, to defend the paſſages, did now (as if they had bin ſet of purpoſe to keep them from running away) put as many to the ſword as fell into their hands, letting none eſcape, except very few, that fled through by-pathes. The *Lacedæmonians* that day did little ſervice, for the buſineſſe was diſpatched ere they came in: Onely they broke ſuch companies as retired in whole troopes; making them flie diſperſed in very much diſorder, whereby the *Mileſians* were enabled to doe the greater execution upon them. This was the laſt fight of that huge Army leavied againſt *Greece*, which was now utterly broken, and had no meanes left to make offenſive Warre.

## §. XI.

### *Of the barbarous qualities of* Xerxes: *with a tranſition from the Perſian affaires to matters of Greece, which from this time grew more worthy of regard.*

XErxes lay at *Sardis*, not farre from the place of this battaile; but little minde had hee to revenge either this or other his great loſſes, being wholly given over to the love of his Brothers Wife: with whom hee could not prevaile by intreaty, nor would obtaine his deſire by force, becauſe he reſpected much his Brother her husband: hee thought it beſt to make a match between his owne Son *Darius*, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that means to finde occaſion of ſuch familiarity as might worke out his deſire. But whether it were ſo, that the chaſtity of the Mother did ſtill reject him, or the beauty of the Daughter allure him; hee ſoone after fell in love with his owne Sonnes wife, being a vicious Prince, and as ill able to governe himſelfe in peace, as to guide his Army in warre. This young Lady having once deſired the King to give her the Garment which hee then wore, being wrought by his owne Wife; cauſed the Queen thereby to perceive her husbands converſation with her, which ſhe imputed not ſo much to the beauty of her Daughther-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, againſt whom thereupon ſhe conceived extreme hatred. Therefore at a Royall feaſt, wherein the cuſtome was that the King ſhould grant their requeſt, ſhe craved that the Wife of *Maſiſtes*, her husbands brother, the young Ladies Mother, might be given into her diſpoſition. The barbarous King, who might either have reformed the abuſe of ſuch a cuſtome, or have deluded the importunate cruelty of his Wife, by threatning her ſelfe with the like, to whatſoever ſhe ſhould inflict upon the innocent Lady; granted the requeſt; & ſending for his brother, perſwaded him to put away the Wife which hee had, and take one of his Daughters in her ſtead. Hereby it ſeemes, that hee underſtood how villainouſly that poore Lady ſhould be intreated, whom hee knew to bee vertuous, and whom himſelfe had loved. *Maſiſtes* refuſed to put her away; alledging his owne love, her deſerving, and their common Children, one of which was married to the Kings Sonne, as reaſons important to move him to keepe her. But in moſt wicked manner *Xerxes* reviled him; ſaying, That hee now ſhould neither keepe the Wife which he had, nor have his Daughter whom he had promiſed unto him. *Maſiſtes* was much grieved with theſe words, but much more, when hee returned home, hee found his Wife moſt butcherly mangled by the Queene *Ameſtris*, who had cauſed her Noſe, Lips, Eares, and Tongue to be cut off, and her Breſts in like manner, which were caſt unto Dogs. *Maſiſtes* enraged with this villany, tooke his way with his children, and ſome Friends, towards *Bactria*, of which Province he was Governor, intending to rebell & avenge himſelfe. But *Xerxes* underſtanding his purpoſe, cauſed an Army to bee leavied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Company to the ſword. Such was the Tyrannicall condition of the *Perſian* Government; and ſuch are generally the effects of Luxury, when it is joyned with abſolute power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that hee was a Prince of much vertue. And therefore *Alexander* the Great, finding an Image of his over-throwne, and lying upon the ground, ſaid, That hee doubted, whether in regard of his vertue, hee ſhould againe erect it, or, for the miſchiefe done by him to *Greece*, ſhould let it lye. But ſurely whatſoever his other good qualities were, he was fooliſh, and was a coward, and conſequently mercileſſe.

Therefore wee may firmely beleeve, that the vertue of *Cyrus* was very great, upon which the foundation of the *Perſian* Empire was ſo ſurely laid, that all the wickedneſſe and vanities of *Xerxes*, & other worſe Princes, could not overthrow it, untill it was broken by a vertue almoſt equall to that which did eſtabliſh it. In wars againſt the *Egyptians*, the fortune of *Xerxes* did continue, as at the firſt it had been, very good; but againſt the generall eſtate of *Greece*, neither he, or any of his poſterity, did ever make offenſive warre, but received many loſſes in *Aſia*, to which the laſt at *Mycale* ſerved but as an introduction; teaching the *Greekes*, and eſpecially the *Athenians*, that the *Perſian* was no better Souldier at his owne doores, than in a forraine Country: whereof good triall was made forth-with, and much better proofe as ſoone as the affaires of *Athens* were quietly ſetled and aſſured.

From this time forward I will therefore purſue the Hiſtorie of *Greece*, taking-in the matters of *Perſia*, as alſo the eſtate of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of time ſhall preſent them. True it is, that the *Perſian* eſtate continued in her greatneſſe, many ages following, in ſuch wiſe that the knowne parts of the World had no other Kingdome, repreſenting the Majeſty of a great Empire.

But this greatneſſe depended onely upon the riches & power that had formerly been acquired, yeelding few actions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting ſome Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that exceſſive Luxury, where-with both it, and all, or the moſt of Empires that ever were, have beene enervated, made unweildy, and (as it were) fattened for the hungry ſwords of poore and hardy Enemies. Hereby it came to paſſe, that *Xerxes* and his ſucceſſours were faine to defend their Crownes with money and baſe policies; very ſeldome or never (unleſſe it were with great advantage) daring to adventure the triall of plaine battaile with that little Nation of *Greece*; which would ſoone have ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not private malice and jealouſie urged every City to envie the height of her neighbours wals, and thereby diverted the ſwords of the *Greekes* into their owne bowels, which after the departure of *Xerxes* began very well, and might better have continued, to hew out the way of conqueſt, on the ſide of *Aſia*.

# CHAP. VII.

## *Of things that paſſed in Greece from the end of the Perſian Warre, to the beginning of the Peloponneſian.*

### §. I.

### *How Athens was rebuilt and fortified.*

AFTER that the *Medes* and *Perſians* had received their laſt blow, and were utterly beaten at *Mycale*: *Leutychides*, who then commanded the *Grecian* Army, leaving the purſuit of the warre to the *Athenians*, aſſiſted by the revolted *Iones*, returned with the *Lacedæmonians* and other *Peloponneſians* to *Sparta* and other places, out of which they had beene leavied. The *Athenians* in the meane while beſieged *Seſtos*, a City on the ſtrait of the *Helleſpont*, betweene which and *Abydus*, *Xerxes* had lately faſtned his Bridge of Boats: where the inhabitants, deſperate of ſuccour, did not long diſpute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the *Greekes*, who entertained themſelves the Winter following on that ſide the *Helleſpont*. In the Spring they drew homeward, and having left their wives and children, ſince the invaſion of *Attica*, and the abandoning of *Athens*, in divers Iſlands, and at *Trœzen*, they now found them out, and returned with them to their owne places.

And though the moſt part of all their houſes in *Athens* were burnt and broken downe, and the walls of the City over-turned, yet they reſolved firſt on their common defence, and to fortifie their City, before they cared to cover themſelves, their wives and children, with any private buildings. Whereof the *Lacedæmonians* being advertiſed, and miſliking the fortifying of *Athens*, both in reſpect that their owne City of *Sparta* was unwalled, as alſo becauſe the *Athenians* were grown more powerfull by Sea, than either themſelves, or any other State of *Greece*, they diſpatched meſſengers to the *Athenians* to diſſwade them; not acknowledging any private miſlike or jealouſie, but pretending, that if the *Perſians* ſhould return to invade *Greece* a third time, the *Athenians* being in no better ſtate to defend themſelves than heretofore, the ſame would ſerve to receive their enemies, and to be made a Seate for the Warre, as *Thebes* had lately bin. To this the *Athenians* promiſed to give them ſatisfaction by their own Embaſſadors very ſpeedily. But being reſolved to goe on with their workes by the advice of *Themiſtocles*, they held the *Lacedæmonians* in hope of the contrary, till they had raiſed their walls to that height, as they cared not for their miſlikes, nor doubted their diſturbance; and therefore (to gaine time) they diſpatched *Themiſtocles* towards *Lacedæmon*, giving him for excuſe, that hee could not deliver the *Athenians* reſolutions, till the arrival of his fellow-Commiſſioners, who were of purpoſe retarded. But after a while, the *Lacedæmonians* expectation being converted into jealouſie (for by the arrivall of divers perſons out of *Attica*, they were told for certaine, That the walls of *Athens* were ſpeedily grown up beyond expectation) *Themiſtocles* prayed them not to beleeve reports and vaine rumors, but that they would bee pleaſed to ſend ſome of their owne truſty Citizens to *Athens*, from whoſe relation they might reſolve themſelves, & determine accordingly. Which requeſt being granted, and Commiſſioners ſent, *Themiſtocles* diſpatched one of his owne, by whom he adviſed the *Athenians*, firſt to entertaine the *Lacedæmonians* with ſome ſuch diſcourſe as might retaine them a few daies, and in concluſion to hold them among them, till himſelf, & the other *Athenian* Embaſſadors, then at *Sparta*, had their liberty alſo to return. Which done, and being alſo aſſured by his aſſociates & *Ariſtides*, that *Athens* was already defenſible on all parts, *Themiſtocles* demanding audience, made the *Lacedæmonians* know, That it was true that the walls of *Athens* were now raiſed to that height, as the *Athenians* doubted not the defence of their City; praying the *Lacedæmonians* to beleeve, That whenſoever it pleaſed them to treat with the *Athenians*, they would know them for ſuch as right well underſtood what appertained to a Common-weale and their owne ſafety, without direction & advice from any other: That they had in the warre of *Xerxes* abandoned their City, and committed themſelves to the woodden Walls of their ſhippes, from the reſolution of their owne counſells and courage, and not thereto taught or perſwaded by others: and finally, in all that perillous warre againſt the *Perſians* they found their owne judgements and the execution thereof in nothing inferiour, or leſſe fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Common-weale among the *Greekes*: And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Maſters and Judges of their owne affaires, and thought it good reaſon, that either all the Cities confedered within *Greece* ſhould be left open, or elſe that the Walls of *Athens* ſhould be finiſhed and maintained.

The *Lacedæmonians* finding the time unfit for quarrell, diſſembled their miſlike, both of the fortifying of *Athens*, and of the diviſion; and ſo ſuffered the *Athenians* to depart, and received backe from them their owne Embaſſadors.

The Walls of *Athens* finiſhed, they alſo fortified the Port *Pyreus*, by which they might under covert imbarke themſelves upon all occaſions.

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## §. II.

### *The beginning of the Athenian greatneſſe, and proſperous warre made by that State upon the Perſian.*

THe *Athenians* having ſetled things in good order at home, prepared thirty Gallies for the purſuit of the warre againſt the *Perſians*, to which the *Lacedæmonians* added other twenty, and with this Fleet, ſtrengthened by the reſt of the Cities of *Greece* confederated, they ſet ſaile for *Cyprus*, under the conduct of *Pauſanias* the *Lacedæmonian*; where, after their landing having poſſeſt themſelves of many principall places, they imbarked the Army againe, and tooke land in *Thrace*, recovering from the *Perſians* by force the City *BiZantium*, now *Conſtantinople*: from whence *Pauſanias*, behaving himſelfe more like a Tyrant than a Captaine, eſpecially towards the *Ionians* lately revolted from *Xerxes*, was called backe by the Councell of *Lacedæmon*, and not onely accuſed of many inſolent behaviours, but of Intelligence with the *Medes*, & Treaſon againſt his Countrey. In his ſtead they imployed *Docres*, who either gave the ſame cauſe of offence; or elſe the *Athenians*, who affected the firſt commandement in that warre, practiſed the ſouldiers to complaine; though indeede the wiſe and vertuous behaviour of *Ariſtides*, Generall of the *Athenian* forces, a man of rare & incomparable ſincerity, had beene able to make a good Commander ſeeme ill, in compariſon of himſelfe; & therefore was much more availeable, in rendring thoſe deteſted, whoſe vices afforded little matter of excuſe. Howſoever it were, the *Lacedæmonians* being lo leſſe wearied of the war, than the *Athenians* were eager to purſue it, the one obtained their eaſe, and the other the execution and honour which they deſired: for all the *Greeks* (thoſe of *Peloponneſus* excepted) willingly ſubjected themſelves to the commandement of the *Athenians*, which was both the beginning of their greatneſſe in that preſent age, and of their ruine in the next ſucceeding. For the charge of the warre being now committed unto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities; they appointed Receivers and Treaſurers, & began to levie mony, according to their diſcretion, for the maintenance of the generall defence of *Greece*, & for the recovering of thoſe places on *Europe* ſide, in *Aſia* the leſſe, and the Ilands, from the *Perſians*. This tribute (the firſt that was ever payed by the *Greeks*) amounted to foure hundred and threeſcore Talents; which was raiſed eaſily by the honeſt care of that juſt man *Ariſtides*, to whoſe diſcretion all the confederates referred themſelves, & no one man found occaſion to complaine of him. But as the vertue of *Ariſtides*, & other worthy Citizens, brought unto the *Athenians* great commodity; ſo the deſire which they conceived of encreaſing their commodity, corrupted their vertue, and robbing them of the generall love, which had made them powerfull, abandoned their City to the defence of her treaſure, which with her in the next age periſhed. For it was not long ere theſe foure hundred and threeſcore Talents were raiſed to ſixe hundred, nor long after that, ere their covetous tyranny had converted their followers into ſlaves, and extorted from them yearely thirteene hundred Talents. The Iſle of *Delos* was at the firſt appointed for the Treaſure-houſe wherein theſe ſummes were laid up, and where, at the generall Aſſembly, the Captaines of thoſe forces, ſent by the confederates, were for forme ſake called to conſultation. But the *Athenians*, who were ſtronger by ſea than all *Greece* beſides, had lockt up the common treaſure in an Iſland, under their owne protection, from whence they might tranſport it at their pleaſure, as afterward they did.

The generall Commander in this Warre was *Cimon*, the ſon of *Miltiades*, who firſt tooke *Eiona*, upon the River *Strimon*; then the Iſle of *Sciros*, inhabited by the *Dolopes*: they maſtered the *Cariſtii*, and brought into ſervitude the *Naxii*, contrary to the form of the confederacy: So did the other the inhabitants of *Greece*, if at any time they failed of their contribution, or diſobeyed their commandements; taking upon them & uſurping a kinde of ſoveraigne authority over the reſt: which they exerciſed the more aſſuredly, becauſe they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be reſiſted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, weary of the warre in their owne perſons, and given up altogether to their eaſe, made choice rather to pay their parts in money, than either in men of warre, or in ſhips; leaving the proviſion of both to the *Athenians*. Hereby the one grew weake in all their Sea-defences, and in the exerciſe of the Warres; the other greatly ſtrengthened their Navie and their experiences, being alwayes armed and imployed in honorable Services, at the coſt of thoſe, who having lifted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-mony, levied upon theſe their confederates, employed ſo well by the *Athenians* at the firſt (as ill proceedings are often founded upon good beginnings) that no great cauſe of repining was given. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith *Cimon* the Admirall ſcouring the Aſiaticke Seas, took-in the City of *Phaſelis*; which having formerly pretended neutrality, and refuſed to relieve, or any way aſſiſt the *Greekes*, were enforced to pay ten Talents for a fine, and ſo to become followers of the *Athenians*, paying yearly contribution.

From thence hee ſet ſaile for the River *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia*, where the *Perſian*

Fleet rode, being of ſixe hundred ſayle, or (according to the moſt ſparing report) three hundred and fifty, and having a great Land-Army, encamped upon the ſhoare; all which forces having been provided for advancing the Kings affaires in *Greece*, where utterly defeated in one day, and two hundred ſhips taken by the *Athenians*, the reſt being broken to pieces, or ſunk, ere ever they had ſwom in the *Greekiſh* Seas. *Cimon* having in one day obtained two great victories, the one by Sea, and the other by Land, was very ſoone preſented with a third. For foureſcore ſayle of *Phœnicians* (who were the beſt of all Sea-men, under the *Perſian* command) thinking to have joyned themſelves with the Fleet before deſtroyed, arrived upon the ſame Coaſt, ignorant of what had paſſed, and fearing nothing leſſe than what enſued. Upon the firſt notice of their approach, *Cimon* weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-Land, called *Hydra*, did ſo amaze them, that they onely ſought to run themſelves on ground; by which meane preſerving few of their men, they loſt all their ſhips. Theſe loſſes did ſo breake the courage of the *Perſian*, that omitting all hope of prevailing upon *Greece*, he condeſcended to whatſoever Articles it pleaſed the *Athenians* to propound, granting liberty unto all the *Greeks* inhabiting *Aſia*; and further covenanting, That none of his ſhips of War ſhould ſayle to the Weſtward of the Iſles, called *Cyanea* and *Chelidonia*.

This was the moſt honourable peace that ever the *Greeks* made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any war that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole Nation, till ſuch time as under *Alexander*, they overthrew the empire of *Perſia*; in which warre, few, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great command, but ſerved altogether under the *Macedonians*.

## §. III.

### *The death of* Xerxes *by the treaſon of* Artabanus.

Beſides theſe loſſes, which could not eaſily have bin repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time ſuch, as gave juſt cauſe to the *Perſian* of ſeeking peace upon any termes not altogether intolerable. For *Artabanus*, the Uncle of *Xerxes*, perceiving, that the King his Maſter did eaſily take ſmall occaſions to ſhed the blood of ſuch, as in kindred or place were neere unto him, began to repoſe leſſe hope of a ſafetie in remaining faithfull, than of obtaining the Soveraigntie, by deſtroying a Prince that was ſo hated for his cruelty, and deſpiſed for his cowardiſe and misfortunes. Having conceived this Treaſon, he found meanes to execute it by *Mithridates* an Eunuch, in ſuch cloſe manner, that (as if he himſelfe had been innocent) he accuſed *Darius* the ſonne of *Xerxes*, and cauſed him to ſuffer death as a Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickedneſſe hee got the Kingdome, and held it ſeven moneths; or whether intending the like evill to *Artaxerxes* the ſon of *Xerxes*, he was by him prevented and ſurpriſed, were hard to affirme any certainty. But all Writers agree upon this, That taken hee was, and with his whole familie put to death by extreme torments, according to the ſentence whereof the truth is more ancient than the Verſe:

*Rarò antecedentem ſceleſtum*
*Deſeruit pede pœna claudo.*
Seldome the villaine though, much haſte he make,
Lame-footed Vengeance failes to overtake.

## §. IV.

### *The baniſhment of* Themiſtocles: *his flight to* Artaxerxes *newly reigning in Perſia*; *& his death.*

*Artaxerxes* being eſtabliſhed in his Kingdome, and having ſo compounded with the *Athenians*, as the preſent neceſſity of his affaires required, began to conceive new hopes of better fortune againſt the *Greeks*, than hee or his predeceſſors had ever hitherto found. For the people of *Athens*, when the *Perſians* were chaſed out of *Greece*, did ſo highly value their owne merits in that ſervice, that they not onely thought it fit for themſelves to become the Commanders over many Townes and Iſlands of the *Greekes*, but even within their owne wals, they would admit none other forme of Government than meerely *Democraticall*. Herein they were ſo inſolent, that no integritie nor good deſert was able to preſerve the eſtate of any ſuch as had borne great office, longer than by flattering the raſcall multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deeds to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended *Themiſtocles*; who, though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatneſſe upon popularity, yet now preſuming upon his good ſervices done to the State, he thought that with great reaſon they might grant him the liberty to checke their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwiſe, they were ſo highly offended with his often rehearſing the benefits which they had received from him, that they laide upon him the puniſhment of *Oſtraciſme*, whereby hee was baniſhed for ten yeers, as a man over-burthenſome to the Common-wealth.

Before the time of his returne was halfe expired, a new accuſation was brought againſt him by the *Lacedæmonians*, who charged him of conſulting with *Pauſanias*, about betraying the whole Conntrey of *Greece* unto *Xerxes*. Hereupon *Themiſtocles*, finding no place of ſecurity againſt the malice of two ſuch mighty cities, was driven, after many troubleſome flights, and dangerous removings, to adventure himſelf into *Perſia*; where he found *Artaxerxes* newly ſetled, & was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which *Artaxerxes* had conceived of advancing his affaires by the counſell and aſſiſtance of *Themiſtocles*, proved altogether fruitleſſe. For when the *Athenians*, in favour of *Inarus* the *Lybian*, (who infeſted *Egypt*, cauſing it to rebell againſt the *Perſian*) had ſent a Fleet to Sea, landing an Army in *Egypt*, and ſcouring thoſe Eaſterne Seas, to the great hinderance of *Artaxerxes*, & (for ought that I can underſtand) to the manifeſt breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with *Xerxes*; then did the King ſend his Letters to *Themiſtocles*, requiring him to make good the hopes which hee had given, of aſſuring the *Perſian* eſtate againſt the *Greekes*.

But whether *Themiſtocles* perceived much unlikelineſſe of good ſucceſſe, in leading a great army of daſtardly *Perſians* againſt the warlike people of *Greece*; or elſe (as in favour of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the love of his Country would not permit him to ſeeke honour by the ruine of it: ſure it is, that being appointed by *Artaxerxes* to undertake the conduct of great forces againſt the *Athenians*, he decided the great conflict between thankfulneſſe to his well deſerving Prince, and naturall affection to his own ill-deſerving people, by finiſhing his life with a cup of poyſon.

## §. V.

### *How the Athenians, breaking the peace, which to their great honour they had made with the Perſian, were ſhamefully beaten in Egypt.*

THen was *Artaxerxes* driven to uſe the ſervice of his owne Captaines in the *Egyptian* warre, wherein it appeared well, That a juſt cauſe is a good defence againſt a ſtrong enemy. An *Athenian* Fleet of two hundred ſaile ſtrong was ſent forth under *Cimon*, to take-in the Iſle of *Cyprus*: which conqueſt ſeemed eaſie both to make and to maintaine, the *Perſian* being utterly broken at Sea, and thereby unable to relieve the Iſland. Now although it were ſo, that a peace had been concluded, which was likly to have been kept ſincerely by the *Perſian*, who had made ſo good proofe of the *Græcian* valour, that he was nothing deſirous to build any ſhips of Warre (without which the *Greeks* could receive no harme from him) whereof if any one ſhould be found ſayling towards *Greece*, the peace was immediatly broken, and if not, his whole eſtate; yet all the Sea-coſt (no ſmall part of his Dominions) expoſed to the waſt of an enemy too far overmatching him. Yet whether the *Athenians* were in doubt, leſt the league which in his own worſer fortunes he had made with them, hee would break in theirs; and therefore ſought to get ſuch aſſurance into their hands, as might utterly diſable him from attempting ought againſt them; or whether the increaſe of their revenues & power, by adding that rich and great *Iland* to their Empire, cauſed them to meaſure honour by profit; they thought it the wiſeſt way, to take whileſt they might, whatſoever they were able to get and hold, and he unable to defend.

The *Ile* of *Cyprus* lying in the bottome of the ſtreights betweene *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, is very fitly ſeated for any Prince of State, that being mighty at Sea, doth either ſeeke to enrich himſelfe by trade with thoſe Countries, or to infeſt one or more of them when they are his enemies. And this being the purpoſe of the *Athenians*, their Ambition which had already devoured, in conceit, this Iland, was on the ſudden well nigh choaked with a greater morſell, to ſnatch at which, they let *Cyprus* alone, which they might eaſily have ſwallowed and digeſted. For *Inarus* King of the *Lybians*, confining *Egypt*, having found how greatly the Countrey was exhauſted by the late warres, and how weakely defended by very ſlender *Perſian* Garriſons, conceived rightly, that if ſuch ſmall forces as the *Satrapa* or *Viceroy* could make on the ſudden of his owne Guards, or levie out of the ordinary Garriſons, were by him defeated; the naturalls of the Countrey not long ſince oppreſſed by *Cambyſes*, and after a revolt very lately ſubdued by *Xerxes*, would ſoone breake faith with him, who had no other title to that Kingdome than a good ſword. Further, he perſwaded himſelfe that the people, unable to defend themſelves againſt the *Perſian* without his aſſiſtance, would eaſily be drawne to accept him, the author of their deliverance, for King. Neither did this hope deceive him. For having taken and cruelly ſlaine *Achæmenes* the *Viceroy*; divers Cities forthwith declared themſelves for him, and proclayming him King, ſhewed the moſt of their indeavour for proſecution of the Warre. But he conſidering his owne weakeneſſe, and that the meanes of the *Egyptians* his adherents were not anſwerable to their deſires, perceived well, that to reſiſt the power of *Artaxerxes*, farre greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price ſoever he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the great *Athenian* fleet, and knowing well the vertue of the Souldiers therein embarqued; he invited the Commanders to ſhare with him the Kingdome of *Egypt*, as a farre greater reward of their adventure, than ſuch an addition as that of *Cyprus* could be to their eſtate. Whether he or they (if things had wholly ſorted according to their expectation) would have bin contented with an equall ſhare, and not have fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a divination unneceſſary. He was poſſeſſed of the peoples love, they were of moſt power. But the iſſue of thoſe affaires was ſuch as left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they ſhared ſomewhat equally.

Yet had the beginnings of their enterpriſe very good and hopefull ſucceſſe: For they entred the Land as far as to *Memphis*, the principall Citie; and of the Citie it ſelfe they tooke two parts: to the third part, which was called the White wall, they laid ſuch hard ſiege, that neither thoſe forces of the *Perſians*, which then were in *Egypt*, were ſtrong enough to remove them; neither could *Artaxerxes* well deviſe what means to uſe for the recovery of that which was loſt, or for the preſervation of the remainder. The beſt of his hope was by ſetting the *Lacedæmonians* upon *Athens*, to enforce the *Athenians* to looke homewards to their owne defence. This was the firſt time that the *Perſian* ſought to procure the aſſiſtance of the *Greekes* one againſt the other, by ſtirring them up with gold, to the entertainment of private quarrels, for the good of their common enemy. To this purpoſe he ſent *Megabazus* to *Sparta* with much Treaſure; who after great expence, finding that the *Lacedæmonians* were nothing forward in employing their whole force againſt the *Athenians*, whom in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithſtanding the abſence of their Army in *Egypt*; he thought it his wiſeſt way to imploy the reſt of his money and meanes to their reliefe, who had now the ſpace of ſixe yeares defended his maſters right in *Egypt*. Therefore he haſtily diſpatched another of his name, the ſonne of *Zopyrus*, who arriving in *Egypt*, was firſt encountred by the revolted people; over whom he obtained victory, which made him maſter of the Countrey, whileſt the *Athenians* lay buſied about *Memphis* the great Citie.

It cannot be doubted, that long abode in a ſtrange ayre, and want of ſupply, had much enfeebled the *Athenians*: ſure it is, that when *Megabazus*, having reduced the Countrey to obedience, attempted the Citie it ſelfe, whether his former ſucceſſe had amended the courage of the *Perſians*, or want of neceſſaries made the *Athenians* inferiour to themſelves, he chaſed them out of *Memphis*, and purſued them ſo neare, as they were forc't to fortifie themſelves in the Iſle of *Proſopites*, where *Megabazus*, after eighteene moneths ſiege, turning away one part of the River by divers Trenches, aſſaulted the *Athenians* without impediment of waters, tooke their Gallies, and put all to the ſword, ſave a few that ſaved themſelves by flight into *Lybia*; the ſame entertainement had fiftie other Gallies which they ſent to the ſuccour of the firſt two

*Proſopites* an Iland betweene the rivers of *Taly* & *Pharmutiacus*, two of the out-lets of *Nilus* towards *Alexandria*.

*Mendeſus* is an Iſland in the mouth of *Nilus*, between the out-let called *Buſiriticus*, and *Diolcos*: But the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendeſium*, runneth into the ſea by the City *Panæphyſis*.

hundred. For thoſe *Athenians* having heard nothing that their Fleete and Armie was conſumed, entred by the branch of *Nilus*, called *Mendeſium*, and fell unawares among the *Phænician* Gallies and the *Perſian* Armie; ſo as the *Perſians* recovered all *Egypt*, but that part held by *Amyrteus*, and *Inarus* the King of *Lybia*, being by them taken and hanged. This was the end of the *Athenians* ſixe yeares Warre in *Egypt*, and the reward of their vanity and indiſcretion to undertake many enterpriſes at once.

## §. V.

## *Of other Warres made by the Athenians for the moſt part with good ſucceſſe, about the ſame time.*

NOtwithſtanding theſe overthrowes in *Egypt*, yet the *Athenians* in their home-warres waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their forces againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, *Corinthians*, and others, rather to their advantage than otherwiſe. For as they were beaten neare unto *Halia* by the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, ſo they obtained two great victories ſoone after; the one over the *Peloponneſians*, neere unto *Cecryphalia*; the other over the *Æginets*, neare unto *Ægina*; where they ſunke and carried away threeſcore and ten Gallies of their enemies. Furthermore, they landed their forces on the ſudden, and beſieged *Ægina*, from whence they could not be moved, notwithſtanding that the *Corinthians*, to divert them, invaded *Megara*; where, after a great fight, with equall loſſe, the *Corinthians*, when they returned againe to ſet up their *Trophie*, as Victors in the former battell, were utterly broken and ſlaughtered by the *Athenian* Garriſons and *Megarians*, to their great loſſe and diſhonour.

Againe, as the *Athenians* were diſcomfited neare to *Tanagra*, by the *Lacedæmonians*, who returned from the ſuccour of the *Dorians* againſt the *Phocians* (at which time the *Theſſalian* horſe-men turned from their Allies the *Athenians*, and fought againſt them) ſo about threeſcore daies after, the *Athenians* entred *Bœotia* under the conduct of *Myronides*, where beating that Nation, they wan *Phocis* on the gulfe of *Oeteus*, and evened the wals of *Tanagra* to the ground. Finally, they enforced *Ægina* to render upon moſt baſe conditions; as to beat down the walls of their Citie, and to give them hoſtages for Tribute; the ſiege whereof they had continued, notwithſtanding all their other brabbles and attempts elſewhere. Beſides theſe victories, they ſackt and ſpoiled many places upon the Sea-coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, belonging to the *Lacedæmonians*; wan upon the *Corinthians*, and overthrew the *Sicyonians* that came to their ſuccour. Theſe were the undertakings of the *Athenians*, and their Allies, during the time of thoſe ſix years that a part of their forces made war in *Egypt*. In the end whereof they attempted *Theſſalie*, perſwaded thereunto by *Oreſtes*, but were reſiſted by the king *Pharſalus*, who had chaſed *Oreſtes* out of his Dominions. They alſo landed in *Sicyonia*, and had victory over thoſe that reſiſted, after which they made truce with the *Peloponneſians* for five years, and ſent *Cimon* into *Cyprus* with two hundred ſhips; but they were againe allured by *Amyrteus* one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Mariſh and Wooddie parts of *Egypt* from the *Perſians*, to whom they ſent ſixty of their ſhips. The reſt of their Armie failing in their enterpriſe at *Cyprus*, and their fortunate and victorious Leader *Cimon* dying there, as they coaſted the Iland, incountred a fleet of the *Phænicians* and *Cilicians*, over both which Nations they returned victorious into *Greece*: as alſo thoſe returned ſafe which were ſent into *Egypt*.

## §. VI.

## *Of* Artaxerxes Longimanus, *that he was* Ahaſhueroſh *the husband of Queene* Heſter.

THeſe *Egyptian* troubles being ended, the reigne of *Artaxerxes* continued peaceable; whereof the length is by ſome reſtrained into twenty yeares, but the more and better Authors give him forty, ſome allow unto him foure and forty.

He was a Prince of much humanity, and noted for many examples of gentleneſſe. His favour was exceeding great to the *Jewes*; as appeareth by the Hiſtories of *Eſdras* and *Nehemias*, which fell in his time.

To prove that this was the King who gave countenance and ayd to that great worke of building the Temple, it were a needleſſe travell; conſidering that all the late Divines have taken very much paines to ſhew that thoſe two Prophets were licenſed by him, and ſuccoured in that building, in ſuch ſort as appeares in their writings.

This was likewiſe that King *Ahaſhueroſh* who married *Heſter*. Whereof if it be needfull to give proofe, it may ſuffice, That *Ahaſhueroſh* lived in *Suſa*, reigning from *India* to *Æthiopia*, and therefore muſt have been a *Perſian*; That he lived in peace as appeares by the circumſtances of the Hiſtorie, and uſed the counſell of the ſeven Princes, the authority of which Princes began under *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*; wherefore he could be neither *Cyrus* nor *Cambyſes*.

The continuall Warres which exerciſed King *Darius* the Sonne of *Hyſtaſpes*, together with the certainty of his marriages with ſundry wives, from none of whom he was divorced, but left his firſt wife *Atoſſa*, the daughter of *Cyrus* alive in great honour, ſhe being mother to *Xerxes* the ſucceeding King; do manifeſtly prove that *Heſter* was not his. Whereunto is added by *Philo* the *Jew*, That at the perſwaſion of *Mardochæus*, *Jojachim* the high Prieſt the ſon of *Jeſua*, cauſed the feaſt of *Purim* to be inſtituted in memory of that deliverance. Now the time of *Jojachim* was in the reigne of *Artaxerxes*, at the comming of *Eſdras* and *Nehemias*: *Jeſua* his father dying about the end of *Darius*.

The ſame continuance of wars, with other his furious and tragicall loves wherewith *Xerxes* did conſume ſuch little time as he had free from war, are enough to prove, that the ſtory of *Heſter* pertained not unto the time of *Xerxes*, who lived but one and twenty yeares, whereas the two and thirtieth of *Ahaſuerus* or *Artaſaſtha* is expreſſed by *Nehemias*. Againe, it is well knowne that *Xerxes* in the ſeventh year of his reigne (wherein this marriage muſt have bin celebrated) came not neare to *Suſa*. Of the Princes that ſucceeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to prove that none of them could be *Ahaſhueroſh*, it is enough to ſay, that *Mardochæus* having been carried from *Hieruſalem* captive, with *Jechonia*, by *Nabuchadnezzar*, was unlikely to have lived untill their times.

But of this *Artaxerxes* it is true, that he lived in *Suſa*, reigned from *India* to *Æthiopia*, lived in peace, was contemporary with *Jojachim* the high Prieſt, and further he had happily by his Lievtenants reclaymed the rebellious *Egyptians* in that ſeventh yeare of his reigne; which good fortune might well give occaſion to ſuch a Royall Feaſt, as is deſcribed in the beginning of *Heſter*. This is the ſumme of the arguments, brought to prove the age of *Heſters* ſtorie by the learned and diligent *Krentzhemius*, who addes the authorities of *Joſephus*, affirming the ſame, and of *Philo* giving to *Mardochæus* eighteene yeares more than *Iſaac* the *Patriarch* lived, namely, one hundred fourescore and eighteene yeares in all, which expire in the five and thirtieth yeare of this *Artaxerxes*, if we ſuppoſe him to have been carried away captive, being a Boy of ten yeares old.

## §. VIII.

### *Of the troubles in Greece, foregoing the Peloponneſian Warre.*

But it is fit that we now returne to the affaires of the *Greekes*, who from this time forward, more vehemently proſecuting their civill warres, ſuffered the *Perſians* for many ages to reſt in peace: this *Egyptian* expedition being come to nought. Soone after this, the *Lacedæmonians* undertooke the warre called *Sacred*, recovered the Temple and Ile of *Delphos*, and delivered both to the inhabitants; but the *Athenians* regained the ſame, and gave it in charge to the *Phocians*. In the meane while the baniſhed *Bœotians* re-entred their owne Land, and maſtered two of their own Townes poſſeſt by the *Athenians*, which they ſoone recovered againe from them; but in their returne towards *Athens*, the *Bœotians*, *Eubœans*, and *Locrians*, (Nations oppreſt by the *Athenians*) ſet upon them with ſuch reſolution, as the *Athenians* were in that fight all ſlaine or taken, whereby the *Bœotians* recovered their former liberty, reſtoring to the *Athenians* their priſoners. The Ilanders of *Eubœa* tooke ſuch courage upon this, that they revolted wholly from the *Athenians*, whom when *Pericles* intended to reconquer, he was advertiſed that the *Megarians* (who firſt left the *Lacedæmonians*, and ſubmitted themſelves to *Athens*) being now weary of their yoke, had ſlaine the *Athenians* Garriſons, and joyned themſelves with the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, and *Epidaurians*. Theſe newes haſtened *Pericles* homeward with all poſſible ſpeed; but ere he could recover *Attica*, the *Peloponneſians*, led by *Pliſtoanax* the ſon of *Pauſanias*, had invaded it, pillaged & burnt many parts thereof; after whoſe returne *Pericles* went on with his firſt intent, and recovered *Eubœa*. Finally, the *Athenians* began to treat of peace with the *Peloponneſians*, and yeelded to deliver up all the places which they held in the Country of *Peloponneſus*: and this truce was made for thirty years.

After ſixe of theſe years were expired, the *Athenians* (favouring the *Myleſians* againſt the *Samians*) invaded *Samos* by *Pericles*, and after many repulſes, and ſome great loſſes, both by Sea and Land, the Citizens were forc't to yeeld themſelves upon moſt lamentable conditions; Namely, to deliver up all their ſhips, to break downe their own wals, to pay the charge of the war, and to reſtore whatſoever had been taken by themſelves, or by their practice from the *Athenians*. In the neck of which followed that long and cruell *Peloponneſian* War, whereof I have gathered this briefe following: the ſame contention taking beginning fiftie yeares after the flight of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*. But becauſe there was no Citie thereof, which either in the beginning of this war, or in the continuance of it, was not drawne into the quarrell; I hold it convenient now at the firſt to ſhew briefly the eſtate of the Countrey at that time, and eſpecially the condition of thoſe two great Cities, *Athens* and *Sparta*, upon which all the reſt had moſt dependance.

## CHAP. VIII.

### Of the Peloponneſian Warre.

### §. I.

*Upon what termes the two principall Cities of Greece,* Athens *and* Sparta, *ſtood at the beginning of the Peloponneſian Warre.*

GReece was never united under the government of any one Prince or Eſtate, untill *Philip* of *Macedon*, and after him *Alexander*, brought them rather to a Union and League againſt the *Perſians*, whereof they were Captains, than into any abſolute ſubjection. For every Eſtate held their own, and were governed by Lawes, farre different, and by their owne Magiſtrates, notwithſtanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yeeld obedience no otherwiſe than as to ſuch, who were (perforce) their leaders in the *Perſian* war (deemed the Generall quarrell of *Greece*) and tooke the profit and honour of the victory, to their own uſe and increaſe of greatneſſe. But the Kings which afterwards reigned in *Macedonia*, did ſo farre enlarge their authority, that all *Greece* was by them brought under ſuch obedience, as differed little from ſervitude; very few excepted, who could hardly, ſometimes with armes and ſometimes with gifts, preſerve their liberty; of whom the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* were chiefe: which two people deſerved beſt the plague of tyranny, having firſt given occaſion thereunto by their great ambition, which wearied and weakened all the Country by perpetuall Warre. For untill theſe two Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* diſtracted all *Greece*, drawing every State into the quarrell, on the one or other ſide, and ſo gave beginning to the *Peloponneſian* Warre (the effects whereof in true eſtimation ceaſed not, before the time that *Philip* had over-maſtered all, foraſmuch as every concluſion of one war afforded henceforth matter of ſome new diſtraction of the whole Countrey) the wars, commenced between one Citie of *Greece* and another, were neither great, nor of long continuance. All controverſies were ſoon decided, either by the authority of the *Amphictiones*, who were the generall Councell of *Greece*, or by the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, whoſe aid was commonly held as good as the aſſurance of victory.

Theſe *Lacedæmonians* had lived about foure hundred yeares under one forme of Government, when the *Peloponneſian* War began. Their education was only to practiſe feats of Armes; wherein they ſo excelled, that a very few of them were thought equall to very great numbers of any other people. They were poor, and cared not much for wealth; every one had an equall portion of the common field, which ſufficed to maintaine him in ſuch manner as they uſed. For bravery they had none, and curious building or apparell they regarded not. Their diet was ſimple, their feaſts and ordinary meales being in common Hals, where all fared alike. They uſed money of yron, whereof they could not be covetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they lived *Utopian*-like, ſave that they uſed no other occupation than War, placing all their felicity in the glory of their valour. Hereby it came to paſſe that in all enterpriſes, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all *Greece* followed their conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrary to this. For they ſought wealth, and meaſured the honours of their victories by the profit; they uſed mercenary Souldiers in their wars, and exacted great tribute of their Subjects, which were for the moſt part Ilanders, compelled to obey them, becauſe the *Athenian* fleet was great.

As in forme of policy, and in courſe of life, ſo in conditions naturall, the difference between theſe two people was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, ſodaine in their concluſions, and as haſty in the execution. The *Lacedæmonians* very ſlow in their deliberations, full of gravity, but very reſolute, and ſuch as would in cold bloud perform what the *Athenians* did uſually in flagrant. Wherby it came to paſſe, that the *Lacedæmonians* had all the Eſtates of *Greece* depending upon them, as on men firm and aſſured, that ſought honor & not riches; wheras the *Athenians* were followed by ſuch as obeyed them perforce, being held in ſtreight ſubjection. But the Signory of the *Athenians* was nothing large, untill ſuch time as the *Perſian Xerxes* had invaded *Greece*, pretending only a quarrell to *Athens*: For then the Citizens perceiving well, that the town of *Athens* could not be defended againſt his great Armie of ſeventeene hundred thouſand men, beſtowed all their wealth upon a Navie, & (aſſiſted by the other *Grecians*) overthrew the fleet of *Xerxes*, whoſe Land-forces were ſoone after diſcomfited by them, and the *Greeks*, who all ſerved under conduct of the *Spartans*. After theſe victories, the *Athenians* being now very mighty in fleet, reduced all the Ilands of the *Greekiſh* Seas under their obedience; impoſing upon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of War againſt the *Perſian*; though indeed they imployed their forces chiefly, to the conqueſt of ſuch Ilands and haven-Townes of their owne Countrimen, as ſtood out againſt them. All which was eaſily ſuffered by the *Lacedæmonians*, who were In-landers, and men that delighted not in expeditions to be made far from home. But afterwards perceiving the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much jealouſie, and were very apt to quarrel with them; but much more willing to breed contention between them and other Eſtates. Wherfore at ſuch time as the *Thebans* would have oppreſſed the *Platæans*, when they of *Platæa* repaired to *Sparta* for ſuccour, they found there no other aide, than this advice, That they ſhould ſeek help at *Athens*. Hereby it was thought, that the *Athenians* ſhould be intangled in a long and tedious War with their neighbours of *Thebes*. But it proved otherwiſe; for their force was now ſo great, that all ſuch occaſions did onely ſerve to increaſe their honour and puiſſance.

## §. II.

### *How Sparta and Athens entred into Warre.*

NEvertheleſs many Eſtates of *Greece* were very il-affected to *Athens*, becauſe that Citie grew very inſolent upon ſudden proſperity, and maintaining the weaker Townes againſt the ſtronger, incroached apace upon their Neighbours, taking their dependants from them. Eſpecially the *Corinthians* were much inraged, becauſe the people of the Iland *Corcyra*, their Colonie which had rebelled againſt them, and given them a great overthrow by Sea, was by the *Athenians* (who deſired to increaſe their fleet by adjoyning that of *Corcyra* unto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby impeached of that revenge which elſe they would have taken. Now howſoever it were ſo that theſe dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly againſt the conditions of peace agreed upon among the *Greekes*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* ſo vehement, that (though with much adoe) they concluded to redreſſe by warre the injuries done to their Allies.

Firſt therefore, ſeeking religious pretences, they required rhe *Athenians* to expiate certaine offences committed againſt the gods; whereto having for anſwer, That they themſelves ſhould expiate other the like offences, committed in *Sparta*, they began to deale plainly, and required that the people of ſome Townes, oppreſſed by the State of *Athens*, ſhould be ſet at liberty; and that a decree made againſt thoſe of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the *Athenians*, ſhould be reverſed. This laſt point they ſo earneſtly preſſe, that if they might obtaine it, they promiſed to abſiſt from their purpoſe of making War.

This they deſired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but only that by ſeeming to have obtained ſomewhat, they might preſerve their reputation without entring into a war, which threatned them with greater difficulties apparent, than they were very willing to undergoe.

But the *Athenians* would yeeld to nothing; for it was their whole deſire that all *Greece* ſhould take notice how farre they were from feare of any other Citie. Hereupon they prepared on both ſides very ſtrongly, all that was needfull to the War; wherein the *Lacedæmonians* were Superiour, both in number and quality, being aſſiſted by moſt of the Cities in *Greece*, and having the generall favour, as men that pretended to ſet at liberty ſuch as were oppreſſed: but the *Athenians* did as far exceed them in all proviſions of money, ſhipping, engines, and abſolute power of command among their Subjects; which they held, and afterward found of greater uſe in ſuch need, than the willing readineſſe of friends, who ſoone grow weary, and are not eaſily aſſembled.

## §. III.

### *The beginning of the Peloponneſian Warre.*

THe firſt and ſecond yeares expedition was very grievous to the Citie of *Athens*. For the Fields were waſted, the Trees cut downe, the Countrey people driven to flye, with Wives, Children, and Cattell, into the Towne; whereby a moſt furious peſtilence grew in the Citie, ſuch as before they had never felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was added the revolt of the *Mytilenians*, in the Ile of *Lesbos*, & the ſiege of *Platæa* their confederated City, which they durſt not adventure to raiſe; beſides ſome ſmall overthrowes received. The *Lacedæmonians* aſſembling as great forces as they could raiſe out of *Peloponneſus*, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Countrey of *Attica*, and therein abide, untill victuals began to faile, waſting and deſtroying all things round about: The Governours of the *Athenians* would not ſuffer the people to iſſue into the field againſt them; for they knew the valour of their enemies: but uſed to ſend a fleet into *Peloponneſus*, which waſted as faſt all the Sea-coaſt of their enemies, whileſt they were making warre in *Attica*. So the *Peloponneſians* being the ſtronger by Land, wan the Towne of *Platæa*, which wanted reſcue; the *Athenians* likewiſe being more mighty by Sea, did ſubdue *Mytilene* which had rebelled, but could not be ſuccoured from *Sparta*. By theſe proceedings in that Warre, the *Lacedæmonians* began to perceive how unfit they were to deale with ſuch enemies. For after that *Attica* was throughly waſted, it lay not greatly in their power to doe any offence equall to ſuch harme as they themſelves might, and did receive. The Confederates began to ſet forward very ſlowly in their expeditions into *Attica*; perceiving well that *Athens* was plentifully relieved with all neceſſaries, which came by the Sea from the Ilands that were ſubject unto that Eſtate; and therefore theſe invaders tooke but ſmall pleaſure in beholding the Walls of that mighty Citie, or in waſting a forſaken field, which was to them a patterne of the calamities, with which their owne Territory was the whileſt afflicted. Wherefore they began to ſet their care to build a ſtrong Navie, wherein they had little good ſucceſſe, being eaſily vanquiſhed by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better ſhips, and were ſo ſkilfull in Sea-fights, that a few Veſſels of theirs durſt undertake a great number of the *Peloponneſians*.

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## §. IIII.

### *Of the great loſſe which the Spartans received at Pylus.*

AMong other loſſes which the *Spartans* had felt by Sea; they received at *Pylus* a very ſore blow, that compelled them to ſue for peace. A fleet of *Athenian* ſhips bound for *Corcyra*, waſting in that paſſage, as their manner was, the coaſt of *Laconia*, and all the halfe Ile of *Peloponneſus*, was by contrary windes detained at *Pylus*, which is a ragged Promontory, joyning to the maine, by a ſtrange necke of Land. Before it there lies a ſmall barren Iland of leſſe than two miles compaſſe, and within that a creeke, which is a good harbour for ſhips, the force of weather being borne off by the head-Land and Iſle. this Promontorie the *Athenians* fortified as well as in haſte they might; and what was wanting in their artificiall fortification, was ſupplyed by the naturall ſtrength and ſite of the place. By holding this piece of ground, and haven, they in reaſon expected many advantages againſt their enemies. For the Countrey adjoyning was inhabited by the *Meſſenians*, who in ancient times had held very ſtrong and cruell warre with *Sparta*; and (though quite ſubdued) they were held in ſtreight ſubjection; yet was not the old hatred ſo extinguiſhed, that by the neare neighbourhood and aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*, it might not be revived. Furthermore it was thought, that many ill-willers to the *Lacedæmonians*, and as many of their bond-ſlaves as could eſcape from them, would repair to *Pylus*, and from thence made daily excurſions into *Laconia*, which was not far off: Or if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this haven, lying almoſt in the mid-way betweene them and *Corcyra*, make them able to ſurround all *Peloponneſus*, and waſte it at their pleaſure. The newes of theſe doings at *Pylus* drew the *Peloponneſians* thither in all haſte out of *Attica*, which they had entred a few daies before with their whole Armie: but now they brought not only their Land-forces, but all their Navie to recover this piece, which how bad a neighbour it might prove in time, they well fore-ſaw, little fearing the grievous loſſe at hand, which they there in few daies received. For when they in vain made a generall aſſault on all ſides, both by Sea and Land; finding that ſmall Garriſon which the *Athenians* had left, very reſolute in the defence: they occupied the haven, placing foure hundred and twenty choyce men, all of them Citizens of *Sparta*, in the Iland before mentioned, at each end whereof is a channell that leades into the Port; but ſo narrow, that onely two ſhips in front could enter betweene the Iſle and *Pylus*; likewiſe but ſeven or eight ſhips could enter at once by the further channell, betweene the Iland and the Maine. Having thus taken order to ſhut up this new Towne by Sea, they ſent part of their fleet to fetch wood, and other ſtuffe, wherewith to fortifie round about, and blocke up the piece on all ſides. But in the meane ſeaſon the *Athenian* fleet hearing of their danger that were left at *Pylus*, returned thither, and with great courage entring the haven, did break and ſink many of their enemies veſſels; took five, and ſo inforced the reſidue to run themſelves a-ground.

Now was the Towne ſecure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the Iland as good as loſt. Wherefore the Magiſtrates were ſent from *Sparta* to the campe (as was their cuſtome in great dangers) to adviſe what were beſt for the publike ſafety; who when they did perceive that there was no other way to reſcue their Citizens out of the Iſle, than by compoſition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the *Athenians* about peace, taking truce in the meane while with the Captaines at *Pylus*. The conditions of the truce were, That the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould deliver up all the ſhips which were in the coaſt, & that they ſhould attempt nothing againſt the town, nor the *Athenians* againſt the campe: That a certaine quantity of Bread, Wine, and Fleſh ſhould be daily carried into the Iſle, but that no ſhips ſhould paſſe into the Iland ſecretly: That the *Athenians* ſhould carry the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors to *Athens*, there to treat of peace, and ſhould bring them backe, at whoſe returne the truce ſhould end, which if in the meane time it were broken in any one point, ſhould be held utterly voyd in all: That when the truce was expired, the

*Athenians* ſhould reſtore the *Peloponneſian* ſhips, in as good caſe as they received them. The Embaſſadors comming to *Athens*, were of opinion, that as they themſelves had begun the warre, ſo might they end it when they pleaſed. Wherefore they told the *Athenians* how great an honour it was that the *Lacedæmonians* did ſue to them for peace, adviſing them to make an end of warre, whileſt with ſuch reputation they might. But they found all contrary to their expectation: For in ſtead of concluding upon even termes, or deſiring of meet recompence for loſſe ſuſtained; the *Athenians* demanded certain Cities to be reſtored to them, which had bin taken from them by the *Lacedæmonians* long before this warre began, refuſing likewiſe to continue the treaty of peace, unleſſe the *Spartans* which were in the Iſle, were firſt rendred unto them as priſoners. Thus were the Embaſſadors returned without effect; at which time the truce being ended, it was deſired from the *Athenian* Captaines, that they ſhould, according to their covenant, reſtore the ſhips which had been put into their hands. Whereto anſwer was made, that the condition of the truce was, That if any one article were broken, all ſhould be held void; now (ſaid the *Athenians*) ye have aſſaulted our Garriſons, and thereby are we acquitted of our promiſe to reſtore the ſhips. This and the like frivolous allegations which they made, were but meere ſhifts; yet profit ſo far overweighed honour, that better anſwer none could be got. Then were the *Lacedæmonians* driven to uſe many hard meanes, for conveyance of victuals into the Iſle; which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried priſoners to *Athens*, where it was decreed that when the *Peloponneſians* next invaded *Attica*, theſe priſoners ſhould all be ſlaine. Whether fearing the death of theſe men, or with-held by the troubles, which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell upon them; the *Lacedæmonians* were ſo far from waſting *Attica*, that they ſuffered their owne Country to be continually over-runne, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their coaſt, and by thoſe which iſſued out of *Pylus*; which became the Rendevous of all that were ill-affected unto them.

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## §. V.

### *How the Lacedæmonians hardly, and to their great diſadvantage, obtained a peace that was not well kept.*

THerfore they endeavoured greatly to obtain peace; which the *Athenians* would not hearken unto. For they were ſo puffed up with continuance of good ſucceſſe, that having ſent a few bands of men into *Sicilie*, to hold up a faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Sicilians* quarrels; when afterward they heard that the differences in that Iſle were taken away, and their bands returned without either gaine or loſſe, they baniſhed the Captaines, as if it had been meerely through their default, that the Ile of *Sicilie* was not conquered; which (beſides the longer diſtance) was in power to offend others, or defend it ſelfe, no whit inferiour unto *Peloponneſus*. Yet was this their over-weening much abated ſhortly after, by ſome diſaſters received, eſpecially in *Thrace*, where in a battell which they loſt at *Amphipolis*, *Cleon* and *Braſidas*, Generals of the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* forces, were both ſlaine; which two had moſt bin adverſaries to the peace. As the *Athenians* by their loſſes were taught moderation; ſo the *Lacedæmonians*, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great Navie which they had received at *Pylus*, were faine to proceed lamely in the war, againſt ſuch as, through commodity of their good fleet, had all advantage that could be found in expedition, were fervently deſirous to conclude the buſineſſe, ere Fortune by any new favour ſhould revive the inſolence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a conſideration of their preſent eſtate, that urged them to bring the treaty of peace to a good and ſpeedy effect; but other dangers hanging over their heads, and ready to fall on them, which unleſſe they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to avoyd. The eſtate of *Argos*, which had ancient enmity with them, was now after a truce of thirty yeares well nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their preſent troubles, by joyning with thoſe who alone found them worke enough. *Argos* was a rich and ſtrong Citie, which though inferiour to *Sparta* in valour, yet was not ſo unwarlike, nor held ſuch ill correſpondence with the neighbouring Eſtates, that the *Lacedæmonians* could ever farre prevaile upon it, when they had little elſe to doe.

This was a thing that in the beginning of this Warre had not been regarded. For it was then thought that by waſting the Territory of *Athens* with ſword and fire, the quarrell ſhould eaſily and in ſhort time have been ended, whereby not only the *Athenians* ſhould have bin brought to good order, but the *Corinthians*, and others, for whoſe ſake the war was undertaken, have bin ſo firmly knit to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they ſhould for love of them have abandoned the *Argives* to their own fortunes. But now the vanity of thoſe hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians* abounding in ready mony, and means to raiſe more, were able to ſecure themſelves by a ſtrong fleet, from any great harme that the *Peloponneſians*, wanting where with to maintaine a Navie, could do unto them; yea, as Maſters of the Sea, to weary them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the Confederates of *Sparta*, they could now endure neither war nor peace; their daily travels, and many loſſes had ſo wearied and incenſed them. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* were glad to uſe the occaſion, which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a finall peace, which with much adoe they procured, as ſeemed equall and eaſie; but was indeed impoſſible to be performed, and therefore all their travell was little effectuall.

The reſtitution of priſoners and places taken being agreed upon; it fell out by lot, that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould reſtore firſt. Theſe had wonne more Townes upon the continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them; but what they had wonne, they had not wonne abſolutely. For they had reſtored ſome Townes to ſuch of their Allies, from whom the State of *Athens* had taken them; ſome, and thoſe the moſt, they had ſet at liberty (as reaſon required) which had opened their gates unto them as to their friends and deliverers, and not compelled them to breake in as enemies. Now concerning the Townes which were not in their owne hands, but had bin rendred unto their Confederates, the *Spartans* found meanes to give ſome ſatisfaction, by permitting the *Athenians* to retaine others, which they had gotten in the Warre; as for the reſt, they promiſed more than afterwards they could performe. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to heare of being abandoned, neither would they by any meanes yeeld themſelves into the hands of their old Lords the *Athenians*, whom they had offended by revolting, notwithſtanding whatſoever articles were drawne, and concluded, for their ſecurity, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the ſide of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become as backward in doing thoſe things which on their part were required; ſo that reſtoring only the priſoners which they had, they deferred the reſt, untill ſuch time as they might receive the full ſatisfaction, according to the agreement. But before ſuch time as theſe difficulties brake out into matter of open quarrell, the *Lacedæmonians* entred into a more ſtreight alliance with the *Athenians*; making a league offenſive and defenſive with them. Hereunto they were moved by the backwardneſs of the *Argives*, who being (as they thought) likely to have ſued for peace at their hands, as ſoone as things were once compounded betweene *Athens* and *Sparta*; did ſhew themſelves plainely unwilling to give eare to any ſuch motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* ſuccour, they ſhould make ſure worke, the *Spartans* regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound unto them by well-deſerving in the late war, or found ſo troubleſome, that their enmity (if perhaps they durſt let it appeare) was little worſe than friendſhip. It bred great jealouſie in all the Cities of *Greece*, to perceive ſuch a conjunction betweene two ſo powerfull Signiories: eſpecially one clauſe threatning every one, that was any thing apt to feare, with a ſecret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceits, of ſubduing the whole Countrey, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For beſides the other articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutuall conſent adde new conditions, or alter the old at their owne pleaſures. This impreſſion wrought ſo ſtrongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebanes*, and other ancient Confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had borne to the *Athenians* their profeſſed enemies, was violently throwne upon the *Lacedæmonians* their unjuſt friends: whereby it came to paſſe, that they who had lately borne chiefe ſway in *Greece*, might have been abandoned to the diſcretion of their enemies; as already in effect they were, had the enemies wiſely uſed the advantage.

§. VI.

## §. VI.

### Of the negotiations and practices held betweene many States of Greece, by occaſion of the Peace that was concluded.

THe admiration wherein all *Greece* held the valour of *Sparta* as unreſiſtable, and able to make way through all impediments, had bin ſo exceſſive, that when by ſome ſiniſter accidents, that Citie was compelled to take and ſeeke peace, upon termes not ſounding very honourable, this common opinion was not onely abated, but (as happens uſually in things extreme) was changed into much contempt. For it was never thought that any *Lacedæmonian* would have endured to lay down his weapons, & yeeld him~~ſelfe~~ priſoner, nor that any miſfortune ſhould have bin ſo great, as ſhould have drawne that Citie to relieve it ſelfe otherwiſe than by force of Armes. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were ſome of eſpeciall marke, being overlayed by enemies, in the Iland before *Pylus*, had rather choſen to live in captivity, than to die in fight; and that *Pylus* it ſelfe, ſticking as a thorne in the foot of *Laconia*, had bred ſuch anguiſh in that Eſtate, as utterly wearying the accuſtomed *Spartan* reſolution, had made it ſit down, and ſeeke to refreſh it ſelfe by diſhonourable eaſe: then did not only the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* begin to conceive baſely of thoſe men which were vertuous, though unfortunate; but other leſſer Cities joyning with theſe in the ſame opinion, did caſt their eyes upon the rich and great Citie of *Argos*, of whoſe ability to doe much, they conceived a ſtrong beliefe, becauſe of long time it had done nothing. Such is the baſe condition, which through fooliſh envie is become almoſt naturall in the greater part of mankind. We curiouſly ſearch into their vices, in whom, had they kept ſome diſtance, we ſhould have diſcerned only the vertues; and comparing injuriouſly our beſt parts with their worſt, are juſtly plagued with a falſe opinion of that good in ſtrangers, which we know to be wanting in our ſelves.

The firſt that publiſhed their diſlike of *Sparta* were the *Corinthians*, at whoſe vehement entreaty (though moved rather by envie at the greatneſſe of *Athens* daily encreaſing) the *Lacedæmonians* had entred into the preſent Warre. But theſe *Corinthians* did only murmure at the peace, alledging as grievances, that ſome townes of theirs were left in the *Athenians* hands. The *Mantinæans*, who during the time of Warre, had procured ſome part of the *Arcadians* to become their followers, and forſake their dependancy upon the State of *Sparta*, did more freely and readily diſcover themſelves; feare of revenge to come, working more effectually than indignation at things already paſt. The *Argives* feeling the gale of proſperous fortune that began to fill their ſailes, prepared themſelves to take as much of it as they could ſtand under; giving for that purpoſe unto twelve of their Citizens a ful and abſolute commiſſion to make alliance between them and any free Cities of *Greece* (*Athens* & *Sparta* excepted) without any further trouble of propounding every particular buſineſſe to the multitude. When the gates of *Argos* were ſet thus open to all commers; the *Mantinæans* began to lead the way, and many Cities of *Peloponneſus* following them, entred into this new confederacy; ſome incited by private reſpects, others thinking it the wiſeſt way to doe as the moſt did. What inconvenience might ariſe unto them by theſe courſes, the *Lacedæmonians* eaſily diſcerned; & therfore ſent Embaſſadors to ſtop the matter at *Corinth*, where they well perceived that the miſchiefe had bin hatched. Theſe Embaſſadors found in the *Corinthians* a very rough diſpoſition, with a gravity expreſſing the opinion which they had conceived of their preſent advantage over *Sparta*. They had cauſed all Cities which had not entred yet into alliance with *Argos*, to ſend their Agents to them, in whoſe preſence they gave audience to the *Lacedæmonians*; the purport of whoſe Embaſſie was this: That the *Corinthians*, without breach of their oath, could not forſake the alliance, which they had long ſince made with *Sparta*; and that reaſon did as well binde them to hold themſelves contented with the peace lately made, as religion enforced them to continue in their ancient confederacy, foraſmuch as it had bin agreed betweene the Spartans and their aſſociates, that the conſent of the greater part (which had yeelded unto peace with *Athens*) ſhould bind the leſſer number to performe what was concluded, if no divine impediment withſtood them. Hereunto the *Corinthians* made anſwer, that the *Spartans* had firſt begun to doe them open wrong, in concluding the warre wherein they had loſt many places, without proviſion of reſtitution ; and that the very clauſe alledged by the Embaſſadors, did acquite them from any neceſſity of ſubſcribing to the late peace, foraſmuch as they had ſworn unto thoſe people whom they perſwaded to rebell againſt *Athens*, that they would never abandon them, nor willingly ſuffer them to fall againe into the tyrannous hands of the *Athenians*. Wherefore they held themſelves bound both in reaſon and religion to uſe all meanes of upholding thoſe, whom by common conſent they had taken into protection ; for that an oath was no leſſe to be accounted a divine impediment, than were peſtilence, tempeſt, or any the like accident, hindring the performance of things undertaken. As for the alliance with *Argos*, they ſaid that they would do as they ſhould find cauſe. Having diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors with this anſwer, they made haſte to joine themſelves with *Argos*, and cauſed other States to do the like ; ſo that *Sparta* and *Athens* were in a maner left to themſelves, the *Thebans* and *Megarians* being alſo upon the point to have entred into this new confederacy. But as the affections were divers which cauſed this haſty confluence of ſudden friends to *Argos*, it ſo likewiſe came to paſſe that the friendſhip it ſelfe, ſuch as it was, had much diverſity both of ſincerity and of continuance. For ſome there were that hated or feared the *Lacedæmonians*: as the *Mantinæans* and *Eleans*: theſe did firmly betake themſelves to the *Argives*, in whom they knew the ſame affection to be inveterate : others did only hate the peace concluded ; and theſe would rather have followed the *Spartans* than the *Argives* in war, yet rather the *Argives* in war than the *Lacedæmonians* in peace. Of this number were the *Corinthians*, who knowing that the *Thebans* were affected like unto themſelves, dealt with them to enter into the ſociety of the *Argives*, as they had done: but the different formes of goverment, uſed in *Thebes* and *Argos*, cauſed the *Thebans* to hold rather with *Sparta*, that was ruled by the principall men, than to incur the danger of innovation, by joyning with ſuch as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This buſineſſe having ill ſucceded, the *Corinthians* began to bethinke themſelves of their owne danger, who had not ſo much as any truce with *Athens*, and yet were unprepared for War. They ſought therefore to come to ſome temporary agreement with the *Athenians*, and hardly obtained it. For the *Athenians*, who had dealt with all *Greece* at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment with one City that had ſhewed againſt them more ſtomack than force ; but gave them to underſtand that they might be ſafe enough from them, if they would claime the benefit of that alliance, which *Athens* had lately made with *Sparta* & her dependants; yet finally they granted unto theſe *Corinthians* (which were loth to acknowledge themſelves dependants of *Sparta*) the truce that they deſired ; but into private confederacie they would not admit them, it being an article of the league between them and the *Spartans*, That the one ſhould not make peace nor war without the other.

Herein, as in many other paſſages, may clearely be ſeene the great advantage which abſolute Lords have, as well in peace as in War, over ſuch as are ſerved by voluntaries. We ſhall hardly finde any Signiorie, that hath beene ſo conſtantly followed as *Sparta* was by ſo many States, and ſome of them little inferiour to it ſelfe, being all as free: whereas contrariwiſe, the *Athenians* had lately, and by compulſive meanes gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themſelves as Tyrants. But in performance of conditions agreed upon, the *Athenians* were able to make their words good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacy, and giving up ſuch places as were agreed upon ; of which the *Lacedamonians* could do neither the one nor the other. For ſuch Townes as their old Allies had gotten by their means in the late War, could not be reſtored without their conſent, which had them in preſent poſſeſſion ; and particularly the Towne of *Panacte*, which the *Thebans* held, could by no means be obtained from them by the *Lacedæmonians* (who earneſtly deſired it, that by reſtitution thereof unto the *Athenians*, as earneſtly demanding it, themſelves might recover *Pylus*) unleſſe that they would agree to make a private alliance with *Thebes* ; which thereupon they were conſtrained to doe, though knowing it to be contrarie to the laſt agreement between them and *Athens*.

The *Lacedæmonians* having broken one article of the league made between them and the *Athenians*, that by ſo doing they might enable themſelves to the performance of another, were ſhamefully diſappointed of their hopes by the *Thebans*, who did not give up the towne of *Panacte*, till firſt they had utterly demoliſhed it, and made it of no worth to the *Athenians*. This was ſought to have bin excuſed by the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors, who comming to *Athens* (whither they had ſent home all priſoners that had bin detained at *Thebes*) hoping with gentle words to ſalve the matter; ſaying, That from henceforth no enemie of *Athens* ſhould neſtle in *Panacte*, for it was deſtroyed. But theſe Embaſſadors had not to deale with tame fooles. For the *Athenians* told them in plaine termes, That of three principall conditions agreed upon in their late League, they had not performed any one, but uſed ſuch baſe concluſions as ſtood not with their honour: having made private alliance with the *Thebans*; having deſtroyed a Towne that they ſhould have reſtored; and not having forced their dependants by Warre, to make good the Covenants of the late concluded peace. Hereupon they diſmiſſed the Embaſſadors with rough words, meaning with as rough deeds to anger thoſe that ſent them.

There were at that time both in *Athens* and *Sparta*, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the *Ephori*, choſen for that yeare, in *Sparta*, and *Alcibiades*, a powerfull young Gentleman in *Athens*. But the *Ephori*, though deſiring to renew the War, yet wiſhed that firſt they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to be rendred to them by Covenant, eſpecially *Pylus* that had ſo ſorely troubled them. *Alcibiades*, whoſe Nobility, riches and favour with the people, made him deſire War, as the meane whereby himſelfe might procure ſome honourable employment; uſed all means to ſet the quarrel on foot, whileſt the *Athenians* had yet both advantage enough, as not having rendred ought ſave their priſoners, and pretence enough to uſe that advantage of breaking the peace, by reaſon that the *Lacedæmonians* (though indeed againſt their wills) had broken all covenants with them. Now the State of *Athens* had fully determined to retain *Pylus*, and to performe nothing that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould, and might require, untill they had firſt, without any longer halting, fulfilled all articles wherto they were bound, even to the utmoſt point. This was enough to make them ſweat, who having already done the moſt that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the delivery of their Citizens, which were priſoners. But *Alcibiades* wiſhing a ſpeedy beginning of open war, ſent privily to the *Argives*, and gave them to underſtand how fitly the time ſerved for them to aſſociate themſelves with *Athens*, which was enough to give them ſecurity againſt all enemies.

The *Argives*, upon the firſt confluence of many Eſtates unto their ſociety, had embraced great hopes of working wonders, as if they ſhould have had the conduct of all *Greece* againſt the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that honour, as having ill uſed it, and thereby leaving their old enemies in caſe of much contempt and diſabilitie. But theſe ſudden apprehenſions of vaine joy, were ſuddenly changed into as vaine feare; which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately bin conceived of *Argos*. For when the *Thebans* had refuſed their alliance; when the *Corinthians* had ſought ſecurity from *Athens*; and when a falſe rumour was noyſed abroad, *Athens*, *Thebes* and *Sparta*, were come to a full agreement upon all points of difference; then began the *Argives* to let fall their creſts, and ſue for peace unto the *Lacedæmonians*, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their gravity, and were not over-haſty to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the meſſage of *Alcibiades* came very welcome to the *Argives*, which were not now conſulting how to become the chiefe of all others, but how to ſave themſelves. Wherefore they ſent away preſently to *Athens*, their owne Embaſſadors, accompanied with the *Mantinæans* and *Eleans*, to make a league offenſive and defenſive between their Eſtates and the *Athenians*.

Of this buſineſſe the *Lacedæmonians* knew not what to thinke: for well they ſaw, that ſuch a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were deſirous to prevent it; but to keep the love of the *Athenians*, the new *Ephori* thought that more was already done, than ſtood with their honour or profit; others held it the wiſeſt way, having done ſo much, not to ſticke upon a little more, but rather by giving full ſatisfaction, to retaine the friendſhip of that State, which was more to be valued than all the reſt of *Greece*. This reſolution prevailing, they ſent away ſuch of their Citizens as were beſt affected to the peace, who comming to *Athens*, with full commiſſion to make an end of all controverſies, did earneſtly labour in the Councell-houſe, to make the truth of things appear, ſaying; that their Confederacy with the *Thebans* had tended to none other end than the recovery of *Panacte*: concerning which Towne, or any other buſineſſe, that it much grieved the *Lacedæmonians*, to ſee things fall out in ſuch wiſe as might give to the *Athenians* cauſe of diſpleaſure; but that all ſhould be done which in reaſon might be required for making matters even between them; to which purpoſe they ſhewed that themſelves had abſolute commiſſion. Wherefore they deſired that *Pylus* might be reſtored to them, and eſpecially for the preſent, that the negotiation with the *Argives* might be called aſide. Favourable audience was given to this propoſition, the rather, becauſe they which promiſed amends, had power to make their words good. But all this fair likelihood of good agreement was daſht on the ſudden, by the practice of *Alcibiades*, who, ſecretly dealing with the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadors, perſwaded them well of his friendſhip towards their citie, and adviſed them to take all care that their abſolute power to conclude what they pleaſed in the name of *Sparta*, might not be knowne to the Commonaltie of *Athens*, leſt the inſolent multitude ſhould thereupon grow peremptorie and yeeld to nothing, unleſſe they could draw them to unreaſonable conditions. The Embaſſadors beleeved him, & faſhioned their tale in the aſſemblie of the people, as he had adviſed them. Hereupon the ſame *Alcibiades* taking preſently the advantage, which their double dealing afforded, inveighed openly againſt them, as men of no ſinceritie, that were come to *Athens* for no other purpoſe, than to hinder the people from ſtrengthning themſelves with friends, meaning to draw the *Argives* and their Adherents to their owne alliance, as (contrary to their owne Oath) already they had the *Thebans*. The people of *Athens*, whom a pleaſing errand would very hardly have ſatisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the *Lacedæmonians*, (whoſe honeſt meanings had ſo ill beene ſeconded, with good performance) were now ſo much incenſed with the double dealing of the Embaſſadours, and the ſtrong perſwaſions of *Alcibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the league with *Argos*. Yet for the preſent ſo farre did *Nicias*, an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, prevaile with them, that the buſineſſe was put off, untill he himſelfe, with other Embaſſadours, might fetch a better anſwer from *Sparta*.

It may alſo ſeeme a great wonder, how ſo poore a tricke of *Alcibiades* was able to carry a matter of ſo great importance, when the *Spartan* Embaſſadours might have caſt the loade upon his owne ſhoulders, by diſcovering the truth: But the gravitie which was uſually found in the *Lacedæmonians*, hindred them (perhaps) from playing their game handſomely againſt ſo nimble a wit; and they might well have beene thought untruſtie men, had they profeſſed themſelves ſuch as would ſay and un-ſay for their moſt advantage.

*Nicias* and his Companions had a ſowre meſſage to deliver at *Sparta*, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the reſt, that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould take the paines to re-build *Panacte*, and ſhould immediately renounce their Alliance made with the *Thebans*; letting them underſtand that otherwiſe the *Athenians*, without further delay, would enter into confederacie with the *Argives*, and their adherents. The *Ephori* at *Sparta* had no minde to forſake the *Thebans*, aſſured friends to their State; but wrought ſo hard, that the anger of the *Athenians* was ſuffered to breake out what way it could, which to mitigate, they would doe no more, than only (at the requeſt of *Nicias* their honourable friend, who would not ſeeme to have effected nothing) ſweare a-new to keepe the Articles of the league betweene him and *Athens*. Immediately therefore upon returne of the Embaſſadours, a new league was made betweene the *Athenians*, *Argives*, *Mantinæans* and *Eleans*, with very ample proviſion for holding the ſame common friends and enemies; wherein, though the *Lacedæmonians* were paſſed over with ſilence, yet was it manifeſt that the whole intent of this confederacie did bend it ſelfe chiefly againſt them, as in ſhort while after was proved by effect.

At this time the *Lacedæmonians* were in ill caſe; who having reſtored all that they could unto the *Athenians*, and procured others to doe the like, had themſelves recovered nothing of their owne, (priſoners excepted) for default of reſtoring all that they ſhould. But that which did moſt of all diſable them, was the loſſe of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late Warre by miſfortunes, than in ſundrie paſſages betweene them and the *Athenians*: to procure and keepe whoſe Amitie, they had left ſundrie of their old friends to ſhift for themſelves. Contrariwiſe, the *Athenians* by the treatie of peace, had recovered the moſt part of that which they loſt in warre;

all their gettings they had retained; and were ſtrengthened by the acceſſe of new Confederates.

## §. VII.

### *How the peace betweene Athens and Sparta was ill kept, though not openly broken.*

IT was not long ere the *Argives* and their fellowes had found buſineſſe wherewith to ſet the *Athenians* on worke, and make uſe of this conjunction. For, preſuming upon the ſtrength of their ſide, they began to meddle with the *Epidaurians*, whom it concerned the State of *Sparta* to defend. So, many acts of hoſtilitie were committed, wherein *Athens* and *Sparta* did (as principals) infeſt each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aide of their ſeverall friends.

By theſe occaſions the *Corinthians*, *Bœotians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, and other people of *Greece*, began a-new to range themſelves under the *Lacedæmonians*, and follow their enſignes. One victorie which the *Lacedæmonians* obtained by their meer valour in a ſet battell, near to *Mantinæa*, againſt the *Argive*-ſide, helped well to repaire their decayed reputation, though otherwiſe it yeelded them no great profit. The civill diſſention ariſing ſhortly after within *Argos* it ſelfe, between the principall Citizens and the Commons, had almoſt throwne downe the whole frame of the new combination. For the chiefe Citizens getting the upper hand, made a league with *Sparta*, wherein they proceeded ſo farre as to renounce the amitie of the *Athenians* in expreſſe words, and forced the *Mantinæans* to the like. But in ſhort ſpace of time the multitude prevailing, reverſed all this, and having chaſed away their ambitious Nobilitie, applied themſelves to the *Athenians* as cloſely as before.

Beſides theſe uprores in *Peloponneſus*, many aſſaies were made to raiſe up troubles in all parts of *Greece*, and likewiſe in *Macedon*, to the *Athenians*; whoſe forces and readineſſe for execution, prevented ſome things, revenged other, and requited all with ſome proſperous attempts. Finally, the *Athenians* wanting matter of quarrell, and the *Lacedæmonians* growing wearie, they began to be quiet; retaining ſtill that enmitie in their hearts, which they had ſufficiently diſcovered in effects, though not yet breaking out into terms of open Warre.

## §. VIII.

### *The Athenians ſending two Fleets to ſacke Siracuſe, are put to flight, and utterly diſcomfited.*

DUring this intermiſſion of open War, the *Athenians* re-entertained their hopes of ſubduing *Sicil*, whither they ſent a Fleet ſo mightie as never was ſet forth by *Greece* in any Age before or after.

This Fleet was very well manned, and furniſhed with all neceſſaries to ſo great an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in *Athens*, whence *Alcibiades*, Author of that voyage, and one of the Generalls of their Fleet, was driven to baniſh himſelfe, for feare of ſuch judgement, as elſe he was like to have undergone among the incenſed people; partly by the invaſion which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon *Attica*, whileſt the forces of that State were ſo far from home. Hereunto was added the aide of the King of *Perſia*, who ſupplied the *Peloponneſians* with mony.

Neither was the ſucceſſe of things in *Sicilia* ſuch, as without help from *Athens*, could give any likelihood of a good end in that war. For although in the beginning, the enterpriſe had ſo well ſucceeded, that they beſieged *Siracuſe*, the chiefe Citie of all the Iland, and one of the faireſt Towns which the *Greeks* inhabited, obtaining the better in ſundrie battels by Land and Sea; yet when the Town was relieved with ſtrong aide from *Peloponneſus*, it came to paſs that the *Athenians* were put to the worſe on all ſides, in ſuch wiſe that their Fleet was ſhut up into the haven of *Siracuſe*, and could not iſſue out.

As the *Athenian* affairs went very il in *Sicil*, ſo did they at home ſtand upon hard terms, for that the *Lacedæmonians*, who had beene formerly accuſtomed to make weariſome yearly journies into *Attica*, which having pilled and forraged, they returned home; did now by counſell of *Alcibiades* (who ſeeking revenge upon his own Citizens, was fled unto them) fortifie the Towne of Decelea, which was near to Athens, whence they ceaſed not with daily excurſions to harry all the Country round about, and ſome times give alarme unto the City it ſelfe. In theſe extremities, the perverſe obſtinacy of the Athenians was very ſtrange; who leaving at their backs, and at their own dores, an enemy little leſſe mighty than themſelves, did yet ſend forth another fleet into Sicil, to invade a people no leſſe puiſſant, which had never offended them.

It often happens, that a proſperous event makes fooliſh counſel ſeem wiſer than it was; which came to paſſe many times among the Athenians, whoſe vaine conceits *Pallas* was ſaid to turne unto the beſt. But where unſound advice, finding bad proofe, is obſtinately purſued, neither *Pallas* nor *Fortune* can be juſtly blamed for a miſerable iſſue. This ſecond Fleet of the Athenians, which better might have ſerved to convey home the former that was defeated, after ſome attempts made to ſmall purpoſe againſt the Siracuſans, was finally (together with the other part of the Navie, which was there before) quite vanquiſhed & bard up into the haven of Siracuſe, wherby the camp of the Athenians, utterly deprived of all benefit by Sea, either for ſuccour or departure, was driven to break up, and flye away by land; in which flight they were over-taken, routed and quite overthowne, in ſuch wiſe that ſcarce any man eſcaped.

This miſchiefe well deſerved fell upon the Athenians, who had wickedly condemned into exile *Sophocles* and *Pthiodorus* Generals, formerly ſent into that Ile, pretending that they had taken mony for making peace in Sicil, wheras indeed there was not any means or poſſibility to have made Warre. Hereby it came to paſſe, that *Nicias*, who had the chiefe command in this unhappy enterpriſe, did rather chuſe to hazzard the ruine of his Country by the loſſe of that Army, wherein conſiſted little leſſe than all the power of Athens; than to adventure his own eſtate, his life, and his honour upon the tongues of ſhameleſſe accuſers, and the ſentence of Judges before his tryall reſolved to condemne him, by retiring from Siracuſe, when wiſedome and neceſſity required it. *For* (ſaid hee) *they ſhall give ſentence upon us, who know not the reaſon of our doings, nor would give eare to any that would ſpeak in our behalfe, but altogether hearken to ſuſpicious and vain rumors that ſhall be brought againſt us; yea theſe our Souldiers who now are ſo deſirous to returne in ſafety, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleaſure of the lewd and inſolent multitude.*

This reſolution of *Nicias*, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honeſt and valiant man to do what reaſon willeth, not what opinion expecteth; and to meaſure honour or diſhonour by the aſſurance of his well-informed conſcience, rather than by the malicious report & cenſure of others) yet it may be excuſed; ſince he had before his eyes the injuſtice of his people, and had well underſtood that a wicked ſentence is infinitely worſe than a wicked fact, as being held a preſident and pattern whereby oppreſſion beginning upon one, is extended as warrantable upon all. Therefore his feare of wrongfull condemnation was ſuch, as a conſtant man could not eaſily have over-maſtered; but when afterwards the Army, having no other expectation of ſafety than the faint hope of a ſecret flight; he was ſo terrefied with an Eclipſe of the Moon, happening when they were about to diſlodge, that he would not conſent to have the camp break up till ſeven and twenty dayes were paſt. His timerouſneſſe was even as fooliſh and ridiculous, as the iſſue of it was lamentable. For he ſhould not have thought that the power of the Heavens, and the courſe of Nature would be as unjuſt as his Athenians, or might pretend leſſe evill to the ſlothfull, than to ſuch as did their beſt. Neither doe I think that any Aſtrologer can alledge this Ecclipſe, as either a cauſe or prognoſtication of that Armies deſtruction, otherwiſe than as the folly of men did, by application, turne it to their owne confuſion. Had *C. Caſſius* the Roman, he who ſlew *Julius Cæſar*, imitated this ſuperſtition of *Nicias*, he had ſurely found the ſame fortune in a caſe very like. But when, hee retyring, the broken remainder of *Craſſus* his Army defeated by the Parthian Archers, was adviſed, upon ſuch an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sunne were paſt the ſigne of *Scorpio*; he made anſwer that he ſtood not in ſuch feare of *Scorpio*, as of *Sagittarius*. So adventuring rather to abide the frowning of the Heavens, than the nearer danger of Enemies upon earth, he made ſuch a ſafe and honourable retrait, as did both ſhew his noble reſolution, and give a faire example to that good rule.

——*Sapiens dominabitur aſtris.*

Thus we ſee that God, who ordinarily workes by a concatenation of meanes, deprives the Governours of underſtanding, when he intends evill to the multitude; and that the wickedneſſe of unjuſt men is the readie meane to weaken the vertue of thoſe who might have done them good.

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## §. IX.

### *Of the troubles whereinto the State of Athens fell, after the great loſſe of the Fleet, and Armie in Sicilia.*

THe loſſe of this Armie was the ruine of the *Athenian* Dominion, and may be well accounted a very little leſſe calamitie to that Eſtate, than was the ſubverſion of the walls, when the Citie about ſeven yeares after was taken by *Lyſander*. For now began the ſubjects of the *Athenian* Eſtate to rebell, of whom, ſome they reduced under their obedience, others held out; ſome for feare of greater inconvenience were ſet at libertie, promiſing only to be their good friends, as formerly they had been their Subjects; others having a kinde of libertie offered by the *Athenians*, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect libertie by force. Among theſe troubles it fell out very unſeaſonably, that the principall men of *Athens*, being wearied with the peoples inſolencie, tooke upon them to change the forme of that Eſtate, and bring the government into the hands of a few. To which purpoſe conſpiring with the Captains which were abroad, they cauſed them to ſet up the forme of an Ariſtocratie in the Townes of their Confederates; and in the meane time, ſome that were moſt likely to withſtand this innovation, being ſlaine at *Athens*, the Commonaltie were ſo diſmaid, that none durſt ſpeake againſt the Conſpirators, whoſe number they knew not, but every man was affraid of his neighbour, leſt he ſhould be a member of the league. In this generall fear the Majeſtie of *Athens* was uſurped by foure hundred men, who obſerving in ſhew the ancient form of proceeding, did cauſe all matters to be propounded unto the people, and concluded upon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were onely ſuch as were firſt allowed in private among themſelves; neither had the Commonaltie any other libertie, than onely to approve and give conſent: for whoſoever preſumed any further, was quickly diſpatched out of the way, and no inquirie made of the murther. By theſe meanes were many Decrees made, all tending to the eſtabliſhment of this new authoritie, which neverthelesſe endured not long. For the Fleet and Armie which then was in the Iſle of *Samos*, did altogether deteſt theſe dealings of the foure hundred uſurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they revoked *Alcibiades* out of baniſhment, and by his aſſiſtance procured that the ſupplies which the *Perſian* King had promiſed to the *Lacedæmonians*, were by *Tiſſaphernes* his Lievtenant, made unprofitable, through the ſlow and bad performance. *Alcibiades* had at the firſt beene very well entertained in *Sparta*, whileſt his ſervice done unto that State was not growne to be the object of envie. But when it appeared that in Counſell and good performance he ſo far excelled all the *Lacedæmonians*, that all their good ſucceſſe was aſcribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principall Citizens wearie of his vertue; eſpecially *Agis* one of their Kings, whoſe wife had ſo far yeelded her ſelfe to the love of this *Athenian*, that among her inward friends ſhe could not forbeare to call her young child by his name. Hereupon order was taken, that *Alcibiades* ſhould be killed out of the way. But he diſcovering the *Spartan* trecherie, conveyed himſelfe unto *Tiſſaphernes*, whom he ſo bewitched with his great beautie, ſweet converſation, and ſound wit, that he ſoone became the Maſter of that barbarous Vice-royes affections, who had free power to diſpoſe the great Kings Treaſures and Forces in thoſe parts. Then began he to adviſe *Tiſſaphernes*, not ſo far forth to aſſiſt the *Lacedæmonians*, that they ſhould quite overthrow the State of *Athens*, but rather to helpe the weaker ſide, and let them one conſume another, whereby all ſhould fall at length into the hands of the *Perſian*. By this counſell he made way to other practices, wherein by ſtrength of his reputation (as the onely Favourite of ſo great a Potentate) he played his owne game, procuring his reſtitution. At length his baniſhment being repealed by the Armie, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppreſſed by the foure hundred) hee laboured greatly to reconcile the Souldiers to the Governours; or at leaſt to divert their heat another way, and turne it upon the common Enemie. Some of the foure hundred approved his motion, as being wearie of the tyranny wherof they were partakers, partly becauſe they ſaw it could not long endure, and partly for that themſelves, being leſſe regarded by the reſt of their companions, than ſtood with their good liking, ſought to acquit themſelves of it as honeſtly as they might. But the moſt of that Faction laboured to obtain peace of the *Lacedæmonians*, deſiring chiefly to maintain both their own authoritie & the greatneſſe of their citie, if they might: but if this could not be, they did rather wiſh to preſerve their own power, or ſaftie at leaſt, than the good Eſtate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made ſundrie overtures of peace to the *Lacedæmonians*, deſiring to compound in as good termes as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be truſted than the wavering multitude; eſpecially conſidering that the Citie of *Sparta* was governed by an Ariſtocratie, to which form they had now reduced *Athens*. All theſe paſſages between the foure hundred (or the moſt and chiefe of them) and the *Lacedæmonians*, were kept as ſecret as might be. For the Citie of *Athens*, hoping, without any great cauſe, to repair their loſſes, was not inclined to make compoſition, from which upon juſter ground the Enemie was much more averſe, truſting well that the diſcord of the *Athenians* (not unknowne abroad) might yeeld ſome faire opportunitie to the deſtruction of it ſelfe, which in effect (though not then preſently) came to paſſe. And upon this hope king *Agis* did ſometimes bring his forces from *Decelea* to *Athens*, where doing no good, he received ſome ſmall loſſes. Likewiſe the Navie of *Peloponneſus* made ſhew of attempting the Citie, but ſeeing no likelihood of ſucceſſe, they bent their courſe from thence to other places, where they obtained victories, which in the better fortune of the *Athenians* might more lightly have bin regarded, than in this their decayed eſtate. Yet it ſeems, without any diſparagement to their wiſedom, they ſhould rather have forborn to preſent unto the Citie, or to the countries near adjoyning, any terror of the war. For the diſſention within the wals might ſoon have done more good than could be received from the fleet or armie without, which indeed gave occaſion to ſet the Citizens at unity, though it laſted not very long. The four hundred, by means of theſe troubles, were fain to reſign their authority, which they could not now hold, when the people, having taken arms to repell forraign Enemies, would not lay them down, till they had freed themſelves, from ſuch as oppreſſed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of government a full reſtitution of the ſoveraign command unto the people, or whole bodie of the Citie, but only to five thouſand; which company the four hundred (when their authoritie began) had pretended to take unto them as aſſiſtants: herein ſeeming to do little wrong or none to the commonalty, who ſeldom aſſembled in greater number. But now when the higheſt power was come indeed into the hands of ſo many, it was ſoon agreed, that *Alcibiades* & his companions ſhould be recalled from exile, and that the army at *Samos* ſhould be requeſted to undertake the government: which was forthwith reformed according to the Souldiers deſire.

## §. X.

### *How* Alcibiades *won many important victories for the Athenians; was recalled from exile; made their Generall, and again depoſed.*

THis eſtabliſhment of things in the Citie, was accompanied with ſome good ſucceſſe in the wars. For the *Lacedæmonians* were about the ſame time overthrown at Sea, in a great battell, by the *Athenian* Fleet, which had remained at *Samos*, to which *Alcibiades* afterwards joyning ſuch forces as he could raiſe, obtained many victories. Before the Towne of *Abydus*, his arrivall with eighteen ſhips, gave the honour of a great battell to the *Athenians*; he overthrew and utterly deſtroyed the fleet of the *Lacedæmonians*, commanded by *Mindarus*; took the Towns of *Cyzicus* and *Perinthus*, made the *Selymbrians* ranſome their Citie, and fortified *Chryſopolis*. Hereupon letters were ſent to *Sparta*, which the *Athenians* intercepting, found to contain the diſtreſſe of the Armie, in theſe few words: *All is loſt*; Mindarus *is ſlain*; *the Souldiers want victuals*; *we know not what to doe.*

Shortly after this, *Alcibiades* overthrew the *Lacedæmonians* in fight by land at *Chalcedon*, took *Selymbria*, beſieged & won *Byzantium*, now called *Conſtantinople*, which even in thoſe dayes was a goodly, rich & very ſtrong Citie. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made high admirall of all the Navie.

But this his honour continued not long; for it was taken from him, and he driven to baniſh himſelfe again, only becauſe his Lievtenant, contrarie to the expreſſe command of *Alcibiades*, fighting with the enemies in his abſence, had loſt a great part of the Fleet.

The ſecond baniſhment of *Alcibiades* was to the *Athenians* more harmful than the firſt; and the loſſe which thereupon they received, was (though more heavie to them, yet) leſſe to be pittied of others, than that which enſued upon his former exile. For whereas at the firſt, he had ſought revenge upon his own Citie; now, as inured to adverſitie, he rather pittied their furie, who in time of ſuch danger had caſt out him that ſhould have repaired their weak eſtate, than ſought by procuring or beholding the calamitie of his people, to comfort himſelfe after injurie received. Before they, who were inſtituted in the place of *Alcibiades*, arrived at the Fleet, he preſented battel to *Lyſander* the *Lacedæmonian* Admirall, who was not ſo confident upon his former victorie, as to undertake *Alcibiades* himſelfe, bringing ſhips more in number (notwithſtanding the former loſſe of fifteen) than his enemies had, and better ordered than they had bin under his Lievtenant. But when the decree of the people was publiſhed in the Navie, then did *Alcibiades* with-draw himſelfe to a Town upon *Helleſpont*, called *Bizanthe*, where he had built a Caſtle.

## §. XI.

### *The battell at Arginuſæ, and condemnation of the victorious Athenian Captaines by the people.*

AFter this time, the *Athenians* receiving many loſſes and diſcomfitures, were driven to flye into the Haven of *Mytelene*, where they were ſtraitly beſieged both by Land and Sea. For the raiſing of this ſiege neceſſitie inforced them to man all their veſſels, and to put the uttermoſt of their forces into the hazzard of one battel. This battell was fought at *Arginuſæ*, where *Callicraditas*, Admirall of the *Lacedæmonians*, loſing the honour of the day, preſerved his own reputation by dying valiantly in the fight. It might well have bin expected, that the ten Captains, who joyntly had command in chiefe over the *Athenian* fleet, ſhould for that good daies ſervice, and ſo happy a victory, have received great honor of their Citizens. But contrariwiſe, they were forthwith called home, and accuſed, as if wilfully they had ſuffered many of the Citizens, whoſe ſhips were broken and ſunk, to be caſt away, when by appointing ſome Veſſels to take them up, they might have ſaved them from being drowned. Hereto the Captains readily made a very juſt anſwer, That they purſuing the victorie, had left part of the fleet, under ſufficient men, to ſave thoſe that were wrackt; which if it were not well accompliſhed, it was, becauſe a tempeſt ariſing about the end of the fight, had hindred the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuſe availed not: For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who ſaid, That he himſelfe eſcaping in a meal-tub, had bin intreated by thoſe who were in perill of drowning, to deſire of the people revenge of their deaths upon the Captains. It was very ſtrange, that upon ſuch an accuſation maintained with ſo ſlender evidence, men that had well deſerved of their Countrie ſhould be overthrown. But their enemies had ſo incenſed the raſcall multitude, that no man durſt abſolve them, ſave onely *Socrates* the wiſe and vertuous Philoſopher, whoſe voice in this judgement was not regarded. Sixe of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly eſcaped drowning, and was with much a-doe relieved by other veſſels in the ſtorme: but the Captains which were abſent eſcaped; for when the furie of the people was overpaſt, this judgement was reverſed, and the accuſers called into queſtion for having deceived and perverted the citizens. Thus the *Athenians* went about to free themſelves from the infamie of injuſtice; but the divine Juſtice was not a-ſleep, nor would be ſo deluded.

## §. XII.

### *The battell at Ægos-Potamos, wherein the whole State of Athens was ruined; with the end of the Peloponneſian war.*

THe *Peloponneſian* fleet under *Lyſander*, the year next following, having ſcowred the *Ægean* Seas, entred *Helleſpont*, where (landing ſouldiers) it beſieged and took the town of *Lampſacus*. Hereupon all the navie of *Athens*, being an hundred and fourſcore ſaile, made thither in haſte, but finding *Lampſacus* taken before their comming, they put in at *Seſtos*, where having refreſhed themſelves, they ſailed to the river called *Ægos-Potamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Goats-Brook*, or the river of the *Goat*; being on the continent oppoſite to *Lampſacus*: and there they caſt Anchors, not one whole league off from *Lyſander*, who rode at *Lampſacus* in the harbor. The next day after their arrival they preſented fight unto the *Peloponneſians*, who refuſed it, whereupon the *Athenians* returned again to *Ægos-Potamos*; & thus they continued five daies, braving every day the Enemie, and returning to their own harbor when it drew towards evening.

The Caſtle of *Alcibiades* was not far from the Navie, and his power in thoſe places was ſuch as might have greatly availed his countrimen, if they could have made uſe of it. For he had waged mercenaries, & making war in his own name upon ſome people of the *Thracians*, had gathered much wealth, & obtained much reputation among them. He perceiving the diſorderly courſe of the *Athenian* Commanders, repaired unto them, & ſhewed what great inconvenience might grow, if they did not ſoon fore-ſee and prevent it. For they lay in a rode ſubject to every weather, neither near enough to any town where they might furniſh themſelves with neceſſaries, nor ſo far off as had bin more expedient. *Seſtos* was the next Market-town; thither both Souldiers and Mariners reſorted, flocking away from the Navie every day, as ſoon as they were returned from braving the Enemie. Therefore *Alcibiades* willed them either to lie at *Seſtos*, which was not far off, or at leaſt to conſider how neare their Enemie was, whoſe feare proceeded rather from obedience to their Generall, than from any cowardiſe. This admonition was ſo far deſpiſed, that ſome of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his own matters, and to remember that his authoritie was out of date. Had it not bin for theſe opprobrious words, he could (as he told his familiars) have compelled the *Lacedæmonians*, either to fight upon unequal terms, or utterly to quit their fleet. And like enough it was that he might ſo have done by tranſporting the light-armed *Thracians*, his confederates, and others his Followers, over the Streights, who aſſaulting the *Peloponneſians* by Land, would either have compelled them to put to Sea, or elſe to leave their ſhips to the mercie of the *Athenians*. But finding their acceptance of his good counſell no better than hath bin rehearſed, he left them to their fortune, which how evill it would be he did prognoſticate.

*Lyſander* all this while defending himſelfe by the advantage of his Haven, was not careleſſe in looking into the demeanour of the *Athenians*. When they departed, his maner was to ſend forth ſome of his ſwifteſt Veſſels after them, who obſerving their doings, related unto him what they had ſeene. Therefore underſtanding in what careleſſe faſhion they romed up and down the country; he kept all his men a-boord after their departure, and the fift day gave eſpecial charge to his Scouts, that when they perceived the *Athenians* diſ-imbarking, as their cuſtome was, and walking towards *Seſtos*, they ſhould forthwith returne, and hang up a brazen ſhield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and *Lyſander* being in a readineſſe, made all ſpeed that ſtrength of Oares could give, to *Ægos-Potamos*, where he found very few of his enemies aboord their ſhips, nor many near them, and all in great confuſion upon the newes of his approach.

Inſomuch that the greateſt induſtrie which the *Athenians* then ſhewed, was in the eſcape of eight or nine ſhips, which knowing how much that loſſe imported, gave over *Athens* as deſperate, and made a long flight into the Ile of *Cyprus*; all the reſt were taken, and ſuch of the Souldiers as came in to the reſcue cut in pieces. Thus was the war which had laſted ſeven and twentie years, with variable ſucceſſe concluded in one houre, and the glorie of *Athens* in ſuch wiſe eclipſed, that ſhe never afterward ſhone in her perfect light.

Immediately upon this victorie, *Lyſander*, having taken ſuch Townes as readily did yeeld upon the firſt fame of his exploit, ſet ſaile for **Athens**, and joyning his forces with thoſe of **Agis** & **Pauſanias**, Kings of **Sparta**, ſummoned the Citie; which finding too ſtubborne to yeeld, and too ſtrong to be won on the ſudden, he put forth again to Sea, & rather by terrour than violence, compelling all the Ilands, and ſuch Towns of the **Ionians** as had formerly held of the **Athenians**, to ſubmit themſelves to **Sparta**, he did thereby cut off all proviſion of victuals, and other neceſſaries, from the citie, and inforced the people by meere famine to yeeld to theſe conditions: That the long walls, leading from the Towne to the Port, ſhould be throwne downe; That all Cities ſubject to their Eſtate, ſhould be ſet a libertie; That the **Athenians** ſhould be Maſters only of their own Territories, and the fields adjoyning to their Town; And that they ſhould keep no more than twelve Ships; That they ſhould hold as Friends or Enemies, the ſame, whom the **Lacedæmonians** did, and follow the **Lacedæmonians** as Leaders in the wars.

Theſe Articles being agreed upon, the wals were throwne down with great rejoycing of thoſe who had born diſpleaſure to **Athens**; and not without ſome conſultation of deſtroying the Citie, and laying waſte the Land about it. Which advice, although it was not entertained, yet were thirtie Governors, or rather cruell Tyrants, appointed over the people, who recompenced their former inſolencie and injuſtice over their Captaines by oppreſſing them with all baſe and intolerable ſlaverie.

The only ſmall hope then remaining to the **Athenians**, was, that **Alcibiades** might perhaps repaire what their owne follie had ruined. But the thirtie Tyrants perceiving this, advertiſed the **Lacedæmonians** thereof, who contrived, and (as now domineering in everie quarter) ſoon effected his ſudden death.

Such end had the **Peloponneſian** war. After which the **Lacedæmonians** abuſing the reputation, and great power, which therin they had obtained, grew very odious to **Greece**, and by combination of many Cities againſt them, were diſpoſſeſſed of their high authoritie, even in that very age, in which they had ſubdued **Athens**. The greateſt foil that they took was of the **Thebans** led by **Epaminondas**, under whom **Philip** of **Macedon**, father to **Alexander** the Great, had the beſt of his education. By theſe **Thebans**, the Citie of **Sparta** (beſides other great loſſes received) was ſundrie times in danger of being taken. But theſe haughtie attempts of the **Thebans** came finally to nothing; for the ſeverall Eſtates & Signories of **Greece**, were grown ſo jealous one of anothers greatneſſe, that the **Lacedæmonians**, **Athenians**, **Argives** & **Thebans**, which were the mightieſt, aſſociating themſelves with the weaker partie, did ſo counterpoize the ſtronger, that no one Citie could extend the limits of her juriſdiction ſo far as might make her terrible to her neighbours. And thus all parts of the countrie remained rather evenly ballanced, than well agreeing, till ſuch time as **Philip**, and after him **Alexander**, Kings of **Macedon**, (whoſe forefathers had bin dependants, and followers, yea almoſt meere Vaſſals to the Eſtates of **Athens** and **Sparta**) found means, by making uſe of their factions, to bring them all into ſervitude, from which they never could be free, till the **Romans** preſenting them with a ſhew of libertie, did themſelves indeed become their Maſters.

# CHAP. IX.

## *Of matters concurring with the Peloponneſian Warre, or ſhortly following it.*

### §. I.

### *How the affaires of Perſia ſtood in theſe times.*

DUring the times of this **Peloponneſian** War, and thoſe other leſſe expeditions foregoing it, **Artaxerxes Longimanus**, having peaceably enjoyed a long reign over the **Perſians**, left it by his death either to **Darius**, who was called **Darius Nothus**, or the Baſtard, whom the **Greeke** Hiſtorians (lightly paſſing over **Xerxes** the ſecond, and **Sogdianus**, as uſurpers, and for their ſhort reign little to be regarded) place next unto them, or to **Xerxes** the ſecond; who, and his brother **Sogdianus** after him (ſeeming to have bin the ſons of *Heſter*) held the Kingdome but one year between them, the younger ſucceeding his elder brother. It is not my purpoſe (as I have ſaid before) to purſue the hiſtorie of the *Perſians* from henceforth, by rehearſall of all the particulars, otherwiſe than as they ſhall be incident to the affaires of *Greece*. It may therefore ſuffice to ſay, That *Xerxes* the ſecond, being a vicious Prince, did periſh after a moneth or two, if not by ſurfeit, then by the trecherie of his riotous brother *Sogdianus*. Likewiſe of *Sogdianus* it is found, that being as ill as his brother, and more cruell, he ſlew unjuſtly *Bagorazus* a principall Eunuch, and would have done as much to his brother *Darius* the Baſtard, had not he fore-ſeen it, and by raiſing a ſtronger army than this hated King *Sogdianus* could leavie, ſeized at once upon the King and Kingdome. *Darius* having ſlain his brother, held the Empire nineteene yeares. *Amyrtæus* of *Sais* an *Egyptian* rebelled againſt him, and having partly ſlain, partly chaſed out of the Land the *Perſian* Garriſons, allied himſelfe ſo firmly with the *Greeks*, that by their aide he maintained the Kingdome, and delivered it over to his poſteritie, who (notwithſtanding the furie of their civill Wars) maintained it againſt the *Perſian*, all the dayes of this *Darius*, and of his ſon *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. Likewiſe *Amorges*, a Subject of his owne and of the Royall bloud, being Lievtenant of *Caria*, rebelled againſt him; confederating himſelfe with the *Athenians*. But the great calamitie, before ſpoken of, which fell upon the *Athenians* in *Sicil*, having put new life into the *Spartans*, and given courage to the Ilanders and others, ſubject to the State of *Athens*, to ſhake off the yoke of their long continued bondage: It fell out well for *Darius*, that the *Lacedæmonians* being deſtitute of mony, wherewith to defray the charge of a great navie, without which it was impoſſible to advance the war againſt the ſtate of *Athens*, that remained powerfull by ſea, were driven to crave his aſſiſtance, which he granted unto them, firſt upon what conditions beſt pleaſed himſelfe, though afterwards the Articles of the league betweene him and them were ſet downe in more preciſe termes; wherein it was concluded, That he and they ſhould make war joyntly upon the *Athenians*, and upon all that ſhould rebell from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of *Aſia*, which had formerly bin his, or his Predeceſſours, ſhould returne to his obedience. By this Treatie, and the war enſuing (of which I have alreadie ſpoken) he recovered all that his grandfather and father had loſt in *Aſia*. Likewiſe by aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians*, he got *Amorges* a-live into his hands, who was taken in the citie of *Jaſus*; the *Athenians* wanting either force or courage to ſuccour him. Nevertheleſſe *Egypt* ſtill held out againſt him; the cauſe whereof cannot be the imploiment of the *Perſian* forces on the parts of *Greece*: for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occaſions, but they wanted manhood, which cauſed him to fight with gold; which effected for him by Souldiers of other nations, and his naturall enemies, what the valour of his own Subjects was inſufficient to perform. *Darius* had in marriage *Paryſatis* his owne ſiſter, who bare unto him (beſides other children) *Artaxerxes* called *Mnemon*, that is to ſay, the Mindful, or the Rememberer, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom; and *Cyrus* the younger, a Prince of ſingular vertue, and accounted by all that knew him, the moſt excellent man that ever *Perſia* bred after *Cyrus* the Great. But the old King *Darius*, intending to leave unto his elder ſon *Artaxerxes* the inheritance of that great Empire, did caſt a jealous eye upon the doings of young *Cyrus*, who being Lievtenant of the lower *Aſia*, took more upon him than befitted a Subject: for which cauſe his father ſent for him, with intent to have taken ſome very ſharpe courſe with him, had not his owne death prevented the comming of his younger ſon, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the war between theſe brethren, and ſummarily of *Artaxerxes*, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeake ſomewhat in more convenient place.

## §. II.

### *How the thirtie Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.*

I Hold it in this place very convenient to ſhew the proceedings of the *Greekes*, after the ſubverſion of the walls of *Athens*, which gave end to that warre called the *Peloponneſian* warre, but could not free the unhappie Countrey of *Greece* from civill broiles. The thirtie Governours, commonly called the thirtie Tyrants of *Athens*, were choſen at the firſt by the people to compile a body of their law, and make a collection of ſuch ancient Statutes,as were meet to be put in practice: the condition of the Citie ſtanding as it did in that ſo ſudden alteration. To this charge was annexed the ſupreme authoritie,either as a recompence of their labours, or becauſe the neceſſitie of the times did ſo require it,wherein the Law being uncertain,it was fit that ſuch men ſhould give judgment in particular cauſes,to whoſe judgement the Lawes themſelves,by which the Citie was to be ordered,were become ſubject. But theſe thirtie,having ſo great power in their hands, were more carefull to hold it, than to deſerve it, by faithfull execution of that which was committed to them in truſt.

Therefore apprehending ſuch troubleſome fellowes, as were odious to the Citie, though not puniſhable therefore by law, they condemned them to death; which proceeding was by all men highly approved,who conſidered their lewd conditions, but did not withall bethinke themſelves, how eaſie a thing it would be unto theſe thirtie men,to take away the lives of Innocents, by calling them perturbers of the peace, or what elſe they liſted, when condemnation without true triall and proofe had beene once well allowed. Having thus plauſibly entred into a wicked courſe of government,they thought it beſt to fortifie themſelves with a ſure guard, ere they brake out into thoſe diſorders, which they muſt needs commit for the eſtabliſhing of their authoritie. Wherefore diſpatching two of their own companie to *Sparta*, they informed the *Lacedæmonians*, that it was the full intent of the thirtie, to keep the Citie free from all rebellious motions: to which purpoſe it behoved them to cut off ſuch as were ſeditious; and therefore deſired the *Lacedæmonians* to ſend them a Garriſon, which they promiſed at their owne coſt to maintaine. This motion was well approved, and a Guard ſent, the Captaine of which was ſo well entertained by the thirtie, that none of their miſdeeds could want his high commendations at *Sparta*. Hereupon the Tyrants began to take heart, and looking no more after baſe and deteſted perſons, invaded the principall men of the Citie, ſending armed men from houſe to houſe,who drew out ſuch as were of great reputation,and likely, or able to make any head againſt this wicked forme of government: whereby there was ſuch effuſion of bloud,as to *Theramenes*(one of the thirtie)ſeemed very horrible,and unable to eſcape vengeance. His diſlike of their proceedings being openly diſcovered, cauſed his fellowes to bethink themſelves,and provide for their owne ſecuritie, and his deſtruction,leſt he ſhould make himſelfe a Captaine of the diſcontented(which were almoſt the whole Citie)and redeem his own peace with their ruine. Wherefore they ſelected three thouſand of the Citizens,whom they thought meeteſt, and gave unto them ſome part of publike authoritie,the reſt they diſarmed; and having thus increaſed their own ſtrength,and weakned their oppoſites,they began a-freſh to ſhed the bloud,not only of their private enemies,but of ſuch whoſe mony,or goods,might inrich them, & enable them for the paiment of their guard. And to this purpoſe they concluded, that every one of them ſhould name one man,upon whoſe goods he ſhould ſeize, putting the owner to death. But when *Theramenes* uttered his deteſtation of ſo wicked intent;then did *Critias*, who of all the thirtie was moſt tyrannicall,accuſe him to the Councell, as a trecherous man,&(wheras one main priviledge of the three thouſand was,that none of them ſhould ſuffer death at the appointment of the thirtie,but have the accuſtomed triall)he took upon him to ſtrike out of that number the name of *Theramenes*,& ſo reduced him under the triall & ſentence of that order. It was well alledged by *Theramenes*,that his name was not more eaſie to be blotted out of the catalogue,than any other mans; upon which conſideration,he adviſed them all to conceive no otherwiſe of his caſe,than as of their own,who were liable to the ſame form of proceeding: but every man chooſing rather to preſerve his own life by ſilence,than preſently to draw upon himſelfe the danger, which as yet concerned him little,and perhaps would never come near him; the Tyrants interpreting ſilence as conſent,condemned him forthwith,and compelled him to drink poyſon.

## §. III.

### *The Conſpiracie againſt the thirtie Tyrants,and their depoſing.*

AFter the death of *Theramenes*, the thirtie began to uſe ſuch outrage, as exceeded their former villanies. For,having three thouſand (as they thought) firme unto them, they robbed all others without feare or ſhame, deſpoiling them of lands and goods, and cauſed them to flie into baniſhment, for ſafeguard of their lives. This flight of the citizens procured their libertie, and the general good of the citie. For the baniſhed citizens, who were fled to *Thebes*, entred into conſultation, and reſolved to hazzard their lives in ſetting free the citie of *Athens*. The very thought of ſuch a practice had bin treaſon at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Seventie men, or thereabout, were the firſt undertakers, who with their Captain *Thraſybulus* took *Phyla*, a place of ſtrength in the Territorie of *Athens*. No ſooner did the thirtie heare of their exploit, than ſeek means to prevent further danger; aſſembling the three thouſand, and their *Lacedæmonian* guard, with which force they attempted *Phyla*, but were with ſome loſſe of their men repelled. Finding the place too ſtrong to be taken by aſſault, they intended to beſiege it; which purpoſe came to nought by means of ſnow that fell, and other ſtormie weather, againſt which they had not made proviſion. Retiring therefore to the citie, which above all they were to make good, they left the moſt of their guard, and two companies of Horſe, to wearie out them which lay in *Phyla*, with a flying ſiege. But it was not long ere the followers of *Thraſybulus* were increaſed from ſeventie to ſeven hundred, which adventured to give charge upon thoſe guards, of whom they cut off above an hundred and twentie. Theſe ſmall, but proſperous beginnings, added more to the number of thoſe in *Phyla*, who now with a thouſand men got entrance into *Piræus*, the ſuburbe of *Athens*, lying on the Port. Before their comming the thirtie had reſolved to fortifie the Towne of *Eleuſine*, to their owne uſe, whereinto they might make an eaſie retrait, and ſave themſelves from any ſudden perill. It may well ſeeme ſtrange, that whereas their barbarous maner of government had brought them into ſuch danger, they were ſo far from ſeeking to obtaine mens good will, that contrariwiſe, to aſſure themſelves of *Eleuſine*, they got all of the place who could beare armes into their hands by a traine, and wickedly (though under form of Juſtice) murthered them all. But, *Sceleribus tutum per ſcelera eſt iter*, the miſchiefes which they had alreadie done were ſuch, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparent likelihood of ſafetie, than by extending their crueltie unto all, ſeeing few or none were left, whom they could truſt. When *Thraſybulus* and his fellowes, who as yet were termed conſpirators, had taken the *Piræus*, then were the three thouſand armed againe by the Tyrants, and brought to aſſault it; but in this enterpriſe *Thraſybulus* had the better, & repelled his enemies, of whom though there were ſlain to the number of ſeventie only, yet the victorie ſeemed the greater, becauſe *Critias*, and one other of the thirtie, periſhed in that fight. The death of *Critias*, and the ſtout defence of *Piræus*, together with ſome exhortations uſed by *Thraſybulus* to the Citizens, wrought ſuch effect, that the thirtie were depoſed. Nevertheleſſe there were ſo many of the three thouſand, who having communicated with the thirtie in their miſdeeds, feared to be called to a ſharpe account, that no peace, nor quiet form of government could be eſtabliſhed. For Embaſſadors were ſent to *Sparta*, who craving aide againſt *Thraſybulus* and his followers, had favourable audience, and a power ſent to their aſſiſtance, both by land and ſea, under the conduct of *Lyſander*, & his Brother; whom *Pauſanias* the *Spartan* King did follow, raiſing an Armie of the Cities confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*. And here appeared firſt the jealouſie, wherein ſome people held the State of *Sparta*. The *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*, who in the late wars had bin the moſt bitter enemies to *Athens*, refuſed to follow *Pauſanias* in this expedition; alledging that it ſtood not with their oathes, to make war againſt that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the league: but fearing indeed, leſt the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould annexe the Territorie of *Athens* to their own Demains. It is not to be doubted, that *Pauſanias* took this anſwer in good part. For it was not his purpoſe to deſtroy thoſe againſt whom he went, but only to croſſe the proceedings of *Lyſander*, whom he envied. Therefore having in ſome ſmall skirmiſhes againſt them of *Thraſybulus* his party, made a ſhew of war, finally wrought ſuch means, that al things were compounded quietly: the thirtie men, and ſuch others, as were like to give cauſe of tumults, being ſent to *Sparta*. The remainder of that tyrannicall faction, having withdrawn themſelves to *Eleuſine*, were ſhortly after found to attempt ſome innovation; whereupon the whole Citie riſing againſt them, took their Captains, as they were comming to Parlie, and ſlew them: which done, to avoid further inconvenience, a law was made, that all injuries paſt ſhould be forgotten, and no man called into queſtion for wrongs committed. By which order, wiſely made, and carefully obſerved, the Citie returned to her former quietneſſe.

## CHAP. X.

### *Of the expedition of* Cyrus *the younger.*

#### §. I.

#### *The grounds of* Cyrus *his attempt againſt his brother.*

THe matters of *Greece* ſtanding upon ſuch terms; that no one eſtate durſt oppoſe it ſelfe againſt that of *Lacedæmon*; young *Cyrus*, Brother to *Artaxerxes*, King of *Perſia*, having in his fathers life time very carefully proſecuted the war againſt *Athens*, did ſend his meſſengers to *Sparta*, requeſting that their love might appear no leſs to him, than that which he had ſhewed towards them in their dangerous war againſt the *Athenians*. To this requeſt, being generall, the *Lacedæmonians* gave a ſutable anſwer, commanding their Admiral to perform unto *Cyrus* all ſervice that he ſhould require of him. If *Cyrus* had plainly diſcovered himſelf, and the *Lacedæmonians* bent their whole power to his aſſiſtance, very like it is, that either the kingdom of *Perſia* ſhould have bin the recompence of his deſerts; or that he periſhing in battell, as after he did, the ſubverſion of that Empire had forthwith enſued. But it pleaſed God, rather to ſhew unto the *Greeks* the waies, which under the *Macedonian* Enſigns, the victorious foot-ſteps of their poſteritie ſhould meaſure; and opening unto them the riches, and withall the weakneſſe of the *Perſian*, to kindle in them both deſire and hope of that conqueſt, which he reſerved to another generation; than to give into their hands that mightie kingdom, whoſe houre was not yet come. The love which *Paryſatis* the Queen-mother of *Perſia* bare unto *Cyrus* her younger ſon, being ſeconded by the earneſt favour of the people, and readie deſires of many principall men, had moved this young Prince, in his fathers old age, to aſpire after the ſucceſſion. But being ſent for by his Father (as hath before bin ſhewed) whoſe meaning was to curb this ambitious youth; he found his elder brother *Artaxerxes* eſtabliſhed ſo ſurely by the old kings favour, that it were not ſafe to attempt any means of diſplanting him, by whoſe diſfavour himſelf might eaſily loſe the place of a Vice-roy, which he held in *Aſia* the leſſe, and hardly be able to maintain his own life. The neereſt neighbour to *Cyrus* of all the kings Deputies in the lower *Aſia*, was *Tiſſaphernes*, a man compounded of cowardiſe, trechery, craft, and all vices which accuſtomably branch out of theſe. This man accompanied *Cyrus* to his Father, uſing by the way all faire ſhewes of friendſhip, as to a Prince, for whom it might well be thought, that Queen *Paryſatis*, had obtained the inheritance of that mighty Empire. And it was very true, that *Paryſatis* had uſed the beſt of her endeavour to that purpoſe, alledging that (which in former ages had bin much available to *Xerxes*, in the like diſceptation with his elder brother) *Artaxerxes* was born whileſt his father was a private man, but *Cyrus*, when he was a crowned king. All which not ſufficing; when the moſt that could be obtained for *Cyrus*, was the pardon of ſome preſumptuous demeanour, and confirmation of his place in *Lydia*, and the parts adjoyning: then did this *Tiſſaphernes* diſcover his nature, and accuſe his friend *Cyrus* to the new King *Artaxerxes*, of a dangerous treaſon intended againſt his perſon. Upon this accuſation, whether true or falſe, very eaſily beleeved, *Cyrus* was arreſted, and by the moſt vehement intreatie of his Mother very hardly delivered, and ſent backe into his owne Province.

#### §. II.

#### *The preparations of* Cyrus, *and his firſt entrie into the War.*

THe forme of government which the *Perſian* Lievtenants uſed in their ſeverall Provinces, was in many points almoſt Regall. For they made war and peace, as they thought it meet, not only for the Kings behoofe, but for their owne reputation; uſually indeed with the Kings enemies, yet ſometimes one with another: which was the more eaſily tolerated, becauſe their owne heads were held onely at the Kings pleaſure, which cauſed them to frame all their doings to his will, whatſoever it were, or they could conjecture it to be. *Cyrus* therefore being ſetled in *Lydia*, began to conſider with himſelfe, the intereſt that he had in the Kingdome; the ſmall aſſurance of his brothers love, held only by his Mothers interceſſion; the diſgrace endured by his late impriſonment; and the meanes which he had by love of his own people, and that good neighbourhood of the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he had bound unto him, to obtaine the Crowne for himſelfe. Neither was it expedient that he ſhould long ſit idle, as waiting till occaſion ſhould preſent it ſelfe: but rather enterpriſe ſomewhat whileſt yet his Mother lived, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worſe than onely queſtionable. Hereupon hee firſt began to quarrell with *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſeized upon many Townes of his juriſdiction, annexing them to his own Province, which diſpleaſed not *Artaxerxes* at all, who (beſides that he was of condition ſomewhat ſimple) being truely paid by *Cyrus* the accuſtomable Tributes out of thoſe places, was well contented to ſee his brothers hot ſpirit exerciſed in private quarrels. But *Tiſſaphernes*, whoſe baſe conditions were hated, & cowardize deſpiſed, although he durſt not adventure to take armes againſt *Cyrus*, yet perceiving that the *Mileſians* were about to give up themſelves into the hands of that young Prince, as many other townes of the *Ionians* had done, thought by terrour to preſerve his reputation, and keepe the towne in his own hands. Wherefore he ſlew many, and many he baniſhed, who flying to *Cyrus*, were gently entertained, as bringing faire occaſion to take armes, which was no ſmall part of his deſire. In levying Souldiers he uſed great policie; for he tooke not only the men of his own Province, or of the Countries adjoyning, whoſe lives were ready at his will; but ſecretly he furniſhed ſome *Græcian* Captaines with money, who being very good men of warre, entertained Souldiers therewith, ſome of them warring in *Thrace*, others in *Theſſalie*, others elſewhere in *Greece*; but all of them ready to croſſe the Seas, at the firſt call of *Cyrus*, till which time they had ſecret inſtructions to prolong their ſeverall warres, that the Souldiers might be held in continuall exerciſe, and ready in armes upon the ſudden. *Cyrus* having ſent a power of men to beſiege *Miletus*, forthwith ſummoned theſe bands of the *Greekes*, who very readily came over to his aſſiſtance, being thirteene thouſand very firme Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almoſt incredible) againſt the whole power of *Artaxerxes*. With this Army, and that which he had levied before, he could very eaſily have forced *Miletus*, and chaſed away *Tiſſaphernes* out of *Aſia* the leſſe: but his purpoſe was not ſo to loſe time in ſmall matters, that was to bee imployed in the accompliſhment of higher deſignes. Pretending therefore that the *Piſidians*, a people of *Aſia* the leſſe, not ſubject to the *Perſian*, had invaded his Territorie, hee raiſed the ſiege of *Miletus*, and with all ſpeede marched Eaſtward, leaving *Tiſſaphernes* much amazed, who had no leiſure to rejoyce that *Cyrus* had left him to himſelfe, when he conſidered, that ſo great an Army, and ſo ſtrong, was never levied againſt the Rovers of *Piſidia*, but rather againſt the great King his Maſter. For which cauſe taking a band of five hundred horſe, he poſted away to carry tidings to the Court of this great preparation.

## §. III.

### *How* Cyrus *tooke his journey into the higher Aſia, and came up cloſe to his Brother.*

THe tumult which his comming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queen *Statira*, againſt *Paryſatis*, the Queen-Mother, whom ſhe called the Author and occaſioner of the war. But whileſt the King in great feare was arming the high Countries in his defence, the danger haſted upon him very faſt. For *Cyrus* made great marches, having his number much increaſed, by the repaire of his Countrimen, though moſt ſtrengthned by the acceſſe of ſeven hundred *Greekes*, & of other foure hundred of the ſame Nation, who revolted unto him from the King. How terrible the *Greeks* were to the *Barbarians*, he found by triall in a Muſter, which (to pleaſe the Queen of *Cilicia*, who had brought him aide) he made in *Phrygia*; where the *Greeks* by his direction making offer of a charge upon the reſt of his Army, which contained a hundred thouſand men, the whole Campe (not perceiving that this was but a bravery) fled amaine, the victuallers & baggagers forſaking their cabbins, & running all away for very feare. This was to *Cyrus* a joyful ſpectacle, who knew very well, that his brother was followed by men of the ſame temper, and the more unlikely to make reſiſtance, becauſe they were preſt to the warre againſt their will and diſpoſitions, whereas his Armie was drawne along by meere affection and good will. Nevertheleſſe he found it a very hard matter to perſwade the *Greekes* to paſſe the River of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the way which they had troden, wearied them with the conceit of the tedious returne. Therefore he was driven, being yet in *Cilicia*, to ſeeke excuſes, telling them, that *Abrocomas*, one of the Kings principall Captaines, & his own great enemy, lay by the River, againſt whom he requeſted them to aſſiſt him. By ſuch devices, and exceſſive promiſe of reward, he brought them to *Euphrates*; where ſome of the *Greekes* conſidering, That who ſo paſſed the River firſt, ſhould have the moſt thankes, and might ſafely returne if the reſt ſhould refuſe to follow them; they entred the Foords, whereby were all finally perſwaded to do as ſome had begun: and being allured by great hopes, they reſolved to ſeeke out *Artaxerxes*, whereſoever he was to be found. The King in the meane time having raiſed an army of nine hundred thouſand men, was not ſo confident upon this huge multitude, as to adventure them in triall of a plaine battaile. *Abrocomas*, who with three hundred thouſand men, had under-taken to make good the Streights of *Syria*, which were very narrow, and fortified with a ſtrong wall, and other defences of nature and art, which made the place to ſeeme impregnable, had quitted the paſſage, and retired himſelfe toward the Kings forces, not daring to looke *Cyrus* in the face, who deſpairing to finde any way by Land, had procured the *Lacedæmonian* fleet, by the benefit whereof to have tranſported his Army. I doe not finde that this cowardiſe of *Abrocomas*, or his Souldiers, who arrived not at the Campe, till five dayes were paſt after the battaile, received either puniſhment, or diſgrace; for they, toward whom he with-drew himſelfe, were all made of the ſame metall.

Therefore *Artaxerxes* was upon the point of retiring to the uttermoſt bounds of his Kingdom, untill by *Teribazus*, one of his Captaines, he was perſwaded not to abandon ſo many goodly Provinces to the enemy, who would thereby have gathered addition of ſtrength, and (which in the ſharpe diſputation of Title to a Kingdome is moſt availeable) would have grown ſuperior in reputation. By ſuch advice, the King reſolved upon meeting with his brother, who now began to be ſecure, being fully perſwaded that *Artaxerxes* would never dare to abide him in the field. For the King having caſt up a Trench of almoſt fortie miles in length, about thirty foot broad, and eighteene foot deepe, intended there to have encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing ſo ſafe, as to be farre diſtant from his enemies.

## §. IIII.

### *The battaile betweene* Cyrus *and* Artaxerxes.

THe Armie of *Cyrus* having overcome many difficulties of evill wayes, and ſcarcitie of victualls, was much encouraged by perceiving this great feare of *Artaxerxes*; and being paſt this trench, marched careleſly in great diſorder, having beſtowed their Armes in Carts, and upon Beaſts of carriage; when on the ſudden one of their Vaunt-currors, brought newes of the Kings approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themſelves, & had ranged their battailes in good order upon the ſide of the river *Euphrates*, where they waited for the comming of their enemies, whom they ſaw not till it was after-noone. But when they ſaw the cloud of duſt raiſed by the feete of that huge multitude, which the King drew after him, & perceived by their neere approach how well they were marſhalled, comming on very orderly in ſilence, whereas it had bin expected, that ruſhing violently with loud clamours, they ſhould have ſpent all their force upon the firſt brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were ſo unequall in diſtent, being all embattailed in one body and ſquare, that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the *Perſian* manner) in the middeſt of his own, did not with the corner, and utmoſt point thereof, reach to the halfe breadth of *Artaxerxes* his battaile, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of *Cyrus*: then did the *Greeks* begin to diſtruſt their owne manhood, which was not accuſtomed to make proofe of it ſelfe, upon ſuch exceſſive oddes. It was almoſt incredible, that ſo great an Armie ſhould be ſo eaſily chaſed. Nevertheleſſe, it quickly appeared, that theſe *Perſians*, having learned (contrary to their cuſtome) to give charge upon their enemies with ſilence, had not learned (for it was contrary to their nature) to receive a ſtrong charge with courage. Upon the very firſt offer of on-ſet, made by the *Greekes*, all that beaſtly rabble of cowards fled amaine, without abiding the ſtroke, or ſtaying till they were within reach of a Dart. The Chariots armed with hookes and ſithes (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred, and *Cyrus* not twenty) did ſmall hurt that day, becauſe the drivers of them leaping downe, fled away on foot. This baſe demeanour of his enemies gave ſo much confidence to *Cyrus* and his Followers, that ſuch as were about him forth-with adored him as King. And certainely, the Title had bin aſſured unto him that day, had not he ſought how to declare himſelfe worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiving that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the field which lay before him voide, was about to encompaſſe the *Greekes*, and to ſet upon them in the reare, he advanced with ſixe hundred Horſe, and gave ſo valiant a charge upon a ſquadron of ſixe thouſand, which lay before the King, that he brake it, ſlaying the Captaine thereof *Artagerſes*, with his owne hands, and putting all the reſt to flight. Hereupon his whole company of ſixe hundred, very few excepted, began to follow the chaſe, leaving *Cyrus* too ill attended, who perceiving where the King ſtood in troupe, uncertaine whether to fight, or leave the field, could not containe himſelfe, but ſaid; *I ſee the man:* and preſently with a ſmall handfull of men about him ran upon his brother, whom he ſtrake through the Curace, & wounded in the breaſt. Having given this ſtroake, which was his laſt, he received immediatly the fatall blow, which gave period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded under the eye with a dart, throwne by a baſe fellow; wherewith aſtonied, he fell dead from his horſe, or ſo hurt, that it was unpoſſible to have recovered him, though all which were with him, did their beſt for his ſafetie; not caring afterwards for their own lives, when once they perceived that *Cyrus* their Maſter was ſlaine. *Artaxerxes* cauſed the head and right hand of his brother to be forthwith ſtricken off, and ſhewed to his people, who now purſuing them, fled apace, calling upon the name of *Cyrus*, and deſiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings troupes, and utterly diſmaied ſuch *Perſian* Captaines, as were now, even in their owne eyes, no better than rebels; it was not long ere the Campe of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned; from whence *Artaxerxes* making all ſpeede, arrived quickly at the quarter of the *Greeks*, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There hee met with *Tiſſaphernes*, who having made way through the battaile of the *Greeks*, was ready now to joyne with his Maſter in ſpoiling their Tents. Had not the newes, which *Artaxerxes* brought with him of his brothers death, bin ſufficient to countervaile all diſaſters received, the exploit of *Tiſſaphernes* in breaking through the *Greekes* would have yeelded little comfort. For *Tiſſaphernes* had not ſlaine any one man of the *Greekes*, but contrariwiſe, when he gave upon them, they opening their battaile, drave him with great ſlaughter through them, in ſuch wiſe, that he rather eſcaped as out of an hard paſſage, than forced his way through the ſquadron of the *Greekes*. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the *Greeks*, as Maſters of the field, gave chaſe to all that came in their ſight; they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after theſe *Greekes*, intending to ſet upon them in the reare. But theſe good Souldiers perceiving the Kings approach, turned their faces, and made head againſt him; who not intending to ſeeke honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being purſued unto a certaine Village, that lay under a Hill, on the top whereof hee made a ſtand, rather in a bravery, than with purpoſe to attempt upon theſe bold fellowes any further. For he knew well that his brothers death had ſecured his eſtate, whom hee would ſeeme to have ſlaine with his owne hand, thinking that fact alone ſufficient to give reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that hee might now preſerve well enough, ſhewing a manly looke halfe a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore hee advanced his Standard, a golden Eagle diſplaied on the top of a Speare. This enſigne might have encouraged his people, had not ſome of the *Greekes* eſpied it, who not meaning that he ſhould abide ſo neere them, with all their power marched toward him. The King diſcovering their approach, fled upon the ſpurre; ſo that none remained in the place of battaile, ſave onely the *Greekes*, who had loſt that day not one man, nor taken any other harme, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondred that they heard no newes of *Cyrus*, but thinking that he was purſuing the Army, they thought it was fitteſt for them, having that day done enough, to return to their quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good appetite, becauſe the expectation of the Kings comming had given them no leiſure to dine.

## §. V.

### *The hard eſtate of the Greekes after the fight; and how* Artaxerxes *in vaine ſought to have made them yeeld unto him.*

IT was now about the ſetting of the Sunne, and they bringing home darke night with them, found their Campe ſpoiled, little or nothing being left that might ſerve for food: ſo that wanting victuals to ſatisfie their hunger, they refreſhed their weary bodies with ſleepe. In the mean ſeaſon *Artaxerxes* returning to his Campe, which he entred by Torch-light, could not enjoy the pleaſure of his good fortune entire, becauſe he perceived that the baſeneſſe of his people, and weakeneſſe of his Empire, was now plainely diſcovered to the *Greekes*: which gave him aſſurance, that if any of theſe who had beheld the ſhamefull demeanor of his Army, ſhould live to carry tidings home, it would not be long, ere with greater forces they diſputed with him for his whole Signory. Wherefore he reſolved, to try all meanes, whereby he might bring them to deſtruction, and not let one eſcape to carry tidings of that which he had ſeene: to which purpoſe he ſent them a brave meſſage the next morning; charging them to deliver up their Armes, and come to his Gates, to awaite there upon his Mercie. It ſeemes that he was in good hope to have found their high courages broken, upon report of his brothers death: but he was greatly deceived in that thought. For the *Greekes* being advertiſed that morning from *Ariæus*, a principall Commander under *Cyrus*, that his Maſter being ſlaine, he had retired himſelfe to the place of their laſt encamping, about eight miles from them, whence intending to returne into *Ionia*, his meaning was to diſlodge the next day, awaiting for them ſo long if they would joyne with him, but reſolving to ſtay no longer: they ſent anſwer backe to *Ariæus*, that having beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durſt reſiſt them, they would place *Ariæus* himſelfe in the Kings Throne, if he would joyne with them, and purſue the victory. Before they received any reply to this anſwer, the Meſſengers of *Artaxerxes* arrived at the Campe, whoſe errand ſeemed to the Captaines very inſolent: One told them, that it was not for the Vanquiſhers to yeelde their Weapons; another, that he would dye ere he yeelded to ſuch a motion; a third asked, whether the King, as having the victory, required their Weapons; if ſo, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he deſired them in way of friendſhip; for then would they firſt know, with what courteſie he meant to requite their kindneſſe. To this queſtion *Phalinus* a *Gracian*, waiting upon *Tiſſaphernes*, anſwered; That the King having ſlaine *Cyrus*, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdom, in the middeſt whereof hee held them faſt encloſed with great Rivers, being able to bring againſt them ſuch numbers of men, as they wanted ſtrength to kill if they would hold up their throats; for which cauſe he accounted them his priſoners. Theſe words, to them, who knew themſelves to bee free, were nothing pleaſant. Therefore, one told *Phalinus* that having nothing left, but their Armes and Valour, whileſt they kept their Armes, their Valour would bee ſerviceable; but ſhould they yeelde them, it was to bee doubted, that their bodies would not long remaine their owne. Hereat *Phalinus* laughed, ſaying; This young man did ſeeme a Philoſopher, and made a pretty ſpeech; but that his deepe ſpeculation ſhewed his wits to be very ſhallow, if hee thought with his Armes and Valour to prevaile againſt the great King. It ſeemes that *Phalinus* being a Courtier, and imployed in a buſineſſe of importance, thought himſelfe too profound a States-man, to be chekt in his Embaſſage by a bookiſh diſcourſer. But his wiſedome herein failed him. For whatſoever he himſelfe was (of whom no more is knowne than that he brought an unhoneſt meſſage to his own Countrimen, perſwading them baſely to ſurrender their Weapons, and Lives, to the mercileſſe *Barbarians*) this young Scholler by him deſpiſed, was that great *Xenophon*, who, when all the principall Commanders were ſurpriſed by treachery of the *Perſians*, being a private Gentleman, and having never ſeene the warres before, under-tooke the conduct of the Army, which he brought ſafe into *Greece*, freeing it from all thoſe, and from greater dangers than *Phalinus* could propound. Some there were who promiſed to be faithfull to the King, as they had bin to *Cyrus*, offering their ſervice in *Egypt*, where they thought *Artaxerxes* might have uſe of them. But the finall anſwer was, That without Weapons they could neither doe the King good as Friends, nor defend themſelves from him as Enemies. Hereupon *Phalinus* delivered the Kings further pleaſure, which was to grant them Truce, whileſt they abode where they then were, denouncing Warre if they ſtirred thence; Whereunto he required their anſwer. *Clearchus* the Generall told him, they liked it. How (ſaith *Phalinus*) muſt I underſtand you? As chooſing peace if we ſtay, or otherwiſe war, ſaid *Clearchus*. But whether warre or peace; quoth this politique Embaſſadour? To whom *Clearchus* (not willing to acquaint him with their purpoſe,) Let our doings tell you; and ſo diſmiſſed him, no wiſer than hee came. All that day the *Greekes* were faine to feed upon their Horſes, Aſſes, and other Beaſts, which they roſted with arrowes, darts, and woodden targets, throwne away by the Enemies.

## §. VI.

### *How the Greekes began to returne home-wards.*

AT night they took their way towards *Ariæus*, to whom they came at mid-night; being forſaken by foure hundred foot, and forty horſe, all *Thracians*, who fled over to the King, by whom how they were entertained, I doe not finde. Like enough it is that they were cut in pieces; for had they bin kindly uſed, it may well bee thought that ſome of them ſhould have accompanied *Tiſſaphernes*, & ſerved as Stales to draw in the reſt. *Ariæus* being of too baſe a temper, and birth, to thinke upon ſeeking the Kingdome for himſelfe, with ſuch aſſiſtance as might have given it unto *Cyrus*, was very well pleaſed to make covenant with them for mutuall aſſiſtance unto the laſt: Whereunto both parts having ſworn, he adviſed them to take another way homeward, which ſhould bee ſomewhat longer, yet ſafer and fitter to relieve them with victualls, than that by which they came. The next day, having made a weariſome march, and tyred the Souldiers, they found the Kings Army which had coaſted them, lodged in certain Villages, where they purpoſed themſelves to have encamped: towards which *Clearchus* made directly, becauſe he would not ſeeme by declining them to ſhew feare, or weakeneſſe. That the Kings men were contented to remove, and give place to their betters, it cannot be ſtrange to any that hath conſidered their former behaviour; Nor ſtrange, that the *Grecians*, being weary and hungry, and lying among enemies in an unknown Country, ſhould bee very fearefull: but it is almoſt paſt beliefe, that the noiſe which was heard of theſe poore men, calling one to another tumultuouſly, as the preſent condition inforced them to doe, ſhould make the *Perſians* flie out of their Campe, and ſo affright the great King, that inſtead of demanding their Arms, he ſhould crave peace of them. The next day very early, came meſſengers from *Artaxerxes*, deſiring free acceſſe for Embaſſadors, to entreat of peace. Were it not that ſuch particulars do beſt open the quality of the perſons, by whom things were managed, I ſhould hold it fitter, to run over the generall paſſages of thoſe times, than to dwell among circumſtances. But ſurely it is a point very remarkeable, That when *Clearchus* had willed the Meſſengers to bid the King prepare for battaile, becauſe the *Greeks* (as he ſaid) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to heare of truce till their bellies were full; *Artaxerxes* diſſembling the dignity, was contented ſweetly to ſwallow down this pill, ſending them guides, who conducted them to a place where was plenty of victuals to relieve them.

## §. VII.

### *How* Tiſſaphernes, *under colour of peace, betrayed all the Captains of the Greekes.*

HItherto the *Greekes*, relying upon their own vertue, had rather advanced their affaires, than brought themſelves into any ſtraights or termes of diſadvantage. But now came unto them the ſubtile Foxe *Tiſſaphernes*, who circumventing the Chiefe Commanders by fine ſleights, did miſchievouſly entrappe them, to the extreme danger of the Army. He told them, that his Province, lying neere unto *Greece*, had cauſed him greatly to deſire, that their deliverance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, & their Countrimen at home, would not bee unthankefull for ſuch a benefit. Herewithall he forgot not to rehearſe the great ſervice that he had done to his Maſter, being the firſt that advertiſed him of *Cyrus* his intent, and having not onely brought him a good ſtrength of men, but in the day of battaile ſhewed his face to the *Greekes*, when all others turned their backes: that he, together with the King, did enter their Campe, and gave chaſe to the *Barbarians* that ſtood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth he) did I alledge to the King, entreating that he would give me leave to conduct you ſafe into *Greece*; in which ſuite I have good hope to ſpeede, if you will ſend a milde anſwer to him, who hath willed me to aske you, for what cauſe ye have borne Armes againſt him. The Captaines hearing this, were contented to give gentle words, which *Tiſſaphernes* relating to the King, procured (though very hardly, as he ſaid) that peace ſhould be granted: the conditions whereof were; That they ſhould paſſe freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for that they tooke, and committing no ſpoile: yet that it ſhould be lawfull for them to take victuals by force, in any place that refuſed to affoord them an open Market. Hereupon both parties having ſworne, the League was concluded, and *Tiſſaphernes* returning to the King to take leave, and end all buſineſſe, came unto them againe after twenty dayes, and then they ſet forward. This interim of twenty dayes, which *Tiſſaphernes* did ſpend at the Court, miniſtred great occaſion of miſtruſt to his new Confederates. For beſides his long abſence, which alone ſufficed to breede doubt, the Brethren, and Kindred of *Ariæus*, repairing daily to him, and other *Perſians* to his Souldiers, did worke him and them ſo with aſſurance of pardon, and other allurements, that he daily grew more ſtrange to the *Greekes* than formerly he had bin. This cauſed many to adviſe *Clearchus*, rather to paſſe forward as well as he might, than to relye upon covenants, and ſit ſtill whileſt the King layed ſnares to entrappe them. But he on the contrary perſwaded them, to reſt contented whileſt they were well, and not to caſt themſelves againe into thoſe difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late Treatie; reciting withall their own wants, and the Kings meanes, but eſpecially the Oathes mutually given and taken, wherewith hee ſaw no reaſon why the enemie ſhould have clogged himſelfe if hee meant miſchiefe, having power enough to do them harme by a faire and open Warre.

*Tiſſaphernes* was a very honourable man (if honour may be valued by greatneſſe and place in Court) which cauſed his Oath to be the more eſteemed; for as much as no inforcement, or baſe reſpect, was like to have drawne it from him. But his falſhood was ſuch, both in ſubſtance and in ſucceſſe, as may fitly expound that ſaying, which proceeded from the fountaine of Truth, *I hate a rich man a lyer*. A lye may finde excuſe when it growes out of feare: for that paſſion hath his originall from weakeneſſe. But when Power, which is a *Character* of the *Almighty*, ſhall be made the ſupporter of untruth, the falſhood is moſt abominable; for the offender, like proud *Lucifer*, advancing his own ſtrength againſt the divine Juſtice, doth commit that ſinne with an high hand, which commonly produceth lamentable effects, and is followed with ſure vengeance. It was not long ere *Tiſſaphernes* found means to deſtroy all the Captaines, whom he ſubtlely got into his power by a traine; making the Generall *Clearchus* himſelf the meane to draw in all the reſt. The buſineſſe was contrived thus: Having travailed ſome dayes together in ſuch wiſe, that the *Perſians* did not encampe with the *Greeks*, who were very jealous of the great familiarity, appearing betweene *Tiſſaphernes*, & *Ariæus*; *Clearchus* thought it convenient to roote out of *Tiſſaphernes* his braines all cauſes of diſtruſt, whereof many had grown in that ſhort time. To which purpoſe obtaining private conference with him, he rehearſed the oath of Confederacie, which had paſt betwene them, ſhewing how religiouſly he would keepe it; and repeating the benefits, which the *Greekes* did receive by the helpe of *Tiſſaphernes*, he promiſed that their love ſhould appeare to him not unfruitfull, if he would make uſe of their ſervice againſt the *Myſians* or *Piſidians*, who were accuſtomed to infeſt his Province; or againſt the *Egyptians*, who were then Rebells to the great King. For which cauſe hee deſired him, that whereas all divine and humane reſpects had linked them together, hee would not give place to any cloſe accuſation or ſuſpition, whereby might grow ſudden inconvenience to either of them, upon no juſt ground. The faithleſſe *Perſian* was very much delighted with this ſpeech, which miniſtred faire occaſion to the execution of his purpoſe. Therefore hee told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him wiſely conſidered, wiſhing him further to call to minde how many wayes hee could have uſed to bring them to confuſion, without perill to himſelfe, eſpecially by burning the country, through which they were to paſſe, whereby they muſt needs have periſhed by meere famine. For which cauſe he ſaid that it had bin great folly, to ſeeke by perjurie, odious to God and Man, the deſtruction of ſuch as were already in his hands. But the truth was, that his owne love to them had moved him to worke their ſafetie, not onely for thoſe ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleaſures that might redound to himſelfe, and the King, by their aſſiſtance: but for that hee might by their friendſhip, hope to obtaine what *Cyrus* had miſt. Finally, he invited the credulous Gentleman to Supper, and ſent him away ſo well aſſured of his good will, that he promiſed to bring all the Captaines with him to the ſame place; where, in preſence of them all, *Tiſſaphernes* likewiſe promiſed to tell openly, which of them had by ſecret information ſought to raiſe diſſenſion betweene them. *Clearchus* himſelfe being thus deceived, with great importunity drew all the chiefe Commanders, and many of the inferiour Leaders, to repaire with him to the Campe of *Tiſſaphernes*, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers, as it had bin to ſome common Faire. But being there arrived, *Clearchus* with other the five principall Coronels, were called into the Tent, the reſt ſtaying without, where they had not waited long ere a ſigne was given, upon which they within were apprehended, and the reſidue ſlaine. Forth-with certaine bands of *Perſian* Horſemen ſcoured the field, killing as many *Greeks* as they met, and riding up the very Campe of the *Gracians*, who wondred much at the tumult, whereof they knew not the cauſe, till one, eſcaping ſorely wounded, informed them of all that had bin done. Hereupon the *Greekes* tooke Armes in haſte, thinking that the enemy would forthwith have aſſailed their Campe. Anon they might perceive the Embaſſadours of *Tiſſaphernes*, among whom were his own brother, and *Ariæus*, followed with three hundred Horſe, who called for the principall men in the Army, ſaying, that they brought a meſſage from the King, which *Ariæus* delivered to this effect: That *Clearchus* having broken his faith, and the league made, was juſtly rewarded with death; that *Menon* and *Proxenus*, two other of the five Coronels, for detecting his treacherie, were highly honoured: & finally, that the King required them to ſurrender their Arms, which were due to him, as having belonged unto his ſervant *Cyrus*. When ſome altercation had followed upon this meſſage, *Xenophon* told the Embaſſadors, that if *Clearchus* had in ſuch ſort offended, it was well that hee was in ſuch ſort puniſhed: but he willed them to ſend backe *Menon* and *Proxenus*, whom they had ſo greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the *Greekes* might be adviſed how to anſwer the *Perſian*. Hereunto the Embaſſadours knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed without ſpeaking one word more. *Clearchus*, & the other foure were ſent to *Artaxerxes*, by whoſe commandement their heads were ſtricken off. I hold it not amiſſe to prevent the order of time, annexing to this perfidiouſneſſe of *Tiſſaphernes*, the reward which he afterward received. He ſaw his Province waſted by the *Greeks*, againſt whom receiving from his Maſter convenient aid of men and mony, he did ſo ill manage his affaires, that neither ſubtiltie, nor perjury (to which he failed not to have recourſe) availed him; finally, the King was jealous of his cunning head, and ſent a new Lievtenant into thoſe parts, who tooke it from his ſhoulders. Such was the recompence of his treacherie, which made him ſo miſtruſted at home, that the ſervice which he could not doe, he was thought upon private ends to neglect; & ſo hated abroad, that he knew not which way to flie from the ſtroke, all the world being ſhut againſt him. But now let us returne to the proſperity, wherein he triumphed without great cauſe, having betrayed braver men than himſelfe, and intending to bring the like miſchiefe upon the whole Armie.

## §. VIII.

### *How* Xenophon *heartened the Greekes, and in deſpight of* Tiſſaphernes *went off ſafely.*

GReat was the heavineſſe of the Souldiers, being now left deſtitute of Leaders; and no leſſe their feare of the evill hanging over their heads, which they knew not well how to avoide. Among the reſt, *Xenophon*, whoſe learning ſupplied his want of experience, finding the deepe ſadneſſe of the whole Army to be ſuch as hindred them from taking any courſe of preventing the danger at hand, began to adviſe the under-officers of *Proxenus* his companies, whoſe familiar friend he had been, to bethinke themſelves of ſome meane, whereby their ſafety might be wrought, and the Souldiers encouraged: ſetting before their eyes whatſoever might ſerve for to give them hope, and above all, perſwading them in no wiſe to yeeld to the mercy of their barbarous enemies.

Hereupon they deſired him to take upon him the charge of that Regiment; and ſo together with him, the ſame night calling up ſuch as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fitteſt men to ſucceed in the places of thoſe who were ſlain, or taken. This being done, and order ſet downe for disburdening the Armie of all ſuperfluous impediments, they eaſily comforted themſelves for the loſſe of *Tiſſaphernes* his aſſiſtance, hoping to take victualls by force better cheape than he had bin wont to ſell them; To which purpoſe they intended to take up their lodging two or three miles further, among ſome plentifull Villages, and ſo to proceed, marching towards the heads of thoſe great Rivers, which lay in their way, and to paſſe them where they were foordable. Many attempts were made upon them by *Tiſſaphernes*, whom they, ſerving all on foot, were not able to requite for the harme which they received by the *Perſian* Archers, who ſhot at a farther diſtance than the *Greeks* could reach. For this cauſe did *Xenophon* provide ſlings, wherewith hee over-reached the enemy; and finding ſome Horſes fit for ſervice, that were imployed among the carriages, he ſet men upon them; training likewiſe his Archers to ſhoot compaſſe, who had bin accuſtomed to the point blanke. By theſe means did he bear off the *Perſians* who aſſailed him; and ſometimes gave them chaſe with that band of fiftie Horſe, which being well backt with a firm bodie of footmen, and ſeconded with troups of the light-armed-ſhot and ſlingers, compelled the enemie to lie a-loof. *Tiſſaphernes* not daring to come to handie-gripes with theſe reſolute men, did poſſeſſe the tops of mountains, and places of advantage, by which they were to paſſe. But finally, when their valour made way through all ſuch difficulties, he betook himſelfe to that courſe, which was indeed the ſureſt, of burning the Countrie. With great ſorrow did the *Greeks* behold the Villages on fire, and thereby all hope of victuals cut off. Some adviſed to defend the Country, as granted by the enemie himſelfe to be theirs; others to make more fires, if ſo perhaps the *Perſians* might be aſhamed to doe that which was the deſire of ſuch as made paſſage in hoſtile maner; But theſe were faint comforts. The beſt counſel was, that being neare unto the *Carduchi*, a people enemie to the *Perſian*, they ſhould enter into their Country, paſſing over ſome high mountains which lay between them. This courſe they followed, which could not have availed them, if *Tiſſaphernes* had begun ſooner to cut off their victuals, rather than to ſeek to force, or to circumvent them by his fine wit.

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## §. IX.

### *The difficulties which the Greeke Armie found in paſſing through the Land of the Carduchi.*

ENtring upon the Land of the *Carduchi*, they were encountred with many difficulties of wayes, but much more afflicted by the fierce inhabitants, who, accuſtomed by force to defend themſelves againſt the huge Armies of the *Perſian*, were no way inferiour to the *Greekes* in daring, but onely in the Art of Warre. They were very light of foot, ſkilfull Archers, and uſed the Sling well; which weapons in that mountainous Countrey were of much uſe againſt theſe poore travellers, afflicting them in ſeven dayes which they ſpent in that paſſage, farre more than all the power of the great King had done. Between the Territorie of theſe *Carduchi*, and the parts of *Armenia* confining them, ranne *Centrites* a great River, upon which the *Greeks* refreſhed themſelves one day, rejoycing that they had ſo well eſcaped theſe dangers, and hoping that the remainder would prove eaſie. But the next morning they ſaw certaine troupes of Horſe, that lay to forbid their paſſage. Theſe were levied by the Kings deputies in thoſe parts; *Tiſſaphernes* and his Companies having taken their way towards *Ionia*. The River was broad and deepe, ſo that it was not poſſible for ſuch as would enter it, to make reſiſtance againſt thoſe which kept the oppoſite bankes. To increaſe theſe dangers, the *Carduchi*, followiog upon them, lay on the ſide of a Mountaine, within leſſe than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to diſcover a Foord, by which the greater number of them paſſing over, did eaſily chaſe away the Subjects of the *Perſian*, and then ſending backe the moſt expedite men, gave ſuccour to the Reare-ward, againſt which the *Carduchi* being ſleightly armed, could not on plaine ground make reſiſtance hand to hand. Theſe *Carduchi* ſeem to have inhabited the Mountaines of *Niphates*, which are not farre from the Spring of *Tygris*, though *Ptolomy* place them far more to the Eaſt upon the River of *Cyrus* in *Media*; wherein he differs much from *Xenophon*, whoſe relation being grounded upon his own knowledge, doth beſt in this caſe deſerve credit. Of the River *Centrites* (as of many other Rivers, Townes, and Places, mentioned by *Xenophon*) I will not labour to make a conjecture, which may endure the ſeverity of a *Critike*. For *Ptolomy*, and the whole Nation of *Geographers*, adde ſmall light to this expedition: only of this laſt, I thinke it the ſame which falleth into *Tygris*, not much above *Artaſigarta*, ſpringing out of *Niphates*, and running by the Towne of *Sardeva* in *Gordene*, a Province of *Armenia* the Great, wherein the *Greekes* having paſſed *Centrites* did arrive.

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## §. X.

### *How* Teribazus *Governour of Armenia, ſeeking to entrap the Greekes with termes of fained peace, was diſappointed and ſhamefully beaten.*

THe Army finding in *Armenia* good proviſion, marched without any diſturbance about fifty or threeſcore miles to the heads of the River *Tygris*, and paſſing over them, travailed as farre further without reſiſtance, till they were encountred by *Teribazus* at the River *Teleboa*, which *Xenophon* commends as a goodly water, though ſmall, but *Ptolomy* and others omit it. *Teribazus* governed that Country for the *Perſian*, & was in great favour with *Artaxerxes*, whoſe Court may ſeem to have bin a Schoole, where the Art of falſhood was taught as wiſedom. He deſired peace of the *Greeks*, which was made upon this condition, that they ſhould take what they pleaſed, but not burne downe the Townes and Villages in their way. As ſoone as he had made this league, he leavied an Army, and beſetting the Streights of certaine Mountaines which they were to paſſe, hoped well to make ſuch benefit of their ſecurity, as might give him the commendation of being no leſſe craftily diſhoneſt than *Tiſſaphernes*. Yet his cunning failed of ſucceſſe. For a great ſnow fell, which cauſed the *Greekes* to make many fires, and ſcatter themſelves abroad in the Villages. *Teribazus* alſo made many fires, and ſome of his men wandred about ſeeking reliefe. By the fires he was diſcovered, and by a Souldier of his that was taken priſoner, the whole plot was revealed. Hereupon the *Greekes*, taking this captive with them for a guide, ſought him out; & comming upon his Campe, did ſo affright him, that before the whole Army could arrive there, the ſhout which was raiſed by the Vaunt-currors, chaſed him away. They tooke his Pavilion, wherein (beſides many ſlaves, that were Artificers of voluptuouſneſſe) very rich furniture was left by the treacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Army went Northward, and paſſing *Euphrates*, not far below the ſprings thereof, travailed with much difficulty through deepe ſnow, being followed aloofe by the enemy, who durſt not approach them, but did cut off ſuch as they found ſtraggling behinde. The Inhabitants of the Country, through which they marched, had their wintering houſes under ground, wherein was found great plentie of victualls, and of cattaile, which likewiſe did winter in the ſame Cellars with the owners. Having refreſhed themſelves in thoſe parts, & taken ſufficient eaſe after the miſerable journey, which had conſumed many of them with extreme cold; they departed, leading with them many bond-ſlaves & taking away (beſides other Horſes and Cattaile) ſome Colts that were bred up for the great King.

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## §. XI.

### *The paſſage of the Army to Trabizonde, through the Countries bordering upon the River of Phaſis, and other obſcure Nations.*

SO without impediment they came to the River *Phaſis*, neere whereunto the people called *Phaſiani Tacchi*, and *Chalybes* were ſeated. Theſe Nations joyned together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mountaines, which the *Greekes* were to paſſe, made countenance of warre: but ſome companies being ſent by night to ſeize upon a place of equall height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the piece of ground which they had taken, ſecured the aſcent of the reſt; which cauſed theſe people to flye, every one retiring to the defence of his owne. The firſt upon whoſe Countrie the *Greekes* did enter were the *Tacchi*, who convaying all their proviſion of victuals into ſtrong holds, brought the Army into much want, untill with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great ſtore of cattaile were taken; the people, to avoide captivity, threw themſelves head-long downe the rockes, the very women throwing down firſt their own children, and then caſting themſelves upon them. Here was taken a great bootie of Cattaile, which ſerved to feed them, travailing through the land of the *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but ſtroakes. The *Chalybes* were a very ſtout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountred the *Greekes* hand to hand, killing as many as they tooke priſoners, and cutting off their heads, which they carried away, ſinging and dancing, to the great griefe of their companions living; who were glad, when after ſeven dayes journey they eſcaped from thoſe continuall skirmiſhes, wherewith they had bin vexed by theſe *Barbarians*. Hence travailing through a good corne-Countrie, inhabited by an obſcure Nation called the *Scythini*, they came to a rich Towne, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adjoyning, uſed them friendly, and promiſed to guide them to a Mountaine, whence they might diſcover the *Euxine* Sea. From *Gymnias* (which was the name of his Towne) he led them through the Territorie of his enemies, deſiring them to waſte it with ſword and fire. After five dayes march, they came to a Mountaine called *Teches*, being (as I thinke) a part of the Mountaines called *Moſchici*, whence their guide ſhewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their courſe: and paſſing friendly through the Region of the *Macrones*, (with whom by meanes of an interpreter, found among themſelves, who borne in that place had bin ſold into *Greece*, they made a good peace) they arrived in the Land of *Colchos*, wherein ſtands the Citie of * *Trabiſond*, called then *Trapezus*, a Colonie of the *Greekes*. The *Colchi* entertaining them with hoſtility, were requited with the like; for the Armie having now good leiſure to repoſe themſelves among their friends the *Trapezuntians*, did ſpoile the Countrie thirty dayes together, forbearing onely the Borderers upon *Trabizonde*, at the Citizens requeſt.

* *Trabiſond*, a Colony of the *Greekes*, ſituate in the bottome of the *Euxine* Sea.

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## §. XII.

### *How the Army began at Trabizond to provide a Fleet, wherewith to returne home by Sea: how it came into the Territorie of Synope, and there proſequuted the ſame purpoſe.*

Having now found an Haven Towne, the Souldiers were deſirous to take ſhipping, & change their tedious Land-journies into an eaſie Navigation. To which purpoſe *Cheriſophus* a *Lacedæmonian*, one of the principall Commanders, promiſed by meanes of *Anaxibius* the *Lacedæmonian* Admirall, who was his friend, that he would provide Veſſells to embarke them. Having thus concluded, they likewiſe tooke order for the ſtaying of ſuch ſhips as ſhould paſſe that way, meaning to uſe them for their navigation. Leſt all this proviſion ſhould bee found inſufficient for the tranſportation of the whole Army, *Xenophon* perſwaded the Cities adjoyning to cleare the wayes, and make an eaſie paſſage for them by Land; whereunto the Souldiers were utterly unwilling to give eare, being deſirous to returne by Sea: but the Countrie fearing what inconvenience might grow by their long ſtay, did readily condeſcend to *Xenophons* requeſt. Two ſhips they borrowed of the *Trapezuntians*, which they manned and ſent to Sea: the one of them ſailed directly into *Greece*, forſaking their Companions, who had put them in truſt to bring ſhips into the Port of *Trabizonde*: the other tooke Merchants and paſſengers, whoſe goods were ſafely kept for the owners, but the Veſſels were ſtayed to increaſe the fleet. After long aboade, when victuals began to faile, by reaſon that all the Land of the *Colchi*, neere unto the Campe was already quite waſted, they were faine to embarke their ſicke men, with the women, children, and ſuch of the baggage as might beſt be ſpared, in thoſe few ſhips which they had already provided. The reſt of the Armie tooke their way by Land to *Ceraſus*, a *Greeke* Towne, where the fleet likewiſe arrived. Here the Army being muſtered, was found to conſiſt of eight thouſand & ſixe hundred men. From hence they paſſed through the Country of the * *Moſynaci*, who were divided

* *Moſynaci* a Nation of *Pontus Cappadocicus*.

divided into factions. The ſtronger partie, deſpiſing their friendſhip, cauſed them to joyne them with the weaker, whom they left Maſters of all.

The next place of their abode was [b] *Cotyora*, a *Greeke* Towne likewiſe, & a Colonie of the *Synopians*, as *Trapezus* and *Ceraſus* were; but the entertainement which here they found was very churliſh, having neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the ſicke men that were among them admitted into any houſe. Hereupon the Souldiers entred the Towne by force, and (committing no outrage) beſtowed thoſe which were ſicke in convenient lodgings, taking into their own hands the cuſtody of the Gates. Proviſion for the Army they made by ſtrong hand, partly out of the Territory of the *Paphlagonians*, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Towne. Theſe newes were unwelcome to [c] *Sinope*, whence Embaſſadours were ſent to the Camp, who complaining of theſe dealings, & threatning to joyne with the *Paphlagonians*, if redreſſe could not otherwiſe be had, were roundly anſwered by *Xenophon*, That meere neceſſity had enforced the Army to teach thoſe of *Cotyora* good manners in ſo bad a methode: letting them know, that he feared not to deale with them & the *Paphlagonian* at once; though perhaps the *Paphlagonian* would be glad to take *Sinope* it ſelfe, to which, if cauſe were given, they would lend aſſiſtance. Upon this anſwere the Embaſſadors grew better adviſed, promiſing all friendſhip that the State of *Sinope* could ſhew, and commanding the Towne of *Cotyora* to relieve the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promiſed to aſſiſt them with ſhipping, letting them underſtand how difficult the paſſage by Land would prove, in regard of the many & great Rivers, as *Thermodon*, *Iris*, *Halys*, and *Parthenius*, which croſſed their way. This good counſaile, and the faire promiſes accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Army, which well perceived, that the City of *Sinope* would ſpare for no coſt, to be freed from ſuch a neighbourhood. It was therfore decreed that they would paſſe the reſt of the way by Sea; provided that if there ſhould want ſuch number of Veſſels as might ſerve to imbarke every one of them, then would they not put from the ſhore.

[b] *Cotyora* a Port-Towne in the ſame Region.

[c] *Sinope* a Port-Towne in *Leucoſyria*, a Colonie of the *Myleſians*.

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## §. XIII.

### *Of diſſention which aroſe in the Armie; and how it was embarked.*

Hitherto the danger of enemies, and miſeries of weather and wants, had kept the companie in firme unity; which now beganne to diſſolve and to thaw, by the neighbouring aire of *Greece*, warming their heads with private reſpects to their ſeverall ends and purpoſes. Whileſt they, who were ſent as Agents from the Campe, remained at *Sinope*; *Xenophon* conſidering the ſtrength and valour of his men, & the opportunity of the coaſt whereon they lay, thought it would be an honourable worke to build a City in thoſe parts, which were ſoone like to prove great and wealthie, in regard both of their owne puiſſance, and of the great repaire of the *Greekes* into that quarter. For this cauſe he made ſacrifice, according to the ſuperſtition of his time and Countrie, divining of his ſucceſſe by the entrailes of beaſts. The Sooth-ſayer whom he imployed had received a great reward of *Cyrus*, for conjecturing aright, that *Artaxerxes* would not give battaile in ten dayes: he therefore, having preſerved his money carefully, was deſirous to be ſoone at home, that he might freely enjoy his gettings. By him the purpoſe of *Xenophon* was divulged, which was interpreted according to the diverſitie of mens opinions; ſome approving the motion, but the greater part rejecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, being informed of this conſultation, were ſore afraid, leſt the povertie of the Souldiers, who had not wherewith to maintaine themſelves at home, ſhould give ſucceſſe to the project. Which to prevent, they promiſed to ſupply the Army with a ſufficient fleet, and likewiſe offered mony to ſome of the Captaines, who thereupon undertooke to give the Souldiers pay, if they would preſently ſet ſaile for *Greece*. One of theſe Captaines being a baniſhed man, deſired them to follow him into *Troas*; another offered to leade them into *Cherroneſus*. *Xenophon*, who deſired only the common good, was pleaſed greatly with theſe propoſitions, and profeſſed openly that he would have them to ſet forward, & hold together in any caſe, puniſhing him as a traitor that ſhould forſake the Armie, before ſuch time as they were arrived at their journies end. *Silanus* the Sooth-ſayer, who had uttered *Xenophons* purpoſe, was hereby ſtaied from out-running his fellowes, and driven to abide with his wealth among poore men, longer than ſtood with his good liking. Alſo the other Captaines were much troubled and affraid, when they perceived, that ſhips were prepared ſufficient for their Navigation, but that the money promiſed to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of *Sinope*, and *Heraclea*, knowing that the Armie was now reſolved for the voyage, and that *Xenophon*, whom they feared, had perſwaded them to this reſolution, thought it the wiſeſt way to furniſh them with a Navie whileſt they were in good readineſſe, to depart, but to keep the mony to themſelves. The Captaines therfore, who being diſappointed by theſe townes, found themſelves in great danger of their men, whom they had deceived with faire hopes, repented much of their faire offers, & ſignifying as much to *Xenophon*, prayed him to make propoſition to the Armie, of taking the ſhips, & ſayling to *Phaſis*, where they might ſeize upon Lands, and plant themſelves in ſuch wiſe as ſhould ſtand beſt with their good liking. But finding him cold in the buſineſſe, they began to worke the principall of their own followers, hoping by them to draw in all the reſt. Theſe newes becomming publike, bred a ſuſpition of *Xenophon*, as if he had won the reſt of the Captaines to his purpoſe, and meant now to carry the Army quite another way from their own home. Wherfore aſſembling the Companies, he gave them ſatisfaction, and withall complained of ſome diſorders, which he cauſed them to redreſſe. A generall inquiſition was likewiſe made of offences committed ſince the death of *Cyrus*; which being puniſhed, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embaſſadours from *Corylas*, Lord of the *Paphlagonians*, who ſending preſents, deſired peace of the *Greeks*: the Embaſſadours were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to have bin ſought, for that the *Greeks*, having now their fleet in a readines, did ſoon weigh Anchors, & ſet ſaile for *Harmene* the Port of *Sinope*, whither *Cheriſophus* came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admiral *Anaxibius*, who promiſed to give the Army pay as ſoon as they came into the parts of *Greece*.

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## §. XIV.

### *Another great diſſenſion and diſtraction of the Army. How the mutiners were beaten by the Barbarians, and reſcued by* Xenophon.

THe neerer that they approached to *Greece*, the greater was their deſire to make proviſion for themſelves, that they might not returne home emptie-handed. Wherefore truſting well that if the charge of the Armie were abſolutely committed to one ſufficient man, he might the more conveniently procure the good of them all, they determined to make *Xenophon* ſole Commander of all; in whoſe favour as well the Captaines as the common Souldiers were very earneſt and violent. But he, either fearing to diſpleaſe the *Lacedæmonians*, who were jealous of him already (being incenſed by that fugitive who forſooke the army at *Trabizond*, flying with one of their two ſhips) or moved by ſome tokens appearing to him in the entrails that threatned ill ſucceſſe to his government, procured with vehement contention, that this honour was laid upon *Cheriſophus* a *Lacedæmonian*. It ſeemes that *Xenophon*, conſidering the vexation incident to the conduct of a voluntary Army, wanting pay, did wiſely in yeelding to ſuch tokens as forbad him to accept it: eſpecially, knowing ſo well their deſire, which was, by right or by wrong, to get wealth wherſoever it might be found, without all regard of friend or foe. *Cheriſophus* had bin Generall but ſixe or ſeven dayes, when hee was depoſed, for having bin unwilling to rob the Towne of *Heraclea*, which had ſent preſents to the Campe, and bin very beneficiall unto them in lending ſhips for their tranſportation. Two daies they had ſailed by the coaſt of *Aſia*, when being paſt thoſe great rivers, which would have given impediment to their journey by Land, they touched at *Heraclea*, where conſulting how to take their way onwards, whether by Land or Sea; one ſeditious man began to put them in minde of ſeeking to get ſomwhat for themſelves; telling them that all their proviſion would bee ſpent in three dayes, and that being now come out of the enemies Country, victualls and other neceſſaries could not bee had without money; for which cauſe he gave advice to ſend meſſengers into the Towne of *Heraclea*, giving the Citizens to underſtand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thouſand pieces of money, called *Cyzicens*, which ſumme amounteth to two thouſand and five hundred pound ſterling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the ſum raiſed to ten thouſand *Cyzicens* at leaſt: which to require, they thought *Cheriſophus*, as being Generall, the fitteſt man; others had more deſire to ſend *Xenophon*: but in vain, for they both refuſed it, and renounced the action as diſhoneſt. Leſt therefore either of theſe ſhould faile in managing the buſineſſe which agreed not with his diſpoſition, others of more impudency and leſſe diſcretion were ſent; who in ſuch wiſe delivered their inſolent meſſage, that the Citizens taking time to deliberate upon their requeſt, brought what they could out of the fields into the Towne, and ſhutting the Gates, did forthwith man the Wals. When the Souldiers perceived themſelves to be diſappointed of their ravenous purpoſe, they fell to mutiny, ſaying, That their Leaders had betrayed them: and being for the more part of them Arcadians and Achæans, they forſook immediately *Cheriſophus* and *Xenophon*, chuſing new Leaders out of their owne number. Above foure thouſand and five hundred they were, all heavily armed, who electing ten Captains, ſailed into the Port of Calphas, which is in the mid-way between Heraclea & Byzantium, with purpoſe to aſſaile the Bythinians on the ſudden. With *Cheriſophus* there abode two thouſand and one hundred, of whom one thouſand and foure hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thouſand foot, three hundred whereof were lightly armed, and forty horſe; which ſmall band had done good ſervice already, and could not have bin ſpared now. *Cheriſophus* had agreed with *Cleander* Governour of Byzantium, to meet him at the mouth of the River Calphas, whither *Cleander* promiſed to bring ſome Gallies to convey him over into Greece; for which cauſe he tooke his way thither by Land, leaving to *Xenophon* ſuch ſhipping as he had, who paſſing ſome part of the way by Sea, landed upon the confines of Heraclea, & Thracia Aſiattica, intending to make a cut through the mid-land Country to the Propont. The Mutiners who had landed at Calphas by night, with purpoſe to take ſpoiles in Bythinia, divided themſelves into ten Companies, every Captaine leading his owne Regiment into ſome Village, five or ſixe miles from the Sea; in the greater Townes were two Regiments quartered: and ſo was that part of the Country ſurpriſed on the ſudden, and ſacked all at one time. The place of Rendevous was an high piece of Ground, where ſome of them arrived, finding no diſturbance; others, not without much trouble and danger: two Companies were broken and defeated, only eight men eſcaped, the reſt were all put to the ſword. For the Thracians which had ſlipt at firſt out of the Souldiers hands, did raiſe the Country, and finding the Greekes loaden with booty, took the advantage of their diſorder, cutting in pieces thoſe two Regiments: which done, they attempted the reſt, encompaſſing the hil wheron they encamped. One great advantage the Thracians had, that being all light armed, they could at pleaſure make retrait from theſe Arcadians & Achæans: who wanting the aſſiſtance of horſe, & having neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driven to ſtand meerly upon their defence, bearing off with greater danger, & many wounds received, the Darts & Arrowes of the Barbarians, till finally they were driven from their watering place, & enforced to crave parley. Whatſoever the Articles of compoſition were, the Thracians yeelded to all; but pledges for aſſurance they would give none, without which the Greeks well knew, that all promiſes of ſuch people, eſpecially ſo incenſed, were nothing worth. In the mean time *Xenophon* holding his way quietly through the In-land Region, did enquire of ſome Travellers, whether they knew ought of any Grecian Army, paſſing along thoſe parts: & receiving by them true information of the deſperate caſe into which theſe Gallants had fooliſhly throwne themſelves, he marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides, them who gave him the intelligence. His horſe-men he ſent before to diſcover, & to ſcowre the waies; the light armed foot-men tooke the hill tops on either hand, all of them ſetting fire on whatſoever they found combuſtible: wherby the whole Country ſeemed to be on a light flame, to the great terrour of the enemies, who thought that ſome huge Army had approached. That night he encamped on a hill, within five mile of the Arcadians, encreaſing ſtill the number of his fires, which he cauſed haſtily to be quenched ſoon after Supper. The enemies perceiving this, thought certainly that he would have fallen upon them in the darke, which cauſed them in all haſte to diſlodge. Early in the next morning *Xenophon* comming thither in very good order, to have given battell, found that his device, to affright the Thracians, had taken full effect; but he marvelled that the Greeks were alſo departed, concerning whom he learned by enquiry, that they removed at break of day, & perceived by ſignes that they had taken the way to the Port of Calphas, in which journey he overtooke them. They embraced him and his, with great joy: confeſſing that they themſelves had thought the ſame which the enemies did, looking that he ſhould have come by night; wherein finding themſelves deceived, they were affraid leſt he had forſaken them, and therefore haſtened away to overtake him, and joyn with him. So they arrived at the Haven of Calpas, where it was decreed, That whoſoever from thenceforth made any motion to diſ-joyne the Army, ſhould ſuffer death.

### §. XV.

### *Of divers pieces of ſervice done by* Xenophon; *and how the Army returned into Greece. The occaſions of the War between the Lacedæmonians and the Perſians.*

THe Haven of Calpas lay under a goodly head-land, that was very ſtrong, and abounding with all kinde of Graine and Fruits, except Olives. There was alſo Timber for building and ſhipping, and a very convenient Sea for a great City. All which commodities that might have allured the Souldiers to ſtay there, and to plant, cauſed them to haſte away, fearing leſt *Xenophon* ſhould finde ſome device to have ſettled himſelfe and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good meanes to live at home; neither did they ſo much for hope of gaine follow *Cyrus* in that War, as in regard of his Honour, and the love which they bare unto him: the poorer ſort were ſuch as left their Parents, Wives, and Children, to whom (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchaſe) they were now deſirous to returne. But whether it were ſo that *Xenophon* found advantage by their owne ſuperſtition, to make them ſtay, which they greatly ſuſpected; or whether the ſignes appearing in the entrails, did indeed forbid their departure: ſo long they were inforced to abide in the place till victuals failed; neither would the Captaines leade them forth to forrage the Country, untill the Sacrifices ſhould promiſe good ſucceſſe. *Cheriſophus* was dead of an Ague, and his ſhips were gone, being returned to the Heracleans, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were joyned to the reſt of the Armie, which the greater it was, the more proviſion it needed, and the ſooner felt want. For which cauſe, he that was choſen Coronell into the place of *Cheriſophus*, would needs adventure to gratifie the Souldiers with the ſpoile of ſome Villages that ſtood near at hand; in which enterpriſe he found ill ſucceſſe, the whole Country lying in wait to entrap him, and an Army of Horſe being ſent by *Pharnabazus* the Satrapa, or Vice-roy of Phrygia, to the aſſiſtance of theſe Bythinian Thracians, which troups falling upon the Greeks that were ſcattered abroad in ſeeking booty, ſlew five hundred of them, and chaſed the reſt to a certaine Mountaine there by. The newes of this overthrow comming to *Xenophon*, he led forth a part of the Army to the reſcue of thoſe that ſurvived, and brought them ſafe to the Campe; upon which the Bythinians made an offer that night, and breaking a *Corps du garde*, ſlew ſome, purſuing the reſt to the very Tents. This new courage of the enemy, together with the preſent condition of the Army, ſo diſheartened and unfurniſhed of neceſſaries, cauſed the Greeks to remove their Camp to a place of more ſtrength; which having intrenched, and committed to the defence of ſuch as were leaſt able to endure travell, *Xenophon* with the firmeſt and beſt able men went forth, both to bury thoſe which were lately ſlaine, and to abate the pride of the Thracians, and their aſſiſtants. In this journey his demeanour was very honourable. For having given buriall to the dead, the Enemy was diſcovered, lying on the tops of the hils adjoyning, to whom (notwithſtanding that the way was very rough and troubleſome, ſo that ſome thought it a matter of too great danger, to leave at their backs a wood ſcarce paſſeable) he marched directly, telling his men plainly, that he had rather follow the enemy with halfe the number, than turn his back to them with twice as many; & letting them further know, that if they did not charge the Barbarians, he would not faile with the greater reſolution to purſue them; from whom if they could ſafely retire to the camp, yet what ſhould they do there, wanting victuals to ſuſtain them in the place, and ſhips to carry them away? Wherefore he willed them rather to fight well that day, having eaten their dinners, than another day faſting; and not to regard the uneaſie returne, which might ſerve to ſtay Cowards from running away, but to wiſh unto the Enemy a faire and eaſie way, by which he might flye from them. Theſe perſwaſions were followed with ſo valiant execution, that both Perſians and Bythinians being chaſed out of the field, abandoned the Countrey forthwith, removing their Families, and leaving all that could not ſuddenly be conveighed away, to the diſcretion of the Greekes, who at good leaſure gathered the Harveſt of theſe bad Neighbours fields. This was the laſt fight which they had on the ſide of Aſia. For they were not only ſuffered quietly to enjoy the ſpoyle of the Country, but when the opinion grew common in thoſe parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a Colony on the Port of Calpas, Embaſſadors were ſent from the Neighbour people, to deſire friendſhip, and make offer of their beſt aſſiſtance. But the Souldiers had no minde to ſtay. Wherefore entring further into Bythinia, they tooke a great booty, which they carried away unto Chryſopolis, a city near unto Chalcedon, where they ſold it. *Pharnabazus*, Lievtenant in Phrygia to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly feare, leſt their long ſtay in that Countrey might breed in them a deſire to viſite his Province, where they might have found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore he ſent to the Lacedæmonian Admirall, entreating him with much inſtance and large promiſes to waft them over into Europe; to whom *Anaxibius* the Admirall condeſcending, promiſed to give the Souldiers pay, as ſoon as they arrived at Byzantium. So were they carried out of Aſia at the intreaty of the Perſian, who in the height of his pride had thought them ſo ſurely impriſoned with mighty Rivers, that he not onely denyed to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to ſurrender their Armes into his hands, and ſo to yeeld their lives to his diſcretion. How diſcourteouſly they were intreated by *Anaxibius*, and how to requite his injurious dealings, they ſeized upon Byzantium, which by *Xenophons* perſwaſion they forbare to ſacke; I hold it ſuperfluous to relate. For the reſidue of their doings appertain little to the generall courſe of things. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, ſo did it both diſcover the ſecrets of Aſia, and ſtirre up the Greekes to thinke upon greater enterpriſes, than ever their forefathers had undertaken. Likewiſe it was the only remarkeable action which the time afforded. For the Roman Warres did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Townes of Italy; and in Greece all things were quiet, the Lacedæmonians ruling inſolently, but without diſturbance. True it is, that the ſeedes of the Warre ſhortly following, which the Lacedæmonians made upon *Artaxerxes*, were already ſowne, before theſe companies returned out of the high Countryes of Aſia. For the Townes of Ionia which had ſided with young *Cyrus* againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, if not againſt the great King, prepared to rebell; which they thought ſafer, than to fall into the hands of *Tiſſaphernes*, who was now appointed Lievtenant, both of his old Province, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the Ionians beſought the Lacedæmonians to ſend them ayd, whereby to recover their liberty; and obtained their requeſt. For a power was ſent over, under conduct of *Thimbro* a Spartan, who beſtowed his men in ſuch Towns as had already revolted, to ſecure the Cities and their Fields, but not to make any offenſive War.

# CHAP. XI.

## *Of the affaires of Greece, whileſt they were managed by the Lacedæmonians.*

### §. I.

### *How the Lacedæmonians tooke courage by example of* Xenophons *Army, to make Warre upon* Artaxerxes.

IT ſeems that the Lacedæmonians did well perceive in how ill part *Artaxerxes* tooke their favour ſhewed unto his brother, and yet were timerous in beginning an open war againſt him, thinking it ſufficient to take all care that no advantage might ſlip, which could ſerve to ſtrengthen their Eſtate, by finding the Perſian worke beyond the Sea. But when *Xenophons* Army had revealed the baſeneſſe of thoſe effeminate Aſiatiques, and rehearſed the many victories which they themſelves had gotten, upon termes of extreme diſadvantage; then was all Greece filled with deſire of undertaking upon this huge unwieldy Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the joynt forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to Suſa, whereof one handfull had opened the paſſage to Babylon; and further, finding no power that was able to give them reſiſtance, in all that long journy of foure and thirty thouſand two hundred and fifty five furlongs, ſpent in going and returning, which make of Engliſh miles about four thouſand two hundred foureſcore and one, a very painfull march of one yeare and three moneths. Nevertheleſſe, the civil diſtraction wherewith Greece was miſerably torn, and eſpecially that hot fire of the Theban war, which, kindled with Perſian gold, brake forth ſuddenly into a great flame, drew back out of Aſia the power of the Lacedæmonians, to the defence of their owne Eſtate; leaving it queſtionable, whether *Ageſilaus* having both the ſame and far greater forces, could have wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole ſpace of two yeares, which he ſpent in Aſia, his deeds procured more commendation of magnanimity and faire behaviour, than of ſtout courage, and great, or profitable atchievements. For how highly ſoever it pleaſed *Xenophon*, who was his friend, and follower in this, and in other wars, to extoll his vertue; his exploits being only a few incurſions into the Countries lying neare the Sea, carrying no proportion to *Xenophons* owne journy, which I know not whether any Age hath paralleled: the famous retrait of *Conon* the Briton with ſixe thouſand men from Aquileia, to his own Countrey, through all the breadth of Italy, and length of France, in deſpite of the Emperour *Theodoſius*, being rather like it than equall. But of *Ageſilaus* and his wars in Aſia and Greece, we ſhall ſpeake more in due place.

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## §. II.

### *The proſperous beginnings of the warre in Aſia.*

THimbro receiving *Xenophons* men, began to take in Townes, and to entertaine all ſuch as were willing to revolt from the Perſian, who were many, and ſome of them ſuch, as had beene highly beholding to the King; who ſeeme to have had no other cauſe of diſcontent, than that they were to live under the government of *Tiſſaphernes*, whom all others did as vehemently hate, as the King his Maſter did love him. The managing of the warre begun by *Thimbro*, was for his oppreſſions taken out of his hands, and committed to *Dercyllidas* a Spartan, who behaved himſelfe as a good man of War, and a wiſe Commander. For whereas the rule of the low-Countries of Aſia was divided between *Pharnabazus* and *Tiſſaphernes*, who did ill agree, *Pharnabazus* being the worthier man, but the other by his Princes favour the greater, and having the chiefe command in thoſe Wars againſt the Greekes; *Dercyllidas*, who did beare a private hatred to *Pharnabazus* (knowing well that *Tiſſaphernes* was of a miſchievous nature, and would not be ſorry to ſee his Corrivall throughly beaten, though to the Kings loſſe) made an appointment with *Tiſſaphernes*, and forthwith entred Æolis, which was under the juriſdiction of *Pharnabazus*, which Province in few dayes, he brought into his owne power.

That Countrey of Æolis had about the ſame time ſuffered a violent alteration, which gave eaſie ſucceſſe to the attempts of *Dercyllidas*. *Zenis* a Dardanian had bin Deputy to *Pharnabazus* in thoſe parts; after whoſe death his wife *Mania* procured his Office, wherin ſhe behaved herſelfe ſo well, that ſhe not only was beloved of the people under her government: but enlarged her Territory, by the conqueſt of certaine Townes adjoyning; and ſundry times gave aſſiſtance to *Pharnabazus* in his Wars againſt the Myſians and Perſians. For ſhee had in pay ſome Companies of Greeks, whoſe valour by her good uſage, did her great ſervice. But ſomwhat before the arrivall of *Dercyllidas* in thoſe parts, a Sonne-in-law of hers, called *Midias*, whom ſhe truſted and loved much, being blinded with ambition, found meanes to ſtifle her, and kill her ſonne of ſeventeene yeares old; which done, he ſeized upon two of her principall Townes, wherein her treaſure lay, hoping to have beene admitted into poſſeſſion of her whole eſtate. Being denyed entrance by her Souldiers that lay in Garriſon, he ſent Meſſengers with preſents to *Pharnabazus*, deſiring him to make him Governour in the place of *Mania*. His preſents were not onely rejected by *Pharnabazus*, but revenge of his foule treaſon threatned, whereby the wicked villaine was driven into termes of almoſt utter deſperation. In the meane time came *Dercyllidas*, to whom the Townes of *Mania*, that held againſt *Midias*, did quickly open their Gates. One onely Towne ſtood out foure dayes (againſt the will of the Citizens, who were covetous of liberty) the Governour ſtriving in vaine to have kept it to the uſe of *Pharnabazus*. Now remained only two Cities, Gergethe and Scepſis, which the Traytor held, who fearing all men, as being loved of none, ſent Embaſſadours to *Dercyllidas*, deſiring leave to ſpeake with him, and pledges for his ſecurity: upon the delivery of which, he iſſued out of Scepſis, and comming into the Camp, made offer to joyne with the Greekes upon ſuch conditions as might ſeeme reaſonable. But he was plainly told by *Dercillidas*, that other condition there was none, than to ſet the Citizens freely at liberty. And preſently upon theſe words they marched toward Scepſis. When *Midias* perceived that it was in vaine to ſtrive againſt the Army, and the Townſ-men, who were all of one minde; he quietly went along with *Dercyllidas*, who remaining but a few houres in the City, did a ſacrifice to *Minerva*, & then leading away the Garriſon of *Midias*, he left the City free, and departed toward Gergethe. *Midias* did not forſake his Company, but followed him, earneſtly intreating that he might be ſuffered to retaine Gergethe: but comming to the Gates, he was bidden to command his Souldiers that they ſhould be opened; for (quoth *Dercyllidas*) I muſt here likewiſe doe a ſacrifice to *Minerva*. The Traytor not daring to make deniall, cauſed his Mercenaries to open the Gates, whereby *Dercyllidas*, taking poſſeſſion of the place, tendred pay to the Garriſon, who did not refuſe to ſerve under his Enſignes. This done, all the goods of *Mania* were ſeized upon, as belonging to one that had been ſubject to *Pharnabazus*, who was enemy to the Greekes: and ſo the murderous wretch was ſent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World he might finde any place to hide his deteſted head. *Dercyllidas* having in eight dayes taken nine Cities, purpoſed for the eaſe of his Confederates to winter in Bythinia, to which end he tooke Truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any deſire of Warre. That Winter, and the Summer enſuing, the truce being recontinued, held; in which time, beſides the waſting of Bythinia, the neck of Land joining Cherronea to the Main, was fortified, being foure or five miles in breadth; by which meanes eleven Towns, with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incurſions of the wilde Thracians, and made fit and able to victuall the Camp. Likewiſe the Citie of Atarne was taken, which was of great ſtrength, and very well ſtored with proviſion. After this, *Dercyllidas* had command from Sparta, to divert the Warre into Caria, where was the ſeate of *Tiſſaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not uneaſie to recover all the Towns of Ionia; *Pharax* the Admirall of the fleet (which was a yearely office) being appointed to joyne with him. Though it was manifeſt that *Tiſſaphernes* had neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of neceſſity, yet was he not in his owne danger requited with the like. For *Pharnabazus* having reſpect to the Kings ſervice, came to aſſiſt his private enemy *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſo paſſing into Caria, they thruſt Garriſons into all places of ſtrength; which done, they marched towards Ionia, hoping to finde the Townes ill manned for reſiſtance. As theſe Perſians were deſirous to keepe the Warre from their owne dores, ſo was *Dercyllidas* willing to free his Confederates the Ionians from the ſpoile and danger of the War, by transferring it into Caria. For which cauſe he paſſed the River of *Mæander*, and not looking to have been ſo ſoon encountred, marched careleſly through the Country: when on the very ſudden the whole Army of *Tiſſaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* was diſcovered, conſiſting of Perſians, Carians, and ſome Mercenary Greekes, who were all marſhalled in very good order to preſent battell. The oddes was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readineſſe, as alſo in advantage of ground: for the Perſian had a great multitude of Horſe, the Greeke very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plaine. Therefore all the Ionians, together with the Ilanders and others, of ſuch places as bordered upon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themſelves to preſent flight; or abiding a while for ſhame, did plainly diſcover by their lookes, that they meant not to be more bold than wiſe. Onely *Dercyllidas* with his Peloponneſians regarding their honour, prepared to endure the fight: which muſt needs have brought them to deſtruction, if the counſell of *Pharnabazus* had been followed, who perceiving the opportunity of ſo great a victory, was not willing to let it ſlip. But *Tiſſaphernes*, who naturally was a coward, ſeeing that countenance of reſiſtance was made, began to conſider what ſtrange defence the Souldiers of *Xenophon* had ſhewed, and thinking that all the Greekes were of the like reſolution, held it the wiſeſt way to crave parley; the concluſion of which was, That a Truce ſhould be made, to laſt until *Tiſſaphernes* might receive anſwer from the King, & *Dercyllidas* from Sparta,

Sparta, concerning the demands propounded in the Treaty; which were on the one part, That all the Greeks in Aſia might enjoy their owne liberty and lawes; but contrariwiſe on the other ſide, That the Lacedæmonians ſhould depart Aſia, and leave the Townes to the Kings pleaſure. This Treaty was of none effect; only it ſerved to free the Greekes from the preſent danger, and to gaine time unto *Tiſſaphernes*, who deſired to avoide the War by procraſtination, which he durſt not adventure to finiſh by tryall of a battell.

## §. III.

### *How the Lacedæmonians took revenge upon the Eleans for old diſpleaſure. The diſcontents of the Corinthians and Thebans, conceived againſt the State of Sparta.*

IN the meane ſeaſon the Lacedæmonians, who found none able to withſtand them in Greece, began to call the Eleans to accompt for ſome diſgraces received by them during the late Warres, when leaſure was wanting to the requitall of ſuch petty injuries. Theſe Eleans being Preſidents of the Olympiaque games, had ſet a fine upon the City of Sparta, for Non-payment of which, they forbad them to come to the ſolemnity; and publiquely whipt one of them that was of note, for preſuming to contend againſt their decree. Likewiſe they hindred *Agis* King of Sparta, from doing ſacrifice to *Jupiter*; and in all points uſed great contempt toward the Spartans, who now had no buſineſſe that could hinder them from taking revenge: and therefore ſent a peremptory meſſage to the Eleans, commanding them to ſet at liberty the Cities which they held in ſubjection. This was the uſuall pretence which they made the ground of all their Wars: though little they cared for the liberty of ſuch Townes, which they cauſed afterwards to become followers, and little better than meere Vaſſals of the Lacedæmonians. In their late Wars with Athens, the ſtrong oppoſition which they found, cauſed this goodly Title of liberty to work very ſlowly: but having now to doe with a State of great ſpirit and ſmall force, it gave preſent ſucceſſe to their deſires. Two years together they ſent an Amy into the Countrey of the Eleans: the firſt yeare an Earth-quake (held in thoſe times a prodigious ſigne, and which did alwayes forbid the proſecution of any enterpriſe in hand) cauſed them to retire: the ſecond yeare, all the Townes of the Eleans did haſtily revolt, and the City it ſelfe was driven to ſubmiſſion; conſenting both to ſuffer their old ſubjects freely to enjoy their liberty, and to have her owne Walls throwne downe. Only the Preſidentſhip of the Olympian games was left unto them, which it was not to be doubted that they would in time comming uſe modeſtly, finding themſelves to ſtand at the mercy of Sparta. In this expedition all the Greeks were aſſiſtant to the Lacedæmonians, excepting the Corinthians and Bœotians, whoſe ayd having bin of as much importance in the late Peloponneſian War, as the force of Sparta it ſelfe, they could not ſmother their diſlike of their unequall diviſion following the victory; which gave to Sparta the command of all Greece; to Thebes and Corinth, onely ſecurity againſt Athens, but ſuch a ſecurity as was worſe than the danger. For when the equall greatneſſe of two mighty Eſtates did counterpoiſe each the other, it was in the power of theſe Neutrall Common-weals to adhere to either, as the condition of their affaires required; but when to revenge injuries, they had by mortall hatred proſecuted the Warre to extremity, leaving the one City naked of power and friends, the other mightily increaſed in both; it was then (if not neceſſary to obey the greatneſſe which themſelves had made, yet) fooliſh and dangerous to provoke it. Neverthelesſe, it was not the purpoſe of the Spartans to take occaſion of any quarrell, which they could not finiſh at pleaſure, till ſuch time as they had by victory or compoſition made ſome good end with the Perſian, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

## §. IIII.

*The paſſage of* Ageſilaus *into Aſia. His Warre with* Tiſſaphernes. *How* Tiſſaphernes *was put to death; and the Warre diverted into another Province, through perſwaſion and gifts of* Tithrauſtes *his ſucceſſour. How careleſſe the Perſian Lieutenants were of the Kings good.*

A*Geſilaus* newly made King of Sparta, was deſirous to have the honour of the victory, which not without cauſe, he expected upon thoſe of Aſia; and therefore procuring a great Army to join with that of *Dyrcillidas*, he took his way in great pompe to Aulis in Bœotia, a Haven lying oppoſite to the Iland of Eubœa; in which place *Agamemnon* (leading the power of all Greece to the war againſt Troy, many Ages before) had imbarked his men. In imitation of *Agamemnon*, he meant alſo to doe ſacrifice in Aulis, which the Thebans, Lords of that Country, would not permit, but ſaying, that the performance of ſuch ceremonies in that place, belonged unto their Officers; they were ſo unable to conceale their malice, that ſending ſome Companies of horſe, they threw downe his ſacrifice from the Altar. It was not then convenient time for *Ageſilaus* to entangle himſelfe and his Country in a new Warre; therefore waiting better opportunity of revenge, he quietly ſwallowed the contumely, and followed his maine intendment. Having landed his men at Epheſus, he was entertained by *Tiſſaphernes* with a Treaty of peace, wherein *Ageſilaus* peremptorily requiring that the Perſian ſhould reſtore to liberty all the Greek Townes in Aſia, was promiſed that the King, being firſt informed of his demand, ſhould ſend anſwer to his good liking, if he would in the meane while make Truce. Truce was therefore made, which *Tiſſaphernes* had ſought, only to win time of making proviſion for the War, and getting ſupply of men and money from *Artaxerxes*, whileſt *Ageſilaus* was buſie in ſettling the eſtates of his confederate cities on that ſide of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from war was at the comming downe of theſe forces which *Artaxerxes* had ſent: at what time *Ageſilaus* received a plain meſſage from *Tiſſaphernes*, that either he muſt forthwith depart out of Aſia, or make good his abode by ſtrong hand. *Ageſilaus* returning word, that hee was glad to heare that his enemies had by perjury deſerved vengeance from heaven, prepared to invade them; and ſending word to all the Towns which lay betweene him and Caria, that they ſhould provide victuals & other neceſſaries for his Army, did eaſily make *Tiſſaphernes* beleeve, that his intent was to invade that Province wherein *Tiſſaphernes* dwelt, and which was unfit for Horſe, in which part of his forces the Perſian had moſt confidence. Therefore *Tiſſaphernes* beſtowing all his Companies of foot in Caria, entred with his horſe into the plains of *Mæander*, hoping thereby to ſtop the paſſage of a heavie foot-army, not ſuffering them to paſſe into that Country which was fitteſt for their ſervice. But the Greeks left him waiting there in vaine, and marched directly into Phrygia, where they tooke great ſpoile without reſiſtance, till ſuch time as the Horſe-men of *Pharnabazus* met him, who in a ſmall ſkirmiſh having the better of the Greeks, were the occaſion that *Ageſilaus* returned to Epheſus. Although in this laſt fight only twelve men were loſt, yet *Ageſilaus* perceiving by that tryall how hard it would be to prevaile, and hold the maſtery of the field, without a greater ſtrength of Horſe, tooke all poſſible care to increaſe that part of his forces. By which meanes having enabled himſelfe, whileſt winter laſted, he entred upon the Country of *Tiſſaphernes*, as ſoone as the ſeaſon of the yeare would permit, and not only took a great booty, but finding the Horſe-men of *Tiſſaphernes* in the plaine of *Mæander*, without aſſiſtance of their infantery, he gave them battell, and had a great victory, taking their campe, in which he found great riches. The blame of this loſſe fell heavie upon *Tiſſaphernes*, who either upon cowardiſe had abſented himſelfe from the battell, or following ſome other buſineſſe, was then at Sardis. For which cauſe his Maſter having him in diſtruſt, and thinking that peace might be the ſooner had, which he much deſired, if the man, ſo odious to the whole Nation of the Greekes, were taken out of the way; he ſent into thoſe parts *Tithrauſtes* a Perſian, to cut off the head of *Tiſſaphernes*, and ſucceed him in the government. Such was the end of this baſe and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heaven, when by perjury he could advance his purpoſes on Earth, failed at the laſt through too much over-weening of his owne wiſedome, even in that part of cunning wherein he thought himſelfe moſt perfect; for ſuppoſing, that by his great skill in ſubtile nogotiation he ſhould one way or other circumvent the *Greeks*, and make them wearie of *Aſia*; he did not ſeeke to finiſh the war, and according to his Maſters wiſh, bring all things ſpeedily to quiet, but rather to temporize, till he might finde ſome opportunitie of making ſuch end as beſt might ſtand with the Kings honour and his owne. Wherein it ſeemes that he much miſtooke his Princes diſpoſition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aide which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would he much more gladly have taken it, if he could have found ſuch meanes whereby the danger it ſelfe might have beene avoided: as not loving to have warre, whileſt by any conditions (honourable or not) he might obtain peace. And this appeared well by the courſe which *Tithrauſtes* took at his firſt poſſeſſion of the low-Countries. For he ſent Embaſſadors to *Ageſilaus*, in very friendly ſort, letting him know, that the man who had been Author of the warre, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleaſure to let the *Greekes* enjoy their owne lawes and libertie, upon condition, that they ſhould pay him the tribute accuſtomed, and the Armie be forthwith diſmiſſed. The anſwer to this propoſition, was by *Ageſilaus* referred to the Councell of *Sparta*; in the meane ſeaſon he was content to transferre the war into the Province of *Pharnabazus*, at the requeſt of *Tithrauſtes*, who bought his departure with thirtie Talents.

This was a ſtrange maner of Warre, both on the offenſive and on the defenſive part. For *Ageſilaus* having entertained great hopes of vanquiſhing the great King, was contented to forbear his ſeverall Provinces, at the entreatie of the Lievtenants: and thoſe Lievtenans being employed by the King to maintaine his Eſtates againſt all enemies (wherein if they failed, they knew that their heads might eaſily be taken from their ſhoulders) were little offended at any loſſe that fell on their next Neighbour-Princes, which were ſubject likewiſe to the ſame Crowne of *Perſia*, ſo long as their owne government could be preſerved free from waſte and danger. The cauſe of this diſorder on the *Perſian* ſide, I can aſcribe to nothing ſo deſervedly, as to the corrupted eſtate of the Court, wherein Eunuches, Concubines, and miniſters of pleaſure, were able by partiall conſtruction to countenance, or diſgrace, the actions of ſuch as had the managing of things abroad; and to that fooliſh manner of the Kings (which was ſo uſuall that it might be called a rule) to reward or puniſh the Provinciall Governour, according to the benefit or loſſe, which the Countrie, given in charge unto each of them, received, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to paſſe, that as every one was deſirous to make his owne Territorie yeeld a large increaſe to the Kings treaſure; ſo no man was carefull to aſſiſt his borderers, if loſſe or danger might thereby grow to himſelf & his; but ſate ſtill as an idle beholder, when perhaps by joyning their forces, it had not bin uneaſie to recompence the ſpoile of one Countrie, by conquering another, or defending a third from far greater miſeries.

## §. V.

## *The War and Treatie betweene* Ageſilaus *and* Pharnabazus.

AGeſilaus having thus compounded with *Tithrauſtes*, entred Phrygia, burning and waſting the Country without reſiſtance. He tooke the Palace of *Pharnabazus*, and by his Lievtenant drave him out of his Campe. Theſe actions, together with his honourable behaviour, which added much to their luſtre, were more glorious than profitable. For he did not win Cities and Places of ſtrength, which might have encreaſed his power, and given aſſurance to the reſt of his proceedings: but purchaſed fame and high reputation, by which he drew unto him ſome that were diſcontented and ſtood upon bad termes with the great King; whom he loſt againe as eaſily, by meanes of ſome ſleight injury done to them by his under-Captaines. *Pharnabazus* did not encloſe himſelfe in any Towne, for feare of being beſieged, but kept the field, lying as neare as he could ſafely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpoſe to fight, but to make ſome good end by compoſition, which he found not uneaſie to doe. For the pleaſures, by him formerly done to the State of Sparta, in the times of their moſt neceſſity, had been ſo great, that when he (obtaining parley) did ſet before their eyes his bounty towards them, and his love which had been ſuch, that beſides many other hazzards of his perſon, he had for the reſcue of their fleet when it was driven to run a-ſhore at Abydus, adventured to ride into the Seas as far as he could finde any ground, and fight on horſebacke againſt the Athenians) together with his faith which had never beene violated in word or deed: they knew not how to excuſe their ingratitude, otherwiſe than by telling him, That having War with his Maſter, they were inforced againſt their will, to offend him. *Ageſilaus* did make a faire offer to him, that if he would revolt from the King to them, they would maintaine him againſt the Perſian, and eſtabliſh him free Prince of the Country wherein he was at that time onely Deputy to *Artaxerxes*. But *Pharnabazus* told him plainly, That if the King his Maſter did put him in truſt to make war againſt them, he would not faile to doe the beſt that he could as their enemy; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey another, he would then ſhift ſide, and betake himſelfe to their alliance. The iſſue of this parley was, That the Armie ſhould no longer abide in Phrygia, nor againe returne into it, whileſt employment could be found elſewhere. The excuſe made by *Ageſilaus*, and the withdrawing of his forces out of thoſe parts, were not ſufficient to appeaſe *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not invaded for want of more neceſſary buſineſſe elſewhere; but becauſe his Country would yeeld great booty, and for the hire of thirty Talents. By this means the Lacedæmonians changed an honourable Friend into a hot Enemy, who afterwards requited their unthankefulneſſe with full revenge.

## §. VI.

### *The great commotions raiſed in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were hired with gold from the Perſian.*

IN the meane while *Tithrauſtes*, perceiving that *Ageſilaus* meant nothing leſſe than to returne into Greece, and let *Artaxerxes* reſt quietly in Aſia, tooke a wiſe courſe, whereby the Citie of Sparta was not onely driven to looke to her owne, and give over her great hopes of ſubverting the Empire, but was beaten out of all that had been gotten by many late victories, and ſaw her Dominion reſtrained unto the narrow bounds of her owne Territory. He ſent into Greece fifty talents of ſilver, to be imploied in raiſing war againſt the Lacædemonians; which treaſure was by the ſubtle practice of him that was put in truſt with it, in ſuch wiſe diſperſed among the principall men of the Thebans, Argives and Corinthians, that all thoſe Eſtates having formerly born ſecret hate to that of Sparta, were now deſirous of nothing ſo much, as of open war. And leſt this great heate of the incenſed multitude ſhould, for want of preſent exerciſe, begin to faint and vaniſh away in idle words, occaſion was found out to thruſt the Lacedæmonians into Armes, that they themſelves might ſeem Authors of the quarrell. Some land there was in the tenure of the Locrians, to which the Thebans had in former time layd claim; but the Phocians either having the better title, or finding the greater favour, had it adjudged unto them, and received yearly mony for it. This mony the Locrians were either hired or perſwaded to pay now to the Thebans, who readily accepted it. The Phocians not meaning ſo to loſe their Rent, made a diſtreſſe by ſtrong hand, recovering a great deale more than their own; which the Thebans (as in protection of their new Tenants) requited with an invaſion made upon Phocis, waſting that Country in the maner of open war. Such were the beginnings of profeſſed hoſtility betwen Thebes & Sparta, & the firſt breaking out of their cloſe enmity, that had long time, though hardly, bin concealed. For when the Phocian Embaſſadors came to Sparta, complaining of the violence done by the Thebans, & requeſting ſuccour, they had very favourable audience, & ready conſent to their ſuit; it being the manner of the Lacedæmonians to deferre the acknowledgment of injuries received, until occaſion of revenge were offered, & then to diſcover their indignation in cold bloud. At this time they had very good opportunity to worke their owne wils, having no other war to diſturbe them in Greece, and hearing out of Aſia no news that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they ſent *Lyſander* to raiſe all the Countries about Phocis, and with ſuch forces as he could levie, to attend the comming of *Pauſanias* King of Sparta (for Sparta, as hath bin ſhewed before, had two Kings) who ſhould follow him with the ſtrength of Peloponneſus. *Lyſander* did as he was appointed, & being of great reputation in thoſe parts, he drew the Orchomenians to revolt from Thebes. *Pauſanias* likewiſe raiſed all Peloponneſus, except the Corinthians (who refuſed to aſſiſt him in that enterpriſe) meaning to joyn with *Lyſander*, & make a ſpeedy end of the war. The conſideration of ſo great a danger, approaching ſo ſwiftly, cauſed the *Thebans* to ſeeke what helpe they could abroad, for as much as their own ſtrength was far too little to make reſiſtance againſt ſuch mightie preparations. It was not unknown to them, that many followers of the *Lacedæmonians* were otherwiſe affected in heart than they durſt utter in countenance; but the good wiſhes of ſuch people were little availeable, conſidering that the moſt which could be expected from them, was, that they ſhould doe as little hurt as they could: by which maner of tergiverſation, the *Corinthians* did at that preſent caſt themſelves into the diſpleaſure of the *Spartans*, to the no great benefit of *Thebes*. Wherefore it was thought the ſafeſt courſe, to procure the aſſiſtance of ſome Eſtate that might preſently declare it ſelfe on their ſide, which would cauſe many others to follow the example, and make their partie ſtrong. To this end they ſent Embaſſadours to *Athens*, excuſing old offences, as either not committed by publike allowance, or done in time of the generall warre, and recompenced with friendſhip lately ſhowne in their refuſall of aſſiſting *Pauſanias*, when he came in behalfe of the thirtie Tyrants againſt the good Citizens of *Athens*. In regard of which, and for their owne Honour ſake, they requeſted them of aide in the preſent warre, offering to doe the beſt that they could for the reſtoring of *Athens* to her former eſtate and dignitie. *Thraſybulus* and his Friends, who perſecuted by the thirtie, had been well entertained at *Thebes*, procured now the Citie to make a large requitall of the courteſie which they had received. For it was decreed, that the State of *Athens* ſhould not only refuſe to aide the *Lacedæmonians* in this Warre; but that it ſhould aſſiſt the *Thebans*, and engage it ſelfe in their cauſe. Whileſt *Pauſanias* lay ſtill, waiting the arrivall of his Confederates; *Lyſander* being deſirous to doe ſomewhat that might advance the buſineſſe in hand, came to *Haliartus*, where though *Pauſanias* did not meet him, as had been apppointed, yet he attempted the Towne, and was ſlaine in fight by the *Thebans*, who came haſtily to the reſcue. As this victorie did incourage the *Thebans*, ſo the comming of *Pauſanias* with his great Armie did againe amaze them, with preſentation of extreme danger; but their ſpirits were ſoon revived by the ſtrong ſuccour which was brought from *Athens*, in conſideration of which, and of the late battell, *Pauſanias* durſt not hazzard a new fight with them, but receiving the bodies of thoſe that were ſlaine, by compoſition, departed out of their Territorie; for which, either cowardiſe or indiſcretion, he was at his return to *Sparta* condemned as a Traitor, and driven to flie into *Tegea*, where he ended his daies in baniſhment.

## §. VII.

*How* Ageſilaus *was called out of Aſia to help his Country. A victory of the Spartans.* Conon *the Athenian, aſſiſted by* Pharnabazus, *overcomes the Lacedæmonian Fleet; recovers the maſtery of the Seas, and rebuilds the walls of Athens.*

THis good ſucceſſe, and the confederacy made with Athens, gave ſuch reputation to the Thebans, that the Argives, Corinthians, Eubœans, Locrians, and Acarnanes, did forthwith ſide with them, and raiſing a ſtrong Army, determined to give battell to the Lacedæmonians as neare as they might, to their own dores; Conſidering that the force of Sparta it ſelfe was not great, but grew more and more by the adjunction of their Confederates. The Magiſtrates of Sparta perceiving the danger, ſent for *Ageſilaus*, who readily obeyed them, and promiſing his friends in Aſia to return ſpeedily to their aſſiſtance, paſſed the Streights of Helleſpont into Europe. In the mean time the Cities of the new league had given battell to the Lacedæmonians, & the remainder of their Aſſociates; but with ill ſucceſſe. For when the right wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the Argives & Thebans returning from the chaſe in ſome diſorder, were broken & defeated by the Lacedæmonians, who meeting them in good order, won from them the Honour which they had gotten by forcing the left wing of the Lacedæmonians, and made the victory of that day entirely their own. The reporters of this battell meeting *Ageſilaus* at Amphipolis, were by him ſent over into Aſia, wherein it is not likely that they brought much comfort unto his friend, who had ſince his departure ſeen the Spartan Fleet beaten, and *Lyſander* the Admirall ſlaine. The ſame man, whoſe endeavour had brought the Athenians into order by advancing the Sea-forces of the Lacedæmonians with money, and all manner of ſupplies, was now the occaſion that the power of Athens grew ſtrong at Sea, when the Citie was diſpoyled of her old reputation, & ſcarcely able to maintain an Army by Land for her defence. *Pharnabazus* conſidering how much it imported the king his Maſter, to have the Greeks divided into ſuch factions as might utterly diſable them from undertaking abroad, thought it the ſafeſt way for himſelfe, during theſe broiles, to take ſuch order, that he ſhould not need any more to ſeeke peace by intreaty and commemoration of old benefits, at their hands, who unprovoked, had ſold his love for thirty Talents. To which purpoſe he furniſhed *Conon* the Athenian with eight ſhips, who had eſcaped when the Fleet of Athens was ſurprized by *Lyſander* at Ægos-Potamos; giving him the command of a great Navie, wherewith he requited the loſſe received at Ægos-Potamos, by repaying the Lacedæmonians with the like deſtruction of their fleet at Cnidus. After this victory *Conon* ſailed to Athens, bringing with him, partly as the liberality of *Pharnabazus*, partly as the fruit of his victory, ſo ſtrong a Navie, and ſo much Gold as encouraged the Athenians to rebuild their Wals, and think more hopefully upon recovering the Signiory which they had loſt.

## §. VIII.

### *Of ſundry ſmall victories gotten on each part. The Lacedæmonians loſe all in Aſia; the Athenians recover ſome part of their old Dominion.*

Nevertheleſſe, the Lacedæmonians, by many victories at Land, maintained for ſome years the honour of their Eſtate, endangered very greatly by this loſſe at Sea. For *Ageſilaus* obtained the better with his horſe-men from the Theſſalians, who were accounted the beſt riders in Greece. He waſted Bœotia, and fought a great battell at Coronea againſt the Thebans and their Allies, whom he overthrew; and by his Marſhall *Gylis* forraged the Country of Locris: which done, he returned home.

The gain of theſe victories was not great, & the reputation of them was, by many loſſes, much defaced. For the Thebans did in the battell of Coronea vanquiſh the Orchomenians, who ſtood oppoſite unto them, and retired unbroken to Mount Helicon, opening way perforce when *Ageſilaus* charged them in the returne from the purſuite. Likewiſe *Gylis* was ſlaine with a great part of his Army by the Locrians; and ſome other exploits by the Lacedæmonians performed againſt the Corinthians, were repayed with equall dammage received in the parts adjoyning; many Towns being eaſily taken, and as eaſily recovered. The variety of which enterfeats was ſuch, that the Thebans themſelves were drawne by the loſſe of the haven of Corinth, to ſue for peace, but could not get audience, till ſuch time as the newes came of a great victory obtained by *Iphicrates*, Generall of the Athenian forces at Lechæum; whereupon the Theban Embaſſadors being ſent for, and willed to doe their meſſage, required only in ſcorne, to have a ſafe conduct given them, that they might enter into Corinth. From this time forward the War was made for a while only by incurſions, wherein the Achæans, Confederates of Sparta, felt moſt loſſe, their whole State being endangered by the Acarnanians, who held with the contrary ſide, untill *Ageſilaus* repayed theſe invaders with equall, or greater calamities, brought upon their owne Lands, which did ſo afflict the Acarnanes, that they were driven to ſue for peace. But the affaires at Sea were of moſt conſequence, upon which the ſucceſſe of all depended. For when the Townes of Aſia perceived that the Lacedæmonians were not only intangled in an hard War at home, but almoſt diſabled to paſſe the Seas, having loſt their Fleet at Cnidus; they ſoon gave eare to *Pharnabazus*, who promiſed to allow that they ſhould uſe their own lawes, if they would expell the Spartan Governours. Only the City of Abydus did ſtand firm, wherein *Dercyllidas* lay, who did his beſt to contain all the Townes about Helleſpont, in the Alliance of the Lacedæmonians; which he could not do, becauſe the Athenian Fleet under *Thraſybulus*, took in Byzantium, Chalcedon, and other places thereabout, reducing the Ile of Lesbos to their ancient acknowledgement of Athens.

§. IX. The

## §. IX.

### *The baſe conditions offered unto the Perſian by the Lacedæmonian. Of ſundry fights and other paſſages in the Warre. The peace of* Antalcidas.

ABout this time the Spartans began to perceive how uneaſie a thing it would be, to maintaine the War againſt men as good as themſelves, aſſiſted with the treaſures of Perſia: wherefore they craved peace of *Artaxerxes*, moſt baſely offering not only to renounce the Greeks inhabiting Aſia, and to leave them to the Kings diſpoſition, but withall to ſet the Ilanders and every Town in Greece, as well the little as the great, at full and abſolute liberty, whereby they ſaid that all the principall Eſtates of their Country would be ſo weakened, that no one, nor all of them ſhould be able to ſtir againſt the great King. And ſure it was, that the power of the Country being ſo broken and rent into many ſmall pieces, could neither have diſquieted the Perſian, by an offenſive War, nor have made any good defence againſt him, but would have left it eaſie for him in continuance of time to have taken the Cities one after another, till he had made himſelfe Maſter of all. The Spartans were not ignorant of this, but were ſo carried with envie, that perceiving how the dominion of the Seas was like to return to Athens, they choſe rather to give all from themſelves and others, and make all a-like weak, than to permit that any of their owne Nation ſhould grow ſtronger than themſelves, who ſo lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the firſt accepted, both in regard that the other Eſtates of Greece, who had in the Kings behalfe joyned together againſt the Lacedæmonians, did by their ſeverall Embaſſadors oppoſe themſelves unto it; and for that it was thought ſafeſt for *Artaxerxes* rather to weaken the Lacedæmonians yet more, than by interpoſing himſelfe to bring friends and foes on the ſudden to an equality. Eſpecially *Struthas*, whom *Artaxerxes* had ſent as his Lievtenant into the low-Countries, did ſeek to repay the harme done by *Ageſilaus* in thoſe parts: which his intent appearing plaine, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off, *Thimbro* was ſent into Aſia to make Warre upon *Struthas*; and others were appointed to other places, whereby the War being ſcattered about, all the Iles and Townes on the firme Land, grew almoſt to the manner of Pyracy and Robbery, affording many skirmiſhes, but few great actions worthy of remembrance. *Thimbro* was ſlain by *Struthas*, & in his place *Diphridas* was ſent, who demeaned himſelfe more warily. *Dercyllidas* was removed from his charge at Abydus, becauſe he had not impeached *Thraſybulus* in his enterpriſes about Helleſpont; *Anaxibius*, who ſucceeded him, was ſurpriſed & ſlain in a skirmiſh by *Iphicrates* the Athenian. *Thraſybulus* departing from Lesbos toward Rhodes, was ſlaine by the way at Aſpendus. The City of Rhodes had long before joyned with the Lacedæmonians, who erected there (as was their manner) an Ariſtocratie, or the Government of a few the principall Citizens; wheras contrariwiſe the Athenians were accuſtomed to put the Soveraignty into the hands of the people, each of them ſeeking to aſſure themſelves, by erecting in the town of their Confederates a government like unto their own: which doing (where more eſpeciall cauſe did not hinder) cauſed the Nobility to favour Sparta, and the Commons to encline to Athens. The people of Ægina roved upon the coaſt of Attica, which cauſed the Athenians to land an Army in Ægina, and beſiege their Towne: but this ſiege being raiſed by the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonian fleet, the Ilanders began a-new to moleſt Attica, which cauſed the Athenians to man their ſhips again, that returned beaten, having loſt foure of thirteen. The loſſe of theſe ſhips was ſoon recompenſed by a victory which *Chabrias* the Athenian Generall had in Ægina, whereupon the Ilanders were faine to keep home, and leave to the Athenians the Seas free. It may well ſeeme ſtrange that the Citie of Athens, having but newly raiſed her wals; having not by any fortunate and important battell ſecured her eſtate from dangers by land; but only depending upon the aſſiſtance of ſuch Confederates, as carried unto different ends, had often diſcovered themſelves irreſolute in the common cauſe; would ſend a fleet and an army to Cyprus, in defence of *Evagoras*, when the maſtry of the Seas was ſo ill aſſured, that an Iland lying in the eie of *Pyraeus*, had ability to vexe the coaſt of Attica. But as the over-weening of that City did cauſe it uſually to embrace more than it could compaſſe; ſo the inſolency and ſhameleſſe injuſtice of the people, had now bred in the chief Commanders, a deſire to keepe themſelves far out of ſight, and to ſeek employments at ſuch diſtance as might ſecure them from the eies of the envious, and from publike judgments, out of which few or none eſcaped. For which cauſe *Timotheus* did paſſe away much part of his time in the Ile of *Lesbos*; *Iphicrates* in *Thrace*, and *Chabrias* now did carry away into *Cyprus* a greater force than his Countrie could well have ſpared: with which he returned not when the buſineſſe in *Cyprus* came to an end, but ſought new adventures in *Egypt*; whereby aroſe neither thankes to himſelfe, nor profit to his Citie, though honour both to him and it. The *Athenians* being thus careleſſe of things at hand, had a notable blow given unto them, ſhortly after that *Chabrias* was gone to *Cyprus*, even within their owne Haven. For *Teleutias*, a *Lacedæmonian*, being made Governour of *Ægina*, conceived a ſtrong hope of ſurprizing the Navie of *Athens*, as it lay in *Piræus*; thinking a-right that it was an harder matter to encounter with ten ſhips prepared for the fight, than with twentie lying in harbour, whoſe Mariners were aſleep in their Cabbins, or drinking in Tavernes. Wherefore he ſailed by night into the mouth of the Port, which entring at the breake of day, he found (according to his expectation) moſt of the men on ſhore, and few or none left aboord to make reſiſtance: by which meanes he tooke many ſhips laden with merchandizes, many fiſher-men, paſſengers, and other Veſſels, alſo three or foure Gallies; having ſunke or broken, and made unſerviceable, as many of the reſt as the time would ſuffer. About this time *Pharnabazus*, the Lievtenant of *Phrygia*, had one of the Kings daughters given to him in marriage, with whom he lived about the Court; and many officers that favoured the *Lacedæmonians* were placed in the lower *Aſia*; by whoſe aſſiſtance the Fleet of *Sparta* grew victorious about *Helleſpont*; in ſuch wiſe, that perhaps they ſhould not have needed the peace, which they themſelves procured by *Antalcidas*, from the great King, the conditions whereof were ſuch as are mentioned before, giving freedome to all the Cities of *Greece*, and dividing the Countrie into as many ſeverall States as were pettie Boroughes in it. Thus *Artaxerxes* having bought his owne peace with money, did likewiſe by his money become Arbitrator and decider of Controverſies between the *Greeks*, diſpoſing of their buſineſſe in ſuch wiſe as ſtood beſt with his own good. The Tenor of *Artaxerxes* his decree was, That all *Aſia* and *Cyprus* ſhould be his own; the Iles of *Lemnos*, *Imbrus*, and *Scirus* be ſubject to *Athens*; all other *Greeke* Towns, as well the little as the great, be ſet at libertie; and that whoſoever ſhould refuſe this peace, upon them the approvers of it ſhould make war, the King aſſiſting them by Land and Sea, with men, and ſhips, and treaſure. The *Athenians* were ſo diſcouraged by their loſſes at Sea; the *Lacedæmonians* by revolt of their confederates, and the neceſſitie of maintaining many Garriſons, for which they wanted mony; and other States by the miſeries of the war, whereof they ſaw no end; that all (excepting the *Thebans*) did conſent unto theſe Articles. This was called the peace of *Antalcidas*: whereof the *Lacedæmonians* taking upon themſelves the execution, did not only compell the *Argives* to depart out of *Corinth* (which under pretence of defending they held by Garriſons, lately thruſt into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the *Thebans* to leave *Bæotia* free, of which Province *Thebes* had alwaies held the government: the *Thebans* themſelves being alſo comprehended under the name of the *Bæotians*; but cauſed the *Mantineans* to throw down their own Citie, and to dwell in villages: alledging that they had formerly bin accuſtomed ſo to doe, though purpoſing indeed to chaſtiſe them, as having bin ill affected to *Sparta* in the late War. By theſe courſes the *Lacedæmonians* did hope that all the ſmal towns in *Greece* would, when occaſion ſhould require it, willingly follow them in their wars, as Authors of their libertie; and that the great Cities having loſt all their dependants, would be unable to make oppoſition.

## §. X.

*The war which the Lacedæmonians made upon Olynthus. They take Thebes by treaſon; and Olynthus by famine.*

WHileſt theſe wars, which ended without either victorie or profit, conſumed the riches and power of *Greece*, the Citie of *Olynthus* in *Thrace* was grown ſo mightie, that ſhe did not only command her neighbour Towns, but was alſo become terrible to places farre removed, and to *Sparta* it ſelfe. Great part of *Macedonia*, together with *Pella*, the principall Citie of that Kingdome, was taken by the

*Olynthians*, who following the uſuall pretence of the *Lacedæmonians*, to ſet at liberty the places over which King *Amyntas* did tyrannize, had almoſt now driven him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themſelves. The Citizens of *Acanthus* and of *Apollonia* being neareſt unto the danger of thoſe incroaching neighbours, acquainted the *Lacedæmonians* with their feare, affirming that this Dominion of the *Olynthians* would be too ſtrong for all *Greece*, if continuance of time ſhould give it reputation, which onely it wanted: wherefore they requeſted aſſiſtance, but in ſuch termes as did ſound of compulſion, proteſting that either they muſt warre upon *Olynthus*, or become ſubject unto her, and fight in her defence. Hereupon was made a haſtie levie of men, two thouſand being preſently ſent away, with promiſe to be ſeconded by a greater Army. Whileſt theſe two thouſand gave ſuch beginning to the warre, as agreed with their ſmall number, the body of the Army following them, ſurprized the Cittadell of *Thebes*, which was betraied into the hand of *Phœbidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, by ſome of the Magiſtrates, who ſought to ſtrengthen their faction by the ſlavery of their Country. The *Thebans* were ill affected to *Sparta*, but had not in any one point violated the peace lately made between them; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonians* to doubt whether this act of *Phœbidas* were more worthy of reward or of puniſhment. In concluſion, profit ſo farre over-weighed honeſtie, that the deed was approved, many principall Citizens of *Thebes* condemned to death, many driven into baniſhment, and the Traitors rewarded with the government of the citie: by whoſe authoritie, and the force of the Garriſon, the *Thebans* were compelled to ſerve the *Lacedæmonians*, in all, and more than all that they could require. This acceſſe of power having ſtrengthened the *Lacedæmonians*, cauſed them to entertain the greater forces about *Olynthus*, which (notwithſtanding the loſſe of one great battell, and ſome other diſaſters) they compelled at length by famine to render it ſelfe unto their obedience.

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## §. XI.

### *How the Thebans recovered their libertie, driving out the Lacedæmonian Garriſon.*

AFter this *Olynthian* Warre, which endured almoſt three yeares, it ſeemed that no Eſtate in *Greece* was able to make head againſt that of *Sparta*: but it was not long ere the *Thebans* found a meanes to ſhake off their yoake, and gave both example and meanes to others to doe the like. One of the baniſht men found by conference with a *Scribe* of the *Theban* Magiſtrates, comming to *Athens*, that the tyrannie wherewith his Countrie was oppreſſed, pleaſed him no better than it did thoſe who for feare of it were fled from home. Whereupon a plot was laid betweene theſe two, that ſoone found very good ſucceſſe, being managed thus. Seven of the baniſhed men forſooke *Athens* privily, and entred by night into the fields of *Thebes*; where ſpending the next day ſecretly, they came late in the evening to the Gates like husband-men returned from worke, and ſo paſſed undiſcovered unto the houſe of *Charon*, whom *Phyllidas* the Scribe had drawne into the conſpiracie. The day following, a ſolemne feaſt being then held in the Citie, *Phyllidas* promiſed the Governours, who were inſolent and luſtful men, that he would conveigh unto them that night the moſt beautifull Dames of the Towne, with whom they ſhould take their pleaſure. Having cheared them with ſuch hope, and plentie of good wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they urged) came, that hee could not make good his promiſe, unleſſe they would diſmiſſe their followers, becauſe the Gentlewomen, who attended without the Chamber, would not endure that any of the ſervants ſhould ſee their faces. Upon this occaſion the attendants were diſmiſſed, and the Conſpirators, attired like Ladies and their Maides, brought into the place; who taking advantage of the Governours looſe behaviour, ſlew them all upon the ſudden with Daggers, which they brought hidden under their garments. Then preſently caſting off their diſguiſe, they went to other places, where feigning themſelves to come to the Governours upon buſineſſe, they got admittance, and likewiſe ſlew thoſe which were of the *Lacedæmonian* faction. By the like device they brake into the priſon, ſlew the Goaler, & ſet at liberty ſuch as they thought meet; and being followed by theſe deſperate men, proclaimed libertie, making the death of the Tyrants known. The Captaine of the Caſtle hearing the ſudden Proclamation, thought the Rebels to be ſtronger than indeed they were: the Citizens contrariwiſe miſtruſted, that it was a practice to diſcover ſuch as would be forward upon occaſion of revolting. But as ſoon as day-light revealed the plaine truth,all the people took armes and beſieged the Caſtle, ſending haſtily to *Athens* for ſuccour. The Garriſon alſo ſent for aide unto the Towns adjoyning, whence a few broken troupes comming to the reſcue, were defeated on the way by the horſe-men of *Thebes*. On the other ſide the baniſhed *Thebans* did not only make ſpeed to aſſiſt their Countrimen,but procured ſome *Athenians* to joyn with them, and thereby came ſo ſtrong into the Citie, that the Caſtle was yeelded, more through feare than any neceſſitie, upon condition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Armes; for which compoſition the Captaine at his returne to *Sparta* was put to death. When the newes of the doings at *Thebes*,and the ſucceſſe arrived at *Sparta*,an Armie was raiſed forth-with, and all things prepared as earneſtly for the recovering of that Citie,as if ſome part of their ancient inheritance had bin taken from the *Lacedæmonians*, and not a town perfidiouſly uſurped by them,reſtored to her own libertie. *Cleombrotus*, one of the Kings,was ſent on this expedition, who having wearied his followers with a toilſome Winters journie,returned home without any good or harm done; leaving *Sphodrias*, with part of his Armie,at *Theſpies*,to infeſt the *Thebans*; who doing them ſome diſpleaſures, made large amends by a fooliſh attempt upon the Haven of *Athens*, which failing to take,he waſted the countrie adjoyning,and drave away Cattell,cauſing by this outrage the *Athenians* to enter with all their power into the war,out of which they were before very carefully ſeeking how they might poſſibly with-draw themſelves.

# CHAP. XII.

## *Of the flouriſhing eſtate of Thebes, from the battell of Leuctra,to the battell of Mantinæa.*

### §. I.

*How Thebes and Athens joyned together againſt Sparta. How the Athenians made peace for themſelves, and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The battell of Leuctra, and beginning of the Theban greatneſſe.*

THe *Lacedæmonians* were men of great reſolution, and of much gravitie in all their proceedings;but one diſhonourable rule they held,That all reſpects withſtanding the commodity of *Sparta* were to be neglected; the practice of which doctrine, even by the beſt and wiſeſt of them, did greatly blemiſh that Eſtate: but when it was put in execution by inſufficient over-weening men,it ſeldom failed to bring upon them in ſtead of profit unjuſtly expected,both ſhame and loſſe. And ſo it befell them in theſe enterpriſes of *Phœbidas*, upon the Caſtle of *Thebes*,and *Sphodrias* upon the *Piræus*. For,howſoever *Ageſilaus* did ſpoyle the Countrie about *Thebes*,in which he ſpent two Summers,yet the diligence of the *Thebans* repaired all,who by the good ſucceſſe of ſome attempts,grew ſtronger than they were at the firſt.

The *Athenians* likewiſe began to looke abroad, ſayling to the Iſle of *Corcyra*, where they ordered things at their pleaſure, and having in ſome fights at Sea prevailed, began, as in the *Peloponneſian* Warre, to ſurround *Peloponneſus* with a Navie; afflicting ſo the *Lacedæmonians*, that had not the *Thebans* by their inſolencie wearied their friends, and cauſed them to ſeeke for peace, it had bin very likely that the end of this warre, ſhould have ſoone come to a good end, which neverthelesſe, being proſequuted by the *Thebans* (who oppoſed at once both theſe two great Eſtates) left the Citie of *Sparta* as much dejected, as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous. But the *Athenians* perceiving how *Thebes* encroached every day upon her weake Neighbours, not ſparing ſuch as had bin dependants upon *Athens*, and finding themſelves, whileſt engaged in ſuch a war,unable to relieve their complaining friends, reſolved to ſettle the affaires of

*Greece*, by renewing that form of peace which *Antalcidas* had brought from the *Perſian*. Wherefore they ſent Meſſengers to *Thebes*, peremptorily ſignifying, That it was their intent to finiſh the War, to which purpoſe they willed the *Thebans* to ſend Embaſſadors along with them to *Sparta*; who readily condeſcended, fearing otherwiſe that they ſhould be left out of the Treatie of peace: which came to paſſe, being ſo wrought by the courageous wiſdome of *Epaminondas*, who underſtood far better than his Countrimen, what was to be feared or hoped. In this Treatie the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* did ſoon agree; but when the *Thebans* offered to ſweare to the Articles in the name of the *Bæotians*; *Ageſilaus* required them to ſwear in their own name, and to leave the *Bæotians* free, whom they had lately reduced under their obedience. Whereunto *Epaminondas* made anſwer, That the Citie of *Sparta* ſhould give example to *Thebes* by ſetting the *Laconians* free; for that the Signorie of *Bæotia* did by as good right appertain to the *Thebans*, as that of *Laconia* to the *Spartans*. This was well and truely ſpoken; but was heard with no patience: For *Ageſilaus* bearing a vehement hatred unto thoſe of *Thebes*, by whom he was drawn back out of *Aſia* into *Greece*, and diſappointed of all the glory which he had hoped to atchieve by the *Perſian* war, did now paſſionately urge that point of ſetting the *Bæotians* at libertie; & finding it as obſtinately refuſed, he daſht the name of the *Thebans* out of the league. At the ſame time *Cleombrotus* the other King of *Sparta*, lay in *Phocis*, who received command from the Governours of *Sparta* forthwith to enter upon the Land of the *Thebans* with all his power; which he did, and was there ſlain at *Leuctra*, and with him the flower of his Armie. This battell of *Leuctra*, being one of the moſt famous that ever were fought between the *Greeks*, was not ſo notable for any circumſtance foregoing it, or for the managing of the fight it ſelf, as for the death of the King, and many citizens of *Sparta*, but eſpecially, for that after this battell (between which and the concluſion of the general peace there paſſed but twenty daies) the *Lacedæmonians* were never able to recover the ſtrength and reputation which had formerly made them redoubted far and near; whereas contrariwiſe the *Thebans*, whoſe greateſt ambition had in former times confined it ſelfe unto the little Region of *Bæotia*, did now begin to undertake the leading & command of many people & eſtates, in ſuch wiſe, that ſoon after they brought an Armie of threeſcore and ten thouſand ſtrong unto the Gates of *Sparta*. So much doe the afflictions of an hard war, valiantly endured, advance the affairs of the diſtreſſed, and guide them into the way of conqueſt, by ſtiffening that reſolution with a manly temper, which wealth and eaſe had through luxurie, retchleſneſſe, and many other vices or vanities, made ruſtie and effeminate.

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## §. II.

*How the Athenians took upon them to maintain the peace of Greece. New troubles hence ariſing.* Epaminondas *invadeth and waſteth the Territorie of Lacedæmon.*

THe *Athenians* refuſing to take advantage of this overthrow fallen upon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the *Lacedæmonians*; did nevertheleſſe finely give them to underſtand, that their Dominion was expired, and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For taking upon themſelves the maintenance of the peace lately concluded, which *Ageſilaus* (perhaps of purpoſe to make benefit of quarrels that might ariſe) had left unperfect, they aſſembled the Deputies of all the Eſtates confederated at *Athens*; where the generall libertie of all Towns, as well ſmall as great, was ratified under the ſtile of the *Athenians*, and their Aſſociates. Hereupon began freſh garboiles. The *Mantinæans*, claiming power by this decree to order their affairs at their own pleaſure, did (as it were) in deſpight of the *Spartans*, who had enforced them to raze their Town, re-edifie it, and allie themſelves with ſuch of the *Arcadians* as ſtood worſt affected to *Sparta*. The *Arcadians*, a ſtrong Nation, conſiſting of many Cities, were diſtracted with factions; ſome deſiring to hold good correſpondency with the *Lacedæmonians*; ſome to weaken and keep them low; yet all pretending other ends. The *Lacedæmonians* durſt not give impeachment to the *Mantinæans*, nor take upon them to correct their ill-willers among the *Arcadians*, till ſuch time as the factions brake out into violence, and each part called-in forraine help. Then was an Armie ſent from *Sparta*, as it were in defence of the people of *Tegea*, againſt the *Mantinæans*, but indeed againſt them both. *Ageſilaus* had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The *Thebans* had by this time ſubdued the *Phocians*, and were become head of the *Locrians*, *Acarnanians*, *Eubœans*, and many others; with the power of which Countries they entred *Peloponneſus* in favour of the *Arcadians*, who had, upon expectation of their comming, abſtained from giving battell to *Ageſilaus*. The Armie of the *Spartans* being diſmiſſed, and *Epaminondas* joyned with the *Arcadians*; the Region of *Laconia* was invaded and ſpoiled: a thing ſo ſtrange, that no Oracle could have found beliefe if any had foretold it. Almoſt 600. yeares were ſpent, ſince the *Dorians*, under the poſteritie of *Hercules*, had ſeized upon *Laconia*, in all which time the ſound of an enemies trumpet was not heard in that Countrie. Ten yeares were not fully paſt, ſince all *Greece* was at the devotion of the *Spartans*: but now the Region which neither *Xerxes* with his huge Armie could once looke upon, nor the mightie forces of *Athens*, and other enemie-States had dared to ſet foot on, ſaving by ſtealth, was all on a light fire, the very ſmoake whereof the women of *Sparta* were aſhamed to behold. All which indignitie notwithſtanding, the *Lacedæmonians* did not iſſue out of *Sparta* to fight, but ſought how to preſerve the Town, ſetting at libertie as many of their *Heilotes* or Slaves as were willing to beare Arms in defence of the State, and ſomewhat pitifully entreated the *Athenians* to give them ſuccour. From *Corinth* and ſome towns of *Peloponneſus* they received ſpeedie aſſiſtance; the *Athenians* came forward more ſlowly, ſo that *Epaminondas* returned without battell, having re-builded the Citie of *Meſſene*, and peopled it a-new by calling home the ancient inhabitants, whom the *Lacedæmonians* many ages before had chaſed away to other Countries, poſſeſſing their Territories themſelves.

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## §. III.

*The Compoſition betweene Athens and Sparta for command in warre againſt the Thebans; who againe invade and ſpoyle Peloponneſus. The unfortunate preſumption of the Arcadians.*

THis journey therefore utterly defaced the reputation of the *Spartans*, in ſuch wiſe, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Armie, which was to be raiſed, nor any manner of precedence: but ſending Embaſſadours from *Sparta*, and from all the Cities which held league with it, unto *Athens*, they offered to yeeld the Admiraltie to the *Athenians*, requeſting that they themſelves might be Generals by Land. This had beeene a compoſition well agreeing with the ſituation and qualitie of thoſe two Cities; but it was rejected, becauſe the Mariners and others that were to be imployed at Sea, were men of no marke or eſtimation, in regard of thoſe companies of horſe and foot, whereof the Land-Armie was compounded, who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of *Athens*, were to have ſerved under the *Lacedæmonians*. Wherefore it was agreed that the Authoritie ſhould be divided by time, the *Athenians* ruling five daies, the *Lacedæmonians* other five, and ſo ſucceſſively that each of them ſhould have command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifeſt, that in this concluſion vaine ambition was more regarded than the common profit; which muſt of neceſſitie be very ſlowly advanced, where conſultation, reſolution, and performance are ſo often to change hands. This appeared by a ſecond invaſion of *Peloponneſus*, wherein the *Thebans* found their enemies ſo unable to impeach them, that having fortified *Iſthmus* from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done againſt *Xerxes*, they were driven out of their ſtrength by *Epaminondas*, who forraged the Countrie without reſiſtance. But as the Articles of this league betweene *Athens* and *Sparta* did, by dividing the conduct in ſuch manner, diſable the ſocietie, and make it inſufficient to thoſe ends for which it was concluded; ſo the example of it wrought their good, by filling the enemies heads with the like vanitie. For the *Arcadians* conſidering their owne numbers which they brought into the field, and having found by many trials that their people were not inferiour to others in ſtrength of bodie, in courage, or in good Souldierſhip, thought it good reaſon that they ſhould in like manner ſhare the government, with their friends the *Thebans*; and not alwaies continue followers of others, by increaſing whoſe greatneſſe they ſhould ſtrengthen their owne yoke. Hereupon they began to demeane themſelves very inſolently, whereby they grew hatefull to their Neighbours, and ſuſpected of the *Thebans* in an ill time. For, a motion of generall peace having bin made (which tooke not effect, becauſe the Citie of *Meſſene* was not abandoned to the *Lacedæmonians*) the next enterpriſe of the *Spartans* and their friends was upon theſe *Arcadians*, who relying too much upon their own worth, were overthrown in a great battell, their calamitie being as pleaſing to their Confederates, as to their Enemies.

## §. IV.

*The great growth of the Theban Eſtate. Embaſſages of the Greeks to the Perſian; with the reaſons why he moſt favoured the Thebans. Troubles in the Perſian Empire. The fruitleſſe iſſue of the Embaſſages.*

THe *Thebans* eſpecially rejoyced at the *Arcadians* misfortune, conſidering, that without their aide, the ſucceſſe of all enterpriſes proved ſo ill; whereas they themſelves had by their owne power accompliſhed very well whatſoever they tooke in hand, and were become not onely victorious over the *Lacedæmonians*, but patrons over the *Theſſalonians*, and moderators of the great quarrels that had riſen in *Macedonia*; where compounding the differences about that Kingdome, as pleaſed them beſt, they carried *Philip* the ſon of *Amyntas*, and father of *Alexander* the Great, as an Hoſtage unto *Thebes*. Having therefore obtained ſuch reputation, that little ſeemed wanting to make them abſolute Commanders of all *Greece*, they ſought meanes of alliance with the *Perſian* King, to whom they ſent Embaſſadour the great and famous Captain *Pelopidas*, whoſe reputation drew *Artaxerxes* to grant unto the *Thebans* all that they deſired; whereof two eſpeciall points were, That *Meſſene* ſhould remaine free from the *Lacedæmonians*, and that the *Athenians* ſhould forbeare to ſend their ſhips of warre to Sea; only the latter of theſe two was ſomwhat qualified with reference to further advice. The other States of *Greece* did alſo ſend their Embaſſadours at the ſame time, of whom few or none received much contentment. For the king having found by long experience, how farre it concerned him to mantaine a ſure partie in *Greece*, did upon many weightie conſiderations reſolve to binde the *Thebans* firmely unto him; juſtly expecting, that their greatneſſe ſhould be on that ſide his owne ſecuritie. The *Athenians* had beene ancient enemies to his Crowne; and having turned the profit of their victories upon the *Perſian* to the purchaſe of a great Eſtate in *Greece*, maintained their Signorie in ſuch puiſſant manner, that (ſundrie grievous miſfortunes notwithſtanding) they had endured a terrible warre, wherein the *Lacedæmonians* being followed by moſt of the *Greeks*, and ſupplied with treaſure, and all ſorts of aide by *Darius Nothus*; were not able to vanquiſh them, till their owne indiſcretion brought them on their knees. The *Lacedæmonians* being victorious over *Athens*, had no ſooner eſtabliſhed their Dominion at home, than they undertooke the conqueſt of *Aſia*, from which though by the commotion raiſed in *Greece* with *Perſian* gold, they were called backe, yet having renewed their power, and ſettled things in *Greece*, it was not unlikely, that they ſhould upon the next advantage have purſued the ſame enterpriſe, had not they beene empeached by this *Theban* Warre. But the *Thebans* contrariwiſe had alwayes diſcovered a good affection to the Crown of *Perſia*. They had ſided with *Xerxes* in his invaſion of *Greece*; with *Darius* and the *Lacedæmonians* againſt *Athens*: And finally, having offered much contumelie to *Ageſilaus* when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making warre on the Confederates of *Sparta*. Beſides all theſe their good deſervings, they were no Sea-men, and therefore unlikely to looke abroad; whereupon if perchance they ſhould have any deſire, yet were they diſabled by the want of good haven townes; which they could not ſeize upon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giving libertie to all Cities that had at any time been free. Wherefore *Artaxerxes* did wholly condeſcend unto the requeſts of *Pelopidas*, as farre forth as he might, without giving open defiance to the reſt of *Greece*; and by that meane he purchaſed his owne quiet, being never afterward moleſted by that Nation in the lower *Aſia*. The ill meanes which the *Greekes* had to diſturbe *Artaxerxes*, was very beneficiall to the Eſtate of *Perſia* ſhortly after theſe times, in that great rebellion of all the Maritimate Provinces. For had then the affaires of *Greece* beene ſo compoſed, that any one Citie might without empeachment of the reſt have tranſported an Armie to aſſiſt the revolting *Satrapæ*, or *Vice-royes* of *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Myſia*, *Lycia*, *Piſidia*, *Pamphilia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, & *Phœnicia*; humane reaſon can hardly find the means, by which the Empire could have been preſerved from that ruine, which the divine Counſell had deferred unto the dayes of *Alexander*. But this great conſpiracie of ſo many large and wealthie Provinces, wanting a firme body of good and hardy Souldiers, was in ſhort ſpace diſcuſſed, and vaniſhed like a miſt, without effect: theſe effeminate *Aſiatiques* wearied quickly with the travels and dangers incident to War, forſaking the common cauſe, and each man ſtriving to be the firſt, that by treaſon to his company ſhould both redeeme the former treaſon to his Prince, and purchaſe withall his own promotion with encreaſe of riches. Of this commotion, which in courſe of time followed ſome actions not as yet related, I have rather choſen to make ſhort mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important; but for that it was like a ſudden ſtorme, raſhly commenced, idlely followed, and fooliſhly layd downe, having made a great noyſe without effect, and having ſmall reference to any other action regardable; as alſo becauſe in the whole reigne of *Artaxerxes*, from the Warre of *Cyrus* to the invaſion of *Egypt*, I find nothing (this inſurrection, and a fruitleſſe journey againſt the *Caduſians* excepted) worthy of any mention, much leſſe of digreſſion from the courſe of the buſineſſe in *Greece*. All, or the moſt of his time paſſed away ſo quietly, that he enjoyed the pleaſures which an Empire ſo great and wealthy could affoord unto ſo abſolute a Lord, with little diſturbance. The troubles which he found were only or chiefly Domeſticall; growing out of the hatred which *Paryſatis* the Queen-Mother bare unto his wife *Statira*, and to ſuch as had been the greateſt enemies to her ſonne *Cyrus*, or gloried in his death: upon whom, when by poyſon and miſchievous practices ſhe had ſatisfied her feminine appetite of revenge, thenceforth ſhe wholly applyed her ſelfe to the Kings diſpoſition, cheriſhing in him the lewd deſire of marrying his own Daughter, and filling him with the perſwaſion, which Princes not endued with an eſpeciall grace, doe readily entertain: That his owne will was the ſupreme law of his ſubjects, & the rule by which all things were to be meaſured and adjudged to be good or evill. In this imaginary happineſſe *Pelopidas*, and the other Embaſſadors of *Greece*, both found & left him; but left him by ſo much more aſſured than they found him, by how much the concluſion of his Treaty with them, being altogether to his owne advantage, did ſeeme to promiſe, if not the perpetuity, a long endurance of the ſame felicity to him & his, or (at the leaſt) a full ſecurity of danger from *Greece*, whence only could any danger be feared. But ſuch foundations of eternity layd by mortall men in this tranſitory world, like the Tower of *Babel*, are either ſhaken from heaven, or made vaine and unprofitable, ere the frame can be raiſed to full height, by confuſion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the *Thebans*, & other Eſtates of *Greece* that had ſent Embaſſadors to the *Perſian*. For whereas it had been concluded, that all Townes, as well the little as the great, ſhould be ſet at liberty, and the *Thebans* made Protectors of this common peace, who thereby ſhould become the Judges of all controverſies that might ariſe, and Leaders in War of all that would enter into this Confederacy; the Kings letters being ſolemnly publiſhed at *Thebes*, in the preſence of Embaſſadors, drawne thither from all parts of *Greece*; when an oath was required for obſervation of the forme of peace therein ſet downe, a dilatory anſwer was made by the Embaſſadors, who ſaid, that they were ſent to heare the articles, not to ſweare unto them. Hereby the *Thebans* were driven to ſend unto each of the Cities to require the Oath; But in vaine. For when the *Corinthians* had boldly refuſed it, ſaying, that they did not need it; others took courage by their example to doe the like, diſappointing the *Thebans* of their glorious hopes, to whom this negotiation with *Artaxerxes* gave neither addition nor confirmation of greatneſſe, but left them as it found them to relye upon their own ſwords.

## §. V.

### *How all Greece was divided between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians on the one ſide, and Thebans on the other. Of the great tumults riſing in Arcadia.*

The condition of things in *Greece* at that time did ſtand thus. *Athens* and *Sparta*, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each upon envie of the others greatneſſe drawne all their followers into a cruell inteſtine Warre, by which the whole Countrie, and eſpecially the Eſtate of theſe two Cities, was brought very low, did now conjoin their forces againſt the *Thebans*, who ſought to make themſelves Lords of all. The *Eleans*, *Corinthians*, & *Achaians*, followed the party of theſe ancient governing Cities; either for the old reputation of them, & benefits received, or in diſlike of thoſe, who by ſtrong hand were readie to become Rulers, to which authoritie they could not ſuddenly aſpire without ſome injurie and much envie. The Citie of *Thebes* abounding with men, whom neceſsitie had made warlike, and many victories in few years had filled with great ſpirits; and being ſo mightie in dependants, that ſhe had reduced all the continent of *Greece* without *Peloponneſus* (the Region of *Attica*, and very little part beſide excepted) under ſuch acknowledgement, as wanted not much of meere Vaſſallage, did hope to bring all *Peloponneſus* to the like obedience, wherein alreadie ſhe had ſet good footing by her conjunction with the States of *Argos*, and of *Arcadia*. The *Argives* had beene alwayes bad Neighbours to the *Spartans*, to whom they thought themſelves in ancient Nobilitie Superiours, but were farre under them in valour, having beene often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of loſing all: which cauſed them to ſuſpect and envie nothing more than the greatneſſe and honour of *Sparta*, taking truce with her when ſhe was at reſt, and had leaſure to bend her whole force againſt them; but firmely joyning with her enemies whenſoever they found her entangled in a difficult warre. As the *Argives* were, in hatred of *Sparta*, ſure friends of *Thebes*, ſo the *Arcadians*, tranſported with a great opinion of their owne worthineſſe, had formerly renounced and provoked againſt them their old Confederates & Leaders, the *Lacedæmonians*, and were now become very doubtfull adherents to the *Thebans*. In which regard it was thought convenient by *Epaminondas*, and the State of *Thebes*, to ſend an Armie into *Peloponneſus*, before ſuch time as theſe wavering friends ſhould fall further off, and become either Neutrall, or, which was to be feared, open enemies. And ſurely great cauſe there was to ſuſpect the worſt of them, conſidering that without conſent of the *Thebans*, they had made peace with *Athens*; which was very ſtrange, and ſeemed no leſſe to the *Athenians* themſelves, who holding a firme league with *Sparta* at the ſame time when the *Arcadians* treated with them, did nevertheleſſe accept this new Confederacie, not relinquiſhing the old, becauſe they found that howſoever theſe *Arcadians* were enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, they ſhould hereby be drawn ſomwhat further from their alliance with *Thebes*, which without them was unlikely to invade *Peloponneſus* with a ſtrong Armie. But this did rather haſten, than by any meanes ſtay the comming of *Epaminondas*; who finding the way ſomewhat more cleare for him (becauſe the Citie of *Corinth*, which lay upon the *Iſthmus*, and had beene adverſe to *Thebes*, was now, by miſeries of this grievous warre, driven to become Neutrall) tooke occaſion hereby, and by ſome diſorders among the *Arcadians*, to viſit *Peloponneſus* with an Armie, conſiſting of all the power of *Thebes*. A great tumult had riſen in *Arcadia* about conſecrated money, which many principall men among them had laid hands on, under pretence of imploying it to publike uſes. In compounding the differences growne upon this occaſion, ſuch as had leaſt will to render account of the mony which had come into their hands, procured the Captaine of ſome *Theban* Souldiers, lying in *Tegea*, to take priſoners many of their Countrimen, as people deſirous of innovation. This was done: but the up-roare thereby cauſed was ſo great, that the priſoners were forth-with enlarged, and the *Arcadians*, who had in great numbers taken Armes, with much a-doe ſcarce pacified. When complaint of the Captaines proceedings came to *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* turned all the blame upon them, who had made the peace with *Athens*, letting them know, that he would be ſhortly among them, to judge of their fidelitie, by the aſsiſtance which they ſhould give him, in that war which he intended to make in *Peloponneſus*. Theſe Lordly words did greatly amaze the *Arcadians*; who needing not the aide of ſo mighty a power as he drew along with him, did vehemently ſuſpect that great preparation to be made againſt themſelves. Hereupon ſuch of them as had before ſought means to ſettle the affairs of their Countrie, by drawing things to ſome good concluſion of peace, did now forthwith ſend to *Athens* for help, and withall diſpatched ſome of the principall among them as Embaſſadours to *Sparta*, by whom they offered themſelves to the common defence of *Peloponneſus*, now readie to be invaded. This Embaſſage brought much comfort to the *Lacedæmonians*, who feared nothing more than the comming of *Epaminondas*, againſt whom they well knew, that all their forces, and beſt proviſions, would be no more than very hardly ſufficient. Forbearing therefore to diſpute about prerogatives, they (who had beene accuſtomed unto ſuch a ſupremacie, as they would in no wiſe communicate with the powerfull Citie of *Athens*, till other hope of ſecuring their owne eſtate could not be thought upon) did now very gently yeeld to the *Arcadians*, that the command of the Armie in chiefe, ſhould be given, for the time, to that Citie in whoſe Territorie it lay.

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## §. VI.

### *A terrible invaſion of Peloponneſus by* Epaminondas.

CErtaine it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a very firm conſent, and uniform care of the common ſafetie. For, beſide the great forces raiſed out of the other parts of *Greece*, the *Argives* and *Meſſenians* prepared with all their ſtrength to joyn with *Epaminondas*; who having lien a while at *Nemea*, to intercept the *Athenians*, received their intelligence, that the Armie comming from *Athens* would paſſe by Sea, whereupon he diſlodged, and came to *Tegea*, which Citie, and the moſt of all *Arcadia* beſides, forthwith declared themſelves his. The common opinion was, that the firſt attempt of the *Thebans*, would be upon ſuch of the *Arcadians* as had revolted; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonian* Captaines to fortifie *Mantinæa* with all diligence, and to ſend for *Ageſilaus* to *Sparta*, that he bringing with him all that ſmall force of able men which remained in the Towne, they might be ſtrong enough to abide *Epaminondas* there. But *Epaminondas* held ſo good eſpiall upon his Enemies, that had not an unknowne fellow brought haſty advertiſement of his purpoſe to *Ageſilaus*, who was then well onward in the way to *Mantinæa*, the Citie of *Sparta* had ſuddenly bin taken. For thither with all ſpeed and ſecrecie did the *Thebans* march, who had ſurely carried the Citie, notwithſtanding any defence that could have bin made by that handfull of men remaining within it; but that *Ageſilaus* in all flying haſte got into it with his companies, whom the Armie of his Confederates followed thither to the reſcue as faſt as it was able. The arrival of the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends, as it cut off all hope from *Epaminondas* of taking *Sparta*, ſo it preſented him with a faire advantage upon *Mantinæa*. It was the time of Harveſt, which made it very likely, that the *Mantinæans*, finding the war to be carried from their wals into another quarter, would uſe the commodity of that vacation, by fetching in their corn, and turning out their cattell into the fields, whileſt no enemie was neere that might empeach them. Wherefore he turned away from *Sparta* to *Mantinæa*, ſending his horſemen before him, to ſeize upon all that might be found without the Citie. The *Mantinæans* (according to the expectation of *Epaminondas*) were ſcattered abroad in the country, far more intent upon their harveſt buſineſſe, than upon the war, whereof they were ſecure, as thinking themſelves out of diſtance. By which preſumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattell, being unable to recover the Town, were in a deſperate caſe; and the town it ſelfe in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemie ſhould have taken all their proviſion of victuals, with ſo many of the people as had not over-deerly bin redeemed, by that Cities returning to ſocietie with *Thebes*. But at the ſame time, the *Athenians* comming to the ſuccour of their Confederates, whom they thought to have found at *Mantinæa*, were very earneſtly entreated by the Citizens to reſcue their goods, & people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were poſſible by any courageous adventure to deliver thoſe who otherwiſe were given as loſt. The *Thebans* were knowne at that time to be the beſt Souldiers of all the *Greeks*, and the commendation of good horſemanſhip had alwaies bin given to the *Theſſalians*, as excelling in that qualitie all other Nations; yet the regard of honour ſo wrought upon the *Athenians*, that for the reputation of their Citie, which had entred into this war upon no neceſſitie of her own, but only in deſire of relieving her diſtreſſed friends, they iſſued forth of *Mantinæa*, not abiding ſo long as to refreſh themſelves, or their horſes with meat; and giving a luſtie charge upon the enemie, who as bravely received them, after a long & hot fight, they remained maſters of the field, giving by this victorie a ſafe and eaſie retrait to all that were without the walls. The whole power of the *Bœotians* arrived in the place ſoon after this battell, whom the *Lacedæmonians* and their aſſiſtants were not far behind.

## §. VII.

### *The great battell of Mantinæa. The honourable death of* Epaminondas, *with his commendation.*

EPaminondas conſidering that his Commiſſion was almoſt now expired, and that his attempts of ſurprizing *Sparta* and *Mantinæa* having failed, the impreſſion of terrour which his name had wrought in the *Peloponneſians*, would ſoon vaniſh, unleſs by ſome notable act he ſhould abate their courage in their firſt growth, & leave ſome memorable character of his expedition; reſolved to give them battell, whereby he reaſonably hoped both to ſettle the doubtfull affections of his own Aſſociats, and to leave the *Spartans* as weak in ſpirit and abilitie, as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into ſubjection. Having therefore warned his men to prepare for that battell, wherein victorie ſhould be rewarded with Lordſhip of all *Greece*; and finding the alacritie of his Souldiers to be ſuch as promiſed the accompliſhment of his own deſire; he made ſhew of declining the enemie, and intrenching himſelfe in a place of more advantage, that ſo by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heat of their valour, and afterward ſtrike their ſenſes with amazement, when he ſhould come upon them unexpected. This opinion deceived him not. For with very much tumult, as in ſo great and ſudden a danger, the enemie ran to Arms, neceſſitie enforcing their reſolution, and the conſequence of that dayes ſervice urging them to doe as well as they might. The *Theban* Armie conſiſted of thirtie thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends were ſhort of this number, both in horſe and in foot, by a third part. The *Mantinæans* (becauſe the war was in their Countrie) ſtood in the right wing, and with them the *Lacedæmonians*: the *Athenians* had the left wing; the *Achæans*, *Eleans*, and others of leſſe account, filled the bodie of the Armie. The *Thebans* ſtood in the left wing of their own battell, oppoſite to the *Lacedæmonians*, having by them the *Arcadians*, the *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, *Meſſenians*, and *Theſſalians* with others, compounding the main battell; the *Argives* held the right wing; the horſe-men on each part were placed in the flanks, only a troupe of the *Eleans* were in reare. Before the footmen could joyn, the encounter of the horſe on both ſides was very rough, wherein finally the *Thebans* prevailed, notwithſtanding the valiant reſiſtance of the *Athenians*: who not yeelding to the enemie either in courage or skill, were overlayd with numbers, and ſo beaten upon by *Theſſalian* ſlings, that they were driven to forſake the place, and leave their infanterie naked. But this retrait was the leſſe diſgracefull, becauſe they kept themſelves together, and did not fall back upon their owne foot-men; but finding the *Theban* horſe to have given them over, and withall diſcovering ſome Companies of foot, which had bin ſent about by *Epaminondas*, to charge their battell in the reare, they brake upon them, routed them, and hewed them all in pieces. In the mean ſeaſon the battell of the *Athenians* had not only to doe with the *Argives*, but was hardly preſſed by the *Theban* Horſemen, in ſuch wiſe that it began to open, and was ready to turn back, when the *Elean* ſquadron of Horſe came up to the reliefe of it, and reſtored all on that part. With farre greater violence did the *Lacedæmonians* and *Thebans* meet, theſe contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour; ſo that equall courage and equall loſſe on both ſides made the hope and appearance of victorie to either equally doubtfull: unleſſe perhaps the *Lacedæmonians* being very firme abiders, might ſeeme the more likely to prevaile, as having borne the firſt brunt and furie of the on-ſet, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by diſcipline, as it were by Nature, to excell in patience, whereof the *Thebans*, by practice of a few yeares, cannot be thought to have gotten a habite ſo ſure and generall. But *Epaminondas* perceiving the obſtinate ſtiffeneſſe of the Enemies to be ſuch, as neither the bad ſucceſſe of their owne horſe, nor all the force of the *Bœotian* Armie, could abate ſo farre, as to make them give one foot of ground: taking a choice companie of the moſt able men, whom he caſt into the forme of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the advantage of that figure againſt a ſquadron, and by his owne exceeding vertue, accompanied with the great ſtrength and reſolution of them which followed him, did open their ranckes, and cleave the whole battell in deſpight of all reſiſtance. Thus was the honour of that day won by the *Thebans*, who may juſtly be ſaid to have carried the victorie, ſeeing that they remained Maſters of the ground whereon the battell was fought, having driven the Enemie to lodge farther off. For that which was alledged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the victorie was partly theirs, the ſlaughter of thoſe Mercenaries upon whom they lighted by chance in their own flight, finding them behind their Armie, and the retaining of their dead bodies; it was a ceremonie regardable only among the *Greeks*, and ſerved meerly for oſtentation, ſhewing that by the fight they had obtained ſomewhat, which the enemie could not get from them otherwiſe than by requeſt. But the *Thebans* arrived at the generall immediate end of battell; none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifeſt confeſſion is expreſſed from them, who forſake the place which they had choſen or accepted, as indifferent for triall of their abilitie and proweſſe. This was the laſt worke of the incomparable vertue of *Epaminondas*, who being in the head of that Warlike troupe of men, which broke the *Lacedæmonian* eſquadron, and forced it to give back in diſaray, was furiouſly charged on the ſudden, by a deſperate Companie of the *Spartans*, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiving many wounds, he nevertheleſſe with a ſingular courage maintained the fight, uſing againſt the enemies many of their Darts, which he drew out of his owne bodie; till at length by a *Spartan*, called *Anticrates*, he received ſo violent a ſtroke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leaving the yron and a peece of the trunchion in his breaſt. Hereupon he ſunk down, and was ſoon conveyed out of the fight by his friends; having by his fall ſomewhat animated the *Spartans* (who fain would have got his bodie,) but much more inflamed with revengefull indignation, the *Thebans*, who raging at this heavie miſchance, did with great ſlaughter compell their diſordered enemies to leave the field; though long they followed not the chaſe, being wearied more with the ſadneſſe of this diſaſter, than with all the travell of the day. *Epaminondas* being brought into his Tent, was told by the Phyſicians, that when the head of the Dart ſhould be drawn out of his bodie, he muſt needs dye. Hearing this he called for his ſhield, which to have loſt, was held a great diſhonour: It was brought unto him. He bad them tell him which part had the victorie; anſwer was made, that the *Bæotians* had won the field. Then ſaid he, It is faire time for me to dye; and withall ſent for *Iolidas* and *Diophantes*, two principall men of War, that were both ſlain; which being told him, He adviſed the *Thebans* to make peace, whileſt with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to diſcharge the office of a General. Herewithall he willed, that the head of the weapon ſhould be drawn out of his body, comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of iſſue, by telling them, that the victories of *Leuctra* and *Mantinæa* were two faire daughters, in whom his memorie ſhould live.

So died *Epaminondas*, the worthieſt man that ever was bred in that Nation of *Greece*, and hardly to be matched in any Age or Countrie: for he equalled all others in the ſeverall vertues, which in each of them were ſingular. His Juſtice and Sinceritie, his Temperance, Wiſedome, and high Magnanimitie, were no way inferior to his Militarie vertue; in every part whereof he ſo excelled, that he could not properly be called a Warie, a Valiant, a Politique, a Bountifull, or an induſtrious, and a Provident Captaine. Neither was his private Converſation unanſwerable to thoſe high parts, which gave him praiſe abroad. For he was Grave, and yet very Affable and Courteous; reſolute in publique buſineſſe, but in his owne particular eaſie, and of much mildeneſſe: a lover of his People, bearing with mens infirmities, wittie and pleaſant in ſpeech, far from inſolence, Maſter of his own affections, and furniſhed with all qualities that might win and keepe love. To theſe graces were added great abilitie of bodie, much Eloquence, and very deep knowledge in all parts of Philoſophie and Learning, wherewith his minde being enlightened, reſted not in the ſweetneſſe of Contemplation, but brake forth into ſuch effects as gave unto *Thebes*, which had ever-more bin an underling, a dreadfull reputation among all people adjoyning, and the higheſt command in *Greece*.

## §. VIII.

### *Of the peace concluded in Greece after the battell of Mantinæa. The voyage of* Ageſilaus *into Egypt. His death, and qualities; with an examination of the compariſon made betweene him and* Pompey *the Roman.*

THis battell of *Mantinæa* was the greateſt that had ever beene fought in that Countrie between the Naturals; and the laſt. For at *Marathon*, and *Platæa*, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gave rather a great fame, than a hard triall to the *Grecian* valour; neither were the practice of Armes and Art Militarie, ſo perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponneſian* Warre, as long continuance and daily exerciſe had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, thoſe excepted which were undertaken againſt forraine enemies, proving for the moſt part unfortunate. But in this laſt fight all *Greece* was intereſſed, which never had more able Souldiers, and brave Commanders, nor ever contended for victorie with greater care of the ſucceſſe, or more obſtinate reſolution. All which notwithſtanding the iſſue being ſuch as hath bin related, it was found beſt for every particular Eſtate, that a generall peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed, every one retaining what he preſently had, and none being forced to depend upon another. The *Meſſenians* were by name compriſed in this new league; which cauſed the *Lacedæmonians* not to enter into it. Their ſtanding out hindred not the reſt from proceeding to concluſion, conſidering that *Sparta* was now too weake to offend her Neighbours, and therefore might well be allowed to ſhew that anger in ceremonies, which had no power to declare it ſelfe in execution. This peace, as it gave ſome breath and refreſhing to all the Countrey, ſo to the Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* it afforded leaſure to ſeeke after wealth by forraine employment in *Egypt*, whither *Ageſilaus* was ſent with ſome ſmall forces to aſſiſt, or indeed, as a Mercenarie, to ſerve under *Tachos* King of *Egypt* in his warre upon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had before commanded under *Acoris* King of *Egypt*, went now as a voluntarie, with ſuch forces as he could raiſe, by entreatie, and offer of good pay, to the ſame ſervice. Theſe *Egyptian* Kings deſcended from *Amyrtæus* of *Sais*, who rebelled againſt *Darius Nothus*, having retained the Countrey, notwithſtanding all inteſtine diſſentions, and forraine invaſions, during three Generations of their owne race, were ſo well acquainted with the valour of the *Greekes*, that by their helpe (eaſily procured with gold) they conceived great hope, not onely to aſſure themſelves, but to become Lords of the Provinces adjoyning, which were held by the *Perſian*. What the iſſue of this great enterpriſe might have been, had it not fallen by Domeſticall rebellion, it is uncertaine. But very likely it is, that the rebellion it ſelfe had ſoon come to nothing, if *Ageſilaus* had not proved a falſe Traitor, joyning with *Nectanebus*, who roſe againſt his Prince, and helping the Rebell with that Armie which the mony of *Tachos* had waged. This falſhood *Ageſilaus* excuſed, as tending to the good of his own Country, though it ſeeme rather, that he grudged becauſe the King tooke upon himſelfe the conduct of the Armie, uſing his ſervice onely as Lievtenant, who had made full account of being appointed the Generall. Howſoever it came to paſſe, *Tachos* being ſhamefully betrayed by them, in whom he had repoſed his chiefe confidence, fled unto the *Perſian*, who upon his ſubmiſſion gave him gentle entertainment; and *Nectanebus* (who ſeemes to have beene the Nephew of *Tachos*) reigned in his ſtead. At the ſame time the Citizens of *Mendes* had ſet up another King; to whom all, or moſt of the *Egyptians* yeelded their obedience. But *Ageſilaus* fighting with him in places of advantage, prevailed ſo far, that he left *Nectanebus* in quiet poſſeſſion of the Kingdome; who in recompence of his treaſon to the former King *Tachos*, and good ſervice done to himſelfe, rewarded him with two hundred and thirtie Talents of ſilver, with which bootie ſailing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate, and valiant, and a good Leader in Warre, free from covetouſneſſe, and not reproached with any blemiſh of luſt; which praiſes are the leſſe admirable in him, for that the diſcipline of *Sparta* was ſuch as did endue every one of the Citizens (not carried away by the violent ſtreame of an ill nature) with all, or the chiefe of theſe good qualities. He was neverthleſſe very arrogant, perverſe, unjuſt and vaine-glorious, meaſuring all things by his owne will, and obſtinately proſecuting thoſe courſes, whoſe ends were beyond hope. The expedition of *Xenophon* had filled him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of *Perſia* ſhould be overthrown; with which conceit being tranſported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the *Thebans* and their Allies, he did ever after bear ſuch hatred unto *Thebes*, as compelled that Eſtate by meere neceſſitie to grow war-like, and able, to the utter diſhonour of *Sparta*, and the irrepairable loſſe of all her former greatneſs. The commendations given to him by *Xenophon* his good friend, have cauſed *Plutarch* to lay his name in the ballance againſt *Pompey* the Great; whoſe actions (the ſolemne gravitie of carriage excepted) are very diſproportionable. Yet we may truely ſay, That as *Pompey* made great warres under ſundry Climates and in all the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, exceeding in the multitude of imployments all that were before him; ſo *Ageſilaus* had at one time or other ſome quarrell with every Towne in *Greece*, had made a Warre in *Aſia*, and meddled in the buſineſſe of the *Egyptians*, in which varietie he went beyond all his Predeceſſours: yet not winning any Countries, as *Pompey* did many, but obtaining large wages, which *Pompey* never tooke. Herein alſo they were very like; Each of them was the laſt great Captain which his Nation brought forth in time of libertie, and each of them ruined the libertie of his Countrie by his owne Lordly wilfulneſſe. We may therefore well ſay, *Similia magis omnia quam paria*; *The reſemblance was neerer than the equalitie*. Indeed the freedome of *Rome* was loſt with *Pompey*, falling into the hands of *Cæſar*, whom he had inforced to take Armes; yet the *Roman* Empire ſtood, the form of Government onely being changed: But the libertie of *Greece*, or of *Sparta* it ſelfe, was not forfeited unto the *Thebans*, whom *Ageſilaus* had compelled to enter into a victorious Warre; yet the Signiorie, and ancient renowne of *Sparta* was preſently loſt; and the freedome of all *Greece* being wounded in this *Theban* warre, and after much bloud loſt, ill healed by the peace enſuing, did very ſoon, upon the death of *Ageſilaus*, give up the ghoſt, and the Lordſhip of the whole Countrie was ſeized by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, whoſe actions are now on foot, and more to be regarded than the Contemporarie paſſages of things, in any other Nation.

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*Finis Libri Tertii.*

# THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD;

## Intreating of the times from the reign of *Philip* of *Macedon*, to the eſtabliſhing of that Kingdome, in the race of *ANTIGONUS.*

## *THE FOURTH BOOKE.*

## Chap. I.

### *Of* Philip *the father of* Alexander *the Great, King of Macedon.*

### §. I.

### *What Kings reigned in Macedon before* Philip.

The *Greekes*, of whom we have alreadie made large diſcourſe, not as yet wearied with inteſtine War, nor made wiſe by their vaine contention for ſuperioritie, doe ſtill, as in former times, continue the invaſion and vaſtation of each other.

Againſt *Xerxes*, the greateſt Monarch of that part of the world, they defended their libertie, with as happy ſucceſſe as ever Nation had, and with no leſſe honour, than hath ever bin acquired by deeds of Arms. And having had a triall and experience, more than fortunate, againſt thoſe nations, they ſo little regarded what might come from them, who had ſo often forfeited the reputation of their forces, as whatſoever could be ſpared from their own diſtraction at home, they tranſported over the *Helleſpont*, as ſufficient, to entertaine and buſie them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with every man of mark in the world, that they underfall, and periſh by the hands and harmes which they leaſt feare; ſo fared it at this time with the *Greeks*. For of *Philip* of *Macedon* (of whom we are now to ſpeake) they had ſo little regard, as they grew even then more violent in devouring each other, when the faſt-growing greatneſſe of ſuch a Neighbour-King, ſhould, in regard of their owne ſafeties, have ſerved them for a ſtrong argument of union and accord. But the glorie of their *Perſian* victories, wherewith they were pampred and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themſelves, and the rather to value at little the power and purpoſes of the *Macedonians*, becauſe thoſe Kings and States, which ſate nearer them than they did, had in the time of *Amyntas*, the father of *Philip*, ſo much weakned them, and won upon them, that they were not (as the *Grecians* perſwaded themſelves) in any one age, likely to recover their owne, much leſſe to worke any wonders againſt their borderers. And, indeed, it was not in their Philoſophie to conſider, That all great alterations are ſtorme-like, ſudden, and violent; and that it is then over-late to repaire the decayed and broken banks, when great rivers are once ſwollen, faſt-running, and inraged. No, the *Greekes* did rather imploy themſelves, in breaking downe thoſe defences which ſtood betweene them and this inundation, than ſeeke to rampire and re-enforce their owne fields, which by the Levell of reaſon they might have found to have lien under it. It was therefore well concluded by *Oroſius: Græciæ Civitates imperare ſingulæ cupiunt, imperium omnes perdiderunt; The Cities of Greece loſt their command, by ſtriving each of them to command all.* Oroſ.l.3.c.12.

The Kingdome of *Macedon*, ſo called of *Macedon*, the ſonne of *Oſiris*, or, as other Authors affirme, of *Jupiter* and *Æthra*, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth *Greece*; It hath to the Eaſt, the *Ægean* Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-weſt, by the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*; and on the South and South-weſt, by *Theſſalie* and *Epirus*.

Their Kings were of the familie of *Temenus*, of the race of *Hercules*, and by nation *Argives*; who are liſted as followeth. About ſome ſixe yeares after the tranſlation of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, *Arbaces* then governing *Media*, *Caranus* of *Argos*, commanded by an Oracle, to lead a Colonie into *Macedon*, departed thence with many people, and as he was marching through that Countrie, the weather being raynie and tempeſtuous, he eſpied a great herd of Goats, which fled the ſtorme as faſt as they could, haſting them to their knowne place of covert. Whereupon *Caranus*, calling to minde, that he had alſo by another Oracle bin directed, to follow the firſt troupe of beaſts, that ſhould either lead him, or flie before him; He purſued theſe Goats to the Gates of *Edeſſa*, and being undiſcovered by the Inhabitants, by reaſon of the darkneſſe of the aire, he entred their Citie without reſiſtance, and poſſeſt it. Soone after this, by the overthrow of *Ciſſeus*, *Caranus* became Lord of the reſt of *Macedon*, and held it eight and twentie years. *Cœnus* ſucceeded *Caranus*, and reigned twelve years. *Tyrimas* followed *Cœnus*, and ruled eight and twentie yeares. Paul.Dion. Chuſ.Theop. Antio.6. Euſeb.in Chro.

*Perdiccas* the firſt, the ſon of *Tyrimas*, governed one and fiftie yeares: a Prince, for his great valour, and many other vertues, much renowned. *Solinus*, *Plinie*, *Juſtine*, *Euſebius*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, and others, affirm, that he appointed a place of burial for himſelf, and for all the Kings of *Macedon* his Succeſſors, at *Ægæ*: aſſuring them, that the Kingdome ſhould ſo long continue in his Line and Race, as they continued to lay up their bodies in that Sepulchre; wherein it is ſaid, that becauſe *Alexander* the Great failed, therefore the poſteritie of the *Temenidæ* failed in him: a thing rather deviſed after the effect, as I conceive, than foretold by *Perdiccas*. Sol.c.14. Plin.l.4.c.10.

*Argæus* ſucceeded unto *Perdiccas*, and ruled eight and twentie years. Euſeb.in Chro.

*Philip* the firſt, his ſucceſſor, reigned eight and twentie years.

*Europus* followed *Philip*, and governed ſixe and twentie yeares: in whoſe infancie the *Illyrians* invaded *Macedon*, and having obtained a great victorie, they purſued the ſame, to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the *Macedonians*, gathering new forces, and reſolving either to recover their former loſſe, or to loſe at once both their Kingdom and their King, they carryed him with them in his cradle into the field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not be beaten (their King being preſent) or rather they perſwaded themſelves that there was no man ſo void of honour and compaſſion, as to abandon their naturall Lord, being an infant, and no way (but by the hands of his ſervants) able to defend himſelfe from deſtruction. The like is reported by *Aimonius* of *Clotarius* the ſon of *Fredegunda*. Euſeb.Juſtin. Ammian.The. Ant.&c.Aimon.l.3.c.81.

*Alcetas* ſucceeded *Æropus*, and ruled nine and twentie years.

*Amyntas* the firſt ſucceeded *Alcetas*, and reigned fiftie yeares; He lived at ſuch time as *Darius Hiſtaſpes*, after his unproſperous returne out of *Scythia*, ſent *Megabazus* with an Armie into *Europe*, who in *Xerxes* name required *Amyntas* to acknowledge him for his Supreme Lord, by yeelding unto him Earth and Water. But his Embaſſadours, as you have heard before, were, for their inſolent behaviour towards the *Macedonian* Ladies, ſlaine by the direction of *Alexander*, who was the ſonne of *Amyntas*, and his Succeſſor. Her.Euſ.Juſt.&c.

*Alexander* ſurnamed the Rich, the ſonne of *Amyntas*, governed *Macedon* three and fortie years. He did not only appeaſe the wrath of *Megabazus*, for the ſlaughter of the *Perſian* Embaſſadours, by giving *Gygæa* his Siſter, to *Bubares* of the bloud of *Perſia*, but by that match he grew ſo great in *Xerxes* grace, as he obtained all that Region between the Mountains of *Olympus* and *Hemus*, to be united to the Kingdome of *Macedon*. Yet could not theſe benefits buy his affection from the *Greeks*. For *Xerxes* being returned into *Aſia*, and *Mardonius* made Generall of the *Perſian* Armie; *Alexander* acquainted the *Greeks* with all his intents and purpoſes againſt them. He had three ſons, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas*, and *Philip*.

*Her. lib. 8. Plut. Euſeb. Juſt. &c.*

*Perdiccas* the ſecond, the ſonne of *Alexander*, lived in the time of the *Peloponneſian* war, and reigned in all eight and twentie years. The wars which he made were not much remarkeable: the Storie of them is found here and there by pieces in *Thucydides* his firſt ſixe Books. He left behind him two ſons; *Perdiccas*, who was very young; and *Archelaus*, who was baſe borne.

*Perdiccas* the third, being delivered to the cuſtodie and care of *Archelaus*, was at ſeven years of age caſt into a Well and drowned by his falſe Guardian: who excuſing this fact to *Cleopatra* the mother of the young King, ſaid, That the childe in following a Gooſe haſtily, fell thereinto by miſadventure. But *Archelaus* ſtayed not here: for having thus diſpatched his brother, he ſlew both his Unle *Alcetas* the ſon of *Alexander* the Rich, and *Alexander* the ſon of this *Alcetas*, his Couſin Germain, and enjoyed the Kingdome of *Macedon* himſelfe foure and twentie yeares.

*Plat in Gorg. Ariſt. in Pol. 5.*

This *Archelaus*, of whom both *Plato* and *Ariſtotle* make mention, though he made himſelfe King by wicked murder, yet he performed many things greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is ſaid, That he ſought by all means to draw *Socrates* unto him, and that he greatly loved and honoured *Eurypides* the Tragedian. He had two ſons, *Archelaus* and *Oreſtes*.

*Archelaus* the ſecond ſucceeded his father, and having reigned ſeven years, he was ſlain in hunting, either by chance, or of purpoſe by *Cratæus*.

*Oreſtes* his younger ſonne was committed to the education of *Æropus*, of the royall bloud of *Macedon*, & had the ſame meaſure which *Archelaus* had meaſured to his Pupil; for *Æropus* murthered him and uſurped the Kingdome, which he held ſome ſixe years: the ſame who denied paſſage to *Ageſilaus* King of *Sparta*, who deſired after his returne from the *Aſian* expedition, to paſſe by the way of *Macedon* into *Greece*.

*Diod Polyæn. Plut. in Demet.*

This Uſurper left three ſons, *Pauſanias*, *Argæus*, and *Alexander*. *Pauſanias* ſucceeded his father *Æropus*, and having reigned one yeare, he was driven out by *Amyntas* the ſon of *Philip*, the ſon of the firſt *Perdiccas*, the ſon of *Alexander* the Rich; which *Philip* was then preſerved, when *Archelaus* the Baſtard ſlew his brother *Perdiccas*, his uncle *Alcetas*, and his ſon *Alexander*. This *Amyntas* reigned (though very unquietly) foure and twentie years; for he was not only infeſted by *Pauſanias*, aſsiſted by the *Thracians*, and by his brother *Argæus*; incouraged by the *Illyrians*; and by the ſaid *Argæus*, for two years diſpoſſeſt of *Macedon*: but on the other ſide, the *Olynthians*, his Neighbours near the Ægean Sea, made themſelves for a while Maſters of *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of *Macedon*.

*Amyntas* the ſecond had by his wiſe *Eurydice* the *Illyrian*, three ſonnes; *Alexander* the ſecond, *Perdiccas* the third, and *Philip* the ſecond, Father of *Alexander* the Great: and one Daughter called *Euryone* or *Exione*. He had alſo by his ſecond Wiſe *Gygæa*, three Sons; *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, afterward ſlaine by their brother *Philip*. He had more by a Concubine, *Ptolomie* ſurnamed *Alorites*, of the Citie *Alorus*, wherein he was borne.

*Alexander* the ſecond reigned not much above one yeare, in which time he was invaded by *Pauſanias*, the ſonne of *Æropus*, but defended by *Iphicrates* the *Athenian*, while he was at that time about *Amphipolis*. He was alſo conſtrained (for the payment of a great ſum of mony) to leave his youngeſt brother *Philip* in Hoſtage with the *Illyrians*, who had ſubjected his father *Amyntas* to the payment of tribute. After this, *Alexander* being invited by the *Alevadæ* againſt *Alexander* the tyrant of *Pheres* in *Theſſalie*, having redeemed his brother *Philip*; to draw the *Thebans* to his aſsiſtance, entred into Confederacie with *Pelopidas*, being at that time in the ſame Countrie, with whom hee alſo left *Philp* with divers other principall perſons, for the gage of his promiſes to *Pelopidas*. But *Eurydice* his mother falling in love with her Son-in-law, who had married her

Daughter *Euryone* or *Exione*, practiſed the death of *Alexander* her ſon, with a purpoſe to conferre the Kingdome on her Paramour, which *Ptolomy Alorites* did put in execution: by means whereof he held *Macedon* for three years, but was ſoon after ſlain by *Perdiccas* the brother of *Alexander*. *Diodore* hath it otherwiſe of *Philip* being made pledg; *Diod.l.15.& 16.* and ſaith, That *Amyntas* his father delivered him for hoſtage to the *Illyrians*, by whom he was conveyed to *Thebes*, there to be kept: others report that *Philip* (while his father was yet living) was firſt ingaged to the *Thebans*, and delivered for hoſtage a ſecond time by *Alexander* his brother.

*Perdiccas* the third, after he had ſlain *Alorites* his baſe brother, governed *Macedon* five years, and was then ſlain in a battel againſt the *Illyrians*, according to *Diodorus*; but *Juſtine* affirmeth that he periſhed by the practice of *Eurydice* his mother, as *Alexander* *Juſt.l.7.* did.

## §. II.

*The beginning of* Philips *reigne: and how he delivered Macedon from the troubles wherein hee found it intangled.*

Philip the ſecond, the youngeſt ſon of *Amyntas* by *Eurydice*, having bin inſtructed in all knowledge requiſite unto the government of a Kingdom, in that excellent education which he had under *Epaminondas*, making an eſcape from *Thebes*, returned *Diod.l.16.* into *Macedon*, in the firſt year of the hundred and fifth *Olympiad*, which was after the building of *Rome* three hundred fourſcore and thirteen years: and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdome was invironed, he took on him, not as a King (for *Perdiccas* left a ſon, though but an infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of war. Yet his fruitfull ambition ſoon over-grew his modeſtie, and he was eaſily perſwaded by the people to accept both the title of King, and withall, the abſolute rule of the Kingdome. And to ſay the truth, the neceſſitie of the State of *Macedon* at that time required a King both prudent and active. For, beſides the incurſions of the *Illyrians* and *Pannonians*, the King of *Thrace* did ſet up in oppoſition *Pauſanias*; the *Athenians*, *Argæus*; ſons of the late Uſurper *Æropus*: each of theſe labouring to place in *Macedon* a King of their own election. Theſe heavie burdens when *Philip* could not well bear, he bought off the weightieſt by mony, and by faire promiſes unloaded himſelf of ſo many of the reſt, as he ran under the remainder happily enough. For, notwithſtanding that his brother *Perdiccas* had his death accompanied with four thouſand *Macedonians*, beſide thoſe that were wounded and taken priſoners; & that the *Pannonians* were deſtroying all before them in *Macedon*; and that the *Athenians* with a Fleet by Sea, and three thouſand Souldiers by Land under *Mantias*, did beat upon him on all ſides & quarters of his Countrie: yet after he had practiſed the men of war of *Pannonia*, and corrupted them with gifts; and had alſo bought the King of *Thrace* from *Pauſanias*, he forthwith made head againſt the *Athenians* his ſtiffeſt enemies; and, for the firſt, he prevented their recoverie of *Amphipolis*, a Citie on the frontier of *Macedon*: and did then purſue *Argæus* the ſon of *Æropus*, ſet againſt him by the *Athenians*, and followed him ſo hard at the heeles, in his retrait from *Æges*, that he forced him to abide the battell: which *Argæus* loſt, having the greateſt part of his Armie ſlaine in the place. Thoſe of the *Athenians*, and others which remained unbroken, tooke the advantage of a ſtrong peece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet avoiding thereby the preſent furie of the Souldiers, they obtained of the vanquiſhers life and libertie to returne into *Attica*. Whereupon a peace was concluded between him and the *Athenians* for that preſent, and for this clemencie he was greatly renowned and honoured by all the *Greekes*.

## §. III.

*The good ſucceſſe which* Philip *had in many enterpriſes.*

Now had *Philip* leaſure to looke Northward, and to attend the *Illyrians* and *Pæonians*, his irreconcileable enemies and borderers: both which he invaded with ſo proſperous ſucceſſe,as he ſlew *Bardillis*,King of the *Illyrians*, with ſeven thouſand of his Nation,and thereby recovered all thoſe places which the *Illyrians* held in *Macedon*: and withall,upon the death of the King of *Pannonia*,he pierc't that Country, and after a maine victory obtained,he enforc't them to pay him tribute. This was no ſooner done, than(without ſtaying to take longer breath)he haſted ſpeedily towards *Lariſſa*, upon the river *Peneus* in *Theſſaly*,of which Town he ſoone made himſelfe maſter; and thereby he got good footing in that Country, whereof he made uſe in time following. Now although he reſolved either to ſubdue the *Theſſalians*, or to make them his owne againſt all others,becauſe the horſe-men of that Country were the beſt, and moſt feared in that part of *Europe*; yet he thought it moſt for his ſafety to cloſe up the entrances out of *Thrace*, leſt while he invaded *Theſſaly* and *Greece* towards the South,thoſe ample Nations,lying towards the North, ſhould either withdraw him,or over-run *Macedon*, as in former times. He therefore attempted *Amphipolis*, ſeated on the famous river of *Strimon*,which parteth *Thrace* from *Macedon*,and won it. He alſo recovered *Pydna*; and (to the North of *Amphipolis*)the City of *Crenides* (ſometime *Datus*) and called it after his name *Philippi*: to the people whereof Saint *Paul* afterward directed one of his Epiſtles. This place,wherein *Philippi* ſtood,is very rich in mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the advancement of *Philips* affaires, he drew yearly a thouſand talents, which make ſixe hundred thouſand French Crownes.

And that he might with the more eaſe diſburden the *Thracian* ſhores of the *Athenian* Garriſons,to which he had given a great blow by the taking in of *Amphipolis*, he entred into league with his fathers malicious enemies, the *Olynthians*; whom the better to faſten unto him,he gave them the City of *Pydna* with the territory,meaning nothing leſſe than that they ſhould enjoy it,or their own Eſtate,many years.

Now that he might by degrees win ground upon the Greekes, he tooke the faire occaſion to deliver the City of *Pheres* in *Theſſaly*, from the tyrants *Lycophron* and *Tiſiphonus*: who,after they had conſpired with *Thebe* the wife of *Alexander*, who uſurped upon the liberty of that State,they themſelves (*Alexander* being murdered)held it alſo by the ſame ſtrong hand and oppreſſion that *Alexander* did, till by the aſſiſtance of *Philip* they were beaten out,and *Pheres* reſtored to her former liberty. Which act of *Philip* did for ever after faſten the *Theſſalians* unto him, and, to his exceeding great advantage, binde them to his ſervice.

## §. IV.

### *Of the Phocian War which firſt drew* Philip *into Greece.*

ABout this time, to wit, in the ſecond yeare of the hundred and ſixth Olympiad, eight yeares after the battell of *Mantinæa*,and about the eighth yeare of *Artaxerxes Ochus*,began that War, called *Sacred*. Now, as all occaſions concurre towards the execution of eternall providence, and of every great alteration in the World, there is ſome preceeding preparation, though not at the firſt eaſily diſcerned; ſo did this revengefull hatred by the *Thebans*,*Theſſalians*,and *Locrians*, conceived againſt the *Phocians*,not only teach *Philip* how he might with halfe a hand wreſt the ſword out of their fingers; but the *Greekes* themſelves, beating downe their owne defences,to give him an eaſie paſſage; and beating themſelves,to give him victory without perill, left nothing unperformed towards their owne ſlavery, ſaving the title and impoſition. Of this War the *Thebans* (made over-proud by their victory at *Leuctres*) were the inflamers. For at the Councell of the *Amphyctiones*, or of the generall Eſtates of *Greece*, in which at that time, they ſwayed moſt, they cauſed both the *Lacedemonians* and *Phocians* to be condemned in greater ſummes of money than they could well beare; the one for ſurprizing the Caſtle of Cadmea in the time of peace,the other for ploughing up a piece of ground belonging to the Temple of Delphos. The *Phocians* being reſolved not to obey this Edict,were ſecretly ſet on and encouraged by the *Lacedæmonians*: and for refuſall were expoſed as Sacrilegers,and accurſed to all their neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawfull to invade, and deſtroy them at their pleaſures.

The *Phocians* perſwaded thereunto by *Philomelus*,a Captaine of their owne, caſt the ſame dice of hazzard that *Cæſar* after many Ages following did; but had not the ſame chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their owne Nation. And the better to beare out an ungracious quarrell, of which there was left no hope of compoſition, they reſolved to ſacke the Temple it ſelfe. For ſeeing that for the ploughing of a peece of *Apollo* 's ground, they had ſo much offended their Neighbour-God, and their Neighbour-Nations, as worſe could not befall them than alreadie was intended; they reſolved to take the gold with the ground, and either to periſh for all, or to prevaile againſt all that had commiſſion to call them to account. The treaſure which they tooke out of the Temple in the beginning of the Warre, was ten thouſand talents, which in thoſe dayes ſerved them to wage a great many men; and ſuch was their ſucceſſe in the beginning of the war, as they won three great battels againſt the *Thebans*, *Theſſalians* and *Locrians*; but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader *Philomelus* caſt himſelf headlong over the Rocks.

In the meane while the Cities of *Cherſoneſus*, both to defend themſelves againſt their bad neighbour *Philip*, who encroached upon them, and to draw others into their quarrell, rendred themſelves to the *Athenians*. *Philip* prepareth to get them into his hands, and at the ſiege of *Methone* loſt one of his eyes. It is ſaid, That he that ſhot him, did purpoſely direct his arrow towards him, and that it was written on the ſhaft thereof: *Aſter Philippo*; *Aſter to Philip*: for ſo he was called that gave him the wound. This Citie he evened with the ſoile.

*Plut. in Vlpian.*
*Strab. l.8.*

The Tyrant *Lycophron* before mentioned, while *Philip* was buſied on the border of *Thrace*, and the *Theſſalians* ingaged in the holy war, entred *Theſſalie* with new forces, being aſſiſted by *Onomarchus*, Commander of the *Phocian* Armie, in place of *Philomelus*. For hereby the *Phocians* hoped ſo to entertaine the *Theſſalians* at home, as they ſhould not find leaſure to invade them. Hereupon was *Philip* the ſecond time called into *Theſſalie*; but both the *Theſſalians* and *Macedonians* (*Philip* being preſent) were utterly overthrowne by *Onomarchus*, and great numbers of both Nations loſt. From *Theſſalie*, *Onomarchus* drew ſpeedily towards *Bœotia*, and with the ſame victorious Armie brake the forces of the *Bœotians*, and took from them their Citie of *Coronea*. But *Philip*, impatient of his late miſadventure, after he had re-enforced his Armie, returned with all ſpeed into *Theſſalie*, there to find againe the honour which he lately loſt: and was the ſecond time encountred by *Onomarchus*, who brought into the field twentie thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe. All this great preparation ſufficed not; for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* ſurmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Armie overturned, ſixe thouſand ſlaine, and three thouſand taken: of which number himſelfe being one, was among others hanged by *Philip*. Thoſe that fled, were in part received by the *Athenian* Gallies, which ſailed alongſt the coaſt, commanded by *Chares*; but the greateſt number of thoſe that tooke the Sea, were therein devoured ere they recovered them. *Lycophron* was now againe driven out of *Theſſalie*, and *Pheres* made free as before.

## §. V.

### *Of the Olynthian war. The ambitious practices of* Philip.

FRom hence *Philip* reſolved to invade *Phocis* it ſelfe, but the *Athenians* did not favour his entrance into thoſe parts; and therefore with the helpe of the *Lacedæmonians*, they retrencht his paſſage at the Streits of *Thermopylis*. Whereupon he returned into *Macedon*, and after the taking of *Micyberne*, *Torone*, and other Towns, he quarrelled with the *Olynthians*, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the *Olynthians* were very ſtrong, and had evermore both braved and beaten the *Macedonians*. It is ſaid, that *Philip* having put to death *Archelaus* his halfe brother (for *Amyntas* had three ſons by *Eurydice* the Mother of *Philip*, and three other ſons by *Gygæa*: but *Philips* elder brothers by the ſame Mother being dead, he determined to rid himſelf alſo of the reſt) the two yonger held themſelves within *Olynthus*; and that the receiving of them by the *Olynthians* was the cauſe of the war, *Juſtine* affirmeth. But juſt quarrels are ballanced by juſt Princes, for to this King all things were lawfull that might ſerve his turn; all his affections, and paſsions, how divers ſoever in other men, were in his ambition ſwallowed up, and thereinto converted.

*Iuſt l.8.*

For he neither forbare the murder of his owne brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelitie: he eſteemed no place ſtrong where his Aſſe loaden with gold might enter; nor any Citie or State unconquerable, where a few of the greateſt, to be made greater, could loſe the ſenſe of other mens ſorrow and ſubjection. And becauſe he thought it vain to practiſe the winning of *Olynthus*, till he had incloſed all the power they had within their owne Walls, he entred their Territorie, and by the advantage of a well-compounded and trained Armie, he gave them two overthrowes ere he ſate down before the Citie it ſelfe: which done, he bought *Euthicrates* and *Laſthenes* from their people, and from the ſervice of their Countrie and common-weale, by whoſe treaſon he entred the Towne, ſlew his brothers therein, ſackt it, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves by the drumme. By the ſpoile of this place he greatly enriched himſelfe, and had treaſure ſufficient to buy-in other Cities withall, which he daily did. For ſo was he adviſed by the Oracle in the beginning of his undertaking, *That he ſhould make his aſſaults with ſilver ſpeares:* Whereupon *Horace* well and truely ſaid,

Hor.carm.Od.16.

———*Diffidit Urbium*
*Portas vir Macedo, & ſubruit æmulos*
*Reges muneribus.*———

By gifts the *Macedon* clave Gates aſunder,
And Kings envying his eſtate brought under.

And it is true that he won more by corruption and fraud, than he did by force. For as he had in all the principall Cities of *Greece* his ſecret workers (which way of Conqueſt was well followed by *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain:*) So when in the contention between the Competitors, for the Kingdome of *Thrace*, he was choſen the Arbitrator; he came not to the Councell accompanied with Pietie and Juſtice, but with a powerfull Armie, and having beaten and ſlain both Kings, gave ſentence for himſelfe, and made the Kingdome his owne.

## §. VI.

### *How* Philip *ended the Phocian warre.*

THe war ſtill continued between the *Phocians* and the Aſſociates of the holy war: the *Bœotians*, finding themſelves unable to ſubſiſt without ſome preſent aid, ſent unto *Philip* for ſuccour, who willingly yeelded to their neceſſities, & ſent them ſuch a proportion of men, as were neither ſufficient to maſter their enemies, nor to aſſure themſelves; but yet to enable them to continue the war, and to waſte the ſtrength of *Greece*. They alſo ſent to *Artaxerxes Ochus* for ſupply of treaſure, who lent them thirty talents, which makes a hundred and foureſcore thouſand crownes: but when with theſe ſupplies they had ſtill the worſt againſt the *Phocians*, who held from them three of the ſtrongeſt Cities within *Bœotia* it ſelfe, they then beſought *Philip* of *Macedon* that hee would aſſiſt them in perſon, to whom they would give an entrance into their Territorie, and in all things obey his Commandements in war.

Now had *Philip* what he longed for; for he knew himſelfe in ſtate to give the law to both, & ſo quitting all his other purpoſes towards the North, he marched with a ſpeedy pace towards *Bœotia*, where being arrived, *Phallechus* who commanded the *Phocian* Armie, fearing to ſhocke with this victorious King, made his owne peace, and withdrew himſelfe with a Regiment of eight thouſand Souldiers into *Peloponneſus*, leaving the *Phocians* to the mercie of the Conqueror; and for concluſion he had the glorie of that war called *Sacred*, which the *Grecians* with ſo many mutuall ſlaughters had continued for ten years; and, beſides the glorie, he poſſeſt himſelfe of *Orchomene*, *Coronea*, and *Corſia*, in the Countrie of the *Bœotians*, who invited him to be victorious over themſelves. He brought the *Phocians* into ſervitude, and waſted their Cities, and gave them but their Villages to inhabite, reſerving unto himſelfe the yearely tribute of threeſcore talents, which make ſixe and thirtie thouſand French Crowns. He alſo hereby (beſides the fame of pietie for ſervice of the gods) obtained the ſame double voice in the Councell of the

*Amphyctiones* which the *Phocians* had, with the ſuperintendencie of the *Pythian* games, forfeited by the *Corinthians*, by being partakers in the *Phocian* ſacriledge.

## §. VII.

### *How* Philip *with ill ſucceſſe attempted upon Perinthus, Byzantium, and the Scythians.*

*Philip*, after his triumphant returne into *Macedon*, by the Lievtenant of his Armie *Parmenio*, ſlaughtered many thouſands of the *Illyrians* and *Dardarians*, and brought the *Thracians* to pay him the tenth part of all their revenues. But his next enterpriſe againſt the *Perinthians* ſtayed his furie. *Perinthus* was a Citie of *Thrace*, ſeated upon *Propontis*, in the mid-way between *Seſtos* and *Byzantium*, a place of great ſtrength, and a people reſolved to defend their libertie againſt *Philip*, where the *Athenians* incouraged and aſſiſted them. *Philip* ſate downe before it with a puiſſant Armie, made many faire breaches, gave many furious aſſaults, built many over-topping and commanding Towers about it. But he was repelled with equall violence. For whereas *Philip* thought by his continuall aſſaults to wearie them, and waſte both their men and munition, they were ſupplied, not only from the *Perſian* with men and mony, and ſuccoured from *Byzantium*, which ſtood upon the ſame ſea-coaſt, but they were relieved from *Athens*, *Chio*, and *Rhodes*, by the conduction of *Phocion*, with whatſoever was wanting to their neceſſitie. But becauſe thoſe of *Byzantium*, by reaſon of their neighbourhood, and eaſie paſſage by water, gave them often and readie helpe; *Philip* removed the one halfe of his Armie, and beſieged it, leaving fifteene thouſand foot before *Perinthus*, to force it if they could: But to be ſhort, he failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly doe that undertake divers enterpriſes at one time) and returned into *Macedon* with no leſſe diſhonour than loſſe: whereupon he made an overture of peace with the *Athenians*, and greatly deſired it: to which though *Phocion* perſwaded them in all he could, and that by the occaſion offered they might greatly advantage their conditions; yet *Demoſthenes* with his eloquence prevailed in the refuſal. In the mean while, *Philip* having digeſted his late affront, and ſupplied his expence, by the taking of an hundred threeſcore and ten Merchants ſhips, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his ſon *Alexander*, led them into *Scythia*; but he was alſo unproſperous in that enterpriſe: For the *Triballi*, a people of *Mœſia*, ſet on him in his return, wounded him, and tooke from him the greateſt part of the ſpoiles which he had gathered.

## §. VIII.

### *How* Philip *overthrowing the Greekes in the battell of Chæronæa, was choſen Captaine-Generall of Greece. The death of* Philip.

Among theſe Northern Nations (part of which he ſuppreſt, and part quieted) he ſpent ſome eight yeares; and in the ninth yeare, after the end of the holy Warre, he was by his great advantage invited againe by the *Grecians* to their aſſiſtance. For the Citizens of *Amphiſſa* having diſobeyed the decree of the *Amphyctiones*, in which *Philip* had a double voice, and who by reaſon that the *Thebans* and *Locrians* gave countenance and aide to the *Amphiſſonians*, the reſt were not of themſelves able to conſtraine them, they beſought *Philip* to come in perſon to their aſſiſtance. Now you muſt thinke that *Philip* was not long in reſolving upon this enterpriſe; hee needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keepe backe; nor other diſſwaſion than a maſtring power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Armie forthwith to march; the ſame being compounded of thirtie thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe; and with as much expedition as could be made, he entred *Phocis*, won *Platæa*, and brought into ſubjection all that Region.

The reſt, and eſpecially the *Athenians*, although they had good cauſe to fear that a great part of this ſtorme would fall on themſelves, yet were they diſſwaded by *Demoſthenes* from accepting ſuch reaſonable conditions of peace as *Philip* offered, and rather made choice (having drawne the *Thebans* to joyne with them) to leave the enjoying of their eſtates and their freedome to the chance of one battell, than to hold it either by compoſition, or by the grace of *Philip*. But this their Oratours eloquence coſt them deare. It is true, that he could far more eaſily minde them of the vertue of their Anceſtors, than make them ſuch as they were. He might repeat unto them (with words moving paſſion) the wonders they wrought at Marathon, but he could not tranſforme the Macedonians into Perſians, nor draw from the dead, a *Miltiades*, an *Ariſtides*, a *Themiſtoles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of thoſe famous Commanders, whoſe great vertues they had payed with the greateſt ingratitude that ever Nation did. A *Phocion* they had, but by the ſtrength of a contrary faction he was at this time in diſgrace, and not imployed: in ſo much as when the Armies of *Philip* and the Confederates incountred, although ſome thouſand of the Athenians did abide the killing, and the like number well-near of the Thebans died with them; yet the want of the worthy men on that ſide to hold up the reſt, and to draw them on, and the many choice Captains of the Macedonians, incouraged by a King of a growing fortune, as it gave to *Philip* ſo ſhining a victory, that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in deſpight of all the Nations interjacent) into Perſia, India, and Egypt; ſo it cut to the ground, and gave end and date to all the Grecian glory: Yea their liberty (ſaith *Curtius*) with their large Dominion won with ſo many difficulties, continued for ſo many Ages, and ſo often defended againſt the greateſt Kings, was now loſt in a moment, and for ever loſt.

Now this adviſed King (never paſſionate to his diſadvantage) to the end he might obtaine the Soveraignty over all Greece, and be acknowledged for their Captain-General againſt the Perſians, without any further hazzard or trouble, was content to let go thoſe Athenians that were taken at this battell of Cheronæa, as he alſo forbare to attempt any thing againſt their Citie: but in Thebes (which lately by the vertue of *Epaminondas* triumphed over the reſt) he lodged a Garriſon of Macedonians. And being ſoon after (according unto the long deſire which he had nouriſhed of this Soveraignty) by the generall States at Corinth, ſtiled the firſt Commander of all the Grecians, and contribution of men and mony granted him, he compounded an Army of great ſtrength, and under the Commandement of *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, tranſported the ſame over the Helleſpont into Aſia, to begin the War. Of his enterpriſe againſt Perſia, he ſought the ſucceſſe from the Oracle at Delphos, from whence he received ſuch another convertible riddle, as *Crœſus* did when he attempted *Cyrus*, and was in like ſort miſtaken in the expoſition.

But as it is hard to diſcerne and withſtand the flatteries of our owne appetites, ſo did *Philips* ambitious deſire to invade Perſia, abuſe his judgement, ſo farre, that the death, wherewith himſelfe was threatned, he underſtood to be delivered of his enemy, whom he intended preſently to invade. Before his purpoſed departure into Aſia, he prepared for the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra*, with *Alexander* King of Epirus; to which feaſt and paſtimes thereat appointed, he invited all his Friends and Allies, with the principall perſons of the Grecian Cities, from whom he received much honour and many rich preſents: but this was indeed the feaſt of his Funerall. For having refuſed to doe juſtice to one *Pauſanias*, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom *Attalus* (greatly favoured by *Philip*) had firſt made drunk, and then left to be carnally abuſed by divers baſe perſons; this *Pauſanias* grew into ſo great a deteſtation of the Kings partiality in ſo foule a fact, as when *Philip* was paſſing towards the Theater, he drew a ſword from under his long garment and wounded him to death, when he had lived ſixe and forty years, and reigned five and twenty. *Juſtine* reports it, that *Olympias* incouraged *Pauſanias* to murder the King her husband, which after his death ſhe boldly avowed, by the honour ſhe did unto *Pauſanias*, in crowning his dead body, in conſecrating his ſword unto *Apollo*, by building for him a monument, and other like Graces.

*Iuſt.lib.9.*

## §. IX.

### *What good foundations of* Alexanders *greatneſſe were laid by* Philip. *Of his laudable qualities and iſſue.*

NOw although he were then taken from the World, when he had maſtred all oppoſition on that ſide of the Sea, and had ſeene the fruits of his hopes, and labours, changing colour towards ripeneſſe and perfection; yet hee was herein happy that he lived to ſee his ſon *Alexander* at mans eſtate, and had himſelfe bin an eie-witneſſe of his reſolution and ſingular valour in this laſt battell.

The foundation of whoſe future greatneſſe he had laid ſo ſoundly for him, with ſo plaine a patterne of the buildings which himſelfe meant to erect, as the performance and finiſhing was farre more eaſie to *Alexander*, though more glorious than the beginnings unto *Philip*, though leſſe famous. For, beſides the recovery of Macedon it ſelfe, in competition between him and the ſonnes of *Æropus*, the one aſſiſted by the Thracians, the other by the Athenians, and beſides the regaining of many places poſſeſt by the Illyrians, the cruſhing of all thoſe Northern Kings his Neighbours, the over-throw of Olynthus, a State that deſpiſed the power of his Father, the many Maritimate Cities taken, of great ſtrength and ancient freedome, and the ſubjection of that famous Nation of Greece, which for ſo many ages had defended it ſelfe againſt the greateſt Kings of the World, and won upon them; He left unto his ſonne, and had bred up for him ſo many choice Commanders, as the moſt of them, both for their valour and judgement in the Warre, were no leſſe worthy of Crownes, than himſelfe was that ware a Crowne: For it was ſaid of *Parmenio* (whom *Alexander*, ungratefull to ſo great vertue, impiouſly murthered) That *Parmenio* had performed many things challenging eternall fame, without the King; but the King without *Parmenio* never did any thing worthy of renowne: as for the reſt of his Captaines, though content to obey the Sonne of ſuch a Father, yet did they not after *Alexanders* death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to themſelves.

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exerciſe of more vices, than Nature and his excellent education had enriched him with vertues. For beſides that he was Valiant, Wiſe, Learned, and Maſter of his Affections, he had this ſavour of Piety, that he rather laboured to ſatiſfie thoſe that were grieved, than to ſuppreſſe them. Whereof (among many other) we finde a good example in his dealing with *Arcadion* and *Nicanor*; whom, when for their evill ſpeech of *Philip*, his familiars perſwaded him to put to death; he anſwered them, That firſt it ought to be conſidered, whether the fault were in them that gave him ill language, or in himſelfe: Secondly, that it was in every mans own power to be well ſpoken of: and this was ſhortly proved, for after *Philip* relieved their neceſſities, there were none within his Kingdome that did him more honour than they did. Wherupon he told thoſe that had perſwaded him to uſe violence; that he was a better Phyſitian for evill ſpeech than they were.

His Epiſtles to *Alexander* his ſon are remembred by *Cicero* and *Gellius*; and by *Dion* and *Chryſoſtome* exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by *Polyænus* and *Frontinus*, his wiſe ſayings by *Plutarch*. And albeit he held *Macedon* as in his owne right, all the time of his reign, yet was he not the true and next Heire thereof; for *Amyntas* the ſon of his brother *Perdiccas* (of whom he had the Protection during his infancy) had the right. This *Amyntas* he married to his daughter *Cyna*, who had by him a daughter called *Eurydice*, who was married to *Philips* baſe ſon *Aridæus*, her Uncle by the Mothers ſide: both which *Olympias*, *Philips* firſt Wife, and Mother to *Alexander* the Great, put to death; *Aridæus* by extreme torments: *Eurydice* ſhe ſtrangled.

Cic. Off. 2.
Gell. l. 9 c. 3.
Dion. 2. de Rege.

*Philip* had by this *Olympias*, the daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the Moloſſians (of the race of *Achilles*) *Alexander* the Great, and *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was married to her Uncle *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and was after her brother *Alexanders* death ſlaine at Sardis, by the commandement of *Antigonus*.

By *Audata*, an Illyrian, his ſecond Wife, he had *Cyna*, married as is ſhewed before.

By *Nicaſipolis*, the Siſter of *Jaſon*, Tyrant of *Pheres*, he had *Theſſalonica*, whom *Caſſander*, after he had taken *Pidna*, married; but ſhe was afterward by her father-in-law *Antipater* put to death.

By *Cleopatra* the Neece of *Attalus*, he had *Caranus*, whom others call *Philip*: him *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander* the Great, cauſed to be roſted to death in a copper Pan. Others lay this murder to *Alexander* himſelf. By the ſame *Cleopatra* he had likewiſe a daughter called *Europa*, whom *Olympias* alſo murdered at the Mothers breaſt.

Athen. l. 13. c. 2.
Juſt. l. 3.

By *Phila* and *Meda* he had no iſſue.

He had alſo two Concubines, *Arſinoe*, whom after he had gotten with childe, he married to an obſcure man, called *Lagus*, who bare *Ptolomie* King of Egypt, called the Sonne of *Lagus*, but eſteemed the Son of *Philip*: by *Philinna*, his ſecond Concubine, a pub-a publike Dancer, he had *Aridæus*, of whom we ſhall have much occaſion to ſpeake hereafter.

## CHAP. II.

## *Of* ALEXANDER *the Great.*

### §. I.

### *A briefe rehearſall of* Alexanders *doings, before he invaded Aſia.*

ALexander, afterward called the Great, ſucceeded unto *Philip* his Father; being a Prince no leſſe valiant by Nature, than by Education, well inſtructed, and inriched in all ſorts of Learning and good Arts. He began his reigne over the *Macedonians* foure hundred and ſeventeen years after *Rome* was built, and after his own birth twenty years. The ſtrange dreams of *Philip* his father, and that one of the gods in the ſhape of a Snake, begat him on *Olympias* his Mother, I omit as fooliſh tales; but that the Temple of *Diana* (a work the moſt magnificent of the world) was burnt upon the day of his birth, and that ſo ſtrange an accident was accompanied with the newes of three ſeverall victories, obtained by the *Macedonians*, it was very remarkable, and might with the reaſon of thoſe times be interpreted for ominous, and foreſhewing the great things by *Alexander* afterward performed. Upon the change of the King, the Neighbour-Nations, whom *Philip* had oppreſt, began to conſult about the recoverie of their former libertie, and to adventure it by force of arms. *Alexanders* young years gave them hope of prevailing, and his ſuſpected ſeveritie increaſed courage in thoſe, who could better reſolve to die, than to live ſlaviſhly. But *Alexander* gave no time to thoſe ſwelling humours, which might ſpeedily have endangered the health of his Eſtate. For after revenge taken upon the Conſpirators againſt his Father, whom he ſlew upon his Tombe, and the celebration of his Funerals; he firſt faſtened unto him his own nation, by freeing them from all exactions & bodily ſlavery, other than their ſervice in his Wars; and uſed ſuch Kingly auſteritie towards thoſe that contemned his young years, and ſuch clemencie to the reſt that perſwaded themſelves of the crueltie of his diſpoſition, as all affections being paſſed at home, he made a preſent journie into *Peloponneſus*, and ſo well exerciſed his ſpirits among them, as by the Councell of the States of *Greece*, he was according to the great deſire of his heart, elected Captain-Generall againſt the *Perſians*, upon which war *Philip* had not only reſolved, (who had obtained the ſame title of Generall Commander) but had tranſported under the leading of *Parmenio* and *Attalus*, a part of his Armie, to recover ſome places on *Aſia*-ſide, for the ſafe deſcent of the reſt.

This enterpriſe againſt the *Perſian* occupied all *Alexanders* affections; thoſe fair marks of Riches, Honour, and large Dominion, he now ſhot at both ſleeping and waking: all other thoughts & imaginations were either grievous or hateful. But a contrary wind ariſeth; for he receiveth advertiſement that the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and *Lacedæmonians*, had united themſelves againſt him, and, by aſſiſtance from the *Perſian*, hoped for the recoverie of their former freedome. Hereto they were perſwaded by *Demoſthenes*, himſelfe being thereto perſwaded by the gold of *Perſia*: the deviſe he uſed was more ſubtile than profitable; for hee cauſed it to bee bruited that *Alexander* was ſlaine in a battaile againſt the Triballes, and brought into the aſſembly a companion whom hee had corrupted to affirme, that himſelfe was preſent, and wounded in the battaile. There is indeed a certaine Doctrine of Policy (as Policie is now a-daies defined by falſhood and knaverie) that deviſed rumors and lies, if they ſerve the turn but for a day or two, are greatly available. It is true that common people are ſometimes mockt by them, as Souldiers are by falſe alarums in the Wars; but in all that I have obſerved, I have found the ſucceſſe as ridiculous as the invention. For as thoſe that finde themſelves at one time abuſed by ſuch like bruits, doe at other times neglect their duties; when they are upon true reports, and in occaſions perillous, ſummoned to aſſemble; ſo doe all men in generall condemne the Venters of ſuch trumpery, and for them, feare upon neceſſary occaſions to entertaine the truth it ſelfe. This labour unlooked for, and loſſe of time, was not onely very grievous to *Alexander*, but by turning his ſword from the ignoble and effeminate *Perſians*, againſt which he had directed it, towards the manly & famous *Græcians*, of whoſe aſſiſtance he thought himſelf aſſured, his preſent undertaking was greatly diſordered. But he that cannot endure to ſtrive againſt the winde, ſhall hardly attaine the Port which he purpoſeth to recover: and it no leſſe becommeth the worthieſt men to oppoſe misfortunes, than it doth the weakeſt children to betwaile them.

He therefore made ſuch expedition towards theſe Revolters, as that himſelfe, with the Army that followed him, brought them the firſt newes of his preparation. Hereupon all ſtagger, and the *Athenians*, as they were the firſt that moved, ſo were they the firſt that fainted, ſeeking by their Embaſſadours to pacifie the King, and to be received again into his grace. *Alexander* was not long in reſolving; for the *Perſians* perſwaded him to pardon the *Græcians*. Wiſe men are not eaſily drawne from great purpoſes by ſuch occaſions as may eaſily be taken off, neither hath any King ever brought to effect any great affaire, who hath intangled himſelfe in many enterpriſes at once, not tending to one and the ſame certaine end.

And having now quieted his borderers towards the South, he reſolved to aſſure thoſe Nations which lay on the North-ſide of *Macedon*, to wit, the *Thracians*, *Triballes*, *Peones*, *Getes*, *Agrians*, and other ſalvage people, which had greatly vexed with incurſions, not onely other of his Predeceſſours, but even *Philip* his Father: with all which, after divers overthrowes given them, he made peace, or elſe brought them into ſubjection. Notwithſtanding this good ſucceſſe, hee could not yet finde the way out of *Europe*. There is nothing more naturall to man than liberty; the *Greekes* had enjoyed it over-long, and loſt it too late to forget it; they therefore ſhake off the yoke once againe. The *Thebans*, who had in their Citadell a Garriſon of a thouſand *Macedons*, attempt to force it; *Alexander* haſtneth to their ſuccour, and preſents himſelfe with thirty thouſand foot, all old ſouldiers, & three thouſand horſe, before the City, & gave the Inhabitants ſome daies to reſolve, being even heart-ſicke with the deſire of paſſing into *Aſia*. So unwilling, indeed, he was to draw bloud of the *Græcians*, by whom he hoped to ſerve himſelfe elſewhere, that he offered the *Thebans* remiſſion, if they would only deliver into his hands *Phœnix* and *Prothytes*, the ſtirrers up of the Rebellion. But they, oppoſing the mounting fortune of *Alexander*, (which bare all reſiſtance before it, like the breaking in of the Ocean Sea) in ſtead of ſuch an anſwer, as men beſieged and abandoned ſhould have made, demanded *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be delivered unto them; as if *Thebes* alone, then layed in the ballance of *Fortune* with the Kingdome of *Macedon*, and many other Provinces, could either have evened the ſcale or ſwaied it. Therefore in the end they periſhed in their obſtinacy. For while the *Thebans* oppoſe the Army aſſailant, they are charged at the backe by the *Macedonian* Garriſon, their City taken and razed to the ground, ſixe thouſand ſlaine, and thirty thouſand ſold for ſlaves, at the price of foure hundred and forty talents. This the King did to the terrour of the other *Græcian* Cities.

Many arguments were uſed by *Cleadas* one of the priſoners, to perſwade *Alexander* to forbeare the deſtruction of *Thebes*. He prayed the King to beleeve that they were rather miſſe-led by giving haſty credit to falſe reports, than any way malicious; for being perſwaded of *Alexanders* death, they rebelled but againſt his ſucceſſour. He alſo beſought the King to remember, that his father *Philip* had his education in that City, yea that his Anceſtour *Hercules* was borne therein: but all perſwaſions were fruitleſſe; the times wherein offences are committed doe greatly aggravate them. Yet for the honour he bare to learning, he pardoned all of the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and ſpared, and ſet at liberty *Timoclea*, the ſiſter of *Theagenes*, who died in defence of the liberty of *Greece* againſt his father *Philip*. This noble woman being taken by a *Thracian*, and by him raviſhed, he threatned to take her life unleſſe ſhe would confeſſe her treaſure: ſhe led that *Thracian* to a Well, and told him that ſhe had therein caſt it: and when the *Thracian* ſtooped to looke into the Well, ſhe ſuddenly thruſt him into the mouth thereof, and ſtoned him to death.

Now becauſe the *Athenians* had received into their city ſo many of the *Thebans*, as had eſcaped and fled unto them for ſuccour, *Alexander* would not grant them peace, but upon condition to deliver into his hands both their Orators which perſwaded this ſecond revolt, and their Captaines; yet in the end it being a torment unto him to retard the enterpriſe of *Perſia*, he was content that the Orators ſhould remaine, and accepted of the baniſhment of the Captaines; wherein he was exceeding ill adviſed, had not his fortune, or rather the providence of God, made all the reſiſtance againſt him unprofitable: for theſe good Leaders of the *Græcians* betooke themſelves to the ſervice of the *Perſian*, whom after a few dayes he invaded.

## §. II.

### *How* Alexander *paſſing into Aſia, fought with the Perſians upon the River of Granicus.*

WHen all was now quieted at home, *Alexander*, committing to the truſt of *Antipater* both *Greece* and *Macedon*, in the firſt of the Spring did paſſe the *Helleſpont*, and being ready to diſ-imbarke, he threw a Dart towards the *Aſian* ſhore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to make any waſte in their own Territorie, or to burne, or deface thoſe buildings which themſelves were preſently, and in the future to poſſeſſe. He landed his Armie, conſiſting of two and thirty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, all old Souldiers, neere unto *Troy*, where he offered a ſolemne ſacrifice upon *Achilles* Tombe, his maternall Anceſtor.

But before he left his own coaſt, hee put to death without any offence given him, all his Mother-in-lawes Kinſmen, whom *Philip* his Father had greatly advanced, not ſparing ſuch of his own as he ſuſpected. He alſo took with him many of his tributary Princes, of whoſe fidelity he doubted; thinking by unjuſt cruelty to aſſure all things, both in the preſent & future. Yet the end of all fell out contrary to the policy which his Ambition had commended unto him, though agreeing very well with the juſtice of God; for all that he had planted, was ſoon after withered, & rooted up; thoſe, whom he moſt truſted, were the moſt traiterous; his mother, friends, and children, fell by ſuch another mercileſſe ſword as his owne, and all manner of confuſion followed his dead body to the grave, and left him there.

When the knowledge of *Alexanders* landing on *Aſia* ſide was brought to *Darius*, he ſo much ſcorned the Armie of *Macedon*, and had ſo contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himſelfe, as having ſtiled him his ſervant on a letter which he wrote unto him, reprehending his diſloyaltie and audacitie (for *Darius* intitled himſelfe King of Kings, & the Kinſman of the gods) he gave order withall to his Lievtenants of the leſſer *Aſia*, that they ſhould take *Alexander* alive, whip him with rods, and then convey him to his preſence: that they ſhould ſinke his ſhips, and ſend the *Macedons* taken priſoners beyond the Red-Sea; belike into *Aethiopia*, or ſome other unhealthfull part of *Affrica*.

In this ſort did this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartleſſe, multitude which he commanded, diſpoſe of the already-vanquiſhed *Macedonians*: But the ill deſtinies of men beare them to the ground, by what ſtrong confidence ſoever armed. The great numbers which he gathered together and brought in one heape into the field, gave rather an exceeding advantage to his enemies, than any diſcouragement at all. For beſides that they were men utterly unacquainted with dangers, men who by the name and countenance of their King were wont to prevaile againſt thoſe of leſſe courage than themſelves, men that took more care how to embroider with gold and ſilver their upper garments, as if they attended the invaſion but of the Sunne-beames, than they did to arme themſelves with yron and ſteele againſt the ſharpe pikes, ſwords and darts of the hardie *Macedonians*; I ſay, beſides all theſe, even the opinion they had of their own numbers, of which every one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turne to fight, filled every of them with the care of their owne ſafetie, without any intent at all to hazard any thing but their owne breath, and that of their horſes, in running away. The *Macedonians*, as they came to fight, and thereby to enrich themſelves with the gold and jewels of *Perſia*, both which they needed; ſo the *Perſians*, who expected nothing in that Warre but blowes and wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the King, who had power to conſtraine them in aſſembling themſelves for his ſervice; but their owne feares and cowardiſe, which in time of danger had moſt power over them, they onely then obeyed, when their rebellion againſt ſo ſervile a paſſion did juſtly and violently require it. For, ſaith *Vegetius*: *Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles prælium cupit, ita formidat indoctus; nam ſciendum eſt in pugna uſum amplius prodeſſe quàm vires; As the well-practiſed Souldier deſires to come to battaile, ſo the raw one feares it: for we muſt underſtand, that in fight it more availes to have beene accuſtomed unto the like, than only to have rude ſtrength.* What manner of men the *Perſians* were, *Alexander* diſcovered in the firſt encounter, before which time it is ſaid, by thoſe that write his ſtory, that is was hard to judge, whether his daring to undertake the conqueſt of an Empire ſo well peopled, with a handfull of men, or the ſucceſſe he had, were more to be wondred at. For at the River of *Granick*, which ſevereth the Territory of *Troy* from *Propontis*, the *Perſians* ſought to ſtop his paſſage, taking the higher ground and banke of the River to defend, which *Alexander* was forced (as it were) to clime up unto, and ſcale from the Level of the water. Great reſiſtance (ſaith *Curtius*) was made by the *Perſians*, yet in the end *Alexander* prevailed. But it ſeemes to me, that the victory then gotten was exceeding eaſie, and that the twenty thouſand *Perſian* foot-men, ſaid to be ſlaine, were rather kill'd in the backe, in running away, than hurt in the boſomes by reſiſting. For had thoſe twenty thouſand foot, and two hundred and fiftie horſemen, or after *Plutarch*, two thouſand and five hundred horſe-men, dyed with their faces towards the *Macedonians*, *Alexander* could not have bought their lives at ſo ſmall a rate, as with the loſſe of foure and thirty of all ſorts of his own. And if it were alſo true, that *Plutarch* doth report, how *Alexander* encountred two of the *Perſian* Commanders, *Spithridates* and *Rhæſaces*, and that the *Perſian* horſe-men fought with great furie, though in the end ſcattered; and laſtly, how thoſe *Gracians* in *Darius* his pay, holding themſelves in one body upon a piece of ground of advantage, did (after mercy was refuſed them) fight it out to the laſt; how doth it then reſemble truth, that ſuch reſiſtance having beene made, yet of *Alexanders* Army there fell but twelve Foot-men, and two and twenty Horſemen?

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## §. III.

### *A digreſſion concerning the defence of hard paſſages. Of things following the battaile of Granicke.*

The winning of this paſſage did greatly encourage the *Macedonians*, and brought ſuch terrour upon all thoſe of the leſſer *Aſia*, as he obtained all the Kingdomes thereof without a blow, ſome one or two Townes excepted. For in all invaſions, where the Nations invaded have once beene beaten upon a great advantage of the place, as in defence of Rivers, Streights, and Mountaines, they will ſoone have perſwaded themſelves, that ſuch an enemy upon equall termes and even ground, can hardly be reſiſted. It was therefore *Machiavels* counſell, That he which reſolveth to defend a paſſage, ſhould with his ableſt force oppoſe the Aſſailant. And to ſay truth, few Regions of any great circuit are ſo well fenced, that Armies of ſuch force as may be thought ſufficient to conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, by the naturall difficultie of the wayes. One paſſage or other is commonly left unguarded: if all be defended, then muſt the forces of the Country bee diſtracted; and yet lightly ſome one place will bee found that is defended every weakely. How often have the *Alpes* given way to Armies, breaking into *Italy*? Yea, where ſhall we find that ever they kept out an invader? Yet are they ſuch as (to ſpeake briefly) afflict with all difficulties thoſe that travaile over them; but they give no ſecurity to thoſe that lye behinde them: for they are of too large extent. The townes of *Lombardy* perſwaded themſelves that they might enjoy their quiet, when the Warlike Nation of the *Switzers* had undertaken to hinder *Francis* the *French* King from deſcending into the Dutchy of *Milan*: but whileſt theſe Patrons of *Milan*, whom their own dwelling in thoſe Mountaines had made fitteſt of all other for ſuch a ſervice, were buſied in cuſtody of the *Alpes*; *Francis* appeared in *Lombardy*, to ſo much the greater terrour of the Inhabitans, by how much the leſſe they had expected his arrivall. What ſhall wee ſay of thoſe Mountaines, which locke up whole Regions in ſuch ſort, as they leave but one gate open? The Streights, or (as they were called) the gates of *Taurus* in *Cilicia*, and thoſe of *Thermopylæ*, have ſeldome beene attempted, perhaps becauſe they were thought impregnable: but how ſeldome (if ever) have they beene attempted in vaine? *Xerxes*, and long after him, the *Romans*, forced the entrance of

*Thermopylæ*; *Cyrus* the yonger, & after him *Alexander*, found the Gates of *Cilicia* wide open; how ſtrongly ſoever they had bin locked and barred, yet were thoſe Countries open enough to a fleet that ſhould enter on the backe-ſide. The defence of Rivers how hard a thing it is, we finde examples in all hiſtories that beare good witneſſe. The deepeſt have many Foords; the ſwifteſt and broadeſt may bee paſſed by Boates, in caſe it be found a matter of difficulty to make a bridge. Hee that hath men enow to defend all the length of his owne banke, hath alſo enow to beate his enemy; and may therefore doe better to let him come over, to his loſſe, than by ſtriving in vaine to hinder the paſſage, as a matter tending to his owne diſadvantage, fill the heads of his Souldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill caſe, having their meanes of ſafeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of ſuch as are too good for them. Certainely, if a River were ſufficient defence againſt an Army, the Iſle of *Mona*, now called *Angleſey*, which is divided from North-Wales by an arme of the Sea, had beene ſafe enough againſt the *Romans*, invading it under conduct of *Julius Agricola*. But he wanting, and not meaning to ſpend the time in making veſſels to tranſport his forces, did aſſay the foords. Whereby he ſo amazed the enemies attending for ſhips and ſuch like proviſion by Sea, that ſurely beleeving nothing could be hard or invincible to men, which came ſo minded to Warre, they humbly intreated for peace, and yeelded the Iland. Yet the *Britaines* were men ſtout enough, the *Perſians* were very daſtards.

It was therefore wiſely done of *Alexander*, to paſſe the River of *Granick* in face of the enemy; not marching higher to ſeeke an eaſier way, nor labouring to convey his men over it by ſome ſafer meanes. For, having beaten them upon their owne ground, he did thereby cut off no leſſe of their reputation, than of their ſtrength, leaving no hope of ſuccour to the partakers and followers of ſuch unable Protectors.

Soone after this victory he recovered *Sardis*, *Epheſus*, the Cities of the *Trallians* and *Magneſia*, which were rendred unto him. The inhabitants of which, with the people of the Countrie, hee received with great grace, ſuffering them to be governed by their owne lawes. For he obſerved it well; *Novum Imperium inchoantibus utilis clementiæ fama*; *It is commodious unto ſuch as lay the foundations of a new Soveraignty, to have the fame of being mercifull.* He then by *Parmenio* wan *Miletus*, & by force maſtred *Halicarnaſſeus*, which becauſe it reſiſted obſtinately, hee razed to the ground. From whence he entred into *Caria*, where *Ada* the Queene, who had beene caſt out of all that ſhe held (except the City of *Alinda*) by *Darius* his Lievtenants, preſented her ſelfe unto him, and adopted him her ſon and ſucceſſour; which *Alexander* accepted in ſo gracious part, as he left the whole Kingdome to her diſpoſing. He then entred into *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, & obtained all the Sea coaſts, and ſubjecting unto him *Piſidia*, he directed himſelfe towards *Darius* (who was ſaid to be advanced towards him with a marvellous Army) by the way of *Phrygia*: For all the Province of *Aſia* the leſſe, bordering upon the Sea, his firſt victory layed under his feet.

While he gave order for the governement and ſetling of *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, they ſent *Cleander* to raiſe ſome new Captaines in *Peloponneſus*, and marching towards the North, he entred *Celenas* ſeated on the River *Meander*, which was abandoned unto him, the Caſtle onely holding out, which alſo after forty dayes was given up: for ſo long time he gave them to attend ſuccour from *Darius*. From *Celenas* he paſt on through *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine* Sea, till he came to a city called *Gordium*, the Regall ſeate, in former times, of King *Midas*. In this City it was that he found the *Gordian*-knot, which when he knew not how to undoe, he cut it aſunder with his ſword. For there was an ancient prophecie did promiſe to him that could untie it, the Lordſhip of all *Aſia*; whereupon *Alexander*, not reſpecting the manner how, ſo it were done, aſſumed to himſelfe the fulfilling of the prophecie, by hewing it in pieces.

But before he turned from this part of *Aſia* the leſſe towards the eaſt, he tooke care to cleare the Sea-coaſt on his backe, and to thruſt the *Perſians* out of the Ilands of *Lesbos*, *Chio*, and *Coos*: the charge whereof he committed unto two of his Captaines, giving them ſuch order as he thought to bee moſt convenient for that ſervice; and delivering unto them fifty Talents to defray the charge; and withall out of his firſt ſpoyle gotten, he ſent threeſcore Talents more to *Antipater* his Lievtenant in *Greece* and *Macedon*. From *Celenas* he removed to *Ancira*, now called *Anguori*, ſtanding on the ſame River of *Sangarius*, which runneth through *Gordium*: there hee muſtered his Army, and then entred *Paphlagonia*, whoſe people ſubmitted themſelves unto him, and obtained freedome of tribute: where he left *Catus* Governor with one Regiment of *Macedonians* lately arrived.

Here he underſtood of the death of *Memnon*, *Darius* Lievtenant, which heartned him greatly to paſſe on towards him; for of this only Captaine he had more reſpect than of all the multitude by *Darius* aſſembled, and of all the Commanders he had beſides. For ſo much hath the ſpirit of ſome one man excelled, as it hath undertaken and effected the alteration of the greateſt States and Common-weales, the erection of Monarchies, the conqueſt of Kingdomes and Empires, guided handfulls of men againſt multitudes of equall bodily ſtrength, contrived victories beyond all hope and diſcourſe of reaſon, converted the fearefull paſſions of his owne followers into magnanimity, and the valour of his enemies into cowardize; ſuch ſpirits have bin ſtirred up in ſundry Ages of the world, and in divers parts thereof, to erect and caſt downe againe, to eſtabliſh and to deſtroy, and to bring all things, Perſons and States, to the ſame certaine ends, which the infinite Spirit of the *Univerſall*, piercing, moving, and governing all things, hath ordained. Certainely the things that this King did, were marvellous, and would hardly have bin undertaken by any man elſe: and though his Father had determined to have invaded the leſſer *Aſia*, it is like enough that he would have contented himſelfe with ſome part thereof, and not have diſcovered the River of *Indus*: as this man did. The ſwift courſe of victory, wherewith he ran over ſo large a portion of the World, in ſo ſhort a ſpace, may juſtly be imputed unto this, that he was never encountred by an equall ſpirit, concurring with equall power againſt him. Hereby it came to paſſe that his actions being limited by no greater oppoſition, than deſart places, and the meere length of tedious journies could make, were like the *Coloſſus* of *Rhodes*, not ſo much to be admired for the workmanſhip, though therein alſo praiſe-worthy, as for the huge bulke. For certainly the things performed by *Xenophon*, diſcover as brave a ſpirit as *Alexanders*, and working no leſſe exquiſitely, though the effects were leſſe materiall, as were alſo the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But he that would finde the exact patterne of a noble Commander, muſt looke upon ſuch as *Epaminondas*, that encountring worthy Captaines, and thoſe better followed than themſelves, have by their ſingular vertue over-topped their valiant enemies, and ſtill prevailed over thoſe, that would not have yeelded one foot to any other. Such as theſe are, doe ſeldome live to obtaine great Empires. For it is a worke of more labour and longer time, to maſter the equall forces of one hardie & well-ordered State, than to tread down and utterly ſubdue a multitude of ſervile Nations, compounding the body of a groſſe unweildie Empire. Wherefore theſe *Parvo Potentes*, men that with little have done much upon enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choiſe examples of worth; but great Conquerours, to be rather admired for the ſubſtance of their actions, than the exquiſite managing: exactneſſe and greatneſſe concurring ſo ſeldome, that I can find no inſtance of both in one, ſave onely that brave *Roman*, *Cæſar*.

Having thus farre digreſſed, it is now time that we returne unto our Eaſterne Conqueror; who is travailing haſtily towards *Cilicia*, with a deſire to recover the Streights thereof before *Darius* ſhould arrive there. But firſt making a diſpatch into *Greece*, he ſent to thoſe cities, in which he repoſed moſt truſt, ſome of the *Perſian* Targets which he had recovered in his firſt battaile; upon which, by certaine inſcriptions, he made them partakers of his victory. Herein he well adviſed himſelfe; for he that doth not as well impart of the honour which he gaines in the Warres, as he doth of the ſpoiles, ſhall never be long followed of thoſe of the better ſort. For men which are either well borne or wel bred, and have more of wealth than of reputation, doe as often ſatisfie themſelves with the purchaſe of glory, as the weake in fortune, and ſtrong in courage, doe with the gaine of gold and ſilver.

The Governour of *Cilicia* hearing of *Alexanders* comming on, left ſome Companies to keepe the Streights, which were indeede very defencible; and withall, as *Curtius* noteth, hee began overlate to priſe and put in execution the Counſell of *Memnon*: who in the beginning of the Warres adviſed him to waſte all the proviſions for Men and Horſe, that could not be lodged in ſtrong places, & alwaies to give ground to the Invader, till he found ſome ſuch notable advantage as might aſſuredly promiſe him the obtaining of victory. For the fury of an invading Army is beſt broken, by delayes, change of diet, and want, eating ſometimes too little, and ſometimes too much, ſometimes repoſing themſelves in beds, and more oftner on the cold ground. Theſe and the like ſuddaine alterations bring many diſeaſes upon all nations out of their own Countries. Therfore if *Darius* had kept the *Macedonians* but a while from meat and ſleepe, &, refuſing to give or take battaile, had wearied them with his light horſe, as the *Parthians* afterward did the *Romans*, he might perchance have ſaved his owne life, and his eſtate. For it was one of the greateſt incouragements given by *Alexander*, to the *Macedonians*, in the third and laſt fatall battaile, that they were to fight with all the ſtrength of *Perſia* at once.

*Xerxes*, when he invaded *Greece* & fought abroad, in being beaten, loſt only his men; but *Darius* being invaded by the *Greekes*, & fighting at home, by being beaten, loſt his Kingdom. *Pericles* though the *Lacedæmonians* burnt all in *Attica* to the Gates of *Athens*, yet could not be drawne to hazzard a battaile: for the invaded ought evermore to fight upon the advantage of time and place. Becauſe wee reade Hiſtories to informe our underſtanding by the examples therein found, wee will give ſome inſtances of thoſe that have periſhed by adventuring in their owne Countries, to charge an invading Armie. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hannibal*, were brought to the brinke of their deſtruction.

*Pompey* was well adviſed for a while, when he gave *Cæſar* ground, but when by the importunity of his Captaines he adventured to fight at *Pharſalia*, he loſt the battaile, loſt the freedome of *Rome*, and his owne life.

*Ferdinand*, in the Conqueſt of *Naples*, would needs fight a battaile with the *French* to his confuſion, though it was told him by a man of ſound judgement, that thoſe Counſels which promiſe ſurety in all things, are honourable enough.

The Conſtable of *France* made fruſtrate the mighty preparation of *Charles* the Fiſt, when he invaded *Provence*, by waſting the Countrie, & forbearing to fight; ſo did the Duke of *Alva* wearie the *French* in *Naples*, and diſſolve the boiſterous Army of the Prince of *Orange* in the low-Countries.

The *Leigers*, contrarie to the advice of their Generall, would needs fight a battaile with the *Bourgonians*, invading their Country, and could not be perſwaded to linger the time, and ſtay their advantage; but they loſt eight and twenty thouſand upon the place. *Philip* of *Valois* ſet upon King *Edward* at *Cheſsie*; and King *John* (when the *Engliſh* were well-neere tired out, and would in ſhort time by an orderly purſuit have beene waſted to nothing) conſtrained the black Prince with great fury, neere *Poitiers*, to joyne battaile with him: But all men know what lamentable ſucceſſe theſe two *French* Kings found. *Charles* the fiſt of *France* made another kind of *Fabian*-Warfare; & though the *Engliſh* burnt and waſted many places, yet this King held his reſolution to forbeare blowes, and followed his advice, which told him, That the *Engliſh* could never get his inheritance by ſmoake; and it is reported by *Belloy* and *Herrault*, that King *Edward* was wont to ſay of this *Charles*, that he wan from him the Dutchy of *Guyen* without ever putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpoſe to deſtroy, wiſe men grow ſhort-lived, and the charge of things is committed unto ſuch as either cannot ſee what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any ſound advice. The courſe which *Memnon* had propounded, muſt in all appearence of reaſon have brought the *Macedonian* to a great perplexity, and made him ſtand ſtill a while at the Streights of *Cilicia*, doubting whether it were more ſhamefull to return, or dangerous to proceede. For, had *Cappadocia* & *Paphlagonia* bin waſted whileſt *Alexander* was farre off; and the Streights of *Cilicia* been defended by *Arſenes*, Governor of that Province, with the beſt of his forces; hunger would not have ſuffered the enemy, to ſtay the triall of all meanes that might be thought upon, of forcing that paſſage: or if the place could not have bin maintained, yet might *Cilicia*, at better leiſure have bin ſo throughly ſpoiled, that the heart of his Army ſhould have beene broken, by ſeeking out miſeries by painfull travaile.

But *Arſenes* leaving a ſmall number to defend the Streights, tooke the beſt of his Armie with him, to waſte & ſpoile the Country; or rather, as may ſeeme, to finde himſelfe ſome worke, by pretence of which he might honeſtly run further away from *Alexander*. Hee ſhould rather have adventured his perſon in cuſtody of the Streights, whereby he might perhaps have ſaved the Province; and in the meane time, all that was in the fields, would have beene conveighed into ſtrong Townes. So ſhould his Army, if it were driven from the place of advantage, have found good entertainement within walled Cities, and himſelfe with his horſe-men have had the leſſe worke in deſtroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the matter as he did, he gave the *Cilicians* cauſe to wiſh for *Alexanders* comming, and as great cauſe to the Keepers of the paſſage not to hinder it. For cowards are wiſe in apprehending all formes of danger. Theſe Guardians of the Streights, hearing that *Arſenes* made all haſte to joyne himſelfe with *Darius*, burning downe all as he went, like one deſpairing of the defence, began to grow circumſpect, and to thinke that ſurely their Generall, who gave as loſt the Countrie behinde their backes, had expoſed themſelves unto certaine death, as men that were good for nothing elſe but to dull the *Macedonian* ſwords. Wherefore, not affecting to die for their Prince and Countrie (which honour they ſaw that *Arſenes* himſelfe could well forbeare) they ſpeedily followed the foot-ſteps of their Generall, gleaning after his Harveſt. Thus *Alexander* without labour got both the entrance of *Cilicia*, abandoned by the cowardiſe of his Enemies, and the whole Province that had beene alienated from the *Perſian* ſide by their indiſcretion.

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## §. IIII.

*Of the unwarlike Army levied by* Darius *againſt Alexander. The unadviſed courſes which* Darius *tooke in this expedition. He is vanquiſhed at Iſſus; where his Mother, Wife, and Children are made priſoners: Of ſome things following the battaile of Iſſus.*

IN the meane ſeaſon *Darius* approched; who (as *Curtius* reports) had compounded an Army of more than two hundred and ninety thouſand Souldiers, out of divers Nations; *Juſtine* muſters them at three hundred thouſand Foot, and a hundred thouſand Horſe; *Plutarch* at ſixe hundred thouſand.

The manner of his comming on, as *Curtius* deſcribes it, was rather like a masker than a man of Warre, and like one that tooke more care to ſet out his glory and riches, than to provide for his own ſafety, perſwading himſelfe, as it ſeemed, to beat *Alexander* with pompe and ſumptuous Pageants. For, before the Armie there was carried the holy fire, which the *Perſians* worſhipped, attended by their *Prieſts*, and after them three hundred and threeſcore and five young-men, anſwering the number of the dayes of the yeare, covered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of *Jupiter* drawne with white Horſes, with their Riders cloathed in the ſame colour, with rods of gold in their hands; And after it, the Horſe of the *Sunne*: Next after theſe follow ten ſumptuous Chariots, in-layed and garniſht with ſilver and gold; & then the Vantguard of their horſe, compounded of twelve ſeverall Nations, which the better to avoid confuſion, did hardly underſtand each others language; and theſe marſhalled in the head of the reſt, being beaten, might ſerve very fitly to diſorder all that followed them: in the taile of theſe Horſes the Regiment of foot marched, with the *Perſians* called immortall, becauſe if any died, the number was preſently ſupplied: & theſe were armed with chaines of gold, & their coates with the ſame metall imbroidered, whereof the ſleeves were garniſhed with pearle; baites, either to catch the hungry *Macedonians* withall, or to perſwade them that it were great incivility to cut and to deface ſuch glorious garments. But is was well ſaid: *Sumptuosè indutus miles, ſe virtute ſuperiorem aliis non exiſtimet, cum in prælis oporteat fortitudine animi, & non veſtimentis muniri, quoniam hoſtes veſtibus non debellantur; Let no man thinke that he exceedeth thoſe in valour, whom he exceedeth in gay garments; for it is by men armed with fortitude of minde, and not by the apparell they put on, that enemies are beaten.* And it was perchance from the *Roman Papyrius* that this advice was borrowed, who when he fought againſt the *Samnites* in that fatall battaile, wherein they all ſware either to prevaile or dy, thirty thouſand of them having apparelled themſelves in white garments, with high creſts and great plumes of feathers, bade the *Roman* Souldiers to lay aſide all feare: *Non enim criſtas vulnera facere, & per picta atque aurata ſcuta tranſire Romanum pilum; For theſe plumed creſts would wound no body, and the Romane pile would bore holes in painted and gilded ſhields.*

To ſecond this Court-like company, fifteene thouſand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women (belike to breed the more terrour) & theſe were honoured with the Title of the Kings Kinſmen. Then came *Darius* himſelfe, the Gentle-men of his Guard-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was ſupported with the gods of his Nation, caſt and cut in pure gold; theſe the *Macedonians* did not ſerve, but they ſerved their turnes of theſe, by changing their maſſie-bodies into thin, portable and currant coyne. The head of this Chariot was ſet with precious ſtones, with two little golden Idols, covered with an open-winged-Eagle of the ſame metall: The hinder part being raiſed high whereon *Darius* ſate, had a covering of ineſtimable value. This Chariot of the King was followed with ten thouſand Horſe-men, their Lances plated with ſilver, and their heads guilt; which they meant not to imbrue in the *Macedamonian* bloud, for feare of marring their beauty. Hee had for the proper Guard of his owne perſon, two hundred of the bloud Royall; bloud too Royall and precious to be ſpilt by any valorous adventure, (I am of opinion that two hundred ſturdy fellowes, like the *Switzers*, would have done him more ſervice) and theſe were backt with thirty thouſand foot-men, after whom againe were led foure hundred ſpare horſes for the King, which if he had meant to have uſed, he would have marſhalled ſomewhat nearer him.

Now followed the Reareward, the ſame being led by *Siſygambis* the Kings Mother, and by his wife, drawn in glorious Chariots, followed by a great traine of Ladies their attendants on horſe-backe, with fifteene Wagons of the Kings children, and the wives of the Nobility, waited on by two hundred and fiftie Concubines, and a world of Nurſes and *Eunuchs*, moſt ſumptuouſly apparrelled. By which it ſhould ſeeme that *Darius* thought that the *Macedonians* had bin *Comedians* or *Tumblers*; for this troope was far fitter to behold thoſe ſports than to bee preſent at battailes. Betweene theſe and a company of ſlight-armed ſlaves, with a world of Vallets, was the Kings treaſure, charged on ſixe hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proved, to pay the *Macedonians*. In this ſort came the *May-game-King* into the field, incumbred with a moſt unneceſſary traine of Strumpets, attended with troupes of divers Nations, ſpeaking divers languages, and for their numbers impoſſible to bee marſhalled; and for the moſt part ſo effeminate, and ſo rich in gold and in garments, as the ſame could not but have encouraged the nakedſt Nation of the world againſt them. We finde it in daily experience, that all diſcourſe of magnanimity, of Nationall Vertue, of Religion, of Liberty, and whatſoever elſe hath bin wont to move and incourage vertuous men, hath no force at all with the common-Souldier, in compariſon of ſpoile and riches. The rich ſhips are boorded upon all diſadvantages, the rich Townes are furiouſly aſſaulted, and the plentifull Countries willingly invaded. Our *Engliſh* nation have attempted many places in the *Indies*, and run upon the *Spaniards* head-long, in hope of their Royals of plate, and Piſtolets; which, had they bin put to it upon the like diſadvantages in *Ireland*, or in any poore Country, they would have turned their Peeces and Pikes againſt their Commanders, conteſting that they had bin brought without reaſon to the Butchery and ſlaughter. It is true that the warre is made willingly, and for the moſt part with good ſucceſſe, that is ordained againſt the richeſt Nations; for as the needie are alwayes adventurous, ſo plentie is wont to ſhunne perill, and men that have well to live, do rather ſtudie how to live well, I meane wealthily, than care to die (as they call it) honourably. *Car où il n'y a rien a gaigner que des coups, volontiers il n'y va pas. No man makes haſte to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blowes.*

Now if *Alexander* had beheld this preparation before his conſultation with his Soothſaiers, he would have ſatisfied himſelfe by the out-ſides of the *Perſians*, and never have looked into the intrailes of Beaſts for ſucceſſe. For leaving the deſcription of this ſecond battell (which is indeed no-where well deſcribed, neither for the confuſion & haſtie running away of the *Aſians* could it be) we have enough by the ſlaughter that was made of them, & by the few that fell of the *Macedonians*, to informe us what manner of reſiſtance was made. For if it be true that threeſcore thouſand *Perſian* footmen were ſlaine in this battaile, with ten thouſand of their horſemen: Or (as *Curtius* ſaith) an hundred thouſand footmen, with the ſame number of horſemen, and beſides this ſlaughter, forty thouſand taken priſoners, while of *Alexanders* Armie there miſcarried but two hundred & foureſcore of all ſorts, of which numbers *Arrianus* & other Hiſtorians cut off almoſt the one halfe: I doe verily beleeve, that this ſmall number rather died with the over-travaile & paines-taking in killing their enemies, than by any ſtrokes received from them. And ſurely if the *Perſian* Nation (at this time degenerate & the baſeſt of the World) had had any ſavour remaining of the ancient valour of their fore-fathers; they would never have ſold ſo good cheape, and at ſo vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters, and other the Kings children; had their owne honour beene valued by them at nothing, and the Kings ſafetie and his eſtate at leſſe. *Darius* by this time found it true, that *Charidemus* a baniſhed *Græcian* of *Athens* had told him, when he made a view of his Army about *Babylon*, to wit, That the multitude which he had aſſembled of divers Nations, richly attired, but poorely armed, would be found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the countrey, whom in paſſing by they would devoure, than to the *Macedonians*, whom they meant to aſſaile; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattailed in groſſe ſquadrons, which they call their *Phalanx*, well covered with Armour for defence, and furniſhed with weapons for offence of great advantage, would make ſo little accompt of his delicate *Perſians*, loving their eaſe and their palat, being withall ill armed and worſe diſciplined, as except it would pleaſe him to entertain (having ſo great aboundance of treaſure to do it withall) a ſufficient number of the ſame *Græcians*, and ſo to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equall courage, he would repent him overlate, as taught by the miſerable ſucceſſe like to follow.

But this diſcourſe was ſo unpleaſing to *Darius* (who had bin accuſtomed to nothing ſo much as to his owne praiſes, and to nothing ſo little as to heare truth;) as he commanded that this poore *Græcian* ſhould bee preſently ſlaine: who while he was a ſundring in the Tormentors hand, uſed this ſpeech to the King, That *Alexander*, againſt whom he had given this good counſell, ſhould aſſuredly revenge his death, and lay deſerved puniſhment upon *Darius* for deſpiſing his advice.

It was the ſaying of a Wiſe man: *Deſperata ejus Principis ſalus eſt, cujus aures ita formatæ ſunt, ut aſpera quæ utilia, nec quicquam niſi jucundum accipiat; That Princes ſafetie is in a deſperate caſe, whoſe eares judge all that is profitable to be too ſharpe, and will entertaine nothing that is unpleaſant.*

*For liberty in counſell is the life and eſſence of counſell; Libertas conſilii eſt ejus vita, & eſſentia, qua erepta conſilium evaneſcit.*

*Darius* did likewiſe value at nothing the advice given him by the *Græcian* Souldiers that ſerved him, who intreated him not to fight in the Streights: But had they beene Counſellers and directors in that Warre, as they were underlings and commanded by others, they had with the helpe of a good troupe of horſe-men bin able to have oppoſed the fury of *Alexander*, without any aſſiſtance of the *Perſian* foot-men. For when *Darius* was overthrowne with all his cowardly and confuſed rabble, thoſe *Græcians*, under their Captaine *Amyntas*, held firme, & marched away in order, in deſpight of the vanquiſhers. Old Souldiers are not eaſily diſmayed: we reade in Hiſtories ancient and moderne, what brave retraits have bin made by them, though the reſt of the Army in which they have ſerved, hath bin broken.

At the battaile of *Ravenna*, where the Imperialls were beaten by the *French*, a ſquadron of *Spaniards*, old Souldiers, came off unbroken & undiſmayed; whom when *Gaſton de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, and Nephew to *Lewis* the twelfth, charged, as holding the victory not entire by their eſcape, hee was over-turned and ſlaine in the place. For it is truely ſaid of thoſe men, who, by being acquainted with dangers, fear them not, That; *Neglecto periculo imminentis mali opus ipſum quantumvis difficile aggrediuntur; They goe about the buſineſſe it ſelfe, how hard ſoever it be, not ſtanding to conſider of the danger, which the miſchiefe hanging over their heads, may bring:* and as truely of thoſe that know the warres but by heare-ſay; *Quòd valentes ſunt & prævalentes ante pericula, in ipſis tamen periculis diſcedunt; They have ability enough, and to ſpare, till dangers appeare; but when perill indeed comes, they get them gone.*

Theſe *Gracians* alſo that made the retrait, adviſed *Darius* to retire his Army into the plaine of *Meſopotamia*, to the end that *Alexander* being entred into thoſe large fields and great Champions, hee might have invironed the *Macedonians* on all ſides with his multitude; and withall they counſelled him to divide that his huge Army into parts, not committing the whole to one ſtroke of Fortune, whereby he might have fought many battailes, and have brought no greater numbers at once than might have been well marſhalled & conducted. But this counſell was ſo contrary to the cowardly affections of the *Perſians*, as they perſwaded *Darius* to inviron the *Græcians* which gave the advice, and to cut them in pieces as Traitors. The infinite wiſedome of God doth not work alwayes by one and the ſame way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdomes and Eſtates, by taking underſtanding from the Governours, ſo as they can neither give not diſcerne of Counſels. For *Darius* that would needs fight with *Alexander* upon a ſtreightned piece of ground, neere unto the City of *Iſſus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could, (who by the advice of *Parmenio* ſtaied there, as in a place of beſt advantage) was utterly overthrown, his Treaſure loſt, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the *Græcians* his followers had perſwaded him to leave in *Babylon*, or elſewhere) taken priſoners, and all their traine of Ladies ſpoiled of their rich Garments, Jewels, and Honour. It is true, that both the Queene, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexanders* preſence, were entertained with all reſpect due unto their birth, their Honours preſerved, and their Jewels and rich Garments reſtored unto them; and though *Darius* Wife was a moſt beautifull Lady, and his Daughters of excellent forme, yet *Alexander* maſtred his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of *Ariſtobulus* the Hiſtorian, that he imbraced the wife of the valiant *Memnon*, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damaſcus* by *Parmenio*, at which time the Daughters of *Ochus*, who reigned before *Darius*, and the Wives and Children of all the Nobility of *Perſia* in effect, fell into captivity; at which time alſo *Darius* Treaſure (not loſt at *Iſſus*) was ſeized, amounting to ſixe thouſand and two hundred talents of coine, and of *Bullion* five hundred talents, with a world of riches beſides.

*Darius* himſelfe leauing his brother dead, with divers other of his chiefe Captaines, (caſting the Crowne from his head) hardly eſcaped.

After this overthrow given unto *Darius*, all *Phœnicia* (the City of *Tyre* excepted) was yeelded to *Alexander*, of which *Parmenio* was made Governour.

*Aradus*, *Zidon*, and *Biblos*, maritimate Cities of great importance, of which one *Strato* was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged *Alexander*. Good fortune followed him ſo faſt that it trod on his heeles; for *Antigonus*, *Alexanders* Lievtenant in *Aſia* the leſſe, overthrew the *Cappadocians*, *Paphligonians*, & others lately revolted; *Ariſtodemus*, *Darius* Admiral, had his Fleet partly taken, & in part drowned by the *Macedonians* newly levied; the *Lacedæmonians* that warred againſt *Antipater* were beaten, foure thouſand of thoſe *Greeks* which made the retrait at the laſt battaile, forſaking both the party of *Darius* & of *Alexander*, & led by *Amyntas* into *Egypt*, to hold it for themſelves, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to divide Kingdomes.

*Alexander* to honour *Epheſtion*, whom he loved moſt, gave him power to diſpoſe of the Kingdome of *Zidon*. A man of a moſt poore eſtate, that laboured to ſuſtain his life being of the Royall bloud, was commended by the people unto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, ſo as he was beheld both a Beggar and a King in one and the ſame houre.

It was a good deſire of this new King, when ſpeaking to *Alexander*, he wiſht that he could beare his proſperity with the ſame moderation, & quietneſſe of heart, that he had done his adverſity; but ill done of *Alexander*, in that he would not performe in himſelfe that which he commended in another mans deſire: for it was a ſigne that he did but accompany, and could not governe his felicity.

While he made ſome ſtay in thoſe parts, he received a letter from *Darius*, importing the ranſome of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with ſome other conditions of peace, but ſuch as rather became a Conqueror, than one that had now been twice ſhamefully beaten, not vouchſafing, in his direction, to ſtile *Alexander* King. It is true, that the *Romans*, after that they had received an overthrow by *Pyrrhus*, returned him a more ſcornefull anſwer upon the offer of peace, than they did before the triall of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, ſo that of *Darius* had already caſt leafe; the one a reſolved, well armed and diſciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. *Alexander* diſdained the offers of *Darius*, and ſent him word that he not onely directed his letter to a King, but to the King of *Darius* himſelfe.

## §. V.

## *How* Alexander *beſieged and wan the Citie of Tyre.*

ALexander comming neere to the City of *Tyre*, received from them the preſent of a golden Crowne, with great ſtore of victualls, and other preſents, which he tooke very thankefully, returning them anſwer, That he deſired to offer a ſacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protector of their Citie, from whom he was deſcended. But the *Tyrians* like not his companie within their Walls, but tell him that the Temple of *Hercules* was ſeated in the old City adjoyning, now abandoned and deſolate. To bee ſhort, *Alexander* reſolved to enter it by force: and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, becauſe the Iland whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Maine, yet with the labour of many hands, having great ſtore of ſtone from the old *Tyre*, and timber ſufficient from *Lybanus*, hee filled the paſſage of the Sea betweene the Iland and the Maine, which being more than once carried away by the ſtrength of the Sea upon a ſtorme of winde, ſomtime by the *Tyrians* fired, and ſometime torne aſunder; yet with the helpe of his Navie which arrived (during the ſiege) from *Cyprus*, he overcame all difficulties and prevailed, after he had ſpent ſeven moneths in that attempt. The *Tyrians* in the beginning of the ſiege had barbarouſly drowned the meſſengers ſent by *Alexander*, perſwading them to render the City, in reſpect whereof, & of the great loſſe of time and men, he put eight thouſand to the ſword, and cauſed two thouſand of thoſe, that eſcaped the firſt fury, to bee hanged on Croſſes on the Sea-ſhore, and reſerved for ſlaves (ſaith *Diodore*) thirteene thouſand; *Arrianus* reckons them at thirty thouſand. *Arrian.* Many more had died, had not the *Zidonians*, that ſerved *Alexander*, conveyed great numbers away by ſhipping unto their owne Citie.

Happy it was for *Apollo* that the Towne was taken: for one of the *Tyrians* having *Juſtin. lib.* 18. dreamt, that this god meant to forſake the City, they bound him faſt with a golden chaine to the Idoll of *Hercules*; but *Alexander*, like a gracious Prince, looſened him againe.

It is true, that it was a notable enterpriſe & a difficult, but great things are made greater. For *Nabuchodonoſor* had taken it before, and filled up the channell, that lay between the Iland and the Maine.

The government of this Territory he gave to *Philotas*, the Sonne of *Parmenio*; *Cilicia*, he committed to *Socrates*, and *Andromachus* Lievtenant under *Parmenio*; *Epheſtion* had charge of the Fleet, and was directed to finde *Alexander* at *Gaza* towards *Egypt*.

## §. VI.

*How* Darius *offered conditions of peace to* Alexander. Alexander *wins Gaza; and deales graciouſly with the Jewes.*

IN the meane while *Darius* ſends againe to *Alexander*, ſets before him all the difficulties of paſſing on towards the Eaſt, and layeth the loſſe of the laſt battaile to the ſtreightneſſe of the place: he hoped to terrefie him by threatning to encompaſſe him in the plaine Countries, he bids him to conſider, how impoſſible it was to paſſe the Rivers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Araxes*, and the reſt, with all ſuch other fearefull things: for he that was now filled with nothing but feare, had arguments enow of that nature to preſent unto another. All the Kingdomes betweene the River of *Alys*, and the *Helleſpont*, he offered him in Dower with his beloved daughter. But *Alexander* anſwered, That he offered him nothing but his owne, and that which victory and his own vertue had poſſeſt him of; That he was to give conditions, and not to receive any, & that he having paſſed the Sea it ſelfe, diſdained to thinke of reſiſtance in tranſporting himſelfe over Rivers. It is ſaid, that *Parmenio*, who was now old and full of honour and riches, told the King, That were he *Alexander*, hee would accept of *Darius* his offers; to which *Alexander* anſwered, That ſo would he, if he were *Parmenio*.

But he goes on towards *Egypt*, and comming before *Gaza*, *Getis* a faithfull ſervant to *Darius*, ſhuts the Gate againſt him, & defends the Towne with an obſtinate reſolution, at the ſiege wherof *Alexander* received a wound in the ſhoulder, which was dangerous, and a blow on his legge with a ſtone. Hee found better men in this place than he did at the former battailes, for he left ſo many of his *Macedonians* buried in the ſands of *Gaza*, that he was forc't to ſend for a new ſupply into *Greece*. Here it was that *Alexander* firſt began to change condition, & to exerciſe cruelty. For after that he had entred *Gaza* by aſſault, & taken *Betis*, (whom *Joſephus* calleth *Babemeſis*) that was weakened with many wounds, and who never gave ground to the Aſſailants; he bored holes through his feete, and cauſed him to be drawne about the ſtreet, whileſt he was as yet alive; who being as valiant a man as himſelfe, diſdained to aske him either life or remiſſion of his torments.

And what had he to countenance this his tyrannie; but the imitation of his Anceſtor *Achilles*, who did the like to *Hector*? It is true, that cruelty hath alwayes ſomewhat to cover her deformity.

Lib.11.cap.ult. From *Gaza* (ſaith *Joſephus*) he led his Army towards *Jeruſalem*, a City, for the antiquity and great fame thereof, well knowne unto him while he lay before *Tyre*; He had ſent for ſome ſupply thither, which *Jaddus* the high Prieſt, being ſubject and ſworne to *Darius*, had refuſed him. The *Jewes* therefore fearing his revenge, and unable to reſiſt, committed the care of their eſtates and ſafetie to *Jaddus*, who, being taught by God, iſſued out of the City covered with his Pontificall Robes, to wit, an upper garment of purple, embroidered with gold, with his Miter, and the plate of gold wherein the name of God was written, the Prieſts and Levites in their rich ornaments, & the people in white garments, in a manner ſo unuſuall, ſtately and grave, as *Alexander* greatly admired it. *Joſephus* reports it, that he fell to the ground before the high Prieſt, as reverencing the name of God, and that *Parmenio* reprehended him for it. Howſoever it was, I am of opinion, that he became ſo confident in his enterpriſe, and ſo aſſured of the ſucceſſe after the prophecie of *Daniel* had been read unto him, wherein he ſaw himſelfe, and the conqueſt of *Perſia* ſo directly pointed at, as nothing thence-forth could diſcourage him or feare him. He confeſſed to *Parmenio* (ſaith *Joſephus*) that in *Dio* a City of *Macedon*, when his mind laboured the conqueſt of *Aſia*, he ſaw in his ſleepe ſuch a perſon as *Jaddus*, and ſo apparelled, profeſſing one and the ſame God; by whom he was incouraged to purſue the purpoſe he had in hand, with aſſurance of victory. This apparition, formerly apprehended only by the light of his fantaſie, he now beheld with his bodily eyes, wherewith he was ſo exceedingly pleaſed and imboldened, as contrary to the practice of the *Phœnicians*, (who hoped to have ſackt and deſtroyed *Jeruſalem*) he gave the *Jewes* all, and more than they deſired, both of liberty and immunity, with permiſſion to live under their owne lawes, and to exerciſe and injoy their owne Religion.

## §. VII.

### Alexander *winnes Egypt: and makes a journie to the Temple of* Hammon.

FRom *Jeruſalem Alexander* turned againe towards *Egypt*, and entred it, where *Darius* his Lievtenant, *Aſtaces*, received him, and delivered into his hand the City of *Memphis*, with eight hundred talents of treaſure, and all other the Kings riches. By this we ſee that the King of *Perſia*, who had more of affection than of judgement, gave to the valianteſt man he had but the command of one City, and to the verieſt coward the governement of all *Egypt*. When he had ſet things in order in *Egypt*, he began to travaile after *God-head*, towards *Jupiter Hammon*; ſo fooliſh had proſperity made him. He was to paſſe over the dangerous and drie ſands, where, when the water which he brought on his Camels backe was ſpent, he could not but have periſhed, had not a marvellous ſhowre of raine fallen upon him, when his Army was in extreme deſpaire. All men that know *Egypt*, and have written thereof, affirme, That it never raines there: but the purpoſes of the Almighty God are ſecret, & he bringeth to paſſe what it pleaſeth him; for it is alſo ſaid, That when he had loſt his way in thoſe vaſt deſarts, that a flight of Crowes flew before the army; who making faſter wing when they were followed, and fluttering ſlowly when the Army was caſt backe, guided them over thoſe pathleſſe ſands to *Jupiters* Temple.

Arrian. lib.3. *Arrianus* from the report of *Ptolomy*, the ſonne of *Lagus*, ſaies, That he was led by two Dragons; both which reports may be a-like true. But many of thoſe wonders and things prodigious, are fained by thoſe that have written the Storie of *Alexander*; as, That an Eagle lay hovering directly over his head at the battell of *Iſſus*; That a Swallow flew about his head when he ſlept, and could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him at *Halicarnaſſæus*, fore-ſhewing the treaſon of *Aeropus*, practiſed by *Darius* to have ſlaine him; That from the yron barres of which the *Tyrians* made their defenſive engines, when *Alexander* beſieged them, there fell drops of bloud; and that the like drops were found in a loafe of bread, broken by a *Macedonian* Souldier, at the ſame time; That a Turfe of earth fell on his ſhoulder, when he lay before *Gaza*, out of which there flew a Bird into the aire. The *Spaniards* in the conqueſt of the Weſt *Indies* have many ſuch pretty tales; telling how they have been aſſiſted in battell by the preſence of our Lady, & by Angels riding on white horſes, with the like Romiſh miracles, which I think themſelves do hardly beleeve. The ſtrangeſt thing that I have read of in this kind being certainly true, was, That the night before the battell at Novara, all the Dogs which followed the French Army, ran from them to the Switzers, leaping and fawning upon them, as if they had been bred and fed by them all their lives, and in the morning following, *Trivulzi* and *Tremoüille*, Generals for *Lewis* the twelfth, were by theſe imperiall Switzers utterly broken and put to ruine.

The place of this Idoll of *Jupiter Hammon* is ill deſcribed by *Curtius*, for he bounds it by the Arabian Troglodites on the South, between whom & the Territory of *Hammon*, the Region Thebais, or the ſuperiour Egypt, with the Mountains of Lybia, & the River of Nilus, are interjacent; and on the North he joyns it to a Nation called Naſſamones, who bordering the Sea-ſhore, live (ſaith he) upon the ſpoyles of ſhipwrack: whereas the temple or grove of this Idoll hath no Sea neare it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of Lybia; theſe Naſſamones being due Weſt from it, in the South part of Marmarica.

*Ptol.Af.Tab.3.*

When *Alexander* came neare the place, he ſent ſome of his Paraſites before him to practiſe the Prieſts attending the Oracle, That their anſwer might be given in all things, agreeable to his mad ambition; who affected the title of *Jupiters* ſon. And ſo he was ſaluted, *Son of Jupiter*, by the Divels Prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as ſome think) defective in the Greek tongue; For whereas he meant to ſay *O padion*, he ſaid *O pai dios*; that is, *O Son of Jupiter*, in ſtead of *O deare Son*: for which Grammaticall errour he was richly rewarded, and a rumour preſently ſpred, that the great *Jupiter* had acknowledged *Alexander* for his owne.

He had heard that *Perſeus* and *Hercules* had formerly conſulted with this Oracle, The one when he was imployed againſt *Gorgon*, The other againſt *Anteus* and *Buſiris*; and ſeeing theſe men had derived themſelves from the gods, why might not hee? By this it ſeems, that he hoped to make his followers and the world fools, though indeed he made himſelfe one, by thinking to cover from the worlds knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirme his followers in the beliefe of his Deity, he had practiſed the Prieſts to give anſwer to ſuch as conſulted with the Oracle, that it ſhould be pleaſing to *Jupiter* to honour *Alexander* as his Son.

Who this *Ammon* was, and how repreſented, either by a Boſſe carried in a Boat, or by a Ram, or a Rams head, I ſee that many wiſe men have troubled themſelves to finde out; but as *Arrianus* ſpeaks of *Dionyſius*, or *Liber Pater* (who lived ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, in *Moſes* time) *Ea quæ de diis veteres fabulis ſuis conſtripſere, non ſunt nimium curioſè perveſtiganda*; *We muſt not over-curiouſly ſearch into the fables which the Antients have written of their gods.*

*Curt.Lib.4.*

But this is certaine and notable, that after the Goſpel beganne to be preached in the World, the Divell in this and all other Idols became ſpeechleſſe. For, that this *Hammon* was neglected in the time of *Tiberius Cæſar*, and in the time of *Trajan* altogether forgotten, *Strabo* and *Plutarch* witneſſe.

There is found neare his Temple a Fountaine called *Fons ſolis* (though *Ptolomy* in his third African Table ſets it farther off) that at mid-night is as hot as boyling water, and at Noone as cold as any yce: to which I cannot but give credit, becauſe I have heard of ſome other Wels of like nature, and becauſe it is reported by S. *Auguſtine*, by *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, *Solinus*, *Arrianus*, *Curtius*, and others; and indeed our Bathes in England are much warmer in the night than in the day.

## §. VIII.

### *How* Alexander *marching againſt* Darius, *was oppoſed very unskilfully by the Enemy.*

FRom the Temple of *Hammon* he returned to *Memphis*, where among many other learned men, he heard the Philoſopher *Pſammones*, who, belike underſtanding that he affected the title of *Jupiters* Son, told him that God was the Father-King of all men in generall; and refining the pride of this haughty King, brought him to ſay, That God was the Father of all mortall men, but that he acknowledged none for his children ſave good men.

Ariſt.Pol.l.5.

Curt.l.4.

He gave the charge of the ſeverall Provinces of Egypt to ſeverall Governours, following the rule of his Maſter *Ariſtotle*, That *a great Dominion ſhould not be continued in the hands of any one:* whom therein the Romane Emperors alſo followed, not daring to commit the government of Egypt to any of their Senators, but to men of meaner rank and degree. He then gave order for the founding of Alexandria upon the Weſter-moſt branch of Nilus. And having now ſetled (as he could) the eſtate of Egypt, with the kingdomes of the leſſer Aſia, Phœnicia and Syria, (which being but the pawns of *Darius* his ill fortune, one happy victory would readily have redeemed) he led his Army towards Euphrates, which paſſage though the ſame was committed to *Mazeus* to defend, yet was it abandoned, and *Alexander* without reſiſtance paſt it. From thence he marched towards Tigris, a river for the ſwiftneſſe therof called by the Perſians, The Arrow. Here, as *Curtius*, and Reaſon it ſelfe tels us, might *Darius* eaſily have repelled the invading Macedonian: for the violent courſe of the ſtreame was ſuch, as it drave before it many weighty ſtones, and thoſe that moved not, but lay in the bottome, were ſo round & well poliſhed by continuall rolling, that no man was able to fight on ſo ſlippery a footing; nor the Macedonian foot-men to wade the river, otherwiſe than by joyning their hands, and enterlacing their armes together, making one weighty and entire body to reſiſt the ſwift paſſage and furious race of the ſtreame. Beſides this notable help, the Channell was ſo deep towards the Eaſterne ſhore, where *Darius* ſhould have made head, as the foot-men were enforc't to lift their Bowes, and Arrowes, and Darts over their heads to keepe them from being moiſtned, and made unſerviceable by the Waters. But it was truely and underſtandingly ſaid of *Homer*,

*Talis eſt hominum terreſtrium mens,*
*Qualem quotidie ducit pater virorumq; Deorumq;.*

The mindes of men are ever ſo affected,
As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Eſtates of the world, by the ſurfeit of miſ-government have been ſubject to many grievous, and ſometimes mortall diſeaſes: So had the Empire of Perſia at this time brought it ſelfe into a burning and conſuming Feaver, and thereby become frantick and without underſtanding, foreſhewing manifeſtly the diſſolution and death thereof.

But *Alexander* hath now recovered the Eaſtern ſhores of Tigris, without any other difficulty, than that of the nature of the place; where *Mazeus* (who had charge to defend the Paſſage both of Euphrates and it) preſented himſelfe to the Macedonians, followed with certaine companies of Horſe-men, as if with uneven forces he durſt have charged them on even ground, when as with a multitude farre exceeding them, he forſooke the advantage which no valour of his enemies, could eaſily have overcome. But it is commonly ſeene, that fearfull and cowardly men do ever follow thoſe wayes and counſels, whereof the opportunity is already loſt.

It is true that he ſet all provisions a fire wherewith the Macedonians might ſerve themſelves over Tigris, thinking thereby greatly to have diſtreſſed them; but the execution of good counſell is fruitleſſe, when unſeaſonable. For now was *Alexander* ſo well furniſhed with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competency of the Army which he conducted. Thoſe things alſo which he ſought to waſte, *Alexander* being now in ſight, were by his Horſe-men ſaved and recovered. This *Mazeus* might have done ſome dayes before at good leaſure; or at this time with ſo great a ſtrength of Horſe-men, as the Macedonians durſt not have purſued them, leaving the ſtrength of their foot out of ſight and far behind.

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## §. IX.

### *The new proviſions of* Darius. *Accidents foregoing the battell of Arbela.*

DArius, upon *Alexanders* firſt returne out of Egypt, had aſſembled all the forces, which thoſe Regions next him could furniſh, and now alſo were the Arians, Scythians, Indians, and other Nations arrived; Nations (ſaith *Curtius*) that rather ſerved to make up the names of men, than to make reſiſtance. *Arrianus* hath numbred them with their Leaders; and finds of foot-men of all ſorts ten hundred thouſand, and of horſe foure hundred thouſand, beſides armed Chariots, and ſome few Elephants. *Curtius*, who muſters the Army of *Darius* at two hundred thouſand foot, & near fifty thouſand horſe, comes (I think) nearer to the true number; and yet ſeeing hee had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vaſſals, it is like enough that he had gathered together of all ſorts ſome three or foure hundred thouſand, with which he hoped in thoſe fair plains of Aſſyria, to have over-born the few numbers of the invading Army. But it is a rule in the Philoſophy of the War;

*In omni prælio non tam multitudo, & virtus indocta, quam ars & exercitium ſolent præſtare victoriam; In every battell skill and practice do more towards the victory, than multitude and rude audacity.* Veget.

While *Alexander* gave reſt to his army after the paſſage over Tigris, there happened an Eclipſe of the Moone, of which the Macedonians, not knowing the cauſe and reaſon, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant (as the multitude alwaies are) took it for a certain preſage of their overthrow and deſtruction, in ſo much as they began not only to murmur, but to ſpeake it boldly, That for the ambition of one man, a man that diſdained *Philip* for his father, and would needs be called the ſon of *Jupiter*, they ſhould all periſh; For he not only enforc't them to make war againſt Worlds of enemies, but againſt Rivers, Mountaines, and the Heavens themſelves.

Hereupon *Alexander* being ready to march forward, made a halt, & to quiet the minds of the multitude, he called before him the Egyptian Aſtrologers, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might be aſſured that this defection of the Moon was a certain preſage of good ſucceſſe; for, that it was naturall they never imparted to the common people, but reſerved the knowledge to themſelves, ſo as a ſorry Almanack-maker had been no ſmall foole in thoſe daies.

Of this kind of ſuperſtitious obſervation *Cæſar* made good uſe, when he fought againſt *Arioviſtus* & the Germans: for they being perſwaded by the caſting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moone, they ſhould certainely loſe the battell, *Cæſar* forc't them to abide it, though they durſt not give it; wherein having their minds already beaten by their owne ſuperſtition, and being reſolutely charged by the Romans, the whole Army in effect periſhed.

Theſe Egyptians gave no other reaſon than this, That the Grecians were under the aſpect of the Sun, the perſians of the Moone; and therefore the Moone failing and being darkened, the ſtate of Perſia was now in danger of falling, and their glory of being obſcured. This judgement of the Egyptian Prieſts being noyſed through all the Army, all were ſatisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the Warre, which, though deviſed ſince, was well obſerved then: *Exercitum terrore plenum Dux ad pugnam non ducat; Let not a Captaine lead his Army to the fight, when it is poſſeſſed with matter of terrour.*

It is truely obſerved by *Curtius*, that the people are led by nothing ſo much as by ſuperſtition; yea, we finde it in all ſtories, and often in our owne, that by ſuch inventions, deviſed tales, dreames, and prophecies, the people of this Land have beene carried head-long into many dangerous tumults and inſurrections, and ſtill to their owne loſſe and ruine.

As *Alexander* drew neare the Perſian Army, certaine letters were ſurprized, written by *Darius* to the Grecians, perſwading them for great ſummes of mony, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. But theſe by the advice of *Parmenio* he ſuppreſſed.

At this time alſo *Darius* his faire Wife, oppreſt with ſorrow, and wearied with travell, died. Which accident *Alexander* ſeemed no leſſe to bewaile than *Darius*, who upon the firſt bruit, ſuſpected that ſome diſhonourable violence had been offered her; but being ſatisfied by an Eunuch of his owne that attended her, of *Alexanders* kingly reſpect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he deſired the immortall Gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Maſter of the Perſian Empire, then it would pleaſe them to confer it on ſo juſt and continent an enemy as *Alexander*, to whom he once againe before the laſt tryall by battell offered theſe conditions of peace.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliver up and reſigne all Aſia the leſſe, & with Egypt, all thoſe kingdoms between the Phœnician ſea, & the River of Euphrates; That he would pay him for the ranſome of his Mother, and his other Daughters, 30.

thouſand talents ,and that for the performance thereof,he would leave his ſonne *Occhus* in hoſtage: To this they ſought to perſwade *Alexander* by ſuch arguments as they had. *Alexander* cauſing the Embaſſadors to be removed, adviſed with his Councell, but heard no man ſpeak but *Parmenio*, the very right hand of his good fortune; who perſwaded him to accept of theſe faire conditions. He told him, that the Empire between Euphrates and Helleſpont was a faire addition to Macedon; that the retaining of the Perſian priſoners was a great cumber, & the treaſure offered for them of far better uſe than their perſons, with divers other arguments; all which *Alexander* rejected. And yet it is probable that if he had followed his advice, and bounded his ambition within thoſe limits, he might have lived as famous for vertue as for fortune, and left himſelfe a Succeſſor of able age to have enjoyed his eſtate, which afterward indeed he much enlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himſelfe: who to aſſure themſelves of what they had uſurped upon his iſſues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few years after. The truth is, That *Alexander* in going ſo far into the Eaſt, left behinde him the reputation which he brought out of Macedon; the reputation of a juſt and prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, adviſed and gratefull: and being taught new leſſons by abundance of proſperity, became a lover of wine, of his owne flattery, and of extreme cruelty. Yea, as *Seneca* hath obſerved, the taint of one unjuſt ſlaughter, amongſt many, defaced and withered the flouriſhing beauty of all his great acts and glorious victories obtained. But the Perſian Embaſſadors ſtay his anſwer, which was to this effect, That whatſoever he had beſtowed on the wife and children of *Darius*, proceeded from his owne naturall clemency and magnanimity, without all reſpect to their Maſter; but thanks to an enemy was improper: that he made no Wars againſt adverſity, but againſt thoſe that reſiſted him; not againſt Women and Children, but againſt armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius*, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great ſummes of money to perſwade his friends to attempt upon his perſon, he had reaſon to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant, yet he could not (were it otherwiſe and faithfull) reſolve in haſte to accept the ſame, ſeeing *Darius* had made the Warre againſt him, not as a King with Royall and overt-force, but as a Traytor by ſecret and baſe practice; That for the Territory offered him, it was already his owne, and if *Darius* could beat him back again over Euphrates, which he had already paſt, he would then beleeve that he offered him ſomewhat in his owne power: Otherwiſe he propounded to himſelfe for the reward of the War which he had made, all thoſe kingdomes as yet in *Darius* poſſeſſion; wherein, whether he were abuſed by his owne hopes or no, the battell which he meant to fight in the day following ſhould determine. For in concluſion, he told them, that he came into Aſia to give, & not to receive; That the heavens could not hold two Suns: and therefore if *Darius* would be content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his Superiour, he might perchance be perſwaded to give him conditions fit for a ſecond Perſon, and his Inferiour.

## §. X.

### *The battell of Arbela: and that it could not be ſo ſtrongly fought as report hath made it.*

WIth this anſwer the Embaſſadors return; *Darius* prepares to fight, & ſends *Mazeus* to defend a paſſage, which he never dared yet ſo much as to hazard. *Alexander* conſults with his Captaines, *Parmenio* perſwades him to force *Darius* his Camp by night; ſo that the multitude of enemies might not move terrour in the Macedonians being but few. *Alexander* diſdaines to ſteale the victory, and reſolves to bring with him the day-light, to witneſſe his valour. But it was the ſucceſſe that made good *Alexanders* reſolution, though the counſell given by *Parmenio* was more ſound: For it is a ground in Warre, *Si pauci neceſſariò cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, conſilium eſt noctis tempore belli fortunam tentare.* Notwithſtanding upon the view of the multitude at hand, he ſtaggers and trenches himſelfe upon a ground of advantage, which the Perſian had abandoned: And whereas *Darius* for feare of ſurpriſe had ſtood with his Army in armour all the day, and forborne ſleepe all the night; *Alexander* gave his men reſt and ſtore of foode; for reaſon had taught him this Rule in the Warre, *In pugna Milites validiùs reſiſtunt, ſi cibo potuque refecti fuerint, nam fames intrinſecus magis*

*magis pugnat, quàm ferrum exteriùs; Souldiers do the better ſtand to it in fight, if they have their bellies full of meate and drinke; for hunger within, fights more eagerly than ſteele without.*

The numbers which *Alexander* had, ſaith *Arrianus*, were forty thouſand foot, & ſeven thouſand horſe; theſe belike were of the Europæan Army: for he had beſides both Syrians, Indians, Egyptians, and Arabians, that followed him out of thoſe Regions. He uſed but a ſhort ſpeech to his Souldiers to encourage them; and I thinke that he needed little Rhetorick; for by the two former battels upon the River of Granick and in Cilicia, the Macedonians were beſt taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true ſaying, *Victoria victoriam parat, animumque victoribus auget, & adverſariis aufert; One victory begets another, and puts courage into thoſe that have already had the better, taking ſpirit away from thoſe that have been beaten.*

*Arrianus* and *Curtius* make large diſcriptions of this battell, fought at Gaugamela; They tell us of many charges and re-charges; That the victory inclined ſometime to the Perſians, ſometime to the Macedonians; That *Parmenio* was in danger of being overthrowne, who led the left wing; That *Alexanders* Rear-guard was broken, and his carriages loſt; That for the fierce and valorous encounters on both ſides, Fortune her ſelfe was long unreſolved on whom to beſtow the Garland: And laſtly, That *Alexander* in perſon wrought wonders, being charged in his retrait. But in concluſion, *Curtius* delivers us in account but three hundred dead Macedonians, in all this terrible daies work, ſaying, That *Epheſtion, Perdiccas*, and others of name were wounded. *Arrianus* finds not a third part of this number ſlaine; of the Perſians there fell forty thouſand (ſaith *Curtius*) thirty thouſand according to *Arrianus*: Ninety thouſand, if we beleeve *Diodore*. But what can we judge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former battels, the Perſians upon the firſt charge ran away, and that the Macedonians purſued? For if of thoſe foure or five hundred thouſand Aſians brought into the field by *Darius*, every man had caſt but a dart or a ſtone, the Macedonians could not have bought the Empire of the Eaſt at ſo eaſie a rate, as ſixe or ſeven hundred men in three notorious battels. Certainly, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* upon the banks of Euphrates, & had armed but fifty or threeſcore thouſand of this great multitude, only with Spades, (for the moſt of all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had been impoſſible for *Alexander* to have paſt that River ſo eaſily, much leſſe the river of Tigris. But as a man whoſe Empire God in his providence had determined, he abandoned all places of advantage, and ſuffered *Alexander* to enter ſo far into the bowels of his Kingdome, as all hope and poſſibility of eſcape by retrait being taken from the Macedonians, they had preſented unto them the choice, either of death or victory; to which election *Darius* could no way conſtraine his own, ſeeing they had many large Regions to run into from thoſe that invaded them.

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## §. XI.

### *Of things following the battell of Arbela. The yeelding of Babylon and Suſa.*

*Darius* after the rout of his Army recovered Arbela the ſame night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded unto them that ranne after him his purpoſe of making a retrait into Media, perſwading them that the Macedonians, greedy of ſpoyle and riches, would rather attempt Babylon, Suſa, and other Cities filled with treaſure, than purſue the vanquiſhed. This miſerable reſolution his Nobility rather obeyed than approved.

*Alexander* ſoon after *Darius* his departure arrives at Arbela, which with a great maſſe of treaſure, and Princely ornaments, was rendred to him: for the feare which conducted *Darius*, tooke nothing with it but ſhame and diſhonour. He that had been twice beaten, ſhould rather have ſent his treaſure into Media, than brought it to Arbela, ſo neare the place where he abid the comming of his enemies; if he had been victorious, he might have brought it after him at leaſure; but being overcome, he knew it unpoſſible to drive Mules and Camels laden with gold from the purſuing Enemy, ſeeing himſelfe, at the overthrow he had in Cilicia, caſt the Crowne from his head, to run away with the more ſpeed. But errors are then beſt diſcerned when moſt incurable. *Et præterita magis reprehendi poſſunt quàm corrigi; It is eaſier to reprehend than amend what is paſt.*

From *Arbela Alexander* tooke his way towards *Babylon*, where *Mazeus*, in whom *Darius* had moſt confidence, rendred himſelfe, his Children and the Citie. Alſo the Captain of the Caſtle, who was keeper of the treaſure, ſtrewed the ſtreets with flowers, burnt frankincenſe upon Altars of ſilver as *Alexander* paſſed by, and delivered unto him whatſoever was committed to his truſt. The *Magi* (the *Chaldæan* Aſtrologers) followed this Captaine in great ſolemnitie to entertaine their new King: after theſe came the *Babylonian* horſemen, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poore in warlike furniture. Betweene theſe (though not greatly to be feared) and himſelfe, *Alexander* cauſed his *Macedonian* foot-men to march. When he entred the Caſtle, he admired the glorie thereof, and the aboundance of treaſure therein found, amounting to fiftie thouſand talents of ſilver uncoyned. The Citie it ſelfe I have elſewhere deſcribed, with the Walls, the Towers, the Gates and Circuit, with the wonderfull place of pleaſure about two miles in Circuit, ſurrounded with a Wall of foureſcore foot high, and on the top thereof (being under-borne with Pillars) a Grove of beautifull and fruitfull trees, which it is ſaid that one of the Kings of *Babylon* cauſed to be built, that the Queene and other Princeſſes might walke privately therein. In this Citie, rich in all things, but moſt of all in voluptuous pleaſures, the King reſted himſelfe and the whole Armie foure and thirtie dayes, conſuming that time in banquetting and in all ſorts of effeminate exerciſe; which ſo much ſoftned the minds of the *Macedonians*, not acquainted til now with the like delicacies, as the ſevere diſcipline of war, which taught them the ſufferances of hunger and thirſt, of painefull travell, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

*An.6.Alex.*

Here it was that thoſe bands of a thouſand Souldiers were erected, and Commanders appointed over them, who thereupon were ſtiled *Chiliarchi*. This new order *Alexander* brought in, was to honour thoſe Captains which were found by certaine ſelected Judges to have deſerved beſt in the late war. For before this time the *Macedonian* companies conſiſted but of five hundred. Certainly the drawing down of the foot-bands in this latter age hath been the cauſe (ſaith the Marſhall *Monluc*) that the title and charge of a Captaine hath bin beſtowed on every *Picque-Bœuf* or Spurn-Cow; for when the Captaines of foot had a thouſand Souldiers under one Enſigne, and after that five hundred, as in the time of *Francis* the firſt, the title was honorable, and the kings were leſſe charged, and far better ſerved. K. *Henry* the eighth of *England* never gave the commandement of any of his good ſhips, but to men of knowne valour, and of great eſtate, nay ſometime he made two Gentlemen of qualitie Commanders in one ſhip: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While *Alexander* was yet in *Babylon*, there came to him a great ſupply out of *Europe*; for *Antipater* ſent him ſixe thouſand foot and five hundred horſe out of *Macedon*; of *Thracians* three thouſand foot, and the like number of horſe; & out of *Greece* four thouſand and foure hundred horſe, by which his Armie was greatly ſtrengthened: for thoſe that were infected with the pleaſures of *Babylon*, could hardly be brought againe, *De quitter la plume pour dormir ſur la dure; To change from ſoft beds to hard boords.*

He left the Caſtle and Citie of *Babylon*, with the Territories about it, in charge with three of his owne Captains, to wit, *Agathon*, *Minetus*, and *Appolidorus*; to ſupply all wants, a thouſand talents: but to grace *Mazeus*, who rendred the Citie unto him, he gave him the title of his Lievtenant over all, and tooke with him *Bagiſtines* that gave up the Caſtle, and having diſtributed to every Souldier a part of the Treaſure, he left *Babylon*, and entred into the Province *Satrapene*: from thence he went on towards *Suſa* in *Perſia*, the ſame which *Ptolomy*, *Herodotus*, and *Elianus* call *Memnonia*, ſituate on the river *Euleus*, a Citie ſometime governed by *Daniel* the Prophet. *Abulites* alſo, Governor of this famous Citie, gave it up to the Conqueror, with fiftie thouſand talents of ſilver in bullion, and twelve Elephants for the warre, with all other the treaſures of *Darius*. In this ſort did thoſe Vaſſals of fortune, lovers of the Kings proſperitie, not of his perſon, (for ſo all ambitious men are) purchaſe their owne peace and ſafetie with the Kings treaſures. And herein was *Alexander* well adviſed, that whatſoever titles he gave to the *Perſians*, yet he left all places of importance in truſt with his owne Captaines, to wit, *Babylon*, *Suſa*, and *Perſepolis*, with other Cities and Provinces by him conquered; for if *Darius* (as yet living) had beaten the *Macedonians* but in one battell, all the Nobilitie of *Perſia* would have returned unto their naturall Lord. Thoſe that are Traitors

*Diodor.* ſpeaketh of more than forty thouſand talents in bullion, and of nine millions of gold, *ſub dorrica forma excuſi.*

to their owne Kings, are never to be uſed alone in great enterpriſes by thoſe Princes that entertaine them, nor ever to be truſted with the defences of any frontier-Town, or Fortreſſe of weight, by the rendring whereof they may redeem their liberty and eſtates loſt. Hereof the French had experience, when *Don Pedro de Navarra,* being baniſhed out of Spaine, was truſted with Fonterabe, in the yeare 1523.

While *Alexander* ſpoiled Arbela, *Mazeus* might have furniſht the King from Babylon; and while he ſtayed foure and thirty dayes at Babylon, *Abulites* might have holpen him from Suſa: & while he feaſted there, *Tiridates* from Perſepolis might have relieved him; for the great maſſe of Treaſure was layd up in that City. But who hath ſought out and friended fearfull adverſity? It is certaine, that benefits binde not the ambitious, but the honeſt: for thoſe that are but greedy of themſelves, doe in all changes of fortune onely conſult the conſervation of their owne greatneſſe.

The government of Suſa, with the Caſtle and Treaſure, he committed to his own Macedonians, making *Abulites,* who rendred it unto him, his Lievtenant, as he had done *Mazeus* and others, in giving them titles, but neither truſt nor power; for he left three thouſand old Souldies in Garriſon to aſſure the place; and *Darius* mother and her children to repoſe themſelves.

It is ſaid that *Charles* the fift, having promiſed *Charles* of Bourbon the government of Marſeilles, if he could have forc't it, and whereof he made ſure accompt, told ſome of his neareſt Counſellors, that he meant nothing leſſe than the performance of that promiſe, becauſe hee ſhould thereby have left the Duke (revolted from his Maſter) very well wherewithall to have recovered his favour.

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## §. XII.

### *How* Alexander *came to Perſepolis and burnt it.*

FRom Suſa *Alexander* leadeth his Army toward Perſepolis, and when he ſought to paſſe thoſe Mountaines which ſunder Suſiana and Perſia, he was ſoundly beaten by *Ariobarzanes,* who defended againſt him thoſe Streights, called *Pylæ Perſidis,* or *Suſæidæ,* and after the loſſe of many Companies of his Macedonians, he was forc't to ſave himſelfe by retrait, cauſing his Foot to march cloſe together, and to cover themſelves with their Targets from the ſtones tumbled on them from the Mountain top. Yet in the end he found out another path, which a Lycian, living in that Country, diſcovered unto him, and came thereby ſuddenly in view of *Ariobarzanes,* who being enforc't to fight, upon even ground, was by *Alexander* broken, whereupon he fled to Perſepolis; but (after that they of Perſepolis had refuſed to receive him) he returned and gave a ſecond charge upon the Macedonians, wherein he was ſlain. In like manner did King *Francis* the firſt, in the year 1515. finde a way over the Alpes, the Switzers undertaking to defend all the paſſages, who, if their footmanſhip had not ſaved them upon the Kings deſcent on the other ſide, they had been ill payd for their hard lodging on thoſe Hils.

Foure thouſand Greeks, ſaith *Curtius* (*Juſtine* numbers them but at eight hundred) having bin taken priſoners by the Perſians, preſented themſelves to *Alexander* now in ſight of Perſepolis. Theſe had the barbarous Perſians ſo maimed and defaced, by cutting off their hands, noſes, eares, and other members, as they could no way have been known to their Countri-men, but by their voyces; to each of theſe *Alexander* gave three hundred Crownes, with new garments, and ſuch Lands as they liked to live upon.

*Tiridates,* one of *Darius* his falſe-hearted Grandes, hearing of *Alexanders* approach, made him know that Perſepolis was ready to receive him, and prayed him to double his pace, becauſe there was a determination in the people to ſpoyle the Kings treaſure. This City was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants upon *Alexanders* arrivall, and they that ſtayed followed the worſt counſell; for all was left to the liberty of the ſouldiers, to ſpoyle and kill at their pleaſure. There was no place in the world at that time, which, if it had been laid in the ballance with Perſepolis, would have weighed it downe. Babylon indeed, and Suſa, were very rich; but in Perſepolis lay the bulke and main ſtore of the Perſians. For after the ſpoyle that had been made of money, curious plate, bullion, Images of gold and ſilver, and other Jewels; there remained to *Alexander* himſelfe one hundred and twenty thouſand talents. He left the ſame number of three thouſand

Macedonians in Perſepolis, which he had done in Suſa, & gave the ſame formall honour to the traitor *Tiridates*, that he had done to *Abulites*; but he that had the truſt of the place was *Nicarides*, a creature of his owne. The body of his Army he left here for thirty dayes, of which the Commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, and with a thouſand horſe and certain troupes of choſen foot, he would needs view in the Winter-time thoſe parts of Perſia, which the Snow had covered; a fruitleſſe and fooliſh enterpriſe, but as *Seneca* ſaies: *Non ille ire vult, ſed non poteſt ſtare: He hath not a will to goe, but he is unable to ſtand ſtill.* It is ſaid and ſpoken in his praiſe, That when his Souldiers cryed out againſt him, becauſe they could not endure the extreme froſt, and make way, but with extreme difficulty, through the ſnow, that *Alexander* forſook his horſe, and led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremity, therby to ſhew how well himſelfe can endure it? His walking on foote did no otherwiſe take off their wearineſſe that followed him, than his ſometime forbearing to drinke did quench their thirſt, that could leſſe endure it. For mine owne little judgement, I ſhall rather commend that Captain that makes carefull proviſion for thoſe that follow him, & that ſeeks wiſely to prevent extreme neceſſity, than thoſe witleſſe arrogant fools, that make the vaunt of having endured equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance.

We find in all the Wars that *Cæſar* made, or the beſt of the Roman Commanders, that the proviſion of victuals was their firſt care. For it was a true ſaying of *Coligni*, Admirall of France; *That who ſo will ſhape that Beaſt* (meaning War) *muſt begin with his belly.*

But *Alexander* is now returned to Perſepolis, where thoſe Hiſtorians that were moſt amorous of his vertues, complaine, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberality, of his clemency towards the vanquiſhed, and all other his Kingly conditions, were drowned in drinke; That he ſmothered in carowſing cups all the reputation of his actions paſt, and that by deſcending, as it were, from the reverend Throne of the greateſt King, into the company and familiarity of baſe Harlots, he began to be deſpiſed both of his owne and all other Nations. For being perſwaded, when he was inflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, he cauſed the moſt ſumptuous and goodly Caſtle and Citie of Perſepolis to be conſumed with fire, notwithſtanding all the arguments of *Parmenio* to the contrary, who told him that it was a diſhonour to deſtroy thoſe things by the perſwaſions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a moſt ſtrong perſwaſion to the Aſians, to think hardly of him, and therby alien their hearts: for they might well beleeve that he which demoliſhed the goodlieſt Ornaments they had, meant nothing leſſe than (after ſuch vaſtation) to hold their poſſeſſion. *Per vinolentiam crudelitas ſequitur; Cruelty doth commonly follow drunkenneſſe:* For it ſo fell out ſoone after, and often, in *Alexander*.

Curt.Lib.5.

Sen.Epiſt.8.4.

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## §. XIII.

### *The Treaſon of* Beſſus *againſt* Darius. Darius *his death.*

About this time he received a new ſupply of Souldiers out of Cilicia, and goes on to finde *Darius* in Media. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and laſt Army, which he meant to have increaſed in Bactria, had he not heard of *Alexanders* comming on, with whom (truſting to ſuch companies as he had, which was numbred at thirty or forty thouſand) he determined once again to try his fortune. He therefore cals together his Captaines and Commanders, and propounds unto them his reſolution, who being deſperate of good ſucceſſe, uſed ſilence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldeſt men of Warre, who had ſometime lived with *Philip* of Macedon, brake the yce, and proteſting that he could never be beaten by any adverſity of the Kings, from the faith which he had ever ought him, with firme confidence, that all the reſt were of the ſame condition (whereof they likewiſe aſſured *Darius* by the like proteſtation) he approved the Kings reſolution. Two only, and thoſe the greateſt, to wit, *Naburzanes* and *Beſſus*, whereof the lrater was governour of Bactria, had conſpired againſt their Maſter; and therefore adviſed the King to lay a new foundation for the Warre, and to purſue it by ſome ſuch perſon for the preſent, againſt whom neither the gods nor fortune had in all things declared themſelves to be an enemy: this preamble *Naburzanes* uſed, and in concluſion adviſed the election of his fellow Traitor *Beſſus*, with promiſe that the warres ended, the Empire ſhould againe be reſtored to *Darius*. The King ſwollen with diſdain, preſt towards *Naburzanes* to have ſlain him, but *Beſſus* and the Bactrians whom he commanded, being more in number than the reſt, with-held him. In the meane while *Naburzanes* with-drew himſelfe, and *Beſſus* followed him, making their quarter a-part from the reſt of the Army. *Artabazus*, the Kings faithfull ſervant, perſwaded him to be adviſed and ſerve the time, ſeeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that he would at leaſt make ſhew of forgetting the offence made; which the King being of a gentle diſpoſition, willingly yeelded unto. *Beſſus* makes his ſubmiſſion, and attends the King, who removes his Army. *Patron*, who commanded a Regiment of four thouſand Greeks, which had in all the former battels ſerved *Darius* with great fidelity, and alwayes made the retrait in ſpight of the Macedonians, offered himſelfe to guard his perſon, proteſting againſt the Treaſon of *Beſſus*; but it was not his deſtiny to follow their advice who from the beginning of the Warre gave him faithfull counſell, but hee enclined ſtill to *Beſſus*, who told him, that the Greeks, with *Patron* their Captaine, were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practiſed the diviſion of his faithfull ſervants. *Beſſus* had drawne unto him thirty thouſand of the Army, promiſing them all thoſe things, by which the lovers of the World and themſelves are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, ſafety, and honour.

Now the day following *Darius* plainly diſcovered the purpoſes of *Beſſus*, and being overcome with paſſion, as thinking himſelfe unable to make head againſt theſe ungratefull and unnaturall Traytors, he prayed *Artabazus* his faithfull ſervant to depart from him, and to provide for himſelfe. In like ſort he diſcharged the reſt of his attendants, all ſave a few of his Eunuches; for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him: His Perſians being moſt baſe cowards, durſt not undertake his defence againſt the Bactrians, notwithſtanding that they had foure thouſand Greeks to joyne with him, who had been able to have beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forſakes himſelfe, no man followes. It had been far more Man-like and King-like, to have dyed in the head of thoſe foure thouſand Greeks, which offered him the diſpoſition of their lives, (to which *Artabazus* perſwaded him) than to have lyen bewailing himſelfe on the ground, and ſuffering himſelf to be bound like a ſlave by thoſe ambitious Monſters that laid hand on him, whom neither the conſideration of his former great eſtate, nor the honour he had given them, nor the truſt repoſed in them, nor the world of benefits beſtowed on them, could move to pity: no, nor his preſent adverſity, which above all things ſhould have moved them, could pierce their viperous and ungratefull hearts. Vaine it was indeed to hope it; for infidelity hath no compaſſion.

Now *Darius*, thus forſaken, was bound & laid in a Cart, covered with hides of Beaſts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be diſcovered; & to adde deſpight and deriſion to his adverſity, they faſtned him with Chaines of Gold, and ſo drew him on among their ordinarie Carriages and Carts. For *Beſſus* and *Naburzanes* perſwaded themſelves to redeeme their lives and the Provinces they held, either by delivering him a priſoner to *Alexander*, or, if that hope failed, to make themſelves kings by his ſlaughter, and then to defend themſelves by force of Armes. But they failed in both. For it was againſt the nature of God, who is moſt juſt, to pardon ſo ſtrange villanie, yea, though againſt a Prince purely Heatheniſh and an Idolater.

*Alexander* having knowledge that *Darius* was retired towards *Bactria*, and durſt not abide his comming, haſtened after him with a violent ſpeed, and becauſe he would not force his footmen beyond their powers, he mounted on horſ-back certain ſelected companies of them, & beſt armed, & with ſix thouſand other horſe, rather ran than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the Treaſon of *Beſſus*, and ſecretly forſooke him, gave knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Beſſus* took, and how neere he was at hand: for many men of worth daily ran from him. Heereupon *Alexander* againe doubled his pace, and his Vant-guard being diſcovered by *Beſſus* his Reare, *Beſſus* brought a Horſe to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perſwading him to mount thereon, and to ſave himſelfe. But the unfortunate King refuſing to follow thoſe that had betrayed him, they caſt Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beaſts that drew him, and ſlew two poor Servants that attended his perſon. This done, they all fled that could, leaving the reſt to the mercie of the *Macedonian* ſwords.

*Polyſtratus*

Macedonians in Perſepolis, which he had done in Suſa, & gave the ſame formall honour to the traitor *Tiridates*, that he had done to *Abulites*; but he that had the truſt of the place was *Nitarides*, a creature of his owne. The body of his Army he left here for thirty dayes, of which the Commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, and with a thouſand horſe and certain troupes of choſen foot, he would needs view in the Winter-time thoſe parts of Perſia, which the Snow had covered; a fruitleſſe and fooliſh enterpriſe, but as *Seneca* ſaies: *Non ille ire vult, ſed non poteſt ſtare: He hath not a will to goe, but he is unable to ſtand ſtill.* It is ſaid and ſpoken in his praiſe, That when his Souldiers cryed out againſt him, becauſe they could not endure the extreme froſt, and make way, but with extreme difficulty, through the ſnow, that *Alexander* forſook his horſe, and led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremity, therby to ſhew how well himſelfe can endure it? His walking on foote did no otherwiſe take off their wearineſſe that followed him, than his ſometime forbearing to drinke did quench their thirſt, that could leſſe endure it. For mine owne little judgement, I ſhall rather commend that Captain that makes carefull proviſion for thoſe that follow him, & that ſeeks wiſely to prevent extreme neceſſity, than thoſe witleſſe arrogant fools, that make the vaunt of having endured equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance.

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## §. XIII.

### *The Treaſon of* Beſſus *againſt* Darius. Darius *his death.*

ABout this time he received a new ſupply of Souldiers out of Cilicia, and goes on to finde *Darius* in Media. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and laſt Army, which he meant to have increaſed in Bactria, had he not heard of *Alexanders* comming on, with whom (truſting to ſuch companies as he had, which was numbred at thirty or forty thouſand) he determined once again to try his fortune. He therefore cals together his Captaines and Commanders, and propounds unto them his reſolution, who being deſperate of good ſucceſſe, uſed ſilence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldeſt men of Warre, who had ſometime lived with *Philip* of Macedon, brake the yce, and proteſting that he could never be beaten by any adverſity of the Kings, from the faith which he had ever ought him, with firme confidence, that all the reſt were of the ſame condition (whereof they likewiſe aſſured *Darius* by the like proteſtation) he approved the Kings reſolution. Two only, and thoſe the greateſt, to wit, *Naburzanes* and *Beſſus*, whereof the ltater was governour of Bactria, had conſpired againſt their Maſter; and therefore adviſed the King to lay a new foundation for the Warre, and to purſue it by ſome ſuch perſon for the preſent, againſt whom neither the gods nor fortune had in all things declared themſelves to be an enemy: this preamble *Naburzanes* uſed, and in concluſion adviſed the election of his fellow Traitor *Beſſus*, with promiſe that the warres ended, the Empire ſhould againe be reſtored to *Darius*. The King ſwollen with diſdain, preſt towards *Naburzanes* to have ſlain him, but *Beſſus* and the Bactrians whom he commanded, being more in number than the reſt, with-held him. In the meane while *Naburzanes* with-drew himſelfe, and *Beſſus* followed him, making their quarter a-part from the reſt of the Army. *Artabazus*, the Kings faithfull ſervant, perſwaded him to be adviſed and ſerve the time, ſeeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that he would at leaſt make ſhew of forgetting the offence made; which the King being of a gentle diſpoſition, willingly yeelded unto. *Beſſus* makes his ſubmiſſion, and attends the King, who removes his Army. *Patron*, who commanded a Regiment of four thouſand Greeks, which had in all the former battels ſerved *Darius* with great fidelity, and alwayes made the retrait in ſpight of the Macedonians, offered himſelfe to guard his perſon, proteſting againſt the Treaſon of *Beſſus*; but it was not his deſtiny to follow their advice who from the beginning of the Warre gave him faithfull counſell, but hee enclined ſtill to *Beſſus*, who told him, that the Greeks, with *Patron* their Captaine, were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practiſed the diviſion of his faithfull ſervants. *Beſſus* had drawne unto him thirty thouſand of the Army, promiſing them all thoſe things, by which the lovers of the World and themſelves are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, ſafety, and honour.

Now the day following *Darius* plainly diſcovered the purpoſes of *Beſſus*, and being overcome with paſſion, as thinking himſelfe unable to make head againſt theſe ungratefull and unnaturall Traytors, he prayed *Artabazus* his faithfull ſervant to depart from him, and to provide for himſelfe. In like ſort he diſcharged the reſt of his attendants, all ſave a few of his Eunuches; for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him: His Perſians being moſt baſe cowards, durſt not undertake his defence againſt the Bactrians, notwithſtanding that they had foure thouſand Greeks to joyne with him, who had been able to have beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forſakes himſelfe, no man followes. It had been far more Man-like and King-like, to have dyed in the head of thoſe foure thouſand Greeks, which offered him the diſpoſition of their lives, (to which *Artabazus* perſwaded him) than to have lyen bewailing himſelfe on the ground, and ſuffering himſelf to be bound like a ſlave by thoſe ambitious Monſters that laid hand on him, whom neither the conſideration of his former great eſtate, nor the honour he had given them, nor the truſt repoſed in them, nor the world of benefits beſtowed on them, could move to pity: no, nor his preſent adverſity, which above all things ſhould have moved them, could pierce their viperous and ungratefull hearts. Vaine it was indeed to hope it; for infidelity hath no compaſſion.

Now *Darius*, thus forſaken, was bound & laid in a Cart, covered with hides of Beaſts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be diſcovered; & to adde deſpight and deriſion to his adverſity, they faſtned him with Chaines of Gold, and ſo drew him on among their ordinarie Carriages and Carts. For *Beſſus* and *Naburzanes* perſwaded themſelves to redeeme their lives and the Provinces they held, either by delivering him a priſoner to *Alexander*, or, if that hope failed, to make themſelves kings by his ſlaughter, and then to defend themſelves by force of Armes. But they failed in both. For it was againſt the nature of God, who is moſt juſt, to pardon ſo ſtrange villanie, yea, though againſt a Prince purely Heatheniſh and an Idolater.

*Alexander* having knowledge that *Darius* was retired towards *Bactria*, and durſt not abide his comming, haſtened after him with a violent ſpeed, and becauſe he would not force his footmen beyond their powers, he mounted on horſ-back certain ſelected companies of them, & beſt armed, & with ſix thouſand other horſe, rather ran than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the Treaſon of *Beſſus*, and ſecretly forſooke him, gave knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Beſſus* took, and how neere he was at hand: for many men of worth daily ran from him. Heereupon *Alexander* againe doubled his pace, and his Vant-guard being diſcovered by *Beſſus* his Reare, *Beſſus* brought a Horſe to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perſwading him to mount thereon, and to ſave himſelfe. But the unfortunate King refuſing to follow thoſe that had betrayed him, they caſt Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beaſts that drew him, and ſlew two poor Servants that attended his perſon. This done, they all fled that could, leaving the reſt to the mercie of the *Macedonian* ſwords.

*Polyſtratus* a Macedonian, being by purſuite of the vanquiſhed preſt with thirſt, as he was refreſhing himſelfe with ſome water that he had diſcovered, eſpying a Cart with a Teame of wounded beaſts breathing for life, and not able to move, ſearched the ſame, and therein found *Darius* bathing in his owne bloud: And by a Perſian captive which followed this *Polyſtratus*, he underſtood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of his barbarous Tragedy. *Darius* alſo ſeemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the living God can be comforted) that he caſt not out his laſt ſorrowes unheard, but that by this Macedonian, *Alexander* might know and take vengeance on thoſe Traytors, which had dealt no leſſe unworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their revenge to *Alexander* by this meſſenger, which he beſought him to purſue, not becauſe *Darius* had deſired it, but for his own honour, and for the ſafety of all that did, or ſhould after weare Crownes. He alſo having nothing elſe to preſent, rendred thanks to *Alexander* for the Kingly grace uſed towards his Wife, Mother, & Children, deſiring the immortall gods to ſubmit unto him the Empire of the whole World. As he was thus ſpeaking impatient death preſſing out his few remaining ſpirits, he deſired water, which *Polyſtratus* preſented him, after which he lived but to tell him, that of all the beſt things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his laſt breath, wherewith to deſire the gods to reward his compaſſion.

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## §. XIV.

### *How* Alexander *purſued* Beſſus, *and tooke into his grace* Darius *his Captaines*.

IT was now hoped by the Macedonians, that their travels were neare an end, every man preparing for his returne. Hereof when *Alexander* had knowledge, he was greatly grieved; for the bounded earth ſufficed not his boundleſſe Ambition. Many arguments he therefore uſed to draw on his Army farther into the Eaſt, but that which had moſt ſtrength, was, that *Beſſus*, a moſt cruell traytor to his Maſter *Darius*, having at his devotion the Hyrcanians and Bactrians, would in ſhort time (if the Macedonians ſhould return) make himſelfe Lord of the Perſian Empire, and enjoy the fruits of all their former travels. In concluſion he wan their conſents to go on: which done, leaving *Craterus* with certaine Regiments of foot, and *Amyntas* with ſixe thouſand horſe in Parthenia, he enters not without ſome oppoſition into Hyrcania; for the Mardons, and other barbarous Nations, defended certaine paſſages for a while. He paſſeth the river of Zioberis, which taking beginning in Parthia, diſſolves it ſelſe in the Caſpian Sea: it runneth under the ledge of Mountains, which bound Parthia & Hyrcania, where hiding it ſelf under ground for three hundred furlongs, it then riſeth again, & followeth its former courſe. In Zadracarta or Zeudracarta, the ſame Citie which *Ptolomy* writes Hyrcania, the Metropolis of that Region, he reſted fifteen dayes, banquetting and feaſting therein.

*Phataphernes*, one of *Darius* his greateſt Commanders, with others of his beſt followers, ſubmit themſelves to *Alexander*, and were reſtored to their places and governments. But of all other he graced *Artabazus* moſt highly for his approved and conſtant faith to his maſter *Darius*. *Artabazus* brought with him ten thouſand & five hundred Greekes, the remainder of all thoſe that had ſerved *Darius*; He treats with *Alexander* for their pardon, before they were yet arrived, but in the end, they render themſelves ſimply without promiſe or compoſition: he pardons all but the Lacedæmonians, whom he impriſoned, their Leader having ſlaine himſelfe. He was alſo wrought (though to his great diſhonour) to receive *Nabarzanes* that had joyned with *Beſſus* to murder *Darius*.

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## §. XV.

### *Of* Thaleſtris *Queen of the Amazons; where by way of digreſſion, it is ſhewed, that ſuch Amazons have been and are.*

HEre it is ſaid that *Thaleſtris* or *Minothea*, a Queene of the Amazons, came to viſite him, and her ſuit was, (which ſhe eaſily obtained) that ſhe might accompany him till ſhe were made with child by him: which done (refuſing to follow him into India) ſhe returned into her owne Country.

*Plutarch* citeth many Hiſtorians, reporting this meeting of *Thaleſtris* with *Alexander*, and ſome contradicting it. But indeed, the letters of *Alexander* himſelfe to *Antipater*, recounting all that befell him in thoſe parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this Amazonian buſineſſe, may juſtly breed ſuſpition of the whole matter as forged. Much more juſtly may we ſuſpect it as a vaine tale, becauſe an Hiſtorian of the ſame time reading one of his bookes to *Lyſimachus* (then King of Thrace) who had followed *Alexander* in all his voyage, was laught at by the King for inſerting ſuch newes of the Amazons; and *Lyſimachus* himſelfe had never heard of. One that accompanied *Alexander*, tooke upon him to write his acts; which to amplifie, He told how the King had fought ſingle with an Elephant, and ſlaine it. The King hearing ſuch ſtuffe, caught the booke, and threw it into the river of Indus; ſaying, that it were well done to throw the writer after it, who by inſerting ſuch fables, diſparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as we beleeve & know that there are Elephants, though it were falſe that *Alexander* fought with one; ſo may we give credit unto writers making mention of ſuch Amazons, whether it were true or falſe that they met with *Alexander*; as *Plutarch* leaves the matter undetermined. Therefore I will here take leave to make digreſſion, as well to ſhew the opinions of the ancient Hiſtorians, Coſmographers, and others, as alſo of ſome moderne diſcoverers touching theſe warlike Women, becauſe not only *Strabo*, but many others of theſe our times make doubt, whether or no there were any ſuch kind of people. *Julius Solinus* ſeates them in the North parts of Aſia the leſſe. *Pom. Mela* finds two Sol.c.27.& 65. Regions filled with them; the one on the River Thermodoon, the other neare the Caſpian Sea; *Quas* (ſaith he) *Sauromatidas appellant*; *Which the people call Sauromatidas*. Lib.1. The former of theſe two had the Cimerians for their Neighbours; *Certum eſt* (ſaith *Vadianus*, who hath commented upon *Mela*) *illos proximos Amazonibus fuiſſe*; *It is certaine* Ptol.lib.6. *that the Cimerians were the next Nations to the Amazons*. *Ptolomy* ſets them farther into Aſiæ Tab.2. the Land North-wards, neare the Mountaines Hippaci, not far from the Pillars of *A-* Plin.l.6.c.20. *lexander*. And that they had Dominion in Aſia it ſelfe toward India, *Solinus* and *Pliny* tell us, Where they governed a people called the Pandeans, or Padeans, ſo called after *Pandea* the Daughter of *Hercules*, from whom all the reſt derive themſelves. *Claudian* affirmes, That they commanded many Nations: For he ſpeakes (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus:

> *Medis levibuſque Sabæis* Claud.de cap. Proſerpina.
> *Imperat hic Sexus: Reginarumque ſub armis,*
> *Barbariæ pars magna jacet.*

> Over the Medes, and light Sabæans reignes
> This female ſexe: and under armes of Queen,
> Great part of the Barbarian Land remaines.

*Diodorus Siculus* hath heard of them in Lybia, who were more ancient (ſaith he) than Lib.2. thoſe which kept the banks of Thermodoon, a River falling into the Euxine Sea, neare Heraclium.

*Herodotus* doth alſo make report of theſe Amazons, whom he tels us that the Scythians call *Æorpatas*, which is as much as *Viricidas*, or men-killers. And that they made incurſion into Aſia the leſſe, ſackt Epheſus, & burnt the Temple of *Diana*, *Manethon*, & *Aventinus* report, which they performed forty years after Troy was taken. At the ſiege of Troy it ſelfe we reade of *Penthesilea*, That ſhe came to the ſuccour of *Priamus*. Aeneiad.1.l.3.

*Am. Marcellinus* gives the cauſe of their inhabiting upon the River of Thermodoon, L.22.c.7. ſpeaking confidently of the wars they made with divers Nations, & of their overthrow.

*Plutarch* in the life of *Theſeus*, out of *Philochorus*, *Hellenicus*, and other ancient Hiſtorians, reports the taking of *Antiopa* Queen of the Amazons by *Hercules*, and by him given to *Theſeus*, though ſome affirme, That *Theſeus* himſelf got her by ſtealth, when ſhe came to viſit him aboord his ſhip. But in ſubſtance there is little difference, all confeſſing, That ſuch Amazons there were. The ſame Author in the life of *Pompey* ſpeakes of certaine companies of the Amazons, that came to ayde the Albanians againſt the Romans, by whom after the battell, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken up: and he ſaith farther, That theſe women entertain the Gelæ and Lelages once a year, Nations inhabiting between them and the Albanians.

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of *Amazons* that were in the old times, *Fran. Lopez*, who hath written the navigation of *Orellana*, which he made down the river of *Amazons* from *Peru*, in the yeare 1542. (upon which river, for the divers turnings, he is ſaid to have ſailed ſixe thouſand miles) reports from the relation of the ſaid *Orellana*, to the Councell of the *Indies*, That he both ſaw thoſe women, and fought with them, where they ſought to impeach his paſſage towards the Eaſt-Sea.

Hiſt.Ind.part.1. c.28.

It is alſo reported by *Ulrichus Schmidel*, that in the yeare 1542. when he ſailed up the Rivers of *Paragna* and *Parabol*, that he came to a King of that country, called *Scherves*, inhabiting under the Tropicke of *Capricorne*, who gave his Captaine *Ernando Rieffere*, a Crown of ſilver, which he had gotten in fight from a Queene of the *Amazons* in thoſe parts.

*Ed. Lopez* in his deſcription of the Kingdome of *Congo*, makes relation of ſuch *Amazons*, telling us, That (agreeable to the reports of elder times) they burne off their right breaſts, and live apart from men, ſave at one time of the year, when they feaſt and accompany them for one moneth. Theſe (ſaith he) poſſeſſe a part of the Kingdome of *Monomotapa* in Africa, nineteen degrees to the Southward of the line: and that theſe women are the ſtrongeſt Guards of this Emperour, all the Eaſt Indian *Portugals* know.

I have produced theſe authorities in part, to juſtifie mine owne relation of theſe *Amazons*, becauſe that which was delivered me for truth by an ancient *Cacique* of *Guiana*, how upon the River of *Papamena* (ſince the *Spaniſh* diſcoveries called *Amazons*) that theſe women ſtill live and govern, was held for a vain and unprobable report.

## §. XVI.

### *How* Alexander *fell into the Perſian Luxurie: and how he further purſued* Beſſus.

Now as *Alexander* had begun to change his conditions after the taking of *Perſepolis*: ſo at this time his proſperitie had ſo much over-wrought his vertue, as he accounted clemencie to be but baſeneſſe, and the temperance which he had uſed all his life time, but a poor and dejected humour, rather becomming the inſtructers of his youth, than the condition and ſtate of ſo mightie a King as the World could not equall. For he perſwaded himſelfe that he now repreſented the greatneſſe of the gods; he was pleaſed that thoſe that came before him, ſhould fall to the ground and adore him, he ware the robes and garments of the *Perſians*, and commanded that his Nobilitie ſhould doe the like: he entertained in his Court and Camp, the ſame ſhameleſſe rabble of Curtiſans, and Sodomiticall Eunuchs, that *Darius* had done, and imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous, and deteſted maners of the *Perſians*, whom he had vanquiſhed. So licentious is felicitie, as notwithſtanding that he was fully perſwaded, that the gods whom he ſerved (deteſting the vices of the invaded) aſſiſted him in all attempts againſt them, he himſelf, contrary to the Religion he profeſt (which how Idolatrous ſoever it were, could not be but fearfull unto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, & not by ignorance or education, a more foule and fearfull Monſter than *Darius*, from whoſe tyrannie he vaunted to have delivered ſo many Nations. Yea, thoſe that were deareſt and neareſt unto him, began to be aſhamed of him, entertaining each other with this, and the like ſcornefull diſcourſe; That *Alexander* of *Macedon* was become one of *Darius* his licentious Courtiers; That by his example, the *Macedonians* were in the end of ſo many travels, more impoveriſhed in their vertues, than inriched by their victories; and that it was hard to judge whether the Conquerors, or the Conquered were the baſer ſlaves. Neither were theſe opinions ſo reſerved, but that the noiſe of them came to his eares. He therefore with great gifts ſought to pacifie the better ſort, and thoſe of whoſe judgments he was moſt jealous; and making it knowne to the Armie, that *Beſſus* had aſſumed the title of a King, and called himſelfe *Artaxerxes*, and that he had compounded a great Armie of the *Bactrians*, and other Nations, he had arguments enow to perſwade them to goe on, to the end that all alreadie gotten, might not with themſelves (ſo farre ingaged) be caſt away. And becauſe they were peſtered with the ſpoiles of ſo many Cities, as the whole armie ſeemed but the guard of their carriages, (not much unlike the warfare of the *French*) having commanded every mans fardels to be brought into the market-place, he, together with his owne, cauſed all to be conſumed with fire. Certainly, this could not but have proved moſt dangerous unto him, ſeeing the common Souldiers had more intereſt in theſe things which they had bought with their painefull travailes, and with their bloud, than in the Kings ambition; had not (as *Seneca* often obſerved) his happy temerity overcome all things. As he was in his way, newes came to him, that *Satribarzanes*, whom he had eſtabliſhed in his former governement over the *Arrians*, was revolted; whereupon leaving the way of *Bactria*, he ſought him out; but the Rebell, hearing of his comming, fled to *Beſſus*, with two thouſand Horſe. He then went on towards *Beſſus*, and by ſetting a great pile of wood on fire, with the advantage of a ſtrong winde, won the paſſage over an high & unacceſſable Rocke, which was defended againſt him with thirteene thouſand foot. For the extremity of the Flame & ſmoake forced them from the place, otherwiſe invincible. I ſaw in the third civill warre of *France*, certaine Caves in *Languedoc*, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high Rockes, which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at laſt, by certaine bundels of ſtraw, let down by an yron chaine, & a waighty ſtone in the middeſt, thoſe that defended it, were ſo ſmothered, as they rendred themſelves, with their plate, mony, and other goods therein hidden. There were alſo ſome three yeers before my arrivall in *Guiana*, three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, ſmothered to death, together with their Horſes, by the Countrie-people, who did ſet the long dry graſſe on fire to the Eaſtward of them, (the winde in thoſe parts being alwayes Eaſt) ſo as notwithſtanding their flying from the ſmoake, there was not any one that eſcaped. Sir *John Borrowes* alſo, with a hundred *Engliſh*, was in great danger of being loſt at *Margarita*, in the *Weſt-Indies*, by having the graſſe fired behinde him; but the ſmoake being timefully diſcovered, he recovered the Sea-ſhore with the loſſe of ſixteene of his men. I remember theſe things, but to give caution to thoſe that ſhall in times to come invade any part of thoſe Countries, that they alwayes, before they paſſe into the Land, burne down the graſſe and ſedge to the Eaſt of them; they may otherwiſe, without any other enemy than a handfull of ſtraw ſet on fire, dye the death of hony-Bees, burnt out of the Hive.

## §. XVII.

### *A Conſpiracie againſt* Alexander. *The death of* Philotas *and* Parmenio.

ALexander was, after he parted hence, no where reſiſted, till he came into *Aria*, to the Eaſt of *Bactria*, where the chiefe City of that Province, called *Artacoana*, was a while defended againſt him, by the revolt of *Satribarzanes*, but in the end hee received the Inhabitants to mercie. At this place his Army was re-enforced with a new ſupply of five thouſand and five hundred foot, and neere five hundred Horſe, out of *Greece*, *Theſſalie*, and other places. His journey out of *Perſia* into theſe parts, is very confuſedly deſcribed. For having (as all his Hiſtorians tell us) a determination to find *Beſſus* in *Bactria*, he leaves it at the very entrance, and takes the way of *Hyrcania*, from thence he wanders Northwards towards the obſcure *Mardi*, upon the *Caſpian*-Sea, and thence over the Mountaine *Coronus* into *Aria*, and *Drangiana*.

At this time it was that the treaſon of *Dimnus* brake out, of which *Philotas* the ſonne of *Parmenio* was accuſed, as acceſſary, if not principall. This *Dimnus*, having (I know not upon what ground) conſpired with ſome others againſt the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nichomachus*, a young man whom he loved, into the ſame treaſon. The Youth, although he was firſt bound by oath to ſecrecy, when he heard ſo foule a matter uttered, began to proteſt againſt it ſo vehemently, that his friend was like to have ſlaine him for ſecurity of his owne life. So, conſtrained by feare, he made ſhew as if hee had bin won by perſwaſion; and by ſeeming at length to like well of the buſineſſe, he was told more at large what they were that had undertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of ranke, whoſe names *Dimnus* (to countenance the enterpriſe) reckoned up to *Nichomachus*. *Nichomachus* had no ſooner freed himſelfe from the company of this Traitor *Dimnus*, than he acquainted his owne brother *Ceballinus* with the whole Hiſtory: whereupon it was agreed betweene them, that *Ceballinus* (who might with leaſt ſuſpition) ſhould goe to the Court, and utter all. *Ceballinus*, meeting with *Philotas*, told him the whole buſines; deſiring him to acquaint the King therewith: which he promiſed to do, but did not. Two dayes paſſed, and *Philotas* never brake with the King about the matter, but ſtill excuſed himſelfe to *Ceballinus* by the Kings want of leiſure. This his coldneſſe bred ſuſpition, and cauſed *Ceballinus* to addreſſe himſelfe to another, one *Metron*, Keeper of the Kings Armorie, who forth-with brought him to *Alexanders* preſence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had paſſed betweene *Ceballinus* and *Philotas*, did fully perſwade himſelfe that this concealement of the treaſon, argued his hand to have bin in the buſineſſe. Therefore when *Dimnus* was brought before him, hee asked the Traitor no other queſtion than this: *Wherein have I ſo offended thee, that thou ſhouldeſt thinke* Philotas *more worthy to be King than I?* *Dimnus* perceiving when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had ſo wounded himſelf, that he lived no longer, than to give his laſt groane in the Kings preſence. Then was *Philotas* called, & charged with the ſuſpition, which his ſilence might juſtly breede. His anſwer was, That when the practice was revealed unto him by *Nichomachus*, he judging it to bee but frivolous, did forbeare to acquaint *Alexander* therewithall, untill he might have better information. This errour of his, (if it were onely an errour) although *Alexander*, for the notorious ſervices of his Father *Parmenio*, of his brother *Nicanor* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himſelfe, had freely pardoned & given him his hand for aſſurance; yet by the inſtigation of *Craterus*, he againe ſwallowed his Princely promiſe, and made his enemies his Judges. *Curtius* gives a note of *Craterus* in this buſineſſe; How he perſwaded himſelfe, that he could never finde a better occaſion to oppreſſe his private enemie, than by pretending piety, and dutie towards the King. Hereof a Poet of our own hath given a note as much better, as it is more generall in his *Philotas*:

See how theſe great men cloathe their private hate,
In theſe faire colours of the publike good,
And, to effect their ends, pretend the State,
As if the State by their affection ſtood:
And, arm'd with power and Princes jealouſies,
Will put the leaſt conceit of diſcontent
Into the greateſt ranke of treacheries,
That no one action ſhall ſeeme innocent:
Yea valour, honour, bountie, ſhall be made
As acceſſaries unto ends unjuſt:
And even the ſervice of the State muſt lade
The needfull'ſt undertaking with diſtruſt;
So that baſe vileneſſe, idle Luxurie,
Seeme ſafer farre, than to doe worthily, &c.

Now although it were ſo, that the King, following the advice of *Craterus*, had reſolved the next day to put *Philotas* to torment, yet in the very evening of the ſame night in which he was apprehended, hee called him to a banquet, and diſcourſed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night *Philotas* was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him began to binde him, he cryed out upon the King in theſe words: O Alexander, *the malice of mine Enemies hath ſurmounted they mercy, and their hatred is farre more conſtant than the word of a King*. Many circumſtances were urged againſt him by *Alexander* himſelfe (for the Kings of *Macedon* did in perſon examine the accuſations of treaſon) & this was not the leaſt (not the leaſt offence, indeed, againſt the Kings humour, who deſired to be glorified as a God) That when *Alexander* wrote unto him concerning the title given him by *Jupiter Hammon*; He anſwered, That he could not but rejoyce that he was admitted into that ſacred Fellowſhip of the gods, and yet he could not but withall grieve for thoſe that ſhould live under ſuch a one as would exceede the nature of man. This was (ſaith *Alexander*) a firme perſwaſion unto me, that his heart was changed, and that he held my glory in diſpight. See what a ſtrange Monſter Flatterie is, that can perſwade Kings to kill thoſe that doe not praiſe and allow thoſe things in them, which are of all other moſt to be abhorred. *Philotas* was brought before the multitude, to heare the Kings Oration againſt him: he was brought forth in vile garments, and bound like a Theefe; where he heard himſelfe, and his abſent Father, the greateſt Captaine of the World, accuſed; his two other Brothers, *Hector* and *Nicanor* having beene loſt in the preſent Warre. He was ſo greatly oppreſt with griefe, as for a while he could utter nothing but teares, and ſorrow had ſo waſted his ſpirits, as he ſanke under thoſe that led him. In the end, the King asked him, In what language he would make his defence; he anſwered, In the ſame wherein it had pleaſed the King to accuſe him; which he did, to the end that the *Perſians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might underſtand him. But hereof the King made his advantage, perſwading the aſſembly, that he diſdained the language of his owne Country, and ſo with-drawing himſelfe, left him to his mercileſſe enemies.

This proceeding of the Kings, *Philotas* greatly lamented, ſeeing the King, who had ſo ſharply inveighed againſt him, would not vouchſafe to heare his excuſe. For not his enemies onely were imboldened thereby againſt him, but all the reſt, having diſcovered the Kings diſpoſition and reſolution, contending among themſelves, which of them ſhould exceede in hatred towards him. Among many other arguments, which he uſed in his own defence, this was not the weakeſt; That when *Nicomachus* deſired to know of *Dimnus*, what men of marke and power were his partners in the conſpiracie (as ſeeming unwilling to adventure himſelfe with meane and baſe Companions) *Dimnus* named unto him *Demetrius* of the Kings Chamber, *Nicanor*, *Amyntas*, & ſome others; but ſpake not a word of *Philotas*, who by being Commander of the Horſe, would greatly have valued the party, and have incouraged *Nicomachus*. Indeede, as *Philotas* ſaid well for himſelfe, it is likely that *Dimnus*, thereby the better to have heartned *Nicomachus*, would have named him, though he had never dealt with him in any ſuch practice. And for more certaine proofe, that he knew nothing of their intents that practiſed againſt the King, there was not any one of the Conſpirators, being many, inforc'd by torments, or otherwiſe, that could accuſe him; and it is true, that adverſity being ſeldome able to beare her own burden, is for the moſt part found ſo malicious, as ſhe rather deſires to draw others (not alwayes deſerving it) into the ſame danger, than to ſpare any that it can accuſe. Yet at the laſt, howſoever it were, to avoid the extremity of reſiſtleſſe and unnaturall torments, deviſed by his profeſt enemies *Craterus*, *Cenus*, *Epheſtion*, and others, *Philotas* accuſed his owne ſelfe; being perſwaded that they would have ſlaine him forthwith. But he failed even in that miſerable hope, and ſuffering all that could be laid on fleſh and bloud, he was forced to deliver, not what he knew, but whatſoever beſt pleaſed their eares, that were farre more mercileſſe than death it ſelfe.

Of this kinde of judiciall proceeding S. *Auguſtine* greatly complaineth, as a matter to be bewailed, ſaith he, with Fountaines of teares. *Quid cum in ſua cauſa quiſque torquetur: & cum quæritur utrum ſit nocens, cruciatur: & innocens luit pro incerto ſcelere certiſſimas pœnas: non quia illud commiſiſſe detegitur, ſed quia non commiſiſſe neſcitur? What ſhall we ſay to it, when one is put to torture in his own cauſe; and tormented whileſt yet it is in queſtion whether he be guilty; and being innocent, ſuffers aſſured puniſhment for a fault, of which there is no certaintie: not becauſe he is knowne to have committed the offence, but becauſe others doe not know that he hath not committed it?*

Aug. de Civit. Dei lib.1.c.6.

It had beene enough for *Alexanders* ſafety, if *Philotas* had been put to death without torment; the reſt would not much have grieved thereat, becauſe he was greatly ſuſpected. But *Hemolaus*, who afterward conſpired againſt him, made the Kings cruelty and delight in bloud, the greateſt motive of his owne ill intent. Therefore, *Seneca*, ſpeaking of *Alexander*, ſaith thus: *Crudelitas minime humanum malum eſt, indignum ammiti animo; ferina iſta rabies eſt ſanguine gaudere & vulneribus, & abjecto homine, in ſilveſtre animal tranſire; Cruelty is not a humane vice, it is unworthy of ſo milde a ſpirit: It is even a beaſtly rage to delight in bloud and wounds, and caſting away the nature of man, to become a ſavage Monſter.*

Sen. de Clem. l.1.

For the concluſion of this Tragedie, *Curtius* makes a doubt, whether the confeſſion that *Philotas* made were to give end to the torments which he could not any longer endure, or that the ſame was true indeede; For (ſaith he) in this caſe, they that ſpeake truely, or they that deny falſly, come to one and the ſame end. Now, while the Kings hands were yet wet in bloud, he commanded that *Lynceſtes*, ſonne-in-Law to *Antipater*, who had beene three yeares in priſon, ſhould be ſlaine: The ſame diſpatch had all thoſe that *Nicomachus* had accuſed: others there were that were ſuſpected becauſe they had followed *Philotas*, but when they had anſwered for themſelves that they knew no way ſo direct to winne the Kings favour, as by loving thoſe whom the King favoured, they were diſmiſt. But *Parmenio* was yet living; *Parmenio*, who had ſerved with great fidelity as wel *Philip* of *Macedon* the Kings Father, as himſelf; *Parmenio*, that firſt opened the way into *Aſia*; that had depreſt *Attalus* the Kings enemy; that had alwayes, and in all hazzards, the leading of the Kings Vant-guard, that was no leſſe prudent in counſell, than fortunate in all attemps; A man beloved of the men of War, and, to ſay the truth, he that had made the purchaſe for the King of the Empire of the Eaſt, and of all the glory and fame he had: That he might not therefore revenge the death of his Sonne, though not upon the King, (for it was unlikely that he would have diſhonoured his fidelity in his eldeſt age, having now lived threeſcore and ten yeers) yet upon thoſe that by the witchcraft of flattery had poſſeſt themſelves of his affection, it was reſolved that he ſhould be diſpatcht. *Polydamas* was imployed in this buſineſſe, a man whom of all other *Parmenio* truſted moſt, and loved beſt, who (to be ſhort) finding him in *Media*, and having *Cleander* and other murderers with him, ſlew him walking in his Garden, while he was reading the Kings letters. *Hic exitus* Parmenionis *fuit, militiæ domique clari viri; Multa ſine Rege proſperè, Rex ſine illo nihil magnæ rei geſſerat*; *This was the end of* Parmenio (ſaith Curtius) *who had performed many notable things without the King, but the King, without him, did never effect any thing worthy of praiſe.*

*Lib. 7.*

## §. XVIII.

*How* Alexander *ſubdued the Bactrians, Sogdians, and other people. How* Beſſus *was delivered into his hands. How he fought with the Scythians.*

WHen theſe things had end, *Alexander* went on with his Army, and brought under his obedience the *Araſpians* or *Evergitans*; he made *Amenides* (ſomtime *Darius* his Secretary) their Governour, then he ſubdued the *Arachoſians*, & left *Menon* to command over them. Here the Army, ſomtimes led by *Parmenio*, findes him, conſiſting of twelve thouſand *Macedons* and *Greeks*, with whom he paſt through ſome cold Regions with difficulty enough. At length he came to the foote of the Mountaine *Taurus* towards the Eaſt, where he built a City, which he honoured with his own name, & peopled it with ſeven thouſand of his old *Macedons*, worne with age & with travailes of the war. The *Arians*, who ſince he left them were revolted, he ſubdued againe by the induſtrie and valour of *Caranus* and *Erigius*. And now he reſolves to finde out the new King *Beſſus* in *Bactria*. *Beſſus*, hearing of his comming, prepares to paſſe over the great River of *Oxus* which divides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*; *Artabazus* is made Governor of *Bactria* abandoned by *Beſſus*; The *Macedonian* Army ſuffereth for want of Water, inſomuch as when they came to the River of *Oxus*, there died more of them by drinking inordinatly, than *Alexander* had loſt in any one battaile againſt the *Perſians*. And it may well be; For (as *Clytus* did after object unto him) he fought againſt women, not againſt men, and not againſt their perſons, but their ſhadowes. Hee found on the bankes of this great River no manner of Timber or other materials, to make either boates, bridges, or raffe, but was forc't to ſew together the Hides that covered his carriages, and ſtuffe them with ſtraw, and on them in ſixe daies to paſſe over his Army; which *Beſſus* might eaſily have diſtreſt, if hee had dared but to behold the *Macedonian* Army afar of. He had formerly complained againſt *Darius* for neglecting to defend the banks of *Tigris*, and other paſſages, and yet now, when this traiterous ſlave had ſtyled himſelf a King, he durſt not perform any thing worthy of a ſlave. And therefore thoſe that were neereſt unto him, & whom he moſt truſted, to wit, *Spitamenes*, *Dataphernes*, *Catanes*, and others the Commanders of his Army, moved both by the care of their own ſafety, and by the memory of *Beſſus* his Treaſon and cruelty againſt *Darius*, bound him in the like manner that he had done his Maſter, but with this difference, that he had the chaine cloſed about his necke like a maſtiffe Dog, and ſo was dragged along to be preſented to his enemy.

In the meane while *Alexander* was arrived at a certaine Town inhabited with *Greeks* of *Miletum*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before hee returned out of *Greece*; whoſe iſſues had well-neere forgotten their Country-language. Theſe moſt cruelly (after they had received him with great joy) he put to the ſword, & deſtroyed their City. At this place he received *Beſſus*, and having rewarded *Spitamenes* with the reſt that delivered him, he gave the Traitor into the hands of *Oxatres*, *Darius* his brother, to bee tormented.

But while he now thought himſelf ſecure, ſome twenty thouſand Mountainers aſſaulted his Campe; in repelling whom he received a ſhot in the legge, the arrow head ſticking in the fleſh, ſo as he was carried in a Horſe-litter, ſometime by the horſemen, ſometime by the foot.

Soone after he came unto *Maracanda*, which *Petrus Perondinus* takes to be *Samarchand*, the regall City of the great *Tamerlaine*. It had in compaſſe threeſcore & ten furlongs (*Curtius* ſaith.) Here he received the Embaſſadors of the *Scythians* (called *Aviani*) who offered to ſerve him.

The *Bactrians* are ſhortly again with the *Sogdians* ſtirred to Rebellion, by the ſame *Spitamenes* & *Catanes*, who had lately delivered into his hands the traitor *Beſſus*. Many Cities were reſolvedly defended againſt him, all which, after victory, he defaced & razed, killing all therein. At one of theſe he received a blow on the necke, which ſtrucke him to the ground, and much diabled him for many dayes after. In the meane while *Spitamenes* had recovered *Maracanda*, againſt whom he imployed *Menedemus* with three thouſand foote and eight hundred horſe.

In the heate of theſe tumults *Alexander* marched on ( if we may beleeve *Curtius* and others ) till he came to the river of *Tanais*; upon whoſe banke he built another *Alexandria*, threeſcore furlongs in compaſſe, which he beautified with houſes within ſeventeen dayes after the wals built. The building of this City is ſaid to have bin occaſion of a war between him and the *Scythians*; the *Scythian* King perſwading himſelfe, that this new Towne was fortified of purpoſe to keepe him under. I doe not well underſtand, why the *Scythians*, offering war in ſuch terrible manner, that *Alexander* was judged by his owne Souldiers to counterfeit ſickneſſe for very feare, ſhould nevertheleſſe make ſuit for peace: neither finde I the reaſon why *Alexander* ( not intending the conqueſt of thoſe Northerne deſarts, but onely the defence of his owne banke ) ſhould refuſe to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further than they ſhould agree to ſuffer him. Yet hereof is made a great matter; and a victory deſcribed; in purſuit of which the *Macedons* ran beyond the bounds and monuments of *Bacchus* his expedition.

The truth is, That *Curtius* and *Trogus* have greatly miſtaken this River, which they call *Tanais*. For it was the River of *Jaxartes*, that runs betweene *Sogdiana* and *Scythia*, which *Alexander* paſt over, while *Menedemus* was imploied in the recovery of *Samarchand*: But *Tanais*, which divides *Aſia* from *Europe*, is neere two thouſand miles diſtant from any part of *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, & the way deſart and unknowne. So that *Alexander* had (beſides *Jaxartes*) the great River of *Volga* & many others to ſwim over, ere he could recover *Tanais*: which (from the place where he was) he could hardly have diſcovered with the Army that followed him, if he had imploied all the time that he lived in *Aſia* in that travaile.

Wherefore it is enough to beleeve, that the *Aſiatique Scythians*, making ſome offer to diſturbe the erection of this new City, which was like to give ſome hinderance to their excurſions, were driven away by the *Macedonians*; and being naked of defenſive Armes, eaſily chaſed ſome ten or twelve miles; which is the ſubſtance of *Curtius* his report. As for the limits of *Bacchus* his journie; like enough it is that *Bacchus* ( if in his life time he were as ſober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken god ) went not very far into that waſt Country, where he could find nothing but trees and ſtones, nor other buſineſſe than to ſet up a monument.

Threeſcore of the *Macedons* are ſaid to have bin ſlaine, and one thouſand one hundred hurt in this fight; which might eaſily be in paſſing a great River, defended againſt them by good Archers. Of *Scythian* horſes one thouſand eight hundred were brought into the Campe, and many priſoners. It is forbidden by ſome Hiſtorians, and indeede it is hardly poſſible to ſet down the numbers of ſuch as periſh in battell: yet *Cæſar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the victors hath beene ſo inquiſitive into the greatneſſe of their own ſucceſſe, that writers have beene able to deliver ſuch particulars by credible report, I hold it not unlawfull to ſet down what we finde; eſpecially when it ſerves to give light to the buſineſſe in hand. The ſmall number which the *Macedonians* loſt; the omiſſion of the number which they ſlew ( a thing not uſuall in *Curtius*, who forbeares nothing that may ſet out the greatnes of *Alexander*) and the little bootie that was gotten; doe make it probable, that this war was no better than the repulſion of a few roving *Tartars* ( the like being yeerly performed by the *Moſcovite*, without any boaſt) and therefore better omitted by ſome Hiſtorians, than ſo highly extolled as a great exploit, by others.

While *Alexander* was aſſuring himſelf of thoſe *Scythians* bordering upon *Jaxartes*, he received the ill newes that *Menedemus* was ſlain by *Spitamenes*, the Army (by him led) broken, and the greateſt numbers ſlaine, to wit, two thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe. He therefore, to appeaſe the rebellion, and to take revenge of *Spitamenes*, makes all the haſte he can; but *Spitamenes* flies into *Bactria*. *Alexander* kills, burns, and layes waſte all before him; not ſparing the innocent children, and ſo departs, leaving a new Governour in that Province.

To repaire this loſſe he received a great ſupply of nineteene thouſand Souldiers out of *Greece*, *Lycia*, & *Syria*; with all which, & the old Army, he returnes towards the South, and paſſeth the River of *Oxus*; on the South-ſide whereof he built ſixe Townes neere each other for mutuall ſuccour. But he findes a new ſtart-up-Rebell, called *Arimazes*, (a *Sogdian*) followed with thirty thouſand Souldiers, that defended againſt him a ſtrong piece of ground on the top of a high Hill; whom when *Alexander* had ſought in vaine to win by faire words, he made choice of three hundred young men, & promiſed ten talents to the firſt, nine to the ſecond, and ſo in proportion to the reſt, that could finde a way to creepe up to the top thereof. This they performed with the loſſe of ſome two and thirty of their men, & then made a ſigne to *Alexander*, that they had performed his commandement. Hereupon he ſent one *Cophes* to perſwade *Arimazes* to yeeld the place; who, being ſhewed by *Cophes* that the Army of *Macedon* was already mounted up, yeelded ſimply to *Alexanders* mercy, and was (with all his kinred) ſcourged and crucified to death; which puniſhment they well deſerved for neglecting to keepe good watch in ſo dangerous a time. For the place, as ſeemes by the deſcription, might eaſily have beene defended againſt all the Armies of the World. But, what ſtrength cannot doe, Mans wit, being the moſt forcible engine, hath often effected: Of which I will give you an example in a place of our owne.

The Iland of *Sarke*, joyning to *Garnſey*, & of that government, was in Queen *Maries* time ſurpriſed by the *French*, and could never have beene recovered againe by ſtrong hand, having cattell and corne enough upon the place to feed ſo many men as will ſerve to defend it, and being every way ſo inacceſſible, that it might be held againſt the Great *Turke*. Yet by the induſtry of a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it was in this ſort regained. He anchored in the roade with one Ship of ſmall burden, and pretending the death of his Merchant, beſought the *French*, being ſome thirty in number, that they might burie their Merchant in hallowed Ground, and in the Chappell of that Iſle; offering a preſent to the *French* of ſuch Commodities as they had aboord; whereto (with condition that they ſhould not come a-ſhore with any weapon, no not ſo much as with a Knife) the *French men* yeelded. Then did the *Flemings* put a Coffin into their Boat, not filled with a dead carkaſſe, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebuſſes; The *French* received them at their landing; and ſearching every of them ſo narrowly as they could not hide a Pen-knife, gave them leave to draw their Coffin up the Rockes with great difficulty; ſome part of the *French* tooke the *Flemiſh* Boat & rowed aboard their Ship, to fetch the commodities promiſed, & what elſe they pleaſed; but being entred, they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappell, ſhut the doore to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin, ſet upon the *French*; they run to the Cliffe and cry to their Company aboord the *Fleming* to come to their ſuccour, but finding the Boat charged with *Flemings*, yeelded themſelves and the place. Thus a Fox-taile doth ſometimes helpe well to piece out the Lyons-skin, that elſe would be too ſhort.

## §. XIX.

### *How* Alexander *ſlew his owne friends.*

AFter theſe *Sogdian* & *Scythian* Warres, we reade of *Alexanders* killing of a Lion, and other Frivolous matters, and that he committed the Government of *Maracanda*, and the Country about it, to *Clytus*, and how he ſlew him ſoone after, for valuing the vertue of *Philip* the father before that of *Alexander* the ſon, or rather becauſe he objected to the King the death of *Parmenio*, & derided the Oracle of *Hammon*:

for therein he toucht him to the quicke, the ſame being delivered in publike, and at a drunken Banquet. *Clytus*, indeed, had deſerved as much at the Kings hands, as any man living had done, & had in particular ſaved his life, which the King well remembred when he came to himſelfe, and when it was too late. Yet to ſay the truth, *Clytus* his inſolency was intolerable. As he in his Cups forgat whom he offended, ſo the King in his (for neither of them were themſelves) forgat whom hee went about to ſlay, for the griefe whereof he tare his owne face, and ſorrowed ſo inordinately, as, but for the perſwaſions of *Caliſthenes*, it is thought he would have ſlaine himſelfe.

Wine begat Furie, Furie matter of Repentance: but preceeding miſchiefes are not amended by ſucceeding bewailing: *Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & detegit; obſtantem malis conatibus verecundiam removet; ubi poſſedit animum nimia vis vini, quicquid mali latebat, emergit: non facit ebrietas vitia, ſed protrahit; Drunkenneſſe both kindles & layes open every vice; it removes out of the way that ſhame which gives impediment unto badde attempts; where wine gets the maſtrie, all the ill that before lay hidden breakes out: drunkenneſſe indeed rather diſcovers vices, than makes them.*

Soone after this, *Spitamenes*, who ſlew *Beſſus*, & had lately revolted from *Alexander*, was murdered by his Wife, & his head preſented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dahans* alſo ſeized upon his fellow-conſpirator *Dataphernes*, and delivered him up. So *Alexander* being now freed from all theſe pettie-Rebels, diſpoſed of the Provinces which he paſt over, & went on with his Army into *Gabaza*, where it ſuffered ſo much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storme, as he loſt in one Tempeſt a thouſand of his Traine. From hence he invaded the *Sacans*, & deſtroyed their Country. Then came he into the Territory of *Cohortanes*, who ſubmitted himſelfe unto him, feaſted him greatly, & preſented him with thirty beautifull Virgins, among whom *Roxane*, afterwards his Wife, was one: which although all the *Macedonians* diſdained, yet none of them durſt uſe any freedome of ſpeech after *Clytus* his death. From hence he directed his courſe towards *India*, having ſo increaſed his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twenty thouſand armed men.

In the meane while he would needs bee honoured as a god: whereto that hee might allure the *Macedonians*, he imployed two pernicious Paraſites, *Hagis* and *Cleo*; whom *Caliſthenes* oppoſed: For, among many other honeſt arguments uſed to the aſſembly, he told *Cleo*, That he thought, that *Alexander* would diſdaine the gift of God-head from his Vaſſalls; That the opinion of Sanctity, though it did ſometime follow the death of thoſe, who in their life-time had done the greateſt things, yet it never accompanied any one as yet living in the world. He further told him, That neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* were Deified at a banquet, and upon drinke (for this matter was propounded by *Cleo* at a carowſing feaſt:) but that, for the more than manly acts by them performed while they lived, they were in future and ſucceeding Ages numbred among the gods. *Alexander* ſtood behinde a partition, and heard all that was ſpoken, waiting but an opportunitie to be revenged on *Caliſthenes*, who being a man of free ſpeech, honeſt, learned, and a lover of the Kings honour, was yet ſoone after tormented to death; not for that he had betraied the King to others: but becauſe he never would condeſcend to betray the King to himſelfe, as all his deteſtable flatterers did. For in a conſpiracy againſt the King made by one *Hermolaus* & others (which they confeſt) he cauſed *Caliſthenes* without confeſſion, accuſation, or triall, to be torne aſunder upon the racke: This deed unworthy of a King, *Seneca* thus cenſureth. *Hoc eſt* Alexandri *crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum fœlicitas redimet. Nam quoties quis dixerit, Occidit Perſarum multa millia: opponitur, &* Caliſthenem: *Quoties dictum erit, Occidit* Darium: *opponitur, &* Caliſthenem. *Quoties dictum erit, Omnia Oceano tenus vicit, ipſum quoq; tentavit novis claſſibus, & Imperiū ex angulo Thraciæ uſq; ad Orientis terminos protulit: dicetur, ſed* Caliſthenem *occidit. Omnia licet antiqua Ducum Regumque exempla tranſierit, ex his quæ fecit nihil tam magnum erit quam ſcelus* Caliſthenes; *This is the eternall crime of* Alexander, *which no vertue nor felicity of his in Warre ſhall ever be able to redeeme. For as often as any man ſhall ſay, he ſlew many thouſand Perſians, it ſhall by replied, He did ſo, & he ſlew* Caliſthenes: *When it ſhall be ſaid, He ſlew* Darius, *it ſhall be replied, and* Caliſthenes; *When it ſhall be ſaid, He wan all as farre as the very Ocean, thereon alſo he adventured with unuſuall Navies, & extended his Empire from a corner of Thrace, to the utmoſt bounds of the Orient: It ſhall be ſaid withall; But he killed* Caliſthenes. *Let him have out-gone all the ancient* *examples of Captaines and Kings; none of all his acts make ſo much to his glory, as* Calliſthenes *to his reproach.*

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## §. XX.

### *Of* Alexanders *journey into India. The battaile betweene him and* Porus.

WIth the Army before remembred, of one hundred & twenty thouſand foot & horſe, *Alexander* did enter the borders of *India*, where ſuch of the Princes, as ſubmitted themſelves unto him, he entertained lovingly, the reſt he conſtrained; killing Man, Woman, and Childe, where they reſiſted. He then came before *Niſa* built by *Bacchus*, which after a few daies was rendred unto him. From thence he removed to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens, filled with delicate fruits and Vines; dedicated to *Bacchus*, to whom he made feaſts for ten dayes together. Now when he had drunke his fill, he went on towards *Dedula*, and from thence to *Acadera*, Countries ſpoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants; by reaſon whereof, victualls failing, he divides his Army: *Ptolomy* led one part, *Cenon* another, and himſelfe the reſt. They take many Townes, whereof that of greateſt fame was *Mazage*, which had in it three hundred thouſand men; but after ſome reſiſtance: it was yeelded unto him by *Cleophe* the Queene, to whom againe he reſtored it; at the ſiege of this City he received a wound in the legge. After this, *Nora* was taken by *Polyſperchon*, and a Rocke of great ſtrength by himſelfe: hee wanne alſo a paſſage upon one *Eryx*, who was ſlaine by his companie, & his head preſented to *Alexander*. This is the ſumme of *Alexanders* doings in thoſe parts, before ſuch time as he arrived at the River of *Indus*. Comming to *Indus*, he found there *Epheſtion*, who (being ſent before) had prepared boates for the tranſportation of his Army, & ere *Alexanders* arrivall, had perſwaded *Omphis* King of that part of the Country, to ſubmit himſelfe to this great Conquerour. Therefore, ſoone upon *Alexanders* comming, *Omphis* preſented himſelfe with all the ſtrength of his Country, & ſixe & fiftie Elephants, unto him; offering him his ſervice and aſſiſtance. He made *Alexander* know, that he was an Enemie to the next two great Kings of that part of *India*, named *Abiaſares* and *Porus*; wherewith *Alexander* was not a little pleaſed, hoping by this diſ-union to make his owne victory by farre the more eaſie. He preſented *Alexander* with a Crowne of gold, ſo did he the reſt of his Commanders, & withall fourescore talents of ſilver coyne; which *Alexander* not only refuſed, but to ſhew that he was covetous of glory, not of gold, he gave *Omphis* a thouſand talents of his owne treaſure, beſides other *Perſian* rarities. *Abiaſares*, having heard that *Alexander* had received his enemy *Omphis* into his protection, reſolved to make his owne peace alſo: For, knowing that his own ſtrength did but equall that of *Omphis*, and that there was no other difference betweene them, than that which the chance of Warre gave, hee thought it an ill match when *Alexander*, who had already beaten under foote all the greateſt Princes of *Aſia*, ſhould make himſelfe a Party and Head of the quarrell. So had *Alexander* none now to ſtand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he ſent a commandement, that he ſhould attend him at the border of his Kingdome, there to doe him homage. But from *Porus* he received this manly anſwer. That he would ſatisfie him in his firſt demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgement he was reſolved to take counſell of his Sword. To be ſhort, *Alexander* reſolves to paſſe over the River *Hydaſpes*, and to finde *Porus* at his owne home. *Porus* attends him on the farther banke with thirty thouſand foot, fourescore & ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great troope of Horſe. If *Darius* had done the like on *Tigris*, *Alexander* had ſurely ſtaied ſomwhat longer ere he had ſeene *India*. The River was foure furlongs broad, which makes halfe a mile, and withall deepe and ſwift. It had in it many Ilands, among which there was one well ſhadowed with wood, and of good capacity. *Alexander* ſent *Ptolomy* up the River with a great part of the Army, ſhrowding the reſt from the view of *Porus*: who by this device being drawne from his firſt imcamping, ſets himſelfe down oppoſite to *Ptolomy*, ſuppoſing that the whole Army of *Macedon* meant to force their paſſage there. In the meane while *Alexander* recovers the farther ſhore without reſiſtance. He orders his troopes and advanceth towards *Porus*, who at firſt rather beleeves, that *Abiaſares* his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had bin come over *Hydaſpes* to his aide, than that *Alexander* had paſt it.

But he findes it otherwiſe, and ſends his Brother *Hagis* with foure thouſand horſe, and a hundred armed waggons to entertaine him. Each waggon had in it foure to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little uſe: for there had fallen ſo much raine, and thereby the fields were ſo moiſtned, as the horſes could hardly trot. The *Scythians* and *Dahans* had the Vant-guard, who ſo galled theſe *Indians*, as they brake their raines, & other furniture, overturning the waggons, & thoſe in them. *Perdiccas* alſo gave up the *Indian* horſe-men, & the one and the other were forc't to recoile. *Porus* moves forward with groſſe of his Army, that thoſe of his Vant-guard ſcattered might recover his Reare; *Alexander* being followed with *Epheſtion*, *Ptolomy*, & *Perdiccas*, tooke on him to charge the *Indian* horſe-men on the left wing, commanding *Cenus* or *Cenon* to invade the right; *Antigonus* & *Leonatus*, he directed to breake upon *Porus* his battaile of foot, ſtrengthened with Elephants, *Porus* himſelfe being carried upon one of them, of the greateſt ſtature. By theſe beaſts the *Macedonian* foote were moſt offended; but the Archers & Darters, being well guarded with the long & ſtrong pikes of the *Macedonians*, ſo galled them, as being inraged, they turned head, and ranne over the foot that followed them: In the end, and after a long and doubtfull fight, by the advantage of weapon, and by the courage and ſkilfulneſſe of the *Macedonian* Captaines, the victory fell to *Alexander*, who alſo farre exceeded *Porus* in number: for beſides the *Macedonians* and other Eaſterne & Northerne Nations, *Porus* was aſſailed by his owne Confederate and Countrie people. Yet for his owne perſon he never gave ground otherwiſe than with his ſword towards his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his Army, he became a priſoner to the Conqueror, from whom againe he received his eſtate with a great enlargement.

## §. XXI.

### *How* Alexander *finiſhed his expedition, and returned out of India.*

I Forbeare to trouble my ſelf and others with a frivolous diſcourſe of Serpents, Apes, & Peacocks, which the *Macedonians* found in theſe their travailes: or of thoſe pettie Warres which *Alexander* made betweene the overthrow of *Porus*, and his ſailing downe the River of *Indus*. The deſcriptions of places about the head & branches thereof are better knowne unto us in this Age, by meanes of our late Navigations into thoſe parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of thoſe Kings we could in no ſort be perſwaded to beleeve, till our own experience had taught us, that there were many ſtranger things in the World, than are to be ſeene betweene *London* and *Stanes*.

Our great traveller *Mandevile*, who died in the year 1372, and had ſeene ſo much of the World, and of the Eaſt *India*, we accompted the greateſt fabler of the World; yet had he another reputation among other Nations, as well able to judge as we. Witneſſe the Monument made of him in the Covent of the Friers *Guillimius* in *Liege*, where the religious of that place keep ſome things of his, *Comme pour honorable memoire de ſon Excellence; For an honourable memorie of his Excellencie*, ſaith *Guichardine*.

Guic. in Diſc. of the Low Countries.

The Countries towards the Springs of *Indus*, and where thoſe many Rivers of *Hydaſpes*, *Zaradris*, *Aceſines*, and the reſt, fall into the maine ſtreame, are now poſſeſt by the great *Mogor*, the ninth from *Tamberlaine*, who commands all that tract between *Perſia* and *Indus* towards the Weſt, as alſo a great extent of Countrie towards *Ganges*. In the mouth of *Indus*, the *Aſcenſion*, a ſhippe of *London*, ſuffered ſhipwracke, in the yeere 1609. and ſome of the company travelled over Land till they came to *Agra*, the ſame great Citie (as I take it) which our later Coſmographers call *Nagra*, being named of old *Dionyſopolis*.

*Philoſtratus* in the life of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, ſpeaking of the expedition of *Bacchus* & *Hercules* into the Eaſt *India*, tells us, that thoſe two great Captaines (whom *Alexander* ſought by al means to out-fame) when they indeavoured to ſubject to them the *Oxydracæ*, a people inhabiting betweene the Rivers of *Hyphaſis* & *Ganges*, they were beaten from the aſſault of their Cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be underſtood by the great Ordnance that thoſe people had then in uſe. For it is now certainely knowne, that the great Kings of the uttermoſt Eaſt, have had the uſe of the canon many hundreds of yeares ſince, and even ſince their firſt civilitie and greatneſſe, which was long before

*Alexanders* time. But *Alexander* pierc't not ſo farre into the Eaſt. It ſufficed, that having already over-wearied his Army, he diſcovered the reſt of *India* by fame. The *Indian* Kings whom he had ſubdued, informed him, that a Prince called *Aggramenes*, who commanded many Nations beyond the River *Ganges*, was the powerfulleſt King of all thoſe Regions: and that he was able to bring into the field two hundred thouſand Foot, three thouſand Elephants, twenty thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand armed Chariots. With this report, though *Alexander* were more inflamed than ever to proceed in this diſcovery and conqueſt, yet all the art he had, could not perſwade the Souldiers to wander over thoſe great Deſarts beyond *Indus* & *Ganges*, more terrible unto them than the greateſt Army that the Eaſt could gather. Yet at the laſt contented they were, after many perſwaſive Orations, to follow him towards the South, to diſcover ſuch part of the Ocean Sea, as was neerer at hand, whereunto the River of *Indus* was their infallible guide. *Alexander* ſeeing that it would be no otherwiſe, deviſed a prettie tricke, wherewith he hoped to beguile poſterity, and make himſelfe ſeeme greater than he was. He enlarged his Campe, made greater trenches, greater cabbines for Souldiers, greater Horſe-ſtalles, and higher mangers than Horſes could feede in. He cauſed all furniture of men & horſes to be made larger than would ſerve for uſe; & ſcattered theſe Armours & Bridles about his Campe, to be kept as reliques, and woundred at by the Savages. Proportionable to theſe he raiſed up twelve great Altars to be the monument of his journies end. This was a ready way to encreaſe the fame of his bigneſſe; to his greatneſſe it could adde nothing ſave a ſuſpition, that it was leſſe than is thought, ſeeing he ſtrove ſo earneſtly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned againe to the banke of *Aceſines*, and there determined to ſet up his fleet, where *Aceſines* and *Hydaſpis* incounter; where to teſtifie by a ſurer monument, how far he had paſt towards the Eaſt, he built by thoſe rivers two Cities: the one he called *Nicæa*, & the other *Bucephalon*, after the name of his beloved Horſe *Bucephalus*. Here againe he received a fourth ſupply of ſixe thouſand *Thracian* Horſe-men, ſeven thouſand Foot; and from his Lievtenant at *Babylon* five and twenty thouſand Armours, garniſhed with ſilver and gold, which he diſtributed among his Souldiers. About theſe Rivers he wan many Townes, and committed great ſlaughter on thoſe that reſiſted; It is then written of him, that aſſaulting a Citie of the *Oxidracans*, he leapt from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, againſt all the Inhabitants; tales like thoſe of *Bevis* of *Southampton*, frivolous and incredible. Finally, he paſt downe the River with his fleet, at which time alſo the newes came unto him of a rebellion in *Bactria*, and then of the arrivall of an hundred Embaſſadours from a King of *India*, who ſubmitted himſelfe unto him. He feaſted theſe Embaſſadours upon a hundred beds of gold, with all the ſumptuoſity that could be deviſed, who ſoone after their diſpatch, returned againe with a preſent of three hundred Horſe, one hundred and thirty Waggons, and to each of them foure Horſes, a thouſand Targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their entertainments ended, he ſailed towards the South, paſſed through many obſcure Nations, which did all yeeld unto him either quietly, or compelled by force: among theſe he builded another *Alexandria*. Of many places which he tooke in this paſſage, *Samus* was one, the Inhabitants whereof fought againſt him with poiſoned ſwords, with one of which *Ptolomy* (afterward King of *Egypt*) was wounded, and cured by an hearb which *Alexander* dreamt he had ſeene in the mouth of a Serpent.

When he came neere the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies, as they were on a ſudden ſhuffled one upon another by the Floud, ſo on the Ebbe they were left on the drie ground, and on the ſandie bankes of the River, wherewith the *Macedonians* were much amazed; but after he had a few daies obſerved well the courſe of the Sea, he paſt out of the rivers mouth ſome few miles, & after Sacrifices offered to *Neptune*, returned: and the better to informe himſelfe, he ſent *Nearchus* and *Oneſicritus*, to diſcover the coaſt towards the mouth of *Euphrates*. *Arrianus* in the beginning of his ſixt Book hath written this paſſage downe the River of *Indus* at length, with the maner of the Veſſels in which he tranſported his Army, the Commanders that were uſed therein, and other the marvellous proviſions made.

Neere the out-lets of this river, he ſpent ſome part of the Winter, and in eighteene daies march from thence recovered *Gedroſia*, in which paſſage his Army ſuffered ſuch miſerie for want of foode, that of a hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe, which he carried into *India*, not the fourth part returned alive.

## §. XXII.

### Of Alexanders *Riot, Cruelty, and death.*

FRom *Gedroſia*, *Alexander* led his Army into *Carmania*, and ſo drawing neere to *Perſia*, he gave himſelfe wholly to feaſting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swiniſh vice be hatefull enough in it ſelfe, yet it alwayes inflamed this King to Cruelty. *For* (ſaith *Curtius*) *the Hang-man followed the feaſt, for* Aſpaſtes, *one of his Provinciall Governors, he commanded to be ſlaine; ſo as neither did the exceſſe of voluptuouſneſſe qualifie his cruelty, nor his cruelty hinder in ought his voluptuouſneſſe.*

While he refreſhed his Army in theſe parts, a new ſupply of five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe, was brought him by *Cleander*, and his fellows, that had bin imployed in the killing of *Parmenio*. Againſt theſe Murderers great complaint was made by the Deputies of the Provinces, in which they had commanded; and their offences were ſo outragious, as *Alexander* was perſwaded, that, had they not altogether deſpaired of his returne out of *India*, they durſt not have committed them. All men were glad of the occaſion, remembring the vertue of him, whom they had ſlaughtered. The end was, That *Cleander*, and the other chiefe, with ſixe hundred Souldiers by them imployed, were delivered over to the Hang-man: every one rejoycing that the Ire of the King was at laſt executed on the miniſters of his Ire.

*Nearchus* and *Oneſicritus* were now returned from the coaſt, and made report of an Iland rich in gold, and of other ſtrange things; whereupon they were commanded to make ſome farther diſcoverie: which done, that they ſhould enter the mouth of *Euphrates*, and finde the King at *Babylon*.

As he drew neere to *Babylon*, he viſited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Paſargada*, now called *Chalquera*: where he was preſented with many rich gifts by *Orſines*, one of the Princes of *Perſia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But becauſe *Bagoas*, an *Eunuch* in eſpeciall favour with the King, was neglected, he not only practiſed certaine looſe fellowes to witneſſe againſt *Orſines*, that he had robbed *Cyrus* tombe, for which hee was condemned to die; but he aſſiſted the Hang-man with his own hands in tormenting him. At which time alſo *Alexander* cauſed *Phradites* to be ſlaine, ſuſpecting his greatneſſe. *Cœperat* (ſaith *Curtius*) *eſſe præceps ad repræſentanda ſupplicia, item ad deteriora credenda; He began head-longly to ſhed bloud and to beleeve falſe reports.* It is true, that he tooke a way to make all men weary of his government, ſeeing cruelty is more fearefull, than all adventures that can be made againſt it.

*Arrianus* hath a farre different deſcription of *Cyrus* Tombe.

At this time it is ſaid, that *Calanus* the Philoſopher burnt himſelfe, when he had lived threeſcore and thirteene yeares. Whether herein he followed the cuſtome of his Countrie, being an *Indian*, or ſought to prevent the griefe and incommoditie of elder age, it is uncertaine: but in this the Hiſtorians agree, that fore-ſeeing and fore-ſhewing *Alexanders* death, he promiſed to meet him ſhortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Paſargada* he came to *Suſa*, where he maried *Statira*, *Darius* his eldeſt Daughter, giving her younger ſiſter to his beloved *Epheſtion*, and foureſcore other *Perſian* Ladies to his Captaines. There were ſixe thouſand gueſts invited to the feaſt, to each of which he gave a cup of gold. Here there came unto him three thouſand young ſouldiers, out of his conquered Provinces, whereat the *Macedonians* greatly murmured. *Harpalus*, his Treaſurer in *Babylon*, having laviſhly conſumed the monies in his keeping, got him going with five thouſand Talents, and ſixe thouſand hired Souldiers; but he was rejected in *Greece*, & there ſlaine. *Alexander* greatly rejoyced at the fidelity of the *Greeks*, whom *Harpalus* with theſe forces and treaſures could not ſtirre: yet he ſent commandement, that they ſhould againe receive their baniſhed men, whereunto (fearefull of his indignation) all ſubmitted themſelves (except the *Athenians*) though they reſolved, that it was a manifeſt preparation towards their bondage. After this there followed a marvellous diſcontentment in his Army, becauſe he had reſolved to ſend into *Macedon* all thoſe old Souldiers which could no longer endure the travell of Warre, and to keepe the reſt in *Aſia*. He uſed many Orations to ſatisfie them, but it was in vaine during the tempeſt of their fury. But afterward, as Whales are drawne to the Land with a twine-threed, when they have trumbled a while, ſo are the unconſiderate multitude eaſily conducted when their firſt paſſions are evaporate. With ſuch as were licenced to depart, he ſent *Craterus*, to whom he gave the Lievtenantſhip of *Macedon*, *Theſſaly*, and *Thrace*, which *Antipater* had held from his firſt departure out of *Europe*, who had beaten the rebellious *Greeks* in his abſence, diſcharged the truſt committed unto him with great fidelity, and ſent him ſo many ſtrong ſupplies into *Aſia* from time to time. Certainely if *Alexander* had not taken counſell of his cups, he would have caſt ſome better colour on this alteration, and given *Antipater* a ſtronger reaſon for his remove, than to have imployed him in the conduction of a new ſupply to be brought him to *Babylon*, the Warre being now at an end. For *Antipater* ſaw nothing in this remove, but the Kings diſpoſition to ſend him after *Parmenio*, and the reſt. With this *Antipater*, the King, notwithſtanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though jealous, doe not ſtand in doubt of every man ill affected, though valiant: but there is a kinde of kingly courage, compounded of hardineſſe and underſtanding, which is many times ſo fearefull unto them, as they take leave both of Law and Religion, to free themſelves thereof.

After he had ſent for *Antipater*, he made a journey into *Media* to ſettle things there; where *Epheſtion*, whom he favoured moſt of all men, dies. The King according to the greatneſſe of his love, laments his loſſe, hangs his Phyſician, and beſtowes upon his Monument twelve thouſand talents: After which he returnes to *Babylon*. Thither *Antipater* came not, but ſent; and not to excuſe himſelfe, but to free himſelfe. For if we beleeve *Curtius* (whom *Plutarch* & others gaine-ſay) *Antipater* by his ſonnes, *Caſſander*, *Philip*, and *Iolla*, who waited on *Alexanders* cup, gave him poyſon; *Theſſalus* (who was of the conſpiracie) having invited him to a drinking feaſt of purpoſe. For after he had taken a carouſe in *Hercules* his cup, a draught of drinke ſtronger than *Hercules* himſelfe, he quitted the World within a few daies.

Certainly the Princes of the World have ſeldome found good, by making their Miniſters over-great, & thereby ſuſpicious to themſelves. For he that doth not acknowledge fidelity to be a debt, but is perſwaded, that Kings ought to purchaſe it from their Vaſſals, will never pleaſe himſelf with the price given. The only reſtorative, indeed, that ſtrengthens it, is the goodneſſe & vertue of the Prince, & his liberality makes it more diligent; ſo as proportion and diſtance be obſerved. It may be that *Antipater*, having commanded two or three Kingdomes ten or twelve yeares, knew not how to play any other part; no more than *Cæſar* did, after he had ſo long a time governed the *Gaules*, where hee utterly forgat the art of obedience. A moſt cruell and ungratefull traitor *Antipater* was, if *Curtius* do not belie him: For though he feared ſome ill meaſure upon his remove (the Tragedies of *Parmenio*, *Clytus*, and *Calliſthenes*, having bin ſo lately acted) yet he knew nothing to the contrary, but that the King had reſolved to have given him ſome other great government in *Aſia*: The old Souldiers thence returned, having perchance deſired to be governed by *Craterus*, whom they had followed in all the former Warre.

## §. XXIII.

### *Of* Alexanders *perſon and qualities.*

HOwſoever it were, *Alexanders* former cruelties cannot be excuſed, no more than his vanity to be eſteemed the ſonne of *Jupiter*, with his exceſſive delight in drinke and drunkenneſſe, which others make the cauſe of his fever and death. In that he lamented his want of enterpriſing, and grieved to conſider what he ſhould doe when he had conquered the World, *Auguſtus Cæſar* found juſt cauſe to deride him, as if the well-governing of ſo many Nations and Kingdoms, as he had already conquered, could not have offered him matter more than aboundant, to buſie his braines withall. That he was both learned and a lover of learning, it cannot be doubted. Sir *Francis Bacon*, in his firſt booke of the Advancement of Learning, hath proved it ſufficiently. His liberality I know not how to praiſe, becauſe it exceeded proportion. It is ſaid, That when he gave a whole Citie to one of his ſervants, He, to whom it was given, did out of modeſty refuſe it, as diſproportionable to his fortune: to whom *Alexander* replied, That he did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to give: of which *Seneca*;

*Animoſa vox videtur & regia, cum ſit ſtultiſſima. Nihil enim per ſe quenquam decet. Refert quid, cui, quando, quare, ubi, &c. ſine quibus facti ratio non conſtabit; habeatur perſonarum & dignitatum proportio, & cum ſit ubiq; virtutis modus, aquè peccat quod excedit, quàm quod deficit; It ſeems a brave and royall ſpeech, whereas indeed it is very fooliſh. For nothing ſimply conſidered by it ſelfe beſeemes a man. We muſt regard what, to whom, when, why, where, and the like; without which conſiderations no act can be approved. Let honours be proportioned unto the perſons: for whereas vertue is ever limited by meaſure, the exceſſe is as faulty as the defect.*

L.2.de Ben.c.1.

For his Perſon, it is very apparent, That he was as valiant as any man, a diſpoſition taken by it ſelfe, not much to be admired; For I am reſolved that he had ten thouſand in his Army as daring as himſelfe. Surely, if adventurous natures were to be commended ſimply, we ſhould confound that vertue with the hardineſſe of Theeves, Ruffians, and maſtiffe Dogs. For certainly it is no way praiſe-worthy but in daring good things, and in the performance of thoſe lawfull enterpriſes, in which we are employed for the ſervice of our Kings and Common-weales.

If we compare this great Conquerour with other troublers of the world, who have bought their glory with ſo great deſtruction and effuſion of bloud, I think him far inferiour to *Caſar*, and many other that lived after him, ſeeing he never undertook any warlike Nation, the naked Scythians excepted; nor was ever encountred with any Army of which he had not a moſt maſtering advantage, both of Weapons & Commanders, every one of his Fathers old Captains by far exceeding the beſt of his Enemies. But it ſeems Fortune and Deſtinie (if we may uſe thoſe termes) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his owne, both heapes of Men, that willingly offered their necks to the yoke, and Kingdomes that invited and called in their owne Conquerours. For concluſion, we will agree with *Seneca*, who ſpeaking of *Philip* the Father, and *Alexander* the Son, gives this judgement of them: *Quod non minores fuere peſtes mortalium, quàm inundatio, qua planum omne perfuſum eſt, quàm conflagratio, qua magna pars animantium exaruit; They were no leſſe plagues to mankind, than an overflow of waters, drowning all the levell; or ſome burning drought, whereby a great part of living creatures are ſcorched up.*

Nat.queſt.l.3.q.1

# Chap. III.

## *The reigne of* Aridæus.

### §. I.

### *Of the queſtion about ſucceſſion to* Alexander.

THE death of *Alexander* left his Army (as *Demades* the Athenian then compared it) in ſuch caſe, as was that monſtrous Giant *Polyphemus*, having loſt his only eye. For that which is reported in fables of that great *Cyclops*, might well be verified of the Macedonians: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance uneffectuall, & harmfull chiefly to themſelves. The cauſes whereof (under the divine ordinance) where partly the uncertainty of Title to ſucceſſion in the Kingdome of Macedon, partly the ſtubborne pride of *Alexander* himſelfe, who thinking none worthy to be his heire, did refuſe to eſtabliſh the right in any one, leaving every one to his own fortune: but eſpecially the great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their Maſter to ſuffer no equals; a leſſon ſoon taught unto ſpirits reflecting upon their own worth, when the reverence of a greater object faileth.

It hath formerly beene ſhewed, That *Philip* (the Father of *Alexander*) governing in Macedon as Protector, aſſumed unto himſelfe the Kingdome, not rendring it unto *Amyntas*, (the Sonne of his elder brother *Perdiccas*) when he grew to mans eſtate; but onely beſtowing upon him in marriage a Daughter of his owne: by which bond, and much more by his owne proper ſtrength, he aſſured the Crown unto himſelfe: *Amyntas* never attempting ought againſt *Philip*; though (with price of his life) he did againſt *Alexander* in the beginning of his reigne. Wherefore *Eurydice*, the ſole iſſue of this marriage, ought in reaſon to have been acknowledged Queen after *Alexander*; as having better Title thereto, than either He or *Philip* had, when they lived, vnleſſe (peradventure) ſome Law of that Nation forbad the reigne of Women. But the excellent vertue of theſe two Princes had utterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not claiming from their owne bodies: and ſo great were their conqueſts, that Macedon it ſelfe was (in regard of them) a very ſmall Appendix, and no way deſerving to be laid in ballance againſt the demand of their poſterity, had they left any able to make challenge of the Royall ſeat.

*Alexander* having taken many wives, had iſſue by none of the principall of them. *Barſine* the Daughter of *Artabazus* a Perſian, had borne unto him a young Son: and *Roxane* the Daughter of *Oxyartes* (whom he had more ſolemnly married) was left by him great with childe. But the baſeneſſe of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alledged in Barre of Plea made for them, by ſome that would (perhaps) have wrought out their owne ends, under the name of *Alexanders* children.

*Cleopatra* a ſiſter of *Alexander*, widow to the King of Epirus, & *Aridæus* his baſe brother (ſon to *Philip* by a Concubine of no account) who had married the Lady *Eurydice* before mentioned, were next in courſe. Of *Cleopatra* there was no ſpeech, which may give ſuſpition, that either Law or Cuſtome had made that ſexe uncapable of the Soveraignty: *Aridæus* (beſides his baſtardy) was neither for perſon nor quality fit to rule as King; yet upon him the election fell, but ſlowly, and (as happeneth often) for lacke of a better: when the Counſellors having over-laboured their diſagreeing wits in deviſing what was beſt, were content for very wearineſſe to take what came next to hand.

*Ptolomy* (ſoon after King of Egypt) concurring with them who rejected all mention of the halfe-Perſian brood, King *Alexanders* children, was of opinion, that the rule of all ſhould be given to the Captaines; that going for law which by the greater part of them ſhould be decreed: ſo farre was he from acknowledging any one as true Heire to the Crowne.

This *Ptolomy* was called the ſonne of *Lagus*, but reputed of *Philip*: who having uſed the company of *Arſinoë Ptolomie's* mother, delivered her in marriage to *Lagus*, being great with child. Therefore, whether it were ſo that he hoped well to work his own fortune out of thoſe diſſentions, which are incident unto the conſultations of many ambitious men, equall in place, forcing them at length to redeeme their quiet with ſubjection to one, deſerving regard by his bloud, and truſt for his even carriage; or whether he deſired only to get a ſhare to himſelfe, which could not have come to paſſe, had all been given to one: plaine enough it is, that he thought not on preferring *Aridæus* before himſelfe; and therefore gave ſuch counſell as fitted his owne and other mens purpoſes. Yea, this device of his tooke place indeed, though not in forme as he had propounded it; For, it was in effect all one, to have aſſembled at *Alexanders* empty chair, as *Ptolomy* had conceived the forme of their conſultations, or to ſet in the chaire ſuch a King as *Aridæus*, no wiſer than the chaire it ſelfe. Alſo the controverſies ariſing were determined by the greater part of the Captaines; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puiſſance.

But as theſe counterfeit ſhewes of diſſembling aſpirers doe often take checke by the plain dealing of them who dare to go more directly to work: ſo was it like to have fared with *Ptolomy* and the reſt, when *Ariſtonus* another of the Captains, interpreted the very words of *Alexander*; ſaying, That he left his Kingdom to the worthieſt, as deſigning *Perdiccas*, to whom (lying at the point of death) he delivered his ring. It ſeemed good in reaſon, that *Alexander* ſhould be diſpoſer of his owne purchaſes: and thoſe tokens of *Alexanders* purpoſe appeared plain enough, ſo long as no man would interpoſe anothers conſtruction: every one being uncertain how the ſecret affections of the reſt might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their love, or becauſe they would not be of the lateſt, urged *Perdiccas* to take upon him the eſtate Royall. He was no ſtranger to the Royall bloud; yet his birth gave him not ſuch reputation, as the great favour of his dead King, with whom he had bin very inward, & that eſpecially ſince the death of *Epheſtion* (a powerfull Minion) into whoſe place he was choſen. For his own worth he might wel be commended, as a good man of War, and one that had given much proofe of his private valour. But very ſurly he was: which quality (joyned with good fortune) carried a ſhew of

Majeſty: being checkt with miſadventure, it was called by a true name, Pride; and rewarded with death.

In the preſent buſineſſe a fooliſh over-weening did him as great harme, as it had been great happineſſe to have ſucceeded *Alexander*. For, not content to have the acclamation of the Souldiers, approving the ſentence of *Ariſtonus*, he would needs counterfeit modeſty; thinking that every one of the Princes would have intreated him to take the weighty burden of an Empire, which would be the leſſe envious, the more ſolemnity he uſed in the acceptance. It is truly ſaid, He that faineth himſelfe a Sheep, may chance to be eaten by a Wolfe. *Meleager*, (a man by nature envious, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas*) took advantage of his irreſolute behaviour, and very bitterly enveighed againſt him. In concluſion, he pronounced, That whoſoever was Heire to the Crowne, the Souldiers ought to be Heires to the Treaſure; and therefore he invited them, who were nothing ſlow, to ſhare it. This diſturbed all the Conſultation. The Captaines were left alone, farre enough from agreeing, and not able to have brought any concluſion to good effect without conſent of the Souldiers, who greedy of ſpoyle, thronged about *Meleager*.

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## §. II.

### *The Election of* Aridæus, *with the troubles there-about ariſing; the firſt diviſion of the Empire.*

DUring this up-roare, mention was made of *Aridæus* by ſome one, and entertained with good liking of many, untill at laſt it grew to the voyce of the Army. *Meleager* having with-drawne himſelfe tumultuouſly from the company of the Lords, was glad of ſo faire an occaſion to make himſelfe great: therefore he produced *Aridæus*, commended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name *Philip*, and brought him into the Palace, inveſting him in *Alexanders* Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withſtood this election, but in vaine: for they could not reſolve what courſe to follow, rejecting this. Only *Python*, a hot-headed man, took upon him to proclaime the Son of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, according to the counſell which *Perdiccas* at firſt had given, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus* his Protectors. But this childe was not yet borne, which made that attempt of *Python* vaine. Finally, *Perdiccas* with ſixe hundred men, and *Ptolomy* with the Kings Pages, tooke upon them to defend the place where *Alexanders* body lay: but the Army conducted by *Meleager*, who carried the new King about whither he liſted, eaſily brake in upon them, and inforced them to accept *Aridæus* for their Soveraigne Lord. Then by the interceſſion of the ancient Captains, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither ſide faithfully meant.

*Leonatus*, who was of Royall bloud, a goodly Gentleman and valiant, iſſued out of Babylon, being followed by all the horſe, which conſiſted (for the moſt part) of the Nobility. *Perdiccas* abode in the City (but ſtanding upon his guard) that he might be ready to take the opportunity of any commotion that ſhould happen among the infantry. The King (who was governed by *Meleager*) commanded, or gave leave to have *Perdiccas* made away; which attempt ſucceeded ill, being neither ſecretly carried, nor committed to ſure executioners. Their comming was not unexpected: and they were by *Perdiccas* rebuked with ſuch gravity, that they departed honeſter than they came; being ſorry for their bad enterpriſe. Upon the newes of this attempt, the Campe was in an up-roare, which the King ſeeking to pacifie, wanted authority, as having newly got the Crowne by them, and holding it by their courteſie. The matter it ſelfe afforded no good excuſes, and his indiſcretion made them worſe. He ſaid that no harme was done, for *Perdiccas* was alive: but their exclamations were againſt the tyrannous enterpriſe, which he imputed to *Meleager*; abandoning the ſureſt of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeaſed, untill the King by offering to reſigne his eſtate unto them, renewed out of their pity that favourable affection, which had moved them to ſet him up at the firſt.

*Perdiccas* having now joyned himſelfe with *Leonatus*, kept the fields, intending to cut off all proviſion of victuals from the Citie. But after ſundry Embaſſies paſſing betweene the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to have the Authors of ſedition given up into their hands; the King, that *Meleager* might be joyned with *Leonatus* and *Perdiccas*, as a Third in government of the Army) things were compounded according to the Kings deſire. *Meleager* ſhould have done well to conſider, That ſuch men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to give him a principall place among them without any new occaſion offered, had not ſome purpoſe of treachery lurked under their great facility. Generall peace was renewed, and much love proteſted where little was intended. The face of the Court was the ſame which it had beene in *Alexanders* time: but no longer now did the ſame heart give it life; and windy ſpirits they were which moved in the arteries. Falſe reports were given out by appointment of *Perdiccas*, tending to his owne diſgrace, but in ſuch termes as might ſeeme to have proceeded from *Meleager*: who finding part of the drift, but not all, took it as an injury done to himſelfe; and (as deſirous of a true friendſhip) deſired of *Perdiccas*, that ſuch authors of diſcord might be puniſhed. *Perdiccas* (as a lover of peace) did well approve the motion; and therefore agreed that a generall Muſter ſhould be made, at which time the diſturbers of the common quiet ſhould receive their puniſhment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in preſence of the Army. The plot was miſchievouſly layd. Had *Meleager* given way to ſeditious rumours, he muſt needs have incurred the general hatred of all, as a ſower of diſſention, & thereby with a publike approbation might have bin cut off, as having often offended in that kinde: his Prince being too weak a Patron. Now ſeeking redreſſe of theſe diſorders, he haſtened his owne ruine, by a leſſe formall, but more ſpeedy way. This kind of Muſter was very ſolemne, & practiſed with many ceremonies, as for cleanſing of the Army. The Horſe-men, the Elephants, the Macedonian foot, the Mercenaries were each according to their quality ſet in array, apart from others, as if they had bin of ſundry ſorts, met at adventure: which done, the manner was to skirmiſh (as by way of exerciſe) according to the direction of their ſeverall Captaines. But at that time the great battell of Macedonian Pikes, which they called the *Phalanx*, led by *Meleager*, was of purpoſe beſtowed in a ground of diſadvantage; and the countenance of the Horſe and Elephants beginning to give charge upon them, was ſuch, as diſcovered no jeſting paſtime nor good intent. Kings were alwayes wont to fight among the horſe-men: of which cuſtome *Perdiccas* made great uſe that day, to the utter confuſion of his enemies. For *Aridæus* was alwaies governed by him, which for the preſent had him in poſſeſſion. Two or three dayes before, he ſought the death of *Perdiccas* at the inſtigation of *Meleager*: now he rides with *Perdiccas* up and downe about the foot-men, commanding them to deliver unto the death all ſuch as *Perdiccas* required. Three hundred they were who were caſt unto the Elephants, and by them ſlaine, in the preſence of the King (who ſhould have defended them) and of their affrighted companions. But theſe three hundred were not the men whoſe puniſhment *Meleager* had expected: they were ſuch as had followed him, when he diſturbed the firſt conſultation that was held about the election of a new King, and ſome of them his eſpeciall friends. Having therefore kept himſelfe quiet a while, as unwilling to give offence to them which had the advantage; when he ſaw their proceedings tend very manifeſtly to his deſtruction, he fled away into a temple, which he found no Sanctuary: for thither they ſent and ſlew him.

The Army being thus corrected, was led into the City, where a new Councell of the Princes was held, who finding what manner of man their King was, divided all the Provinces of the Empire among themſelves; leaving to *Aridæus* the office of a Viſitor, and yet making *Perdiccas* his Protector, and Commander of the forces remaining with him. Then were the funerals of *Alexander* thought upon; whoſe body having bin ſeven daies neglected, was opened, and embalmed by the Egyptians: no ſigne of poyſon appearing, how great ſoever the ſuſpicion might be. The charge of his buriall was committed to *Aridæus*: one of the Captains, who was two years preparing of a great and coſtly ſhew, making a ſtately Chariot in which the corps was laid; many coarſes of his friends being layd in the ground before that of *Alexander* was beſtowed in Alexandria, a City of his owne building, in Egypt.

## §. III.

### The beginning of the Lamian Warre.

WHileſt theſe things were in doing, or preſently after, *Antipater* & *Craterus*, two principall Noble-men, and inferiour to none of *Alexanders* followers, if not greater than any of the reſt, were buſied in Greece with a war, which the Athenians more bravely than wiſely had begun in *Alexanders* life, but now did proſecute more boldly than before, upon the courage which they had taken by his death. *Alexander* not long before he died, had commanded that all the baniſhed Greekes (few excepted) ſhould be reſtored unto their former places. He knew the factious quality of the Grecian Eſtates, & therfore thought ſo to provide, that in every City he would have a ſure party. But it fell out otherwiſe: For he loſt the hearts of many more than he wan by this proud injunction. His pleaſure indeed was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being againſt all order of Law, and a beginning of open tyranny. The Athenians greatly decayed in eſtate, but retaining more than was needfull of their ancient ſpirits, forbade the execution of this decree in their Dominions; ſo did alſo the Ætolians, who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature: yet neither of them tooke Armes, but ſeemed to beare themſelves, as men that had done no more than they might well juſtifie by reaſon: neverthe leſſe to prevent the worſt, the Athenians gave ſecret inſtructions to *Leoſthenes*, a Captaine of theirs, willing him to levie an Army, but in his owne name, and to keepe it in a readineſſe for their uſe. This was no hard thing for *Leoſthenes* to doe: great numbers of Greek Souldiers being lately returned from the Aſian War in poor eſtate, as defrauded of their pay by the Captaines. Of theſe he had gathered up eight thouſand, when the certaine newes were brought of *Alexanders* death: at which the City of Athens declared it ſelfe, and more honourably than wiſely, proclaimed open War againſt the Macedonians for the liberty of Greece. Hereupon *Leoſthenes* drew-in the Ætolians and ſome other Eſtates, gave battell to the Bœotians, who ſided with *Antipater*, and overthrew them; growing ſo faſt in reputation, and ſo ſtrong in adherents, that *Antipater* (arming in all haſte, yet ſuſpecting his owne ſtrength) was faine to ſend into Aſia to *Craterus* for ſuccour.

Nothing is more vaine than the feares and hopes of men, ſhunning or purſuing their deſtinies a farre off, which deceive all mortall wiſdome, even when they ſeem neare at hand. One moneth was ſcarcely paſt, ſince nothing ſo heavily burthened the thoughts of *Antipater* as the returne of *Craterus* into Macedon; which he then feared as death, but now deſired as the moſt likely aſſurance of his life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held as of all men the moſt aſſured unto him, was ſent into Macedon to convey home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence) & to ſucceed *Antipater* in the government of Macedon and Greece. The ſuſpitions were ſtrong that he had a privie charge to put *Antipater* to death: neither did that which was commonly publiſhed ſound much better; which was, That *Antipater* ſhould be ſent unto the King, as Captain of the young Souldiers, newly to be levied in Europe. For *Alexander* was much incenſed againſt him by his Mother *Olympias*: and would ſometimes give out ſpeeches, teſtifying his owne jealouſie and hatred of him; but yet he ſtrove to ſmother it, which in a cruell Prince betokeneth little good. Few of *Alexanders* Lievtenants had eſcaped with life: moſt of them indeed were meane perſons in regard of thoſe who followed him in his Indian expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) removed to make place for their betters. But if the Kings rigour was ſuch, as could finde rebellious purpoſes (for ſo hee interpreted even lewd government) in baſe perſons; little might *Antipater* hope for, who having ſitten Vice-roy ten yeares in the ſtrongeſt part of the Empire, was called away to the preſence of ſo fell a Maſter, and the envie of a Court, wherein they had been his inferiours, which would now repine to ſee him their equall. Therefore whether his feare drew him to prevention, working firſt the Kings death by poyſon, given by his ſonne *Iolaus*, *Alexanders* Cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth untill opportunity had changed it into the paſſion of revenge, which was cruelly performed by his ſonne *Caſſander*: great cauſe of much feare he had; which I note in this place, as the ground of effects to be produced in very few yeares.

At the preſent *Craterus* was ſent for, and all the Captaines of companies lying neare, ſolicited to make haſte. Not without cauſe: For in Macedon there could not at that time be raiſed more than thirteene thouſand foot, and ſixe hundred horſe; which Muſtar was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Country being emptyed into Aſia. The Theſſalians indeed who had long ſtood firme for *Philip* & *Alexander*, who alſo were the beſt horſemen of Greece, furniſhed him with very brave troups, that might have done great ſervice, had their faith held out, which they changed for the liberty of Greece. With theſe forces did *Antipater* in Theſſaly try the fortune of a battell with *Leoſthenes*; rather (as may ſeem) fearing the increaſe of his enemies power, and rebellion of the Greeks, (were they not checkt at the firſt) than preſuming on his ſtrength. For *Leoſthenes* had of Athenians, Ætolians, and Mercenaries, two and twenty thouſand foot, beſides the aſſiſtance of many petty Signories, and of ſome Illyrians and Thracians: of horſe he brought into the field about two thouſand and five hundred; but over-ſtrong he was that way alſo, when once the Theſſalians had revolted unto him. So *Antipater* loſt the day: and his loſſe was ſuch, that he neither was able to keepe the field, nor to make a ſafe retrait into his owne Country: therefore he fled into the Towne of Lamia, which was well fortified, and wel provided of all things neceſſary to beare out a ſiege. Thither did *Leoſthenes* follow him, preſent him battell againe, and upon refuſall cloſe up the Towne with earth-works, and a wall. There will we leave him for a while, travelling in the laſt honourable enterpriſe that ever was undertaken by that great City of Athens.

## §. IV.

### *How* Perdiccas *employed his Army.*

King *Aridæus* living under the rule of *Perdiccas*, when all the Princes were gone each to his owne Province, kept a naked Court: all his greatneſſe conſiſting in a bare title, ſupported by the ſtrength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwiſe than to make uſe of him. *Perdiccas* had no Province of his owne peculiar, neither was he like to be welcome to any whom he ſhould viſit in his government. A ſtronger Army than any of the reſt he had, which he might eaſily hope in that unſetled condition of things to make better worth to him than many Provinces could have bin. The better to accompliſh his deſires, he cloſely ſought the marriage of *Cleopatra*, the ſiſter of *Alexander*; yet about the ſame time he either married *Nicæa* the daughter of *Antipater*, or made ſuch love to her as blinded their eyes, who did not ſomewhat narrowly ſearch into his doings.

*Ariarathes* the Cappadocian, the ſecond of that name, and tenth king of that Country, had continued faithfull to the Perſian Empire as long as it ſtood: following the example of his forefathers, even from *Pharnaces* the firſt that reigned in Cappadocia, who married *Atoſſa* ſiſter to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his Anceſtors had (indeed) been oppreſſed by the Perſians: but what fortune tooke from them at one time, Vertue reſtored at another, and their faithfull Princes had much encreaſed all. But now in the fatall Period of ſo great an Empire, with much wiſdome, and (*Darius* being ſlain) with ſufficient honour, he might have acknowledged the Macedonian in the Perſians roome. This he did not; neither did *Alexander* call him to account, being occupied with great cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater buſineſs wherein to entertain his Army, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take that in-land Kingdome, ſurrounded with Provinces of the Macedonian conqueſt, and for his own particular, to have one opportune place of ſure retrait, under the government of a ſtedfaſt friend. Therefore he entred Cappadocia, fought with *Ariarathes*, who drew into the field thirty thouſand foot, and fifteene thouſand horſe (a ſtrong Army, had it not encountred a ſtronger, and better trained) wan the victory, and thereby the whole Kingdome. But with much cruelty did he uſe the victory: for having taken *Ariarathes* priſoner with many others, he crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light upon; and ſo delivered that Province to *Eumenes*, whom of all men living he truſted moſt.

Another part of his forces he had cõmitted to *Python*, rather as to the moſt honourable of ſuch as remained about him, than as to the moſt aſſured. *Python* was to ſubdue the Greeks rebelling in the high Countries of Aſia. About twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe they were, (all old Souldiers) who, planted in Colonies by *Alexander*, to bridle the barbarous nations, were ſoon weary of their unpleaſant habitations, & the rude people, among whom they lived: and therefore took advantage of the preſent troubles to ſeeke unto themſelves a better fortune. Againſt theſe *Python* went, more deſirous to make them his owne, than to deſtroy them: which intent of his, *Perdiccas* diſcovering, did both give him in charge to put all thoſe Rebels to the ſword, giving the ſpoyles of them to his Souldiers, and further enjoyned it unto *Pythons* Captaines (his owne creatures) that they ſhould ſee this commandement executed. Theſe directions for uſe of the victory, might have proved needleſſe; ſo uncertaine was the victory it ſelfe. A Captaine of the Rebels commanding over three thouſand, corrupted by *Python*, did in the heate of the fight (which was very doubtfull) retire without neceſſity to a hill not farre off, This diſmaied the reſt, and gave the day to *Python*: who being far enough from *Perdiccas*, offered compoſition to the vanquiſhed, granting unto them their lives and liberty, under condition of laying downe their armes; and hereupon he gave them his faith. Being maſter of theſe Companies, he might well have a good opinion of his owne power: all power being then valued by ſtrength in followers, when as none could vaunt himſelfe as free Lord of any Territory. He had thirteene thouſand foot, and eight thouſand eight hundred horſe, beſides theſe new Companions, whom needleſſe feare without great loſſe had cauſed to leave the field: but in true eſtimation all the greatneſſe whereof *Python* might thinke himſelfe aſſured, was (and ſoon appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe, of thoſe which followed *Python*, levied; the Rulers of the Provinces carefully obeying the letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enjoyned to give aſſiſtance to that buſineſſe: and by vertue of the precept given unto them by *Perdiccas*, did the Macedonians cut in pieces all thoſe poore men who had yeelded themſelves; leaving *Python* as naked as he came forth to returne unto his great Maſter.

Now was *Perdiccas* mighty above the mighty, and had fair leaſure to purſue his hopes of marriage with *Cleopatra*, and thereby to make himſelfe Lord of all: but this muſt be ſecretly carried for feare of oppoſition. How it ſucceeded, will appeare when the Lamian War taketh ending.

## §. V.

### The proceſſe of the Lamian War.

WEe left *Antipater* hardly beſieged, wanting means to free himſelfe without ſuccours from his friends in Aſia. Thoſe helps not appearing ſo ſoon as he expected, he came to parley with *Leoſthenes*, and would have yeelded unto any termes of reaſon, wherewith men poſſeſſed with hope of victory, doe ſeldome limit their deſires. *Leoſthenes* willed him without further circumſtance to ſubmit himſelfe to diſcretion. This was too much for him that had once commanded over them, who now required of him ſuch a diſhonourable compoſition. Wherefore knowing that the extremities, from which as yet he was farre enough, could bring no worſe with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Towne, which felt great want of victuals.

In this lingring War the Ætolians (whether weary of ſitting ſtill at a ſiege, or having buſineſſe which they pretended at home) took their leave, and returned into their owne Countrey. Their departure left the trenches ſo thinly manned, that *Antipater* found meanes to ſally out upon his enemies to their great loſſe: for many were ſlaine, and *Leoſthenes* himſelfe among them, ere he could be repulſed into the Towne. Yet hereby the Macedonians were nothing relieved, their victuals waſted, and they were not ſtrong enough to deale with the Greeks in open fight. *Craterus* was long in comming. *Lyſimachus*, who was neareſt at hand in Thrace, had worke too much of his owne, leading no more than foure thouſand foote, and two thouſand horſe, againſt *Seuthas* the Thracian King, who brought into the field above foure times that number; and though *Lyſimachus*, not without loſſe had gotten one victory, yet the enemy abounding in multitude, felt not the blow ſo much as might abate his courage. Therefore *Leonatus* was earneſtly ſolicited by *Antipaters* friends, to make all haſte to the reſcue. He had the government of Phrygia the leſſe, and was able to raiſe an Army of more than twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe, whether levied out of his province, or appointed unto him out of the maine Army, it is uncertaine. Certaine it is, that he was more willing to take in hand the journey into Greece, than *Antipater* was to have him come. For *Cleopatra* had written unto him, deſiring his preſence at Pella, the chiefe Citie of Macedon, and very kindly offering herſelfe to be his wife; which letters he kept not ſo cloſe as had bin requiſite, and therefore brought himſelfe into great ſuſpition, that ſoon ended with his life. *Antiphilus*, choſen Generall by the Athenians in place of *Leoſthenes*, hearing of his approach, forſook the ſiege of Lamia, and tooke the ready way to theſe great Conquerors of Aſia, with purpoſe to give them an evill welcome home, before *Antipater* and they ſhould joyne in one. He had (notwithſtanding the departure of the Ætolians) the advantage of *Leonatus* in horſe, by the ods of 2000. Theſſalians; in other things he was equall with him; in cauſe he thought himſelfe Superiour; in the fortune of that day he proved ſo: for he wan a great victory (chiefly by vertue of the Theſſalians) which appeared the greater by the end of *Leonatus* himſelfe; who fighting valiantly, was driven into a mariſh piece of ground, where he found his death, which he deſperately had ſought among the Indians, but it waited for him at home, not far from the place of his nativity. He was the firſt of *Alexanders* Captaines which dyed in battell, but all, or moſt of the reſt ſhall follow him the ſame way. After this day, the Athenians did never any thing ſutable to their ancient glory.

The vanquiſhed Macedonians were too weak to renew the fight, and too proud to flie. They betooke themſelves to high grounds, unfit for ſervice on horſe-back, and ſo abode in the ſight of the enemy that day; the day following *Antipater* with his men came into their Campe, and took the charge of all. The Athenians perceiving their ſtrength to be at the greateſt, and fearing leſt that of the enemy ſhould increaſe, did earneſtly ſeek to determine the matter quickly by another battell. But ſtill *Antipater* kept himſelfe on ground of advantage; which gave more than reaſonable confidence to the Greeks, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enemy to be vanquiſhed. This wretchleſneſſe (incorrigible in an Army of voluntaries) was very inexcuſable; ſeeing that the victories by Land were very much defaced by loſſes at Sea, where the Athenians, labouring to have made themſelves once againe Maſters, were put to the worſt.

But now the fatall captivity of Greece came on, of which ſhe never could be delivered unto this day. *Craterus* with a ſtrong Army having made great marches from Cilicia, paſſed over into Europe, and comming into Teſſaly, joyned himſelfe with *Antipater*. The forces of *Leonatus*, *Antipater*, and *Craterus* being joyned in one, contained forty thouſand weightily armed, three thouſand light-armed men, and five thouſand horſe; of which numbers the Greeks wanted a thouſand and five hundred in horſe; in foot, eighteene thouſand. Carefully therefore did *Antiphilus* labour to avoyd the neceſſity of a battell, untill ſuch time as the Towns confederate ſhould returne unto the Camp thoſe bands which had ſtraggled from it. But thoſe companies were ſo ſlow in comming, and *Antipater* ſo urgent upon the Greeks, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazzard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more help they had carried away the victory: for the Theſſalians had the upper hand, and held it, untill ſuch time as they perceived their battels (over-laid with multitude) retire unto the higher ground, which cauſed them alſo to fall back. So the Macedonians became Lords of the field, having little elſe to boaſt of, conſidering that with the loſſe of an hundred & thirty men, they had only purchaſed the death of ſome five hundred enemies. Yet hereof was great uſe made: For the Greeks, as not ſubject unto the ful command of one General; and being every one deſirous to preſerve his own eſtate and City; concluded to make a treaty of peace with *Antipater*; who being a ſubtle Artificer, and well underſtanding their aptneſſe to diviſion, refuſed to hearken to any generall compoſition, but willed every city to deale apart for it ſelfe. The intent of his device was ſo apparent, that it was rejected; the Greeks chooſing rather to abide the comming of their aſſiſtants, whoſe unreaſonable careleſneſſe betrayed the cauſe. *Antipater* and *Craterus* beſieging and winning ſome Towns in Theſſaly, which the Army of the Confederates wanted means and courage to relieve, wearied that Nation from attending any longer upon other mens unlikely hopes, with their owne aſſured and preſent calamity.

§. VI. Of

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## *Of the peace granted to Athens by* Antipater. *Of* Demoſthenes *his death.*

THe Theſſalians falling off, all the reſt ſoon followed ſeverely, & ſued for peace; the gentle conditions given to the moſt forward, inviting ſuch as were ſlack. Only the Athenians and Ætolians held out. Little favour could they hope for, having been Authors of this tumult: and their feare was not great; the ſeat of the war being far from them. But the celerity of *Antipater* confounded all their imaginations; who ſate ſtill at Athens, deviſing upon courſes of proſecuting the War to come, which came to their dores before their conſultation could finde iſſue. He was ready to enter upon their Frontiers; they had no ability to reſiſt, and were as heartleſſe as friendleſſe. All that remained was to ſend Embaſſadors, deſiring peace upon ſome good termes: neceſſity enforcing them to have accepted even the very worſt. *Phocion*, with *Demades* the Orator, & *Xenocrates* the Philoſopher, were chiefe of this Embaſſage; *Phocion*, as the moſt honourable; *Demades*, a ſtrong perſwader (both of them well reſpected by *Antipater*); and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for wiſdome, gravity of manners, and vertue; but all theſe ornaments conſiſting in ſpeculation, and therefore of leſſe regard, when their admiration was to coſt them much in reall effects.

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To the ſame end (yet withall for ſatisfying his owne ſuſpitions and hatred) he cauſed *Demoſthenes* and *Hyperides*, famous Orators, with ſome others, to be ſlaine. Had the death of theſe two, eſpecially of *Demoſthenes*, beene forborne, the reſt of his proceedings in this action might well have paſſed for very milde: whereas now all ſuch, as either are delighted with the Orations of *Demoſthenes*, or have ſurrendred their judgements to Authors juſtly admiring him, as the moſt eloquent of all that ever did ſpeake and write, condemne him utterly, calling him a bloudie tyrant. Such grace and reputation doe the learned arts finde in all civill Nations, that the evill done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemiſh any action, how good ſoever otherwiſe it be, or honourably carried.

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ling to take in hand the journey into Greece, than *Antipater* was to have him come. For *Cleopatra* had written unto him, deſiring his preſence at Pella, the chiefe Citie of Macedon, and very kindly offering herſelfe to be his wife; which letters he kept not ſo cloſe as had bin requiſite, and therefore brought himſelfe into great ſuſpition, that ſoon ended with his life. *Antiphilus*, choſen Generall by the Athenians in place of *Leoſthenes*, hearing of his approach, forſook the ſiege of Lamia, and tooke the ready way to theſe great Conquerors of Aſia, with purpoſe to give them an evill welcome home, before *Antipater* and they ſhould joyne in one. He had (notwithſtanding the departure of the Ætolians) the advantage of *Leonatus* in horſe, by the ods of 2000. Theſſalians; in other things he was equall with him; in cauſe he thought himſelfe Superiour; in the fortune of that day he proved ſo: for he wan a great victory (chiefly by vertue of the Theſſalians) which appeared the greater by the end of *Leonatus* himſelfe; who fighting valiantly, was driven into a mariſh piece of ground, where he found his death, which he deſperately had ſought among the Indians, but it waited for him at home, not far from the place of his nativity. He was the firſt of *Alexanders* Captaines which dyed in battell, but all, or moſt of the reſt ſhall follow him the ſame way. After this day, the Athenians did never any thing ſutable to their ancient glory.

The vanquiſhed Macedonians were too weak to renew the fight, and too proud to flie. They betooke themſelves to high grounds, unfit for ſervice on horſe-back, and ſo abode in the ſight of the enemy that day; the day following *Antipater* with his men came into their Campe, and took the charge of all. The Athenians perceiving their ſtrength to be at the greateſt, and fearing leſt that of the enemy ſhould increaſe, did earneſtly ſeek to determine the matter quickly by another battell. But ſtill *Antipater* kept himſelfe on ground of advantage; which gave more than reaſonable confidence to the Greeks, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the enemy to be vanquiſhed. This wretchleſneſſe (incorrigible in an Army of voluntaries) was very inexcuſable; ſeeing that the victories by Land were very much defaced by loſſes at Sea, where the Athenians, labouring to have made themſelves once againe Maſters, were put to the worſt.

But now the fatall captivity of Greece came on, of which ſhe never could be delivered unto this day. *Craterus* with a ſtrong Army having made great marches from Cilicia, paſſed over into Europe, and comming into Teſſaly, joyned himſelfe with *Antipater*. The forces of *Leonatus*, *Antipater*, and *Craterus* being joyned in one, contained forty thouſand weightily armed, three thouſand light-armed men, and five thouſand horſe; of which numbers the Greeks wanted a thouſand and five hundred in horſe; in foot, eighteene thouſand. Carefully therefore did *Antiphilus* labour to avoyd the neceſſity of a battell, untill ſuch time as the Towns confederate ſhould returne unto the Camp thoſe bands which had ſtraggled from it. But thoſe companies were ſo ſlow in comming, and *Antipater* ſourgent upon the Greeks, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazzard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more help they had carried away the victory: for the Theſſalians had the upper hand, and held it, untill ſuch time as they perceived their battels (over-laid with multitude) retire unto the higher ground, which cauſed them alſo to fall back. So the Macedonians became Lords of the field, having little elſe to boaſt of, conſidering that with the loſſe of an hundred & thirty men, they had only purchaſed the death of ſome five hundred enemies. Yet hereof was great uſe made: For the Greeks, as not ſubject unto the ful command of one General; and being every one deſirous to preſerve his own eſtate and City; concluded to make a treaty of peace with *Antipater*; who being a ſubtle Artificer, and well underſtanding their aptneſſe to diviſion, refuſed to hearken to any generall compoſition, but willed every city to deale apart for it ſelfe. The intent of his device was ſo apparent, that it was rejected; the Greeks chooſing rather to abide the comming of their aſſiſtants, whoſe unreaſonable careleſneſſe betrayed the cauſe. *Antipater* and *Craterus* beſieging and winning ſome Towns in Theſſaly, which the Army of the Confederates wanted means and courage to relieve, wearied that Nation from attending any longer upon other mens unlikely hopes, with their owne aſſured and preſent calamity.

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The matters of *Athens* being thus ordered, the chiefe command was left in the hands of *Phocion*, a vertuous man, and lover of his Countrie, yet applying himſelfe to the neceſſitie of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the Citie much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grievous to free-men, yet favourable to the vanquiſhed) he endeavoured carefully to preſerve.

## §. VII.

### *How* Craterus *and* Antipater *were drawn from their Ætolian wars into Aſia. The grounds of the firſt civill war between the Macedonian Lords.*

SO *Antipater* with *Craterus* returned into *Macedonia*, where they ſtrengthned their friendſhip with a new alliance; *Craterus* taking *Phila*, the Daughter of *Antipater*, to Wife.

Shortly after they went againſt the *Ætolians*, whoſe povertie was not ſo eaſily daunted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerfull State of *Athens* had bin. Their Countrie was rough and mountainous, having many places of great faſtneſſe, into which they conveied ſuch of their goods as they moſt eſteemed, and of their people, as were leaſt fit for war: with the reſt they fortified the ſtrongeſt of their Cities, and ſo abode the comming of the *Macedonians*, whom they manfully reſiſted. With great obſtinacie did the *Macedonians* contend againſt the difficulties of the places, which the *Ætolians* made good as long as their victuals held out. But when *Craterus* had ſhut up all paſſages, & utterly debarred them of reliefe, then were they put to a miſerable choice; either to deſcend from their ſtrong holds, and fight upon equall ground, with unequall numbers, or to endure the miſeries of hunger & cold, againſt which they could make no long reſiſtance; or to yeeld themſelves to the *Macedonians*: who, incenſed by the loſſe of many good Souldiers, were not like to leave ſo ſtubborn enemies in places, which might give confidence to rebellion. In caſes of extremitie, much fineneſſe of wit apprehending all circumſtances of danger, commonly doth more hurt than a blunt conſideration of that only, which at the preſent is in hand. Theſe *Ætolians* did not as yet want meat: but their enemies daily moleſted them: wherefore as yet they thought upon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For ſuch newes came out of *Aſia* into the *Macedonian* Camp, as made *Antipater* and *Craterus* think every houre a moneth, till they had rid their hands of theſe *Ætolians*, giving them whatſoever conditions they would aske: yet with purpoſe to call them to ſevere account; yea, to root them out of *Greece* by death, or by captivitie, when once they ſhould have ſettled the affairs of *Aſia*; as they hoped and deſired. But of mens purpoſes God is diſpoſer: in whoſe high counſell it was ordained, that this poore Nation ſhould continue a troubleſome bar to the proceedings of *Macedon* and *Greece*, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchie) an open gate to let the *Roman* Conquerors into thoſe and other Provinces. Likewiſe concerning the matters of *Aſia*, the reformation intended by *Antipater* and *Craterus*, was ſo far from taking effect, that it ſerved meerly as an introduction to all the civill wars enſuing.

The grounds of the *Aſiatique* expedition, which did ſet the world in an uproare, were theſe. *Antipater* and *Craterus* were of *Alexanders* Captaines the mightieſt in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient precedencie, and the preſent rule which he bare in the parts of *Europe*. The other, as of all men the beſt beloved, and moſt reſpected, both of *Alexander* & of the whole Armie. Next unto theſe had *Perdiccas* been; whom the advantage of his preſence at the Kings death did make equall, or ſuperiour, to either of theſe, if not to both together. The firſt intents of *Perdiccas* were, to have conſorted with theſe two, and to have beene with them a third partner in the government of all; to which purpoſe hee entertained the diſcourſe of marriage with one of *Antipaters* Daughters. But feeling in ſhort ſpace the ſtrength of that gale of winde which bore him up, he began to take wing and ſoare quite another way. *Aridæus* was a very ſimple man, yet ſerved well enough to weare the title of that Majeſty, whereof *Perdiccas* being Adminiſtrator, and hoping to become proprietary, the practice was more ſevere than had been in the dayes of *Alexander*: the deſire to ſeeme terrible, being very familiar with weake Princes, and their ambitious officers, who know no other means of preſerving themſelves from contempt, and of giving ſuch a fiery luſtre to their actions, as may dazle the eyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poor Greeks in the higher Aſia were all put to the ſword; and how tyrannouſly the King and Princes of Cappadocia were crucified, hath already been ſhewed. The Piſidians were the next who felt the wrath of theſe counterfeit *Alexanders*. One City of theirs was utterly razed; the children ſold for ſlaves, and all the reſt maſſacred. The Iſaurians by this example growne deſperate, when after two or three dayes triall they found themſelves unable to continue the defence, lockt themſelves into their houſes, and ſet the Town on fire, into the flame whereof the young men did throw themſelves, after that they had a while repelled the Macedonians from the wals.

Theſe exploits being performed, the Army had no other work than to ſift the aſhes of the burnt City for gold and ſilver; but *Perdiccas* had buſineſſe of greater importance troubling his braines. Nothing was more contrary to his ends, than to ſit ſtill without imployment: letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whileſt others grew great, and took deep root in their ſeverall Provinces. He purpoſed therefore to tranſport his forces into Europe, under pretence of bringing the King into Macedonia, the ſeat of his Anceſtors, and head of the Empire. The Kings preſence would make the Offices of his Vice-Royes (during the time) actually voyd; *Antipater* with *Craterus* being once in caſe of private men, and only *Perdiccas* holding authority, the match with *Cleopatra* might eaſily be made. So ſhould greatneſſe meet with a good title; and what more could be wiſhed? Some impediment the power of *Ptolomy* might give, who held Egypt well fortified with men, but much better with love of the people; yet if the buſineſſe proſpered in Macedonia, like enough it was that either *Ptolomy* would follow of himſelfe, or be driven to come to reaſon. *Antigonus* likewiſe then governing in Phrygia, a buſie headed man, and ill affected to the ſide, was to be looked into and made away, for feare of further trouble. So thought *Perdiccas*, and was deceived in ſo thinking. *Antigonus* was as good a man of War, of as deep a judgement, as high a ſpirit, and as great undertaking, as any of *Alexanders* Captains. His imployments had been leſſe than ſome of theirs, which made him alſo the leſſe reſpected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs: for he valued himſelfe by his owne worth, not by the opinions of other men; with carefull attention had he watched *Perdiccas*, and ſounded the depth of his purpoſes, which it was now high time to diſcover. For *Perdiccas* having with a jealous eye pryed into the demeanour of *Antigonus*, and finding him no way fit for his turne, cauſed him to be charged with ſuch accuſations, as might ſuffice to take away his life, eſpecially by a Judge that ſought his death. This device *Antigonus* would not ſeeme to perceive, but prepared himſelfe in ſhew to make anſwer, indeed, to make eſcape; which eaſily he did, putting himſelfe and his Sonne *Demetrius* aboord of ſome Athenian Gallies, that carried him to *Antipater*, laden with ſuch tidings as finiſhed the Ætolian War before mentioned.

As the comming of *Antigonus* made *Craterus* and *Antipater* manifeſtly perceive their owne danger: ſo his flight gave *Perdiccas* to underſtand that his intentions were layd open, and muſt now be juſtified by the ſword. Therefore he prepared as faſt as he could, not onely for defence, but (as having on his ſide the Kings name) to meet with them at home, who were nothing ſlacke in providing to encounter him. *Ptolomy* being advertiſed of theſe proceedings, and conſidering how nearely they concerned him, ſided with *Antipater*. To his government of Egypt he had annexed the Dominion of Cyrene, not without conſent of the chiefe Citizens; and now in the midſt of theſe garboyles he celebrated the funerall of *Alexander* with great ſolemnity, purchaſing thereby to himſelfe much good will and many partakers, notwithſtanding the terrible report of the Kings Army comming againſt him.

## §. VIII.

### Perdiccas *his voyage into Egypt, and his death.*

P*Erdiccas*, uncertaine which way to bend his maine power, at length reſolved to ſet upon *Ptolomy*; leaving *Eumenes* to keepe to his uſe, againſt *Craterus* and *Antipater*, the parts of *Aſia* bordering upon *Europe*.

It may ſeem ſtrange, that he did not rather make head againſt thoſe who were to come out of *Greece* with a great number, and of more able men than *Ptolomy* could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with *Ptolomy*; or beleeved that *Craterus* would not be readie for him ſoone enough. Sure it is that he tooke a bad courſe, and made it worſe with ill handling.

*Ptolomy* by his ſweet behaviour allured many to his partie, without helpe of any bad arts. *Perdiccas* contrariwiſe was full of inſolencie, which never failed to be rewarded with hatred; that is truely defined, An affection founded upon opinion of an unjuſt contempt. The whole ſtorie of his proceedings in *Egypt* is not worth relation: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a wilfull man) tired his followers, and waſted them in hard enterpriſes without ſucceſſe. His moſt forceable attempt was upon a little Town, called the *Camels Wall:* thither he marched by night, with more haſte than good ſpeed; for *Ptolomy* preventing him, did put himſelfe into the place, where behaving himſelfe not only as a good Commander, but as a ſtout Souldier, he gave the foile to *Perdiccas*, cauſing him to retire with loſſe, after a vehement, but vaine, aſſault continued one whole day. The night following, *Perdiccas* made another journy, (which was his laſt) and came to the diviſions of *Nilus*, over againſt *Memphis*. There with much difficultie he began to paſſe over his Armie into an Iland, where he meant to incampe. The current was ſtrong, the water deepe, and hardly foordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants above the paſſage, to breake the violence of the ſtreame, and his horſe-men beneath it, to take up ſuch as were carried away by ſwiftneſſe of water. A great part of his Armie being arrived on the further banke, the channell began to waxe deep; ſo that whereas the former companies had waded up to the chin, they who ſhould have followed could find no footing. Whether this came by the riſing of the water, or flitting away of the ground; (the earth being broken with the feet of ſo many Men, Horſe, & Elephants) no remedy there was, but ſuch as had paſſed muſt repaſſe again, as well as they might: for they were too weake for the enemie, and could not be relieved by their fellowes. With great confuſion therefore they committed themſelves to the river, wherein above two thouſand of them periſhed, a thouſand were devoured by Crocodiles, a miſerable ſpectacle even to ſuch as were out of danger; ſuch as were ſtrong and could ſwim, recovered the Campe, many were carried down the ſtream, and driven to the contrary banke, whereby they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This miſfortune exaſperated the Souldiers againſt their Generall, giving libertie to their tongues, which long time had concealed the evill thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murmuring, newes came from *Ptolomy*, which did ſet them in an up-roar. *Ptolomy* had not only ſhewed much compaſſion on thoſe who fell into his hands alive, but performed all rights of funerall to the dead carkaſſes, which the river had caſt upon his ſide: and finally, ſent their bones and aſhes to be interred by their Kinſmen or Friends. This did not only move the common Souldiers, but made the Captaines fall to mutinie, thinking it unreaſonable to make warre upon ſo vertuous and honourable a perſon, to fulfill the pleaſure of a Lordly ambitious man, uſing them like ſlaves. The ſedition growing ſtrong, wanted only a head, which it quickly found. *Python* was there, who inwardly hated *Perdiccas*, for the diſgrace which he had ſuffered by his procurement, after the victorie upon the rebellious *Greeks*. *Python* had lived in honourable place about *Alexander*; he was in the diviſion of the Provinces made Governour of *Media*, He had followed *Perdiccas*, and being in all things (the Protectorſhip excepted) equall to him, had nevertheleſſe been ſcornfully uſed by him, which now he requited. Drawing together a hundred of the Captaines, and a good part of the Horſe, which conſiſted of the Gentrie, (the footmen having declared themſelves before) he entred the Tent of *Perdiccas*, where without further circumſtance they all ranne upon him, and ſlew him. Such end had the proud miſ-governing authoritie of *Perdiccas*. He might have lived as great as any, could he have ſuffered any as great as himſelfe; yea, peradventure maſter of all, had he not been too maſterly over thoſe which were already his.

The next day *Ptolomie* came into the Campe, where he was joyfully received; he excuſed himſelfe of things paſt, as not having beene Author, or given cauſe of the warre, and was eaſily beleeved: the favour of the Army being ſuch toward him, that needes they would have made him Protector in the roome of *Perdiccas*. But this he refuſed. It was an Office fit for one that would ſeeke to increaſe his greatneſſe with his trouble. *Ptolomie* was well enough already; wherefore, for his own quiet he forbare to accept it, and for their well-deſerving of him, he procured that honourable charge to *Python*, & to *Aridæus* the Captain, who having had ſome companies of Souldiers, to furniſh with their attendance the ſolemnities of *Alexanders* Funerals, did with them adhere to him againſt *Perdiccas*.

In the middeſt of theſe buſineſſes came newes of two great victories obtained by *Eumenes*; which newes, had they arrived two or three dayes ſooner, had been entertained with joyfull acclamations; and would have given ſuch reputation to *Perdiccas*, as had cauſed both his private maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to have accepted any tolerable compoſition. But theſe good tidings comming in ill time, when death had ſtopped the eares which would have given them welcome, found bad acceptance, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

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## §. IX.

### *Victories of* Eumenes *in the lower Aſia.*

BEfore wee proceede in the relation of things happening about the perſon of the King, it is meet that we ſpeake of thoſe buſineſſes in the lower Aſia, which were handled by *Eumenes* with notable dexterity, whileſt *Perdiccas* was occupied in the Egyptian Wars. *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus*, had received command from *Perdiccas* to be aſſiſtant to *Eumenes*, and to follow his directions. But *Alcetas* made flat anſwer that he would not; alledging the backwardneſſe of his men to beare Armes againſt ſo great a perſon as *Antipater*, and a man ſo much honoured as *Craterus*. *Neoptolemus* was content to make faire ſhew, but inwardly he repined at the precedency given to *Eumeves*, as thinking himſelfe the better man. *Eumenes* diſcovering, through the counterfeited looks of *Neoptolemus*, the miſchiefe lurking in his heart, wiſely diſſembled with him, in hope to win him by gentle behaviour, and ſweet language, that commonly are loſt, when beſtowed upon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortifie himſelfe, that he might ſtand upon his own ſtrength, he raiſed out of the Countries under his juriſdiction, about ſixe thouſand horſe, giving many priviledges to ſuch as were ſerviceable, and training them well up. Not without great need. For when upon advertiſement of the great preparations made by *Craterus* and *Antipater* (who had newly paſſed the Helleſpont) for the invaſion of his Provinces, he willed *Neoptolemus* to come to him with all his power; *Neoptolemus* did (indeed) advance, but in hoſtile manner, though unprovoked, preſented him battell. *Neoptolemus* had ſecretly covenanted with *Antipater* to lay open the way for him to the conqueſt of Aſia, which now intending to performe, hee was ſhamefully diſappointed. For though his footmen, being all Macedonians, had much the better, and prevailed far upon *Eumenes* his battels; yet were his horſe driven out of the field, and himſelfe compelled, with a few of them, to run away, leaving naked the backs of his Macedonian foot-men to be charged by *Eumenes*, who forced them in ſuch wiſe, that caſting down their Pikes, they cryed for mercy, and gladly took their oath to doe him faithfull ſervice. *Antipater* and *Craterus* endeavoured with many goodly promiſes to draw *Eumenes* into their ſociety, who contrariwiſe offered himſelfe as a meane of reconciliation, betweene *Perdiccas* and *Craterus*, whom he dearely loved; profeſſing withall his hatred to *Antipater*, and conſtant faith to the cauſe which he had undertaken to maintaine.

Whileſt theſe negotiations were on foot, *Neoptolemus* came with his broken crue to *Antipater*, and his Aſſociates, vilifying *Eumenes*, & calling him a Scribe (at which fooliſh railing they laught) but extolling the vertue of *Craterus* (as well he might) with high commendations; aſſuring them, that if *Craterus* did but once appeare, or that his voyce were but heard by any Macedonian in *Eumenes* his Campe, the victory was wonne; for they would all forth-with revolt unto him. Earneſtly therefore he deſired them to give him ayd againſt *Eumenes*, and eſpecially requeſted that *Craterus* might have the leading of the Army to be ſent. Their owne affections did eaſily lead them to condeſcend to his motion; and good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might prevaile as much as the force which he drew along. For he had in the middeſt of *Alexanders* vanities, when others (imitating their King) betooke themſelves to the Perſian faſhions of garments and cuſtomes, retained the ancient Macedonian form of behaviour, and apparrell; whereby he became very gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld theſe new tricks of Aſia with diſcontented eyes, as reproachfull and derogatory to the manners of their native Countrey. So *Antipater* took the way toward Cilicia, to hold *Perdiccas* at bay, and to joyne with *Ptolomy*. *Craterus* uſed great celerity, to have taken *Eumenes* revelling (as hee hoped) according to the common faſhion of Captaines, after a great victory. But he had a wary and well adviſed enemy to encounter, who kept good eſpiall upon him, and with much wiſedome fore-ſaw all that was to be feared, and the meanes of prevention, which his courage did not faile to execute. *Eumenes* was not ignorant that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without battell, yea without ſtroke; him therefore he feared more than the Army following him: (yet the Army following him was ſuch, as much exceeded his own in foot-men, but was inferiour in horſ-men) & thought it more uneaſie to keept the Macedonians from revolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon he took in hand a ſtrange piece of work, which deſperation of all courſes elſe taught him, & wiſe managing proſperouſly accompliſhed. He gave out reports, that *Neoptolemus* was returned with ſuch company as he could gather together, & had gotten *Pigres* (a Captain of no great eſtimation, who lay not far off) to joyn with him. Having animated his men againſt *Neoptolemus*, whom he knew to be deſpiſed & hated among them, (as having bin vanquiſhed by ſome of them, & forſaken others in plain field, whilſt they valiantly fought in his quarrel) he took great care to keep them from receiving any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded that no meſſenger nor trumpeter ſhould be admitted; & not herewith ſatisfied, he placed againſt *Craterus* no one Macedonian, nor any other that much would have regarded him had he bin known: but Thracians, Cappadocians & Perſians, under the leading of ſuch, as thought more highly of none, than of *Perdiccas* & himſelfe. To theſe alſo he gave in charge, that without ſpeaking or hearkning to any word, they ſhould run upon the enemy, and give him no leaſure to ſay, or do any thing but fight. The directions which he gave to others, he did not faile to execute in his own perſon: but placing himſelfe in the right wing of his battell, oppoſite to *Neoptolemus*, who (as he underſtood) conducted the left wing on the contrary ſide, he held the Macedonians arranged in good order, and ready to charge the enemy as ſoon as the diſtance would give leave. A riſing piece of ground lay between them, which having aſcended, the Armies diſcovered each other: but that of *Eumenes* every way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long journies, which over-haſtily they had made, ſeeking the deceitfull iſſue of frivolous hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (having failed in ſurpriſing them as enemies) to diſcover himſelfe to his old friends, and fellow ſouldiers, of whom he could ſee none. *Phœnix* a Tenidian, & *Artabazus* a Perſian, had the leading of that ſide, who mindfull of their inſtructions, began to give upon him, with ſuch countenance as told him his errour; which to redeem, he bad his men fight, and redeem the day, and take the ſpoyle to themſelves, but the Bear whoſe skin he ſels, is not yet caught. The ground whereon the battell was fought gave moſt advantage to the horſe, who encountred very roughly on all parts: eſpecially about *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*; who as ſoon as they had diſcovered one another, could not containe themſelves, but with great rage met body to body, & letting looſe their bridles, grappled ſo violently together, that their horſes ran from under them, leaving both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neoptolemus* roſe firſt up, but *Eumenes* had his ſword firſt drawn, wherewith he houghed the other, cauſing him to fall down & fight upon one knee. In this conflict they received many wounds, but *Neoptolemus* giving ſlight ones, took ſuch as were deadly, by which he dyed in the place, and was there (being halfe-dead, halfe-alive) ſtripped by his mortall enemy, whoſe revilings he requited, lying even at the laſt gaſpe, with one wound in the groine, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of *Neoptolemus* cauſed his followers to run away upon the ſpurre, and ſeeke ſhelter behinde the battels of their foote. They were nothing hotly purſued. For *Eumenes* pained himſelfe to carry ſuccour to his left wing, which he ſuſpected much to be diſtreſſed; but found accompanied with the ſame fortune, that had aſſiſted him when he fought in perſon. *Craterus* had gallantly borne himſelfe a while, and ſuſtained the impreſſion of *Artabazus* and *Phœnix* with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the fight, when he was charged by men of little eſtimation or note. Otherwiſe it is not unlikely, that he might have either carried the day, or preſerved himſelfe to a better adventure by giving ground, as the reſt (when he and *Neoptolemus* were ſlaine) did. But whileſt he ſought to preſerve his reputation, he loſt his life by the fall of his horſe, or his falling from his horſe, through force of a wound received; upon which accident he was trampled under foot by many that knew him not, and ſo periſhed unknown, till it was too late to know it. *Eumenes* comming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as having alwayes loved and honoured *Craterus*, of whoſe death he was now become the inſtrument. The vanquiſhed Army entertained a treaty of peace with *Eumenes*, making ſhew of willingneſſe to become his followers; but their intent was only to refreſh themſelves, which (by his permiſſion) having done, they ſtole away by night, and fled toward *Antipater*.

This battell fought within ten dayes of the former, wanne to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his owne Souldiers took the death of *Craterus* heavily; and the Armies lying further off were inraged with the newes. But other matters there were which incenſed men againſt him, beſides the death of *Craterus*, whereof it manifeſtly appeared, that he was as ſorry as any that pretended greater heavineſſe. His Army wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wiſely amended by giving to them the ſpoyle of ſuch Towns as were ill-affected to him. So he redeemed the love of his own men, who of their meere motion appointed unto him a Guard for defence of his perſon. Others were not ſo eaſie to be reconciled. They who had been Traytors to *Perdiccas*, hated him for his faithfulneſſe, as greatly, as they thought he would hate them for their falſhood; neither found they any fairer way of excuſing their late revolt, than by accuſing and condemning the ſide which they had forſaken. Wherfore they proclaimed *Eumenes* a Traitor, and condemned him to die: but it was an eaſier matter to give that ſentence, than to put it in execution.

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## §. X.

*Quarrels between* Eurydice *the Queene, and* Python *the Protector.* Python *reſignes his office, into which* Antipater *is choſen.*

PYthon and *Aridæus* being choſen Protectors of King *Aridæus*, and the children of *Alexander*, took the way to Aſia the leſſe, conducting the Armie through Syria. Of theſe two, *Python* was the greater in reputation, yet far too weak to ſuſtaine ſo important a charge. For *Eurydice* wife to King *Aridæus*, was come to her husband, a Lady of a maſculine ſpirit, well underſtanding what ſhe was or ſhould be; and thinking her ſelfe able to ſupport the weight which fortune layd upon her fooliſh husband, being due to her owne title. Her Mother *Cyna*, ſiſter to *Alexander*, by her Father King *Philip*, was married (as hath been ſhewed) to *Amyntas*, who was the right Heire to the Kingdome of Macedon, being the only ſon of King *Perdiccas*, *Philips* elder brother.

This *Cyna* was a warlike woman; ſhe had led Armies, and (as a true ſiſter of *Alexander*) fighting hand to hand with *Caria* Queene of the Phrygians, a *Virago* like unto her ſelfe, had ſlaine her. Shee brought up this *Eurydice* in the ſame unwomanly Art of Warre, who now among the Souldiers beganne to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the ſmall contentment of *Python*, that could not brooke her too curious intermedling in his charge. Whether it were ſo, that *Python* had ſome purpoſe to advance the ſonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdome; (as once he had ſought to doe) or whether the Queene did ſuſpect him of ſome ſuch intent; or whether only deſire of rule cauſed her to quarrell with him; quarrell ſhee did, which diſturbed the proceeding againſt *Eumenes*. The Army having ſhaken off ſuch a ranke-rider as *Perdiccas*, would not afterward be reined with a twined thread. *Python* bearing himſelfe upon his office, took upon him to give directions in the Kings name, which the Queene did oftentimes controll, uſing the ſame name, with more authority, and better liking of the Souldiers.

*Python* ſeeing this, would needs reſigne his office, whether upon wearineſſe of the contentions daily growing, or on purpoſe to bring the Queene into envie, it is uncertaine. Perhaps he thought, that now being the far worthieſt man in the Campe, he ſhould be intreated to retain the place, and have his authority confirmed, or (as might be) increaſed, were it but for want of a fit Succeſſor. *Eurydice* was nothing ſorry at this courſe; for now ſhe thought to mannage the affaires of the Empire at her own will, being freed from the troubleſome aſſiſtance of a Protector. But the ſouldiers diſappointed both her & *Python* of their contrary expectations; chooſing *Antipater*, the only powerfull man of *Alexanders* Captains, then living, into the room of *Python*. Hereat the Queen fretted exceedingly, & began to deale earneſtly with the Macedonians, that they ſhould acknowledge no Lord ſave only the King their Soveraigne. Yet ſhe failed of her purpoſe, being hindred (as may ſeeme) by three things: the apparent weakneſſe of her husband: the growth of *Alexanders* children, who (though born of out-landiſh women) were bred in the Macedonian Camp; and the mightineſſe of *Antipater*, who commanding a great Army neare at hand, arrived in few daies at the Camp, and enforced *Eurydice* to hold her ſelf content. *Antipater* was of ſuch power, that he needed not to work by any cloſe devices, as *Perdiccas* had done: he had no concurrents, all the Governors of Provinces that remained alive, acknowledged him their better: yea many of them he diſplaced out of hand, putting others in their roomes. This done, he took the King, Queene, and Princes along with him into Macedonia, leaving *Antigonus* Generall of the Royall Army: to whom for his good ſervices done, and to be done againſt *Eumenes*, he gave the rule of Suſiana, beſides his former Provinces, and committed into his hands the government of Aſia during that War.

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## §. XI.

### Antigonus *Lievtenant of Aſia, wins a battell of* Eumenes, *and beſiegeth him in Nora: Hee vanquiſheth other followers of* Perdiccas.

Here begins the greatneſſe of *Antigonus*, whoſe power in few yeares over-growing the reſt, wanted little of ſpreading it ſelfe over the whole Monarchie. He was to make War upon *Eumenes*, *Alcetus* the brother, and *Attalus* the brother-in-law to *Perdiccas*: worke enough to keep his Army imployed in the publike ſervice, till ſuch time as he might finde occaſion to make uſe of it in his owne buſineſſe. The firſt of theſe which he undertooke was *Eumenes*, with whom *Alcetus* and *Attalus* refuſed to joyne, having unſeaſonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chiefe place. *Eumenes* had an Army ſtrong in number, courage, and all needfull proviſions; but obedient only at diſcretion. Therefore *Antigonus* tryed all wayes of corrupting his Souldiers; tempting firſt the whole Army with letters: which practice failing by the cunning of *Eumenes* (who made ſhew as if hee himſelfe had ſcattered abroad thoſe letters to try the faith of his men) he dealt apart with ſuch Captains as he thought moſt eaſie to be wonne. Of theſe Captains one rebelled, breaking out too haſtily before any helpe was neare him, yet looking ſo careleſly to himſelfe, that he and his were ſurpriſed, when he thought his enemies far off. Another follower of *Eumenes* (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in company with *Antigonus*) kept his treachery ſecret, reſerving it for the time of execution. Upon confidence of the treaſon which this falſe man *Apollonides* had undertaken, *Antigonus* preſented battel to *Eumenes*; in the heat wherof *Apollonides*, General of the horſe to *Eumenes*, fled over to the contrary ſide, with ſuch as he could get to follow him: but was cloſely followed by ſome, whoſe company he deſired not. *Eumenes* perceiving the irrecoverable miſchief which this traiterous practice had brought upon him, purſued the villain, & cut him off before he could thruſt himſelfe into the troups of *Antigonus*, and boaſt of his treachery. This was ſome comfort to *Eumenes* in the loſſe of that battell, which diſabled him utterly to keepe the field, & left it very hard for him to make a ſafe retrait. Yet one thing he did which much amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of ſmall importance) cauſed *Antigonus* himſelfe to admire his high reſolution. It was held no ſmall part of the victory to get poſſeſſion of the dead bodies. *Eumenes*, whileſt *Antigonus* held him in chaſe, turned out of the way, and fetching a compaſſe, returned to the place where the battell had beene fought; there he burned (according the manner of the time) the bodies of his owne men, and interred the bones and aſhes of the Captains and common Souldiers apart, raiſing up heaps of earth as mountains over them, and ſo went his way. As this bold adventure bred in the Macedonians (returned to their Campe) great admiration of his brave ſpirit: ſo the newes which *Menander* (who was ſet to look unto their carriages) brought and publiſhed among them, enticed them to love him as their honourable friend. Hee had found *Menander* in an open Plaine, careleſſe, as after an aſſured victory, and loaden with the ſpoyles of many Nations, the rewards of their long ſervice; all which he might have taken: but fearing leſt ſuch a purchaſe ſhould prove a heavie burden to him, whoſe chiefe hope conſiſted in ſwift expedition, he gave ſecret warning to *Menander* to flie to the mountains, whileſt he detained his men (whom authority could not have reſtrained) by this ſleight, ſetting them to bait their horſes. The Macedonians extolled him for this courteſie, as a noble Gentleman, that had forborn when it lay in his power to ſtrip them out of all their wealth, and make their children ſlaves, and to raviſh their wives: but *Antigonus* told them, that he had not forborne to do this out of any good will to them; but out of meere ſubtlety had avoyded thoſe precious fetters, which would have hindred his ſpeedy flight. He told them true. For *Eumenes* did not only think all carriages to be over-burdenſome, but the number of his men to be more troubleſome than availeable in his intended courſe. Wherefore he ſent them from him as faſt as he could, wiſhing them to ſhift for themſelves; and retaining only five hundred horſe, and two hundred foot. When he had wearied *Antigonus* a while in following him up and downe, he came to Nora: where againe keeping no more about him than neceſſity required to make good the place, he lovingly diſmiſſed all the reſt. Nora was a little fortreſſe in the borders of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, ſo ſtrongly ſituated, that it ſeemed impregnable, & ſo wel victualled and ſtored with all neceſſaries, that it might hold out for many yeares. Thither did *Antigonus* follow him, with more deſire to make him his friend, than to vanquiſh him in War. To this purpoſe he entertained parley with him, but in vaine. For, whereas *Antigonus* offered him pardon and his love; *Eumenes* required reſtitution of his Provinces, which could not be granted without *Antipaters* conſent. Then was Nora cloſed up; where *Antigonus* leaving ſufficient ſtrength for continuance of the ſiege, took his journey into Piſidia, againſt *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, with whom he made ſhort work. He came upon them unexpected, and ſeized on paſſages, which wanted not men, but ſuch a Captaine as *Eumenes*, to have defended them. *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, as they had been too ſecure before his comming, ſo were they too adventurous, in fighting at the firſt ſight, upon all diſadvantages: and their folly was attended with ſutable event. *Attalus* with many principall Captains was taken; *Alcetus* fled to the City of Termeſus, where the love of the younger ſort toward him was ſo vehement, that ſtopping their eares againſt all perſwaſions of the ancient men, they needs would hazzard their lives and their Country in his defence. Yet this availed him nothing: for the Governors of the Town having ſecretly compounded with *Antigonus*, cauſed the young men to ſally out; & uſing the time of advantage, they with their ſervants did ſet upon *Alcetus*, who unable to reſiſt, ſlew himſelf. His dead body was conveyed to *Antigonus*, and by him barbarouſly torn, was caſt forth without buriall. When *Antigonus* was gone, the young men interred the carcaſſe with ſolemne funerals, having once been minded to ſet on fire their own towne in revenge of his death. Such favour had he purchaſed with courteous liberality: but to make an able Generall, one vertue, how great ſoever, is inſufficient.

## §. XII.

## Ptolomie *wins Syria and Phœnicia. The death of* Antipater.

WHileſt theſe things were in doing, the reſt of the Princes lay idle, rather ſeeking to enjoy their Governments for the preſent, than to confirm or enlarge them. Only *Ptolomie* looking abroad, wan all Syria and Phœnicia: an action of great importance, but not remarkeable for any circumſtance in the managing. He ſent a Lievtenant with an Army, who quickly took *Laomedon* priſoner, that ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas*; but (as may ſeeme) without any great ſtrength of Souldiers, far from aſſiſtants, and vainly relying upon the authoritie which had given him that Province, & was now occupied with greater cares, than with ſeeking to maintaine him in his Office.

***Antipater*** was old and ſickly, deſirous of reſt, and therefore contented to let ***Antigonus*** purſue the diſpatch of thoſe buſineſſes in Aſia. He had with him ***Polyſperchon***, one of the moſt ancient of ***Alexanders*** Captains, that had lately ſuppreſſed a dangerous inſurrection of the Ætolians, which Nation had ſtirred in the quarrell of ***Perdiccas***, prevailing far at the firſt, but ſoon loſing all that they had gained, whileſt ***Antipater*** was abroad in his Cilician expedition. In this ***Polyſperchon Antipater*** did repoſe great confidence; ſo far forth, that (ſuſpecting the youth of his own Son ***Caſſander*** of inſufficiencie in ſo great a charge) he bequeathed unto him on his death-bed the government of Macedon and Greece, together with his office of Protectorſhip. So ***Antipater*** died, being four-ſcore years old, having alwaies travelled in the great affaires of mighty Princes, with ſuch reputation, that ***Alexander*** in all his greatneſſe was jealous of him, and the ſucceſſors of ***Alexander*** did either quietly give place unto him, or were unfortunate in making oppoſitions. In his private qualities he was a ſubtle man, temperate, frugall, and of a Philoſophicall behaviour, not unlearned, as having been Scholler to ***Ariſtotle***, and written ſome Hiſtories. He had been much moleſted by ***Olympias***, ***Alexanders*** mother, whom after the death of her Son, he compelled to abſtaine from comming into Macedonia, or entermedling in matters of Eſtate: yea, at his own death he gave eſpeciall direction, that no woman ſhould be permitted to deal in the adminiſtration of the Empire. But this precept was ſoon forgotten; and yet ere long, by ſorrowfull experience approved to have been ſound and good.

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## §. XIII.

### Of Polyſperchon, *who ſucceeded unto* Antipater *in the Protectorſhip. The inſurrection of* Caſſander *againſt him.*

P***olyſperchon*** was very skilfull in the Art of Warre, having long time beene Apprentiſe in that occupation; other qualities, requiſite in ſo high an Office as hee under-went, either Nature had not given to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He managed his buſineſſe more formally than wiſely, as a man of a ſecond wit, fitter to aſſiſt, than command in chiefe. At the firſt entrance upon the ſtage, he called to counſell all his friends, wherein for weighty conſiderations (as they who weighed not the contrary reaſons held them) the Queene ***Olympias*** was revoked out of Epyrus into Macedon, that the preſence of ***Alexanders*** mother might countenance and ſtrengthen their proceedings. For, the condition of the times requiring, that the Governours of Provinces abroad ſhould keepe greater Armies, than were needfull or eaſie to be retained about the perſon of the King in Macedonia; it ſeemed expedient, that the face of the Court ſhould be filled with all Majeſty, that might give authority to the Injunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awfull regard containe within the limited bounds of dutie ſuch as could not by force have beene kept in order, being ſtrong, and lying too farre off.

Such care was taken for prevention of imaginary dangers and out of ſight, whileſt preſent miſchiefes lay unregarded in their boſomes. ***Caſſander***, the Sonne of ***Antipater***, was not able to diſcover that great ſufficiency in ***Polyſperchon***, for which his father had repoſed in him ſo much confidence: neither could he diſcerne ſuch odds in the quality of himſelfe and ***Polyſperchon***, as was in their fortune. He was left Captaine of one thouſand; which Office by practice of thoſe times was of more importance, than the title now ſeemes to imply. He ſhould thereby have beene as Campe-maſter, or Lievtenant generall to the other: a place no way ſatisfying his ambition, that thought himſelfe the better man. Therefore hee began to examine his owne power, and compare with the forces likely to oppoſe him. All that had relyed on his father, were his owne aſſured, eſpecially ſuch as commanded the Garriſons beſtowed in the principall Cities o Greece. The like hope was of the Magiſtrates, and others of principall authority, in thoſe Common-weales, whoſe formes had beene corrected by ***Antipater***, that they would follow the ſide, and draw-in many partakers: it concerned theſe men in their owne particular to adhere unto the Captains, by whom their faction was up-held; and by whom the raſcall multitude, covetous of re-gaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exerciſed over the principall Citizens, were kept in order, obeying thei betters perforce. Beſides all theſe helpes, ***Caſſander*** had the ſecret love of Queen

*Eurydice*, who had in private rendred him ſuch curteſie, as was due onely to her huſband. But neither the Queenes favour, nor all his other poſſibilities, gave him confidence to break out into open rebellion; becauſe he ſaw *Polyſperchon* much reverenced among the *Macedonians*, and ſtrong enough to ſuppreſſe him, before he could have made head. Therefore he made ſhew of following his pleaſures in the Countrie, and calling many of his friends about him, under pretence of hunting, adviſed with them upon the ſafeſt courſe, and moſt free from all ſuſpicion. The neceſſitie was apparent of raiſing an Armie, before the buſineſſe was ſet on foot; and to doe this, opportunitie preſented him with fair means. *Ptolomie* had by fine force, without any commiſſion, annexed *Syria* to his government of *Egypt* and *Cyrene:* this was too much either for the King to truſt him with, or for him to part with. *Antigonus* upon the firſt newes of *Antipaters* death, began to lay hold upon all that he could get, in ſuch ſort, that he manifeſtly diſcovered his intent of making himſelfe Lord of all *Aſia*. Theſe two therefore ſtood in need of a civill war; which *Caſſander* wel noted, & preſumed withall, That the friendſhip which had paſſed between his father and them, would availe him ſomewhat. Whereupon he ſecretly diſpatched meſſengers to them both; and within a little while conveyed himſelf on a ſudden over the *Helleſpont*, that he might in perſon advance the buſineſſe with greater ſpeed. Much perſwaſion is needleſſe in winning a man to what he deſireth. *Antigonus* coveteth nothing more, than to find *Polyſperchon* work, by raiſing ſome commotion in *Greece*. Yet (as formalities muſt not be neglected) *Caſſander* did very earneſtly preſſe him, by the memorie of his Father, and all requiſite conjurations, to aſſiſt him in this enterpriſe; telling him, that *Ptolomie* was readie to declare for them, and urging him to a ſpeedie diſpatch. *Antigonus* on the other ſide repaied him with the ſame coine, ſaying, that for his own ſake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearly loved, he would not faile to give him all manner of ſuccour. Having thus feaſted one another with words, they were nothing ſlacke in preparing the common means, leading to their ſeverall ends.

## §. XIV.

### *The unworthie courſes held by* Polyſperchon, *for the keeping down of* Caſſander.

GReat neceſſitie there was of timely proviſion. For, *Polyſperchon* needed no other inſtructions to informe him of *Caſſanders* drift, than the newes of his departure. He was not ignorant of the readie diſpoſition, which might be found in *Antiginus* and *Ptolomie*, to the ſtrengthening of rebellion; and well he knew that one principall hope of *Caſſander* was repoſed in the confidence of ſuch as ruled in the *Grecian* Eſtate. Therefore (loving to work circumſpectly) he called another Councell, wherein it was concluded, That the Popular forme of Government ſhould be erected in all the Cities of *Greece*; the Garriſons withdrawn; and that all Magiſtrates aad principall Men, into whoſe hands *Antipater* had committed the ſupreme authoritie, ſhould forthwith be either ſlaine or baniſhed. This was a ſure way to diminiſh the number of *Caſſanders* friends, and to raiſe up many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was diſcloſed both an unthankefull nature in *Polyſperchon*, and a factious malice in his adherents. For, how could he be excuſed of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the ſon went about to diſhonour the Fathers actions, whoſe onely bountie had inabled him to doe it? Or what could be ſaid in their defence, who ſought to deſtroy many worthie men, friends to the State, by whom the *Greekes* were held reſtrained from ſtirring againſt the *Macedonians*? and in oppoſition to their private enemie, gave the rule of things to baſe Companions, and ſuch as naturally maligned the Empire? But as in mans bodie, through ſinews newly iſſuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next neighbour, than by any diſtemper in the contrarie hand: ſo in bodies politique, the humours of men, ſubdivided in faction, are more inraged by the diſagreeable qualities of ſuch as curbe them in their neareſt purpoſes, than they are exaſperated by the generall oppoſition of ſuch as are divided from them in the maine trunke. Hereby it comes to paſſe, that contrary religions are invited to helpe againſt neighbour Princes; bordering enemies drawn-in, to the part in civill warres; and ancient hatred called to counſell againſt injurious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guiltie; ſhee hath taught the arme to offer it ſelfe unto manifeſt loſſe in defence of the head: They are depraved affections, which render men ſenſible of their own particular, and forgetfull of the more generall good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the *Greekes* were preſented with a vaine ſhew of libertie, ran under the Kings name; but ſo, as one might eaſily diſcerne, that *Polyſperchon* had guided his pen. For the maine point was, That they ſhould follow ſuch directions, as *Polyſperchon* gave, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the reſt it contained ſuch a deale of kindneſſe, as proceeding on a ſudden from thoſe who had kept them in hard ſubjection, might well appeare to have ſome other root than the pretended good wil; and was of it ſelf too baſe and unfit for a King to uſe toward his conquered Subjects, and often-ſubdued Rebels.

## §. XV.

### *Of the great commotions raiſed in Athens by* Polyſperchons *decree. The death of* Phocion.

NEvertheleſs the *Athenians* with immoderate joy entertained this happy-ſeeming Proclamation, and ſought how to put it in execution without further delay. But *Nicanor*, Captain of the Garriſon, which kept one of their Havens, called *Munychia*, in the lower part of the Town, would needs take longer time of deliberation, than was pleaſing to their haſtie deſires.

*Nicanor*, as a truſtie follower of *Caſſander*, was by him ſhifted into the place, and *Menillus* (that was Captain there before) diſcharged, when *Antipater* was newly dead. His comming to *Athens* was no way gratefull to the Citizens, who ſoone after hearing the newes of *Antipaters* death, cried out upon *Phocion*, ſaying, That he had ſufficient intelligence of that accident, and might, by advertiſing them in due time, have put into their hands a faire opportunitie of thruſting out the *Macedonians*. But theſe exclamations argued no more than a deſire to ſhake off the *Macedonian* yoke. Farre more grievouſly would they have beene offended, had they knowne the inſtructions which *Caſſander* had given to *Nicanor*, & his reſolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he ſhould not onely retaine *Munychia*, any injunction to the contrary notwithſtanding; but that hee ſhould finde meanes to thruſt ſome companies into *Piræus*, and fortifie that alſo, which was the principall haven, againſt the high-town. How to accompliſh this, he rather wanted ſome reaſonable pretence, than good abilitie. But the *Athenians* were not long in giving him ſufficient cauſe to do that, which he would have done without any cauſe given. They deſired him to come unto their councell, aſſembled in the *Piræum*, there to conſider of the Kings Proclamation: whither upon *Phocions* word and ſafe conduct he came, and earneſtly preſſed them to hold with *Caſſander* in the war which was readie to break forth. Contrariwiſe, they urged him firſt of all, to make them maſters of their own, which how to uſe, they might conſult afterwards. Each of them refuſing to condeſcend unto the others demand; the *Athenians* (who did alwayes meaſure juſtice by profit, yet ſeldom thrived by that courſe) practiſed with *Dercillus*, a Captain following *Polyſperchon*, and then lying neare at hand, that he ſhould enter into the Town, and take *Nicanor* priſoner. But *Phocion*, who then governed in *Athens*, a man very unlike to the reſt of the Citizens, being nothing pleaſed with ſuch a tricke of politicke diſhoneſtie, did quietly ſuffer him to depart and ſave himſelfe.

*Nicanor* hereupon began to deviſe upon taking *Piræum*; not as following now the project of *Caſſander*, but proſecuting his own juſt revenge. He levied as many Souldiers as he could, and drew them cloſely into *Munychia*; which done, he iſſued into *Piræus*, took it, and intrenched himſelfe therein, to the exceeding diſcomfort of the *Athenians*, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Haven, ſaw him now Maſter of both. *Alexander*, the ſon of *Polyſperchon*, came thither ſhortly after with an Armie. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recovering all, and addreſſed themſelves unto him; who made faire ſhewes, intending meere miſchiefe, which they perceived not, being blinded with the vaine Epiſtles of his Father, and of *Olympias* the old Queene. *Olympias*, taking upon her to command, before ſhe durſt well adventure to returne into *Macedon*, had peremptorily charged *Nicanor* to reſtore to the *Athenians* the places which hee held: but hee would firſt conſider more of the matter. *Polyſperchon* had further ordained, that the Iſle of *Samos* ſhould be rendred unto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and meaning. He was (indeed) ſo farre from purpoſing to let them have *Samos*; that as yet he did not throughly intend to let them have themſelves. The commoditie of their Havens was ſuch, as he would rather get into his owne hands, than leave in theirs; yet rather wiſhed in theirs, than in *Caſſanders*. His Son *Alexander*, not ignorant of this, made fair ſhew to the *Athenians*, and ſpent much labour in communing with *Nicanor*, but ſuffered not them, for whom he ſeemed to labour, to intermeddle with the buſineſſe. Hereupon the Citizens grew jealous, and the diſpleaſure they conceived againſt him, they poured out upon *Phocion*, depriving him of his office. This was done with much tumult: baniſhed men and ſtrangers thruſting themſelves into the aſſembly of the Citizens, who diſtracted with ſundrie paſſions, growing out of their preſent miſfortunes, thought every one that beſt could inveigh againſt things paſt, a moſt likely man to finde ſome remedie for the evill threatning them. In this hurly-burly was *Alexander* deviſing how he might come to ſome good point of compoſition with *Nicanor*, & held much privie conference with him; which he could not ſo ſecretly carry, but that his negotiation was diſcovered, whereby the uproare in the Town was ſo far increaſed, that *Phocion* with many of his friends, were accuſed, and driven to ſeek ſafeguard of their lives by flight. So they came to *Alexander*, who entertained them gently, and gave them his letters of commendation to his Father, deſiring him to take them into his protection.

*Polyſperchon* was in the Countrie of *Phocis*, readie to enter with an Armie into *Attica*. Thither came *Phocion* with his companions, hoping well that the letters which they brought, and their own deſerts, (having alwayes been friends to the *Macedonians*, as far as the good of their Countrie gave leave) ſhould be enough to get patronage to their innocencie. Beſides all this, *Dinarchus* a *Corinthian*, *Polyſperchons* familiar friend, went along with them (in an evill houre) who promiſed to himſelfe and them great favour, by meanes of his acquaintance. But *Polyſperchon* was an unſtable man, very earneſt in what he tooke in hand, yet, either for want of judgement in following them, or of honeſtie in holding the beſt of them, eaſily changing his intended courſes, and doing things by the halves, which made him commonly faile of good ſucceſſe. For fear of *Caſſander* he had offered wonderfull kindneſſe to the *Athenians*; this had cauſed them to love him: out of their love he gathered hope of deceiving them, which made him to change his minde, and ſeeke how to get into his owne hands thoſe keyes, with which *Caſſander* held them faſt lockt up: finding himſelfe diſappointed of this purpoſe, and ſuſpected as a falſe diſhonourable man, he ſtood wavering betweene the contrarie allurements of profit and reputation. To keepe the *Athenians* perforce at his devotion, would indeed have done well: but the effecting of this began to grow deſperate; and many Towns of importance in *Greece* began to caſt their eyes upon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore hee thought it the wiſeſt way to redeeme their good opinion, by giving all contentment unto the popular faction; which was then growne to be Maſter of that Citie. And in good time for this purpoſe were the *Athenian* Embaſſadours come, treading (as one may ſay) upon *Phocions* heeles, whom they were ſent to accuſe. Theſe had ſolemne audience given to them in the Kings preſence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for oſtentations ſake was glorified with all exteriour ſhewes of Majeſtie; yet all too little to change *Aridæus* into *Alexander*: for hee did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as he ſaw others doe. For beginning of the buſineſſe *Polyſperchon* commanded that *Dinarchus* ſhould bee tortured and ſlaine. This was enough to teſtifie his heartie affection to the Commonaltie of *Athens*, in that he ſpared not his old acquaintance for their ſake; whoſe Embaſſadours he then bad to ſpeake. When their errand was done, and anſwer to it made by the accuſed, who had no indifferent hearing, *Phocion* and the reſt were pronounced guilty of treaſon; but to give ſentence, and doe the execution upon them, was (for honours ſake) referred unto the Citie of Athens, becauſe they were Burgeſſes. Then were they ſent away to Athens, where the raſcall multitude, not ſuffering them to ſpeake for themſelves, condemned them to dye. So they periſhed being innocent. But the death of *Phocion* being very conſpicuous, made the fortune of the reſt to bee of the leſſe regard. Five and fortie times had hee beene choſen Governour of the Citie, never ſuing for the place, but ſent for when hee was abſent, ſo well was his integritie knowne, and ſo highly valued, even of ſuch as were no pretenders to the ſame vertue. He was a good Commander in War, wherein though his actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance, and never unfortunate. Never did the Citie repent of having followed his counſell: nor any private man of having truſted his word. *Philip* of *Macedon* highly eſteemed him; ſo, and much more did *Alexander*, who (beſides other ſignes of his love) ſent him two hundred talents of ſilver, and offered to beſtow upon him of foure Cities in *Aſia* any one which he would chooſe. But *Phocion* refuſed theſe and other gifts, howſoever importunately thruſt upon him; reſting well contented with his honeſt povertie: wherein he lived above foureſcore years, and then was compelled by the unjuſt judgment of wicked men, to drink that poyſon, which by juſt judgment of the righteous God, ſo infected the Citie of *Athens*, as from that day forwards it never brought forth any worthy man reſembling the vertue of their Anceſtors.

## §. XVI.

### *Of* Polyſperchon *his vain expedition againſt* Caſſander.

NOt long after theſe things were done, *Caſſander*, with ſuch forces as *Antigonus* lent him, entred into *Piræus*; which newes drew *Polyſperchon* headlong into *Attica*, with a great Armie, but ſo il victualled, that he was fain to depart without any thing done. Only he had given ſome impediment to the enemie; who, not contented with defending what he held, began to looke out, and make new purchaſes abroad. Finding therefore himſelfe unable to drive *Caſſander* out of *Athens*, he left his ſon *Alexander*, with ſuch number of men as exceeded not the proportion of victuals, to withſtand his further incroaching. The greateſt part of his Armie he carried into *Peloponneſus*, to make the Countrie ſure to himſelfe, wherein *Caſſander* had many Friends.

His doings in *Peloponneſus* were ſuch, as they had been in other parts of *Greece*. Firſt, he began to fight with Edicts, reſtoring the Democracie, or Popular forme of government. He commanded that the principall Citizens, that had by *Antipater* beene made Rulers, ſhould be either ſlaine, or driven into exile. This decree tooke immediate effect in moſt places: The vulgar ſort being very readie to ſeale the Charter of their freedome and authoritie, with the bloud of thoſe who had kept them in ſubjection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chiefe Citizens; and many which wiſhed well to *Caſſander*, eſpecially they of *Megalopolis*, on whom *Polyſperchon* meant to inflict an exemplarie puniſhment of diſobedience to him, which he termed Rebellion. *Megalopolis* had in it fifteen thouſand ſerviceable men, well furniſhed of neceſſaries, and reſolved to endure the worſt. And need there was of ſuch reſolution. For *Polyſperchon* comming thither with all his power, did ſo much, that he overthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the ſpace of wall between them. But the Defendants manfully repelled the *Macedonians* which came up to the breach; and at the ſame time with great labour they raiſed up an inner wall, to beare out the next aſſault. The Aſſailants having failed to carry the Town at the firſt attempt, took much paine to cleare the ground, and make fair way for their Elephants, whoſe violence was likely to overthrow all that came in their way. But the Townſ-men perceiving their drift, prepared boords driven through with long nailes, which they uſed as gal-throps, beſtowing them ſleightly covered, with the points upwards, in the way by which the beaſts were to paſſe. Neither did they ſet any to encounter them in front, but appointed certaine light-armed men to beate upon their ſides with arrows and Darts, as they were inſtructed by ſome that had learned the manner of that fight in the *Aſian* Wars. Of theſe proviſions they made happy uſe in the next aſſault. For, by them were the Elephants (wherein the enemie chiefly truſted) either ſorely hurt, or driven back upon the *Macedonians*, whom they trampled under feet. *Polyſperchon* came as ill furniſht for long abode to *Megalopolis* as before to *Athens*. Therefore being neither able to diſpatch the buſineſſe quickly, nor to take ſuch leaſure as was requiſite, he forſooke the ſiege, with ſome loſſe, and much diſhonour, leaving ſome part of his Armie to lye before the Town for his credit.

After this he ſent *Clitus*, his Admirall, to Sea, to joyne with *Aridæus* that was come out of *Phrygia*, and to cut off all ſuccour which might come to the enemie out of *Aſia*. *Caſſander* alſo ſent his whole fleet under *Nicanor*, who taking along with him ſome ſhips of *Antigonus*, came to the *Propontis*, where he fought with *Clitus*, and was beaten. But *Antigonus* hearing of the over-throw, gathered together the ſhips that were eſcaped, and manning them very well, ſent out *Nicanor* againe, aſſuring him of the victorie, as well he might. For he ſent out ſufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom he cauſed to be wafted over the ſtreights in ſmall Veſſels by night; theſe before day-light ſetting upon *Clitus*, drave his men, that lay ſecurely on the land, head-long into their ſhips; in which tumult *Nicanor* arriving did aſſaile them ſo luſtily, that few or none eſcaped him.

This loſſe at Sea, together with his bad ſucceſſe by Land, brought *Polyſperchon* into great contempt. He had a good facilitie in penning bloudie decrees, but when the execution was referred to his own ſword, he could find the matter more difficult. Wherefore the *Athenians*, perceiving that he had left them to ſhift for themſelves, and was not able to give them protection againſt the enemie which lay in their boſomes, came to agreement with *Caſſander*; accepting a governour of his appointment; and reſtoring all things to the ſame ſtate wherein *Antipater* had left them. The like inclination to the partie of *Caſſander*, was found in very many Cities of *Greece*, which daily and willingly revolted unto him; as to an induſtrious man, and likely to prevaile in the end. Thus was the whole Countrie ſet in a combuſtion, uneaſie to be quenched; which preſented unto *Antigonus* an opportunitie, that he neglected not, of making himſelfe Lord of *Aſia*.

## §. XVII.

Antigonus *ſeeks to make himſelfe an abſolute Lord: and thereupon treats with* Eumenes, *who diſappointeth him. Phrygia and Lydia won by* Antigonus.

ANtigonus had in *Antipaters* life time a firm reſolution, to make unto himſelfe the utmoſt benefit that he might of the Armie committed to his charge. And in faire ſeaſon for advancement of his purpoſes came the newes of *Antipaters* death; even then, when all the buſineſſe in *Piſidia* was diſpatched, and no more imployment for the Armie remaining, ſave onely the continuance of the ſiege of *Nora*, a ſmall thing of it ſelfe, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was moſt precious. *Eumenes* lay in that Fort of *Nora*, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutabilitie, to which the preſent Eſtate was manifeſtly ſubject, would in continuance of ſome years (which he might abide) worke more for him, than his enemies in that ſpace could worke againſt him. His moſt feare was, that for want of exerciſe in that narrow Caſtle, his men & horſes might grow ſickly and unſerviceable: which made him to practiſe many devices of keeping them in health and luſtie. But when he had continued ſhut up in this manner about a yeare, his hopes came to good paſſe, and he was eaſed of his cares by *Antigonus* himſelfe, whoſe forces held him beſieged.

*Antigonus* knowing the great ſufficiencie of *Eumenes*, & conſidering his fidelitie ſhewed unto *Perdiccas*, thought that he could not find in all the world a fitter man than him, to imploy in managing thoſe high deſignes, wherein he doubted not that he ſhould be withſtood by the mightieſt Princes of the Empire. He ſent therefore to *Eumenes* by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with ſome part of his intent, and promiſing to make him a better Lord than ever he had bin, and the next man to himſelf, if things fel out as he deſired: in regard whereof he required only his friendſhip, and thereupon ſent him an oath to take; which done, he might at his good pleaſure iſſue ſafely out of *Nora*, and enjoy his perfect libertie. *Eumenes* peruſing the form of the oath, did perceive the meaning of *Antigonus*; which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the bloud, rather to keep the *Decorum*, than upon any loyall intent; the binding words and ſum of all were ſuch, as tied him faſt only to *Antigonus*, omitting all reſervation of dutie to the King or any other. This he liked not, holding it unſeemly to become a ſworn man to him, with whom he had fought for the maſterie; and being aſſured that his voluntarie aſſiſtance, which way ſoever he gave, would be more acceptable, and farre more honourable, than the courſe propounded. Yet would he not therefore breake off the negotiation, and wait for ſome better occaſion of inlargement, which might perhaps be long in comming: but ſeeming to be well agreed with *Antigonus*, he prepared to give up his Hold and depart. As for the oath it ſelfe, when he came to take it, he made ſhew of diſlike, in that it was not ſolemne enough for ſuch perſonages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in teſtifiing their allegiance. The *Macedonians* which lay incamped before *Nora*, liked his words, and gave him leave to put in *Olympias*, and the children of *Alexander*, binding himſelf to them and their adherents, as well as to *Antigonus*; and ſo he departed.

*Antigonus* had taken upon him, as ſoone as he came downe to the Sea-ſide, to remove ſome of the Governours of the Provinces, behaving himſelfe according to the authoritie which he had received of *Antipater*, to exerciſe in the time of war. Neither did he want ſufficient pretence whereby to juſtifie his proceedings. For if *Polyſperchon* might lawfully hold the Protectorſhip, which the old man doting on his death-bed bequeathed unto him, as a legacie, without conſent of the Princes or Souldiers; why might not he himſelfe as well retaine the Lievtenantſhip of *Aſia*, that was granted unto him for the generall good of the State, in preſence of the whole Armie, by the King, and by *Antipater*, who had power to ordaine what ſhould ſeem convenient whilſt he lived, not to diſpoſe of things that ſhould happen after his death? To give a faire colour to his ambition, this was enough: if any were not herewith ſatisfied, he had threeſcore thouſand footmen, ten thouſand horſe, and thirtie Elephants in a readineſſe to anſwer them.

The firſt that perceived his drift, and provided to reſiſt him, was *Aridæus* Governor of *Phrygia*; who fortified the Townes of his own Province, and ſought to have won *Cyzicus*, a faire Haven Town, and ſeated very conveniently for him, but was faine to goe away without it. Hereupon *Antigonus* took occaſion to command him out of the countrie. *Aridæus* was ſo far from obeying him, that he ſent forces to relieve *Eumenes*. Nevertheleſſe finding that he was unable of himſelfe to make long reſiſtance, he took ſuch companies as he could draw along with him, and ſo paſſed over into *Europe*, to complain at the Court. The like fortune had *Clitus*, who ruled in *Lydia*, and ſought the like remedy of his fortune, with ſome hope at the firſt (for both of them were entertained with very good words) which quickly vaniſhed, and grew deſperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath already been declared.

## §. XVIII.

Antigonus *purſues* Eumenes. Eumenes *having authoritie from the Court, raiſeth great war againſt* Antigonus *in defence of the Royall houſe*.

A*Ntigonus* having thus gotten into his hands all, or moſt of all *Aſia* the leſſe, was able to have entred *Macedon*, and ſeized upon the Court; which that he forbare to doe, it proceeded (as may ſeeme) from ſome of theſe reaſons. It would have bred as much jealouſie in *Caſſander*, as feare in *Polyſperchon*, which might have brought them to termes of reconciliation; It would aske more time than he could ſpare; and the envie which followed the Protectorſhip was ſuch, as he that had power enough without the Office, ought rather to ſhun, than to purſue. Beſides all this, it was manifeſt that *Eumenes* would not only refuſe to take his part, but would make war upon him in defence of the Royall houſe, to which it was found that *Antigonus* did not ſtand well-affected. Againſt him therefore he bent his courſe, and with an Armie of twentie thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe, made great haſte toward *Cilicia*, hoping to ſuppreſſe him before he ſhould be able to make head.

*Eumenes* was one of thoſe few that continued faithfull to their dead maſter, which being well known in the Court, he had commiſſion ſent unto him from thence to raiſe an Armie, and make war upon *Antigonus*, taking of the Kings treaſure as much as he ſhould need. Other letters alſo there were directed to all the Governours of Provinces, requiring them to give aſſiſtance to *Eumenes*, and be ordered by his direction: eſpecially to the Captaines of the old Souldiers, called the *Argyraſpides*, or ſilver-ſhielded bands, commandement was given to be at his appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, before this authoritie was given him: but now hee purpoſed with all the ſtrength which he could make, to fight with *Antigonus* in defence of the Royall bloud. *Olympias* had written to him, deſiring him to bring helpe to her and her Nephew the ſon of *Alexander*; and in the meane time to give her his advice in that which *Polyſperchon* required of her: for ſhee was deſirous to returne into *Macedon*, but ſuſpected his ambition, as not contained within lawfull bounds. *Eumenes* therefore counſelled her to remaine in *Epirus*, till ſuch time as he could bring the warre to a good iſſue; which done, he promiſed that his faith and care ſhould not be wanting to the ſeede of *Alexander*.

Strange it is to conſider, that in all the Empire, ſcarce any one could be found among the Noble-men, in whom *Alexanders* mother, wives, and children, might repoſe firme confidence, ſaving onely this *Eumenes*, a ſtranger to the *Macedonian* bloud, borne at *Cardia*, a Citie of *Thrace*. His reputation was no more than his owne vertue had made it; his followers obeyed at their owne diſcretion; and compelled he was to travaile as farre as *Perſia*, to gather together an Army ſufficient to reſiſt the enemies that purſued his heeles.

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## §. XIX.

### *How the Princes of Macedon ſtood affected mutually.* Olympias *takes* Aridæus *and* Eurydice, *whom ſhe cruelly puts to death.*

NOw, foraſmuch as in this preſent Warre all the Rulers of the Provinces did entermeddle; and great alterations happened, not onely in the parts of *Aſia*, but *Macedon* it ſelfe, which brought a new face unto the State, by the extirpation of the Royall houſe of *Philip* and *Alexander*: I hold it convenient in this place, before we enter into the particulars of the Warre it ſelfe, to ſhew briefly how the great ones did mutually ſtand affected; and by what paſſions they were drawne into thoſe courſes, which over-threw moſt of them, and out of their ruines built the greatneſſe of a few: as likewiſe to what extremity the faction brake out in *Macedon* it ſelfe, about the maine controverſie of the title to the Crowne, whereupon all other quarrels were or ſhould have beene depending.

*Aridæus* the King, being ſimple and fearefull, did onely what he was bidden.

*Polyſperchon*, deſirous to continue long in Office, had a purpoſe to advance the ſonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane* to the Kingdome, and become Governour to a King of his own making.

*Eurydice* the Queene diſcovering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing leſſe than to let her husband ſerve as a Stale, keeping the throne warme till another were growne old enough to ſit in it, grew acquainted with *Caſſander*, who hated the memory of *Alexander*, and was therefore the fitter for her turne.

*Caſſander* held freſh in minde the danger wherein his family had been through *Alexanders* malice, together with the indignity offered to himſelfe by *Alexander*, who knocked his head againſt a wall for deriding one that adored him after the *Perſian* maner. The diſpleaſure hereof, and the pleaſure which he tooke in the amorous Queene, made him to reſolve, both to ſuppreſſe the linage which he hated, and to maintaine his beloved miſtreſſe, either by ſupporting her weake husband, or by taking her to be his owne wife.

The reſt of the Lords held it a thing indifferent who reigned over all, ſo as they might reigne in their ſeverall Countries, & eſtabliſh their authority in ſuch wiſe, that it might not be taken from them.

Among theſe, *Ptolomy* and *Antigonus* were well enough already, if their ambition would have ſuffered them to ſee it.

*Pitho* and *Seleucus* lying farre off, and being ſtrong, had ſome good hope to encroach upon their neighbours. Againſt theſe, *Peuceſtes*, and ſome others, with much adoe hardly made reſiſtance, untill ſuch time as *Eumenes* came to them; who propounded to himſelfe great matters, which he lived not to accompliſh.

*Olympias* the old Queene (as it is common with ſtep-dames) hated the children of her husband by his other wives. It was thought that ſhe had given poiſon to *Aridæus*, which failing to take away his life, had much impaired both his body and wits. Now ſhe conſidering, that *Eumenes* was too full of buſineſſe to come home ſo ſoone as ſhe wiſhed that he ſhould; and that *Caſſander* daily prevailed in *Greece*: thought it the beſt way to joyne with *Polyſperchon*, & ſet up, as King, her Nephew *Alexander*, the ſon of *Roxane*, removing *Aridæus* before *Caſſander* were able to defend him. To this intent ſhe procured men among her kindred in *Epirus*, and ſo tooke her way towards *Polyſperchon*, who joyning with her, entred into *Macedon.*

*Eurydice* hearing theſe newes, wrote very earneſtly to *Caſſander*, praying him to ſet aſide all other buſineſſe, & come to ſuccour her. She her ſelfe by entreaty, gifts, and promiſes, drew to her partie as many of the *Macedonians* as ſhe could, untill ſhe thought her owne ſide ſtrong enough; and then taking her husband with her, went boldly forth againſt *Olympias*, and the Traitor *Polyſperchon.*

Theſe two Queens met armed, as if the matter ſhould have beene determined by their own hands, which ended without any ſtroke ſtricken, by the revolt of thoſe who followed *Eurydice*. For as ſoone as the *Macedonians* beheld *Olympias*; calling to minde her former Eſtate, and the victorious reignes of her husband and ſon, they refuſed to lift any weapon againſt her. *Eurydice* finding her ſelfe thus forſaken, fled towards *Amphipolis*, but was intercepted, and made priſoner with her husband.

*Olympias* having obtained this victory without bloud, thought that all things would ſucceed as eaſily, and upon the ſame conſiderations for which they had refuſed to beare Armes againſt her, the *Macedonians* would not ſticke to maintaine her, whatſoever her proceedings were. Having therefore ſhut up *Aridæus* and his wife in a cloſe roome, where they could ſcarce turne round, ſhe fed them through a little hole, till after a while it came in her head (for feare leſt the people ſhould have commiſeration of him, that had reigned almoſt ſixe yeeres and a halfe) to put them to death. So ſhe delivered *Aridæus* to ſome barbarous *Thracians*; who tooke away his life by cruell torments: to *Eurydice* ſhe ſent a ſword, a halter, & a cup of poiſon, willing her to chooſe the inſtrument of her own death; who praying that the like preſents might one day be ſent to *Olympias*, yeelded her necke to the halter, having ſpent her laſt curſes not in vaine. *Nicanor* the brother of *Caſſander*, and a hundred the chiefe of his friends, did *Olympias* then chooſe out, all whom ſhe commanded to be ſlaine. His brother *Iolaus* that was already dead and buried, ſhe accuſed of poiſon given to *Alexander*, & thereupon cauſed his Tombe to be thrown downe, and his bones to be ſcattered abroad. The *Macedonians* wondering at this fury, began to condemne themſelves, and the folly of *Polyſperchon*, who had, quite contrary to *Antipaters* charge given on his death-bed, called this outragious woman to the government of the Empire.

## §. XX.

## *How* Caſſander *was revenged upon* Olympias.

### †. I.

*The great expedition of* Caſſander. Olympias *ſhuts her ſelfe into Pydna, where* Caſſander *beſieged her.* Æacides *King of Epirus, comming to ſuccour* Olympias, *is forſaken, and baniſhed by his owne Subjects.*

CAſſander at that time lay before *Tegea*, in *Peloponneſus*; whither when all theſe ill tidings were brought to him, he never ſtaied to take the City, nor to give order for the State of things in that Countrie, (though *Alexander* the ſonne of *Polyſperchon* were there with an Armie) but compounding with them of *Tegea*, he willed his aſſociates to looke to themſelves as well as they could, till his returne; and ſo in all haſte he tooke his journey towards *Macedon*, carried headlong with the greedie deſire of juſt revenge. The *Aetolians* had taken the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, in favour of the Queene & *Polyſperchon*, to hinder his paſſage; but he, not willing to miſ-ſpend any time in dealing with them, got together as many ſhippes as he could, great and ſmall, with which he tranſported his Army into *Theſſaly*. There he divided his companies, appointing ſome under *Callas*, a ſubtile Captaine, to hold *Polyſperchon* buſied, who then lay incamped neere to *Perbæbia*; with the reſt he marched directly againſt *Olympias*. She, having once prevailed by the reſpect given to her dignity, tooke more care how to appeare Majeſticall, than to make her ſelfe ſtrong. To this end ſhe made a ſolemne progreſſe to *Pydna*, a Sea-towne, and well fenced, having in her company all the flowre of the Court, eſpecially the great Ladies, among whom was *Roxane*, & her young ſon *Alexander*, heire to the great *Alexander*, by his grand-mothers deſignement: who, during his minority, kept the Soveraigne power in her own hands. But all this pompe ſerved to little uſe, againſt the violence of the enemy, that ſoone preſented himſelfe before the walls; onely it fed the beſieged with a vaine hope of ſuccour, that would from all parts arrive, to reſcue perſons of their quality. And hereof there ſoone appeared faire likelihood, which as ſoone vaniſhed, and went away in ſmoake.

For *Aeacides* King of *Epirus*, made great haſte to bring ſuccour to *Olympias*, his couſen; with whom *Deodamia* his daughter was alſo ſhut up. Nevertheleſſe, his Subjects were nothing forward in this expedition; but finding certaine paſſages taken in the way by *Caſſanders* men, they called upon him to retire, & quit the enterpriſe. The Kings importunitie urging them to proceede, and the obſtinate refuſall of the Army, brake out at length into ſuch termes, that when he had raged in vaine againſt the multitude, his authority, with which he thought to have prevailed upon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forſake his Kingdome, and to wander up and down in forraine Countries a baniſhed man, his people joyning with the enemy, againſt whom hee had led them forth to war.

*Pydna* in the meane time was cloſed up ſtreightly, both by Sea and Land, ſo that neither any could iſſue out of the City, nor any reliefe be conveyed into it, but it held out as long as any food was left, no memorable ſervice being done there, whilſt great actions were managed abroad.

## † II.

*A continuation of* Olympias *her ſtory.* Polyſperchon *defeated. Extreme famine in* Pydna. Olympias *yeeldes to* Caſſander.

NOw, though order of time require it, that we ſhould rehearſe the doings of *Eumenes* & *Antigonus* in this place, leaving *Olympias* yet a while to the houre of her deſtiny; which growes the faſter upon her, becauſe ſhe may diſcerne it comming: yet that we may not be compelled to interrupt the courſe of our narration, by inſerting her Tragedie in the midſt of things not manifeſtly coherent with it; we will here (as elſewhere we have done, and elſewhere muſt) continue to an end one Hiſtory, that we may not be therewith diſtracted, when we ſhall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the beſieged, remaining in *Polyſperchon*, was in like manner diſappointed, as their former truſt had bin, which was repoſed in the ſuccours of the *Epirot*. For *Callas*, who was ſent againſt him, found the meanes to corrupt the greateſt part of his Army with money, leaving him within a little while ſo ſlenderly accompanied, that hee was fit for no other buſineſſe of warre, than a ſwift retrait. When famine had ſo farre prevailed in the City, that the horſes were killed as a precious food, many men, feeding on the dead carcaſſes of their fellowes, and ſaw-duſt being given to the Elephants for provender; ſome of the Souldiers obtaining the Queenes leave, (who could not denie it) others, without aſking leave, yeelded themſelves to the enemy, and were by him gently relieved, and ſent abroad into the Country. The newes of the Queenes affaires, diſperſed by theſe men, did ſo affright her well-willers, that ſuch as had reſerved themſelves to the event, came in apace, and ſubmitted them to *Caſſander*. At length, when the mortalitie was ſo great in the Towne, that the living were even poyſoned with the noyſome ſent of the dead; *Olympias* bethought her ſelfe of ſtealing away by Sea in a Galley that ſhe had: wherewith her ſucceſſe was as bad as in the reſt. For God had appointed this Towne, by her choſen as a place of refuge, to be unto her as a houſe of torment, and a Jaile, out of which ſhe ſhould not bee delivered, but unto an evill death. Being therefore utterly broken with miſeries, which daily afflicted her & the other Ladies, unaccuſtomed to ſo wretched a kind of life, ſhe offered compoſition, & with much labor hardly obtained of *Caſſander* (who having fetcht her Gally out of the Haven, accounted himſelfe as good as maſter of her body) a grant of her own life. Immediatly upon her apprehenſion, *Pella*, the chiefe City of the Kingdome, was yeelded to *Caſſander*. *Amphipolis* did ſtand out: for *Ariſtonus* (to whom *Olympias* had given charge of ſuch forces as were left abroad in the Country, taking courage from the ſucceſſe of ſome petty ſervices wherein he had prevailed) began to promiſe himſelfe great unlikelihoods. But *Olympias*, to win *Caſſanders* favour, very earneſtly required him upon his faith to her, that he ſhould give it up. He did ſo, and preſently after was killed by his private enemies, that were ſet on by *Caſſander*, who partly hated him upon old reſpects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to ſeeke innovation.

## †. III.

## *The death of* Olympias, *and her conditions.*

WHen *Olympias* had now heard ſorrowfull tidings of all her friends, ſhe her ſelf was called into queſtion, & accuſed in an aſſembly of the *Macedonians*, for the murthers (they were ſo ſtiled in her affliction, which in time of proſperity ſhe called juſtice) by her committed. There was ſhe (being not heard, nor called to ſpeake) condemned to die. The ſuite was commenced and proſecuted againſt her, by the kindred of thoſe whom ſhe had ſlaine. But it was at *Caſſanders* inſtigation, who (to haſten the execution) ſent her word, that he would furniſh her with a ſhip, and other neceſſaries, to ſave her ſelf by flight: which when ſhe refuſed, ſaying, that ſhe would plead for her ſelf, & tell her owne tale; he diſſembled no longer, but ſent unto her ſuch men, as hated her moſt, who tooke away her miſerable life. She was daughter, and ſiſter, unto two Kings of *Epirus*; wife, & mother, unto two the mightieſt Kings, of that, or many other ages; a ſtout Lady, and of unreproveable chaſtity; but her ambition was boundleſſe, her hatred unappeaſable, and her furie in revenge moſt unwomanly. Her perverſe conditions made her husband ſeeke other wives and Concubines, which cauſed her to hate both him, and them. She was thought privie to her husbands death; after which, very cruelly ſhee ſlew his late wife *Cleopatra*, having firſt murdered one of her two children in her armes, and with a beaſtly fury broiled the other alive in fire, in a copper baſon. For theſe things, her ſonne *Alexander* (otherwiſe loving her well) forbad her to meddle in the government of *Macedon*. But God, more ſevere unto cruell Tyrants, than only to hinder them of their wils, permitted her to live and fulfill the reſt of her wickedneſſe, (which was his juſtice upon the adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppreſſion done by him & others;) after all which, He rewarded her malice, by returning it upon her owne head.

## †. IV.

## Caſſander *celebrates the funerall of* Aridæus *and* Eurydice; *and ſeekes to make himſelfe King of Macedon.*

AFter her death, *Caſſander* gave honourable buriall to *Aridæus* & *Eurydice*, among their Progenitors, Kings of *Macedon*. And looking further into his own poſſibilities of greatneſſe, he married the Lady *Theſſalonica*, whom he had taken at *Pydna*, being the daughter of King *Philip*, by another of his wives; that by her he might have ſome title to the Crowne. For the ſame end he committed *Roxane*, & her young ſon to cloſe priſon, removing thereby ſome part of his impediment. And, the better to encreaſe his fame, and purchaſe love, built a City, called by his own name *Caſſandria*, that ſoone grew to be very great and powerfull. He re-edified likewiſe *Thebes* in *Greece*, & reſtored it unto the old inhabitants, after it had laine twenty yeeres waſte, being utterly razed by *Alexander*. By theſe meanes, eſpecially by the reſtauration of *Thebes*, whereunto all *Greece* voluntarily contributed, he grew ſo ſtrong, that few remained enemies unto him; and they, with much labour, hardly could reſiſt him. Leaving him therefore daily prevailing in *Greece*, we will returne to them, who contended in *Aſia*, for leſſe titles, but larger Provinces, with greater forces.

## CHAP. IIII.

### *Of the great Lordſhip which* ANTIGONUS *got in Aſia.*

### §. I.

### *The journey of* Eumenes *into Perſia. His wiſe dealing with thoſe that joyned with him.*

EUMENES, having joyned unto his company the *Argyraſpides*, made haſte into the Eaſterne parts, to take poſſeſſion of thoſe Countries, according to his commiſſion, and ſtrengthen himſelfe againſt *Antigonus*. He tooke his journey through *Cœloſyria* and *Phœnicia*, hoping to reclaime thoſe Provinces, uſurped with the reſt of *Syria* (as hath beene ſhewed) by *Ptolomy*, to the Kings obedience. But to effect this, his haſte of his paſſing forward was too great, his Army too little, and the readineſſe of the people, to returne to their due obedience, none at all. Beſides all which impediments, one inconvenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the leſſe effectuall. The Captaines of the *Argyraſpides* were ſo froward, that they ſcorned to repaire to him, and take his directions; and their fidelity was ſo unſteady, that he might more eaſily have dealt with open traitors. It was not expedient, that he, being Generall, ſhould weaken his authority by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keepe him in order by compulſion. Therefore he fained, that *Alexander* had appointed unto him, in a dream, a place for their meeting, namly, in a rich pavilion, wherein an emptie throne was placed, as if *Alexander* himſelf had been preſent at their conſultations. Thus he freed himſelfe from their vaine pride; but of their faith he could have no aſſurance. Yet when *Ptolomy* requeſted them, and *Antigonus* bribed them to forſake him, they continued (though not without conſidering of the matter) to take his part. So he marched on, ſending before him the Kings warrant; which *Pytho* and *Seleucus* refuſed to obey; not as rejecting the Kings authority, but excepting the perſon of *Eumenes*, as a man condemned to die by the *Macedonian* Army, for the death of *Craterus*. *Eumenes*, knowing well that he was not to rely upon their aſſiſtance, who ſtood otherwiſe affected than his affaires required, and were not to be dealt with by perſwaſion, ſought paſſage by ſtrong hand through the Country of *Babylon*, in ſuch wiſe that *Seleucus*, having in vaine aſſaied to hinder him, by opening the ſluces of *Euphrates*, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as deſirous to be rid of him. Thus he came to *Peuceſtes* and the reſt of the Eaſterne Lords, who were glad of his company, becauſe of the differences betweene *Pytho*, *Seleucus*, and themſelves. Yet the contention about ſuperiotity grew very hot among them, every one finding matter enough to feede his owne humour of ſelfe-worthineſſe. But the former device of aſſembling in one pavilion, made all quiet; the concluſion ever being ſure to follow that which *Eumenes* propounded, who was both wiſeſt in giving advice, and beſt able to reward, by meanes of the authority given him, to take what he pleaſed of the Kings treaſures. By theſe meanes he won to himſelfe many of thoſe, who had moſt power to doe good or hurt.

### §. II.

### *How* Antigonus, *comming to ſet upon* Eumenes, *was driven off with loſſe.*

ANtigonus, hearing that *Eumenes* lay in the Province of *Suſa*, had an earneſt deſire to follow him, and drive him further from the Kings treaſures, which were kept there. To which end, as ſoone as he had made himſelfe ſtrong enough, hee removed out of *Meſopotamia*, where he had wintered; and taking to him *Pytho* and *Seleucus*, with their men, he marched directly againſt the enemies, with intent to give them battell. *Eumenes* had fortified the Caſtle of *Suſa*, and was retired back toward *Perſia*, keeping the River of *Tigris* betweene him and his purſuers. The paſſages of the River were well guarded, & good eſpiall kept upon *Antigonus*, to obſerve which way he took.

Before he came to *Tigris* it ſelfe, he was to paſſe over *Coprates*, a great River, and not foordable, which he ſought to doe by ſmall veſſels, whereof he had no great ſtore. A great part of his Army had gotten over, when *Eumenes*, who kept a bridge upon *Tigris*, came with a thouſand horſe, & foure thouſand foot, to ſee their demeanour: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and drave them headlong backe into *Coprates*, wherein moſt of them were drowned; very few eſcaping with life, except foure thouſand that yeelded themſelves priſoners in ſight of *Antigonus*, that was not able to relieve them. This loſſe made *Antigonus* glad to fall off; and the heate of that Countrie in the dog-dayes, breeding diſeaſes in his Army, by which many periſhed, cauſed him to remove as farre as into *Media*. So he tooke *Python* with him; (leaving *Seleucus* to beſiege the Caſtle of *Suſa*) & ſeeking to goe the neereſt way, paſſed through ſavage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmiſhes, ſlew great numbers of his men, before he could arrive in *Media*, with his troupes that were quite heart-broken.

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### §. III.

### *Of* Eumenes *his cunning. A battaile betweene him and* Antigonus.

AFter his departure, *Eumenes* with his aſſociates fell into conſultation, about the remainder of their buſineſſe. Faine he would have had them to enter upon thoſe Provinces, which *Antigonus* had left behinde him; to which alſo the Captaines of the *Argyraſpides* or *Silver-ſhields* were very inclinable, as deſiring to draw neerer to *Greece*. But *Peuceſtes*, and the reſt, whoſe dominions lay in the high Countries, had more care of their owne particular Eſtates, and would needes march Eaſtward. Theſe carried it; for the Army was not ſtrong enough to divide it ſelfe into parts.

When they came into *Perſia*, *Peuceſtes*, ruling there, feaſted them royally, and ſought by all meanes to win the Souldiers love to himſelf. *Eumenes* perceiving whereunto thoſe doings tended, ſuffred him a while to keepe good cheare, till the time of war drew neere. Then did he faine an Epiſtle, directed, as from *Orontes* Governor of *Armenia*, to *Peuceſtes* himſelfe: The purport whereof was; that *Olympias* had vanquiſhed *Caſſander*, & ſent over a great Army under *Polyſperchon*, to joyne with *Eumenes*. Theſe newes, as they filled the Campe with vaine joy, ſo they wrought in all mens mindes a great willingneſſe to obey *Eumenes*, by whom was the likelieſt appearance of their preferment; wherein they dealt wiſely, he being farre the moſt ſufficient Commander, as they found ſoone after. Fot when *Antigonus*, comming out of *Media*, drew neere unto them, *Eumenes* by ſome miſchance was fallen ſicke, and faine to be carried in a Litter; the Army marched in very bad array, and was likely to have beene forced to take battaile in that diſorder. But *Eumenes*, when the reſt of the Captaines were amazed, was carried about the Army in his Litter, and upon the ſodaine did caſt his men into ſo good forme, that *Antigonus*, perceiving him a far off, could not refraine from giving him deſerved commendations. Yet he did not ceaſe to promiſe great rewards to the Captaines, & all ſorts of men, if they would forſake *Eumenes*: which hopes deceiving him, he came to the triall of a battaile. *Eumenes* had more Elephants than *Antigonus*; otherwiſe, he was inferiour in number both of horſe and foote by a third part. The battaile was fought with variable ſucceſſe, and great loſſe on both ſides, continuing a great part of the day, & of the night following. Yet the victory was uncertaine. For *Eumenes* could not force his men to lye farre from their carriages: by which meanes *Antigonus* (who had a more abſolute command over his) incamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies; which was accounted the ſigne of victory; for he buried his owne, & gave leave to his enemies craving it, to doe the like. But a greater ſigne of victory had *Eumenes*. For he abode ſtill in the ſame place, & not only buried his men very honourably, at great leaſure, but held the Countrie round about; whereas *Antigonus* was glad (having tarried but one day) to ſteale away by night, and returne into *Media*, from whence he came.

## §. IIII.

### *Of divers ſtratagems practiſed by* Antigonus, *and* Eumenes, *one againſt the other.*

THus did the Warre continue doubtfull, and was protracted to a greater length, each part having ſtout Souldiers, and ſkilfull Generalls: but the ſide which had hitherto prevailed, being hindred by the equall authority of many, from purſuing all advantages to the beſt. *Antigonus* grew daily weaker, in men and reputation, ſo that to repaire himſelfe he could finde no way ſafer, than to put all to adventure. He knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered far aſunder, ſo that if hee could ſuddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great diſtreſſe. Between him & them, the way was not long, being only nine daies journey, but very bad, through a rough drie wilderneſſe, hardly paſſable. Another way, fairer and leading through a Country well peopled, but requiring 25. daies journy, he forſook, partly for the length, partly, and chiefly, becauſe he would come undiſcovered. So therefore taking his journy in the dead of winter, he forbade unto his men the uſe of fire by night, becauſe he would not have them deſcried a farre off. This commandement had beene well obſerved foure or five daies, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, & the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cheriſh themſelves, being neer to their waies end. The light of theſe fires gave notice of their comming; which being reported to *Peuceſtes*, and other Captaines, they were ſo aſtoniſhed with the ſudden danger, that in all haſte they betooke themſelves to flight. But *Eumenes*, meeting with the newes, began to hearten his affrighted companions, promiſing to make *Antigonus* march leiſurely, and willing them to abide, and draw up their men together. They could ſcarce beleeve him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as he appointed, who failed not in making his word good. He tooke with him ſome companies of the readieſt men, wherewith he occupied certaine tops of mountaines, looking toward the Campe of *Antigonus*: there he choſe a convenient ground to incampe upon, and made great ſtore of fires in ſundry places, as if the whole Armie had beene preſent. This was a ſorrowfull ſpectacle to *Antigonus*, who thought himſelfe prevented of his purpoſe; and began to feare leſt he ſhould be compelled to fight, whileſt his men were tired with a long and painfull journy. Therfore he reſolved to turne aſide, and take the way to ſuch places, as might better ſerve to refreſh his Army. This he did with great care and circumſpection, at the firſt, as knowing how ready *Eumenes* would be upon all advantages. But after a while, conſidering that no enemy ſtirred about him, he began to pauſe, and think in himſelfe, that ſomewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he cauſed ſome inhabitants of that deſart to bee taken, and brought before him; of whom he learned, that they had ſeene no other Army than his thereabout, but onely a few men that kept fires on the hill tops. It vexed him exceedingly to finde that he had beene ſo deluded. Therefore he went againſt theſe troupes with great fury, meaning to take ſharpe vengeance on them, for having ſo deceived him. But by this time, ſufficient ſtrength was arrived there, which could not be forced without much buſineſſe, and long ſtay. All the Army was come, ſave only *Eudamus*, Captaine of the Elephants, who, beſides thoſe beaſts, had no more than foure hundred horſemen in his company. *Antigonus* hearing of this ſupply comming to his enemies, ſent above two thouſand horſe, and all his light-armed foot-men, to cut it off by the way. *Eudamus* being fallen into this danger, was faine to place his Elephants round about his carriages, & ſo to defend himſelf as well as he could; for his horſemen, overlaied with multitudes, were quickly broken, and driven to run away upon the ſpurre. Neither knew they, who ſate upon the Elephants, which way to turne them, for on all ſides they received wounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremity there appeared brave troupes of horſe and foot, that came unexpected to the reſcue; and charging the aſſailants upon the backe, drave them to ſeeke their owne ſafety by ſpeedy flight. Theſe were ſent by *Eumenes*; who though he knew not what his adverſary meant to doe, yet he knew very well what was fitteſt for him to doe: and therefore, playing both games himſelfe, provided the remedy.

## §. V.

### *The conſpiracie of* Peuceſtes *and others, againſt* Eumenes *his life.*

BY theſe meanes *Eumenes* wonne great honour, and was by the whole Army acknowledged a moſt expert Generall, and well worthy of the chiefe command. But *Peuceſtes*, and the other Captaines, guilty of their owne much inſufficiency, were ſo tranſported with envie, that they could no longer containe their vile thoughts, but held communication, as upon a neceſſary point, how they might finde meanes to murder him.

Surely, it is great injuſtice to impute the miſchiefe contrived againſt worthy men, to their own proud carriage, or ſome other ill deſerving: For, though it often happen, that ſmall vices do ſerve to counterpoiſe great vertues; (the ſenſe of evill being more quick and laſting than of good) yet he ſhall bewray a very fooliſh malice, that, wanting other teſtimonie, will thinke it a part of wiſedome, to finde good reaſon of the evills, done to vertuous men, which oftentimes have no other cauſe than vertue it ſelfe. *Eumenes*, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of ſingular courteſie, of a very ſweet converſation among his friends, and carefull by all gentle meanes to winne their love, that ſeemed to beare him any ſecret ill affection. It was his meere vertue that overthrew him, which even they that ſought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that he ſhould not be ſlaine, before the battaile were fought with *Antigonus*, wherein they confeſſed that it ſtood beſt with their ſafety, to be governed by his direction. Of this treaſon he was quickly advertiſed by *Eudamus*, to whom he had done many pleaſures, and by ſome others of whom hee uſed to borrow mony when hee needed not, to the end that they ſhould be carefull of his good, for feare of loſing their owne. Conſidering therefore, and diſcourſing with himſelfe of the villany intended againſt him, he made his laſt Will, and burnt all his Writings that contained any matter of ſecret: which done, he revolved many things in his minde; being doubtfull what courſe he were beſt to follow. All the Nobles of the Empires ſtood ill affected to the Royall bloud, excepting thoſe which were with him, that were more in number than in worth. How things at that time ſtoode in *Macedon* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might incourage him to ſeeke their helpe, that needed his. To make his owne peace with *Antigonus*, had beene againſt his faith to *Olympias*, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cauſe alſo it may be thought, that he forbare either to loſe the battaile willingly, or to flie into *Cappadocia*, and make ſhift for himſelfe among his old friends. At length he reſolved to do his beſt againſt the common enemy, and afterwards to looke to himſelfe as well as he might.

## §. VI.

### *The laſt battaile betweene* Antigonus *and* Eumenes.

THe Souldiers, eſpecially thoſe old bands of the *Silver-ſhields*, finding *Eumenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cauſe, entreated him not to doubt of the victory, but onely to bring them into the field, and ſet them in array; for the reſt, they alone would take ſufficient order. The like alacritie was generally found in the common Souldiers faces; but the chiefe Commanders were ſo miſchievouſly bent againſt him, that they could not endure to thinke of being beholding to him for the victory. Yet he ordered the battaile ſo well, that, without their owne great fault, they could hardly faile of getting the upper hand.

Before the Armies came to joyning, a horſe-man from the ſide of *Eumenes*, proclaimed with a loud voice unto the followers of *Antigonus*, That their wickednes in fighting againſt their own Fathers, would now be puniſhed, as it well deſerved. This was not ſpoken in vaine. For the *Silver-ſhields* were men of threeſcore or ſeventy yeeres old, and ſtrengthened more by continuall exerciſe than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as having paſſed through greater dangers, than any like to bee preſented in that fight. Therefore *Antigonus* his men (who had often beene beaten by them, and were now to trie their laſt hope with theſe reſolute warriours, the moſt Ancient and beſt regarded of all *Alexanders* Souldiers) grew very penſive, and advanced heavily, ſuſpecting their owne cauſe, and fearing that the threatnings uttered would prove true.

*Antigonus* was now againe farre the ſtronger in horſe, which gave him cauſe of great hope; the ground, on which they were to fight, being a plaine levelled field. Placing therefore himſelf and his ſon *Demetrius* in the right wing, and committing the left wing to *Python*, he did ſet forward couragiouſly againſt the Enemies, that were ready to give him a ſharp entertainement.

*Eumenes* tooke unto him *Peuceſtes*, with the reſt of the Lords, and ſtood in the left wing of his battaile, in the face of *Antigonus*; meaning both to prevent the Traitors, his Companions, of all meanes to make head againſt him on the ſudden; & (withall) to give proofe of his owne valour, which perhaps he ſhould no more doe, in the face of all his Enemies. In the right wing, oppoſite unto *Python*, he beſtowed the weakeſt of his horſe and Elephants, under one *Philip*, an honeſt man, and (which was enough at ſuch a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the fight, and make a reaſonable retrait, expecting the event of the other ſide.

So they joyned very fiercely; *Antigonus*, labouring to make himſelfe maſter of all; *Eumenes*, to die an honourable death, or to win ſuch a victory upon his open enemies, as might give him leiſure and opportunity to deale with his falſe friends.

The footmen of *Antigonus*, being even in their owne opinions, far inferiour to thoſe whom they muſt encounter, were at the firſt brunt preſently defeated by the *Silver-ſhields*, who ſlew above five thouſand of them, loſing of their owne not one man. But in Horſe, *Eumenes* was ſo over-matched, that he could not repell *Antigonus*, who preſſed him very hard, but was faine to ſtand wholly upon defence. Yet his courage wrought ſo well by example, among his followers, that the Enemy could not win one foot of ground upon him, untill ſuch time as *Peuceſtes*, with one thouſand five hundred Horſe, withdrew himſelfe out of the battell, leaving his companions fighting to defend his backe.

Then did *Eumenes* deſperately ruſh amongſt his Enemies, labouring to break open the way unto *Antigonus* himſelf. And though he failed of his purpoſe; yet with great ſlaughter he did ſo beat upon them which came in his way, that the victory hung a long time in ſuſpence, uncertaine which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a ſlight ſandie mould, through the trampling of horſes, men, and Elephants, did caſt up ſuch a cloud of duſt, as hindred the proſpect, ſo that no man could ſee what was done a little from him. *Antigonus* finding this advantage, diſpatched away ſome companies of horſe, that paſſed undiſcovered beyond *Eumenes* his battailes, and came to his carriages, which lay about halfe a mile from the place of fight, ſlenderly guarded, (for that the whole body of the Army lay betweene them and danger) and therefore eaſily taken. Had *Peuceſtes* retired himſelfe no further than unto the carriages, he might not onely have defended them, but peradventure have ſurpriſed thoſe which came to ſurpriſe them, & ſo have done as good a piece of ſervice as a better man. But he was gotten ſomewhat further, to a place, where out of danger he might expect the event: and *Eumenes* was ſo over-laboured both in body and minde, that he could not poſſibly give an eye to every place, being not well able to continue where he was.

It happened ſo, that the Elephants meeting together, thoſe of *Antigonus* had the better hand; whereupon *Eumenes*, finding himſelfe every way over-charged, beganne to give backe, and withdrew himſelfe and his companies in good order, to the other ſide of the battaile, where *Philip* (as he was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from loſſe. The *Antigonians* had felt ſo much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were well content to let him depart quietly, and wiſhed not to ſee him come againe; as faine he would have done.

The loſſe of the carriages was reported unto him, as ſoon as he had any leiſure to heare how things went: whereupon he preſently ordered his men for a freſh charge, and ſent for *Peuceſtes* that was not far off, requeſting him to bring in his men, & renew the fight, whereby he truſted, not only to recover their own goods, but to enrich themſelves with the ſpoiles of the enemies. *Peuceſtes* not onely refuſed to joyne with him, but immediately withdrew himſelfe into a ſafer place, where he might be further from ſuch dangerous temptations.

By this the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were deſirous to returne into their Campes. Yet *Antigonus* conceived hope of doing ſomewhat more, & therefore taking halfe his horſemen, he waited upon *Eumenes* a part of his way homewards, but found no opportunity to offend him: the other halfe he committed to *Python*, willing him to ſet upon the *Silver-ſhields* in their retrait; which yet he forbare to doe, becauſe it appeared too full of danger. So the battaile ended; wherein *Antigonus* had not ſo much the better in horſe, as the worſe in foot: but the ſpoile which he got, by ſurpriſing his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other loſſes.

## §. VII.

### *How* Eumenes *was betrayed to* Antigonus, *and ſlaine.*

EUmenes, comming into his Campe, and finding the *Silver-ſhields* extremely diſcontented with their miſfortune, began to cheere them up, and put them in hope of recovering all with advantage. For their brave demeanour that day had ſo cruſhed the enemy, that he had no power left, wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much leſſe able to draw their Carts after him, through that great wilderneſſe, over the high mountaines.

But theſe perſwaſions availed nothing. *Peuceſtes* was gone; the other Captaines would needes returne into the high Countries; and the Souldiers had no deſire either to flie or to fight, but onely to recover their goods. Wherefore *Teutamus*, one of the two Captaines of the *Silver-ſhields*, (who had in former times readily conſented unto traiterous motions, in hope of gaine, but was letted by his partner *Antigenes*) finding, as he thought, a fit occaſion of making himſelfe great, & winning the love of thoſe bands, dealt ſecretly with *Antigonus*, requeſting him to reſtore unto thoſe old Souldiers their goods, which hee had taken, being the onely reward of their ſervices, in the warres of *Philip* and *Alexander*.

*Antigonus*, as a ſubtile man, knew very well, that they which requeſted more than they had reaſon to expect, would alſo with little entreatie, performe a great deale more than they promiſed; and therefore he lovingly entertained the meſſengers, filling them with hopes of farre greater matter than they deſired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were ſeduced to make war againſt him. This anſwer pleaſed them ſo well, that they forthwith deviſed how to deliver him alive. Wherefore comming about him, as at other times, to doe their dutie, & pretending more joy of their victory, than ſorrow of their loſſe, which they ſaid they would redeeme by another fight; in the middeſt of this goodly talke, they leapt upon him, caught hold of his ſword, and bound him faſt. So they haled him away; & ſtopping their eares againſt all perſwaſions, would not yeeld ſo far, as to looſen one of his hands, and let him kill himſelfe, but brought him alive (that was their own Generall, under whom they had obtained many victories) as it had beene in triumph, into the Campe of their enemies.

The preſſe of men, running out of the Campe to ſee him, was ſo great, that *Antigonus* was faine to ſend a guard of horſe-men & Elephants, to keep him from being ſmothered; whom hee could not ſuddenly reſolve, either to kill or ſave. Very few they were that ſued for his life; but of theſe, *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus* was one; the reſt were deſirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if he were ſaved, he would ſoone be the chiefe in reputation, for his great ability. So after long deliberation, *Antigonus* concluded, that it was the ſafeſt way, to put him to death; which intending to have done by famine (perhaps becauſe he would keepe it a while in his owne power, to reverſe the ſentence, as deſiring, if it might be, to have him live his friend) haſte of other buſineſſe made him doe it by the ſword.

To this end came all the travailes of that worthy Generall *Eumenes*; who had with great wiſedome, fidelity, & patience laboured in vaine, to uphold the family which God had purpoſed to caſt down. Hee is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutability, but more notable was his governement of himſelfe, in all her changes. Adverſity never leſſened his courage, nor proſperity his circumſpection. But all his vertue, induſtrie, and wit, were caſt away, in leading an Army, without full power, to keepe it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill anſwered by *Gaſpar de Coligny*, Admirall of *France* in our daies, to one that foretold his death, which enſued ſoon after in the maſſacre of *Paris*; That rather than to leade againe an Army of Voluntaries, he would die a thouſand times.

*Antigonus* himſelfe gave to the body of *Eumenes* honourable Funerall; and rewarded the Treaſon, wrought againſt him, with deſerved vengeance. One chiefe Captaine of the *Silver-ſhields* he burnt alive; many of the other Captaines he ſlew; and to the whole multitude of the *Silver-ſhields*, that had betraied ſo worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader that ſhould carry them into farre Countries, under pretence of wars; but with a privie charge, to conſume them all, as perjured wretches, letting none of them returne alive unto his friends and kindred, or ſo much as once behold the Seas that beate upon the ſhores of *Greece* and *Macedon*.

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### §. VIII.

### *How* Antigonus *ſlew* Python, *and occupied Media. How he removed Governours of Provinces, and made himſelfe Lord of Perſia, carrying away* Peuceſtes.

The two Armies being joyned thus in one, were carried into *Media*, where they ſpent the reſt of the Winter: the common Souldier idly; the principall men intentively bent unto the buſineſſe enſuing. *Python* began to conſider his owne deſervings; for that the whole warre had beene chiefly maintained by the ſtrength and riches of his Province. Beſides, he thought himſelfe as good a man as *Antigonus*, unleſſe it were in the Souldiers opinion, which he judged eaſie to be purchaſed with gifts, and therefore ſpared not to aſſay them with great liberality. But in following this courſe he was driven by neceſſity to truſt many, of whom hee ſtumbled upon ſome, that were unſecret, and others, bearing him no ſincere affection. Thus was his purpoſe diſcovered to *Antigonus*, who (nothing like to *Python*) diſſembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as breeders of diſſention betweene him, and his honourable friend, unto whom he meant to commit the Government of all thoſe Countries: his owne buſineſſe calling him into the lower *Aſia*. Theſe reports, comming daily to his eares, did finely delude *Python*. By his greatneſſe with *Alexander*; his authority in that Province where they lay, whereof he was Governour; & the love of the Souldiers which hee had bought with money; he was ſtrong enough to maintaine, even an offenſive war. But what need had he to uſe the ſword, when he was likely without contention, to obtaine more than his owne asking? Therefore he came as ſoone as he was ſent for, to take his farewell of *Antigonus*, and to divide the Provinces with him, that meant nothing leſſe than to yeeld to any ſuch diviſion. As ſoone as he came, he was taken, and accuſed, condemned to die, and ſlaine out of hand. For *Antigonus*, having begun with *Eumenes* his ancient friend, was not afterward reſtrained by any conſideration of old acquaintance, from cutting downe indifferently all that ſtood in his way: but ſwamme careleſly through the bloud, wherein at the firſt he doubtfully waded.

When this buſineſſe was ended, he appointed a new Governour in *Media*, to order the Province, and a Captaine, to ſuppreſſe all commotions: thinking belike, that the power and authority, ſo divided, would hardly agree in one againſt him, from whom both were derived.

After this he marched into *Perſia*, where he was entertained as abſolute Lord of *Aſia*. There began he to ſhew how well he underſtood his owne mightineſſe. For hee placed and diſplaced at his owne pleaſure, Governors in all Provinces, leaving none in Office, that were not his owne creatures, except ſuch as lay too farre off to bee diſlodged eaſily.

*Peuceſtes*, who ruled in *Perſia*, thought with good cheere to redeeme old offences, but was deceived, having to doe with one that could not be taken with ſuch baites: he was carried away, and feaſted with goodly words of promiſe, that never after tooke effect. Thus he, that envied the vertue of his friend, was driven to flatter (in vaine) the fortune of his enemie, after which he led a moſt contemptible life, till he died obſcurely a man forgotten.

§. IX. *How*

### §. IX.

### *How* Seleucus *was chaſed out of Babylon by* Antigonus. *The great riches of* Antigonus.

SEleucus was the next in this viſitation; one that had from time to time continued in the ſame tenor of good will to *Antigonus*, and now gave proofe of his hearty affection toward him, by making the Captaine of the Caſtle of *Suſa* to meete him on the way, rendring unto him that ſtrong Peece, and all the treaſures therein beſtowed. This offer was ſo great, that *Antigonus* (though having in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly beleeve it; but uſed him with exceſſive kindneſſe, for feare ſo good a mood ſhould change. In that Caſtle he found all the treaſures of *Alexander*, with the Jewels of the *Perſian* Kings, which, added to his former ſtore of mony, made up 25. thouſand talents. Having all this, he might well account himſelfe a happy man, if riches were ſufficient to happineſſe. But large dominion was the marke at which he aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent to leave no Country behinde his backe, that ſhould not acknowledge him for Soveraigne Lord. Comming to *Babylon*, he was entertained by *Seleucus* with all poſſible demonſtration of love, and honoured with preſents beſeeming the Majeſtie of a King. All this he accepted with great gravitie, as being due to him; and began to require an account of the revenues of that Province. This demand *Seleucus* held unreaſonable; ſaying, That it was not needfull for him to render unto any man an account of that Province, which was given unto him, in reſpect of his many good ſervices to the State. But whether hee ſpake reaſon or no, it ſufficed, that *Antigonus* was powerfull; who urged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifeſt it was, that neither want of money, nor any other neceſſity, moved *Antigonus* to preſſe him thus, but onely the deſire to picke matter of quarrell againſt him, whereof it was likely that he ſhould finde ſuch iſſue, as *Python* and *Peuceſtes* had done. Therefore taking with him only fifty horſe, he conveyed himſelfe away, & fled into *Ptolomies* Dominions; deſiring him to protect him from ſuch a man as went about to oppreſſe all, that in former times had beene his betters, or at leaſt his equalls. *Antigonus* was glad of his flight; for now all thoſe Countries were yeelded unto him without battaile, whereas to fight with *Seleucus* for them, he wanted all pretence; and to kill him it was not his deſire, having received many benefits of him, and thoſe not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any injuries. Yet it is reported, that the *Chaldæans* brought a ſtrange Propheſie to *Antigonus*, bidding him looke well to himſelfe, and know, that if *Seleucus* did eſcape his hands, he ſhould recover *Babylon*, yea, winne all *Aſia*, & kill *Antigonus* in battaile. Eaſie beleevers may give credit to this tale. Had it beene true, me thinkes, *Antigonus* rather ſhould have hanged thoſe *Chaldæans*, for giving him no warning till it was too late, than ſent purſuers (as they ſay that he did) after him, whom the deſtinies preſerved for ſo great purpoſes. When he had ſetled things at *Babylon*, he tooke his journie into *Cilicia*, where he wintered. There he tooke up ten thouſand talents more of the Kings treaſures, & caſting his accounts, found his yearely in-come to amount unto eleven thouſand Talents.

## CHAP. V.

### *Of the great Warre betweene* ALEXANDERS *Captaines: and how they aſſumed the name and ſtate of Kings.*

### §. I.

### *The combination of* Ptolomy, Caſſander, *and others againſt* Antigonus. *Their demands, and his anſwer.*

THis great riches, and the reſt of his power, made *Antigonus* dreaded, envied, and ſuſpected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new Warre. *Ptolomie*, *Caſſander*, and *Lyſimachus*, had privily combined themſelves together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reaſon than of his owne accord he ſeemed like to yeeld unto. Of their practices he had ſome notice; the good entertainment given unto *Seleucus*, giving him ſufficient cauſe of miſtruſt. Therefore he ſent Embaſſadors to them ſeverally, entreating them to continue firme in their love toward him, that would bee ready to requite them with the like. The cold anſwers which they made, occaſioned his haſty preparation againſt the moſt forward of them, which was *Ptolomy*, it being likely that a good army ſhould prevaile more than a faire meſſage. Therefore, as ſoone as the ſeaſon of the yeare would permit, he tooke the way toward Syria, & was encountred by Embaſſage from them all. Theſe told him, that their Lords did much rejoyce at his victory, obtained againſt *Eumenes* their common enemy, and the honour that he had thereby gotten. In which warre, foraſmuch as they being his Confederates, muſt have endured great loſſe, with hazzard of their whole Eſtates, if the contrary faction had prevailed; they held it very juſt, that all ſhould be partakers in the fruits of that voyage, wherein they had beene all adventurers. Wherefore they deſired him, that making betweene them all an equall diviſion of the treaſures that were in his hands, (a thing eaſie to be done) he would alſo take ſome convenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchaſes. This might beſt be to every ones liking, if he would make over *Cappadocia*, with *Lycia*, to *Caſſander*; and *Phrygia*, bordering upon the Helleſpont, to *Lyſimachus*: for whereas his own Dominions were ſo much extended Eaſtward by his late victory, he might well ſpare ſome of thoſe Weſtern Provinces, to thoſe that were ſeated in the Weſt. As for *Ptolomy*, he would not crave any new addition, but reſt contented within his own Territories. Provided alwaies, that *Seleucus* their common friend, and partner in the late warre, might be reſtored to his owne, out of which he had beene driven ſo injuriouſly, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart; requiring amends, with his friendly conſent unto their demands, which otherwiſe they muſt labour to obtaine with armed hands.

*Antigonus* knew, that after many loſſes received, hee ſhould yet be able to redeeme peace whenſoever he liſted, with theſe, or perhaps with eaſier conditions. Neither was hee ſo weake, to give away quietly any part of his ſtrength into the hands of ſuch bad friends, for feare only, leſt it ſhould be taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he ſhould be able to finde them worke, more than enough to defend their owne. Therefore he roundly anſwered the Embaſſadors, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profit of that victory, which he alone without other mens helpe had obtained. Though indeed they had already ſufficiently gained by him, if they could ſee it, having by his meanes kept their governments, whereof they were like to be diſpoſſeſſed by *Polyſperchon*; and the councell of eſtate in Macedon. But what marvell was it, if they conſidered not how he had ſaved them, ſeeing one of them had forgotten the time, when comming to him as a fugitive, and begging ſuccour, he was by his meere bounty relieved, and enabled to get all that he now held? *Caſſander* did not (ſaid he) in thoſe dayes command me to ſurrender Provinces, and give him his equall ſhare of my treaſures; but (for his Fathers ſake) deſired me to pitty him, and helpe him againſt his enemies: which I did, by lending him an Army, and Fleet, on confidence whereof hee now preſumes to threaten me. As for *Seleucus*, how can he complaine of wrong, that durſt not ſtay to plead his right? I did uſe him well; but his conſcience told him that he had deſerved ill; elſe he would not have fled. Let them that ſo curiouſly ſearch into my doings, conſider well their owne, which ſome of them can hardly juſtifie. I am now in the way to Syria, meaning to examine *Ptolomies* proceedings, and after him to deale with others, if they continue to provoke me.

### §. II.

### *The preparation and beginnings of the Warres.*

WHen the Embaſſadors were diſmiſſed with this anſwer, nothing was thought upon but Warre. *Antigonus* perceiving that he ſhould be invaded from Europe, as ſoone as he was entred into Syria; left his Nephew *Ptolomy* to guard the Sea-coſt, and hinder *Caſſander* from landing in Aſia: giving him alſo in charge, to drive out of Cappadocia ſome that were already ſent over to moleſt him. Likewiſe he diſpatched Meſſengers into Greece and Cyprus, not unfurniſhed of money; to draw friends to his ſide, and raiſe up troubles to his enemies. Eſpecially, he laboured to make himſelf the ſtrongeſt by Sea; to which purpoſe he rather haſtened, than foreſlowed his journy into *Syria*, that he might get poſſeſſion of Mount *Libanus*, which afforded many excellent commodities for building of a Navie. Therfore, having erected Beacons, & laid poſt-horſes throughout all *Aſia*, to give ſwift advertiſement of all occurrences, he invaded *Syria*, that was not held againſt him by any power ſufficient to maintain the field.

*Ptolomy* lay in Egypt, the ſtrength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloved and honoured of the people as their naturall Lord: his other Provinces he kept with a few Garriſons, better ſerving to containe the people within obedience, than to confront a forraine enemy. So *Antigonus* tooke many Cities and Places of that Country, and began to ſet great numbers of Artificers on worke in making ſhips, which was one of his moſt earneſt cares. In theſe buſineſſes he conſumed a yeare and three moneths; not idly. For hee tooke *Joppe*, and *Gaza*, which were yeelded unto his diſcretion, and well uſed. The ſtrong city of *Tyrus* held out long, but was compelled in the end by famine, to render it ſelfe upon compoſition, that *Ptolomies* Souldiers might depart with their Armes; which was permitted.

*Ptolomy* was not aſleep, whileſt theſe things were in doing, though he kept himſelfe within the bounds of *Egypt*, as indeed it behooved him to doe. His forces were not able to ſtand againſt *Antigonus* in plaine field, but likely they were to increaſe, which made him willing to protract the time. Neverthleſſe by Sea (where his enemy was as yet unready) he ſent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof *Seleucus* had the chiefe command.

*Seleucus* paſſed with an hundred ſaile along the coaſt of *Syria*, in the full view of *Antigonus*, and his Army, to their no little diſcomfort. He landed in *Cyprus*, which was then governed by many petty Lords; of whom the greateſt adhered to *Ptolomy*, the reſt were by the Factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the *Egyptian* with ſharp ſteele.

The ſame commodity of aide by Sea encouraged the Preſident of *Caria* (called alſo *Caſſander*, but not the ſon of *Antipater*, howſoever by the painfull and learned writer *Reinerus Reineccius*, he is, by ſome overſight, counted for the ſame) to declare for *Ptolomy* and his Confederates, and buſily imploy in their quarrell all his forces, which hee had hitherto kept in good neutrality, and thereby enjoyed reſt; but now he threw himſelf into dangerous war, chooſing rather to undergoe trouble at hand, than to fall under certaine ruine, though ſomewhat further diſtant, which would have overwhelmed him, if *Antigonus* had beaten all the reſt.

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## §. III.

### *How each party ſought to winne the aſſiſtance of Greece.* Antigonus *his declaration againſt* Caſſander. Alexander *the ſonne of* Polyſperchon *revolteth from* Antigonus *who had ſet him up.*

IN the meane ſeaſon all care poſſible was taken on both ſides, to aſſure unto them the people of *Greece*, whoſe aide, which way ſoever it inclined, was of great importance. Herein at the firſt, *Antigonus* ſped ſo well by large effuſion of his treaſure, that he drew to him the *Lacedæmonians*, and other *Peloponneſians*, of whom he waged eight thouſand, and cauſed *Polyſperchon* (who had a good while made hard ſhifts) to rowſe himſelfe againe, and taking upon him the title of Captain of *Peloponneſus*, to make head againſt *Caſſander*.

Theſe hopefull beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the ſame kinde. Wherefore to make *Caſſander* the more odious, he called together both his owne Souldiers, and all the *Greeks* & *Macedonians* that were to be found thereabouts. To theſe he declared, that *Caſſander* had very cruelly ſlain *Olympias*, mother to the great *Alexander*, and not herewith contented, had ſhut up in cloſe priſon the poore Lady *Roxane*, *Alexanders* wife, and his ſonne begotten on her body. That all this proceeded from a deſire to make himſelfe King over the *Macedonians*; which well appeared by his enforcing the Lady *Theſſalonica*, Daughter to King *Philip*, a match unfit for a man of no greater parentage than he, to joyne with him in marriage. That in meere deſpight of thoſe dead Princes, *Philip* and *Alexander*, he had planted the Olynthians, rooted out by *Philip*, in a new City by him built, and called by his own name *Caſſandria*; and had re-edified the City of *Thebes*, which for the great treaſon of the inhabitants, was levelled with the ground by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For theſe reaſons he required them to make a decree, that *Caſſander* ſhould reſtore to abſolute liberty the Lady *Roxane*, and her ſon; & ſhould yeeld obedience to the Lord Lievtenant Generall of the Empire, (by which name *Antigonus* himſelfe was underſtood) or elſe ſhould be reputed a Traitor, and open Enemie to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of Greece ſhould bee reſtored into freedome: this hee did, not becauſe he was carefull of their good, but for the need which he had of their aſſiſtance.

Theſe things being decreed, *Antigonus* was perſwaded, that not onely the Greekes would adhere unto him, as to their loving Patron, and fall off from *Caſſander*; but that the rulers of Provinces, who had hitherto ſuſpected him as a man regardfull of nothing but his owne benefit, would correct their opinion, and think him the moſt faithfull of all others to the Royall bloud. But concerning his loyalty to the young Prince, the world was too wiſe to be deceived with vaine ſhewes. His undertaking for the liberty of the Greekes was more effectuall, and got eaſie beliefe, in regard of his preſent hatred to *Caſſander*. Yet herein alſo *Ptolomie* ſtrove to bee as earneſt as he, making the like decree, in hope to win to himſelfe that valiant Nation, which afforded men farre more ſerviceable in war, than were to bee found in any Province of the Empire.

And this indeed was the point at which both ſides aimed. Wherein *Antigonus* thinking to make all ſure, deceived himſelfe, not without great coſt. For he gave to *Alexander* the ſon of *Polyſperchon* five hundred talents, willing him to ſet the war on foot in Peloponneſus, whereby it might appeare, that on his ſide was meant nothing elſe, than what was openly pretended.

In Peloponneſus, *Caſſanders* men had with much bloud-ſhed, grievouſly afflicted the contrary faction, and he himſelfe perceiving, that they were more eaſily ſpoiled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the beſt way to make what uſe he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiving that *Alexander* came furniſhed with plentie of gold, wherewith hee was able, not onely to win the doubtfull, but to corrupt ſuch as might ſeeme beſt aſſured: he thought it a part of wiſedome, to ſurrender upon faire conditions, that which he could not aſſure himſelfe to hold any long time by force. Therefore he ſent one to deale with *Alexander* about the matters in controverſie; telling him, that *Antigonus* was very skilfull in ſetting men together by the eares, not caring who prevailed, but only deſiring to have them weary themſelves, whileſt hee was buſied elſewhere; that ſo at length he might find opportunity to ſet upon the ſtronger. If therefore *Alexander* were ſo wiſe, as to keep in his purſe the five hundred talents which he had, and without ſtroke ſtriken, to receive the whole Lordſhip of *Peloponneſus*, it ſhould be freely put into his hands by *Caſſander*. Provided, that he ſhould from thenceforth renounce all confederacy made with *Antigonus*, and enter into a ſure and faithfull league with *Ptolomy*, *Caſſander*, and the reſt of the Confederates. Otherwiſe he might well perſwade himſelfe, that the Country which his Father could not keepe, when hee was indeed the Lievtenant of the Empire, ſhould not in haſte bee won by him, that was onely the Factor of a proud injurious man, ſo ſtiling himſelfe, but not acknowledged by others.

*Alexander* had lived a while with *Antigonus* ſince the beginning of theſe wars; among whoſe followers it was not hard to diſcover the intent, (which he did not carry very ſecret) of making himſelfe abſolute Lord of all. Therefore he was ſoone entreated to accept ſo good an offer; and did not ſticke to enter into that league, whereby he was to become a free Lord, and ſubject unto no mans controll.

Howbeit, this his honour continued not long, ere he loſt both it and his life together, by treaſon of the *Sicyonians*; who thinking thereby to have made themſelves free, were ſoone after vanquiſhed in battaile by *Crateſipolis*, *Alexanders* wife, a diſcreet and valiant Lady. Shee in revenge of her husbands death, crucified thirty of the Citizens taken in fight; and having by ſeverity taught them obedience, did afterwards continue her Army in good order, and governed thoſe places that ſhee held, with the commendation of her Subjects and Neighbours.

## §. IIII.

*The Ætolians riſe againſt* Caſſander *in favour of* Antigonus, *and are beaten. A fleet and land-army of* Antigonus *utterly defeated by* Ptolomies *Lievtenant. In what termes the warre ſtood at this time.* Antigonus *drawes neerer to Greece.*

ANtigonus, when he found, that with ſo much money he had only bought an enemy, began to raiſe troubles to *Caſſander* and his other adverſaries in Greece, by ſtirring up the Ætolians againſt them: Likewiſe he laboured to winne to his party the Ilands in the Greek Seas, by whoſe aſſiſtance he might be the better able to deale with *Ptolomy*, that greatly prevailed by reaſon of his ſtrong Fleet. But neither of theſe attempts had the ſucceſſe which he expected. The Ætolians, a factious Nation, & alwaies envying the greatneſſe of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but ſo, that commonly their gaines equalled not their loſſes. *Caſſander* wan ſome of their owne Country, fortified the Acarnanians againſt them, & compelled *Glaucias*, King of the Illyrians, whom he vanquiſhed in battaile, to forſake their ſide, and binde himſelfe to beare no Armes againſt *Caſſanders* friends.

On the other ſide, as many petty Ilands were drawne to joyne with *Antigonus*: ſo the Fleet of the Rhodians under *Theodatus*, who was Admirall to *Antigonus*, paſſing along the coaſt of Aſia towards Cyprus, with an Army under conduct of *Perilaus* marching on the ſhore for mutuall aſſiſtance, was quite overthrowne by *Ptolomies* Navie. *Polyclytus*, who in *Ptolomies* behalfe had been ſent into Peloponneſus againſt *Alexander*, finding no need of his ſervice in that Country, becauſe *Alexander* was come over to their ſide, returned homewards, and by the way heard of the courſe which theſe Antigonians held, whom he very cunningly ſurpriſed. He rode with his Fleet behinde a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces he placed in ambuſh, whereinto *Perilaus* falling was taken priſoner, with many of his men, & many were ſlaine, making little reſiſtance. *Theodatus* the Admirall perceiving this, made all haſte to helpe his fellowes that were on Land; but whileſt he with all his Fleet were intentive onely to that buſineſſe, *Polyclytus* appeared at their backs; who as ſoon as he perceived their diſorder, haſtened about the Cape, and charging them behinde, ſuffered not one of them to eſcape him. Theſe ill tidings cauſed *Antigonus* to deale with *Ptolomy* about ſome compoſition. Firſt, he ſent Embaſſadors; afterwards they met in perſon. But *Antigonus* would not yeeld unto the demands of *Ptolomy*: ſo the parley was vaine.

Hitherto each part ſeemed to have indifferently ſped in the warre, & thereby to have equall cauſe of hope and feare. This late victory, with the good ſucceſſe of his affaires in Cyprus, did ſeeme to make amends to *Ptolomy* for his loſſes in Syria. Likewiſe the revolt of *Alexander* from *Antigonus* did equall the confederacy, made between the Ætolians & him; as alſo thoſe petty skirmiſhes, that had been in Aſia the leſſe, to *Antigonus* his advantage, were ſufficiently recompenſed by others of like regard, but adverſe to him, and by the troubles brought upon his eſtates in thoſe parts by the two *Caſſanders*.

Contrariwiſe, *Antigonus* valued the loſſe of his men, mony, and ſhips, no otherwiſe than as the paring of his nailes, that were left long enough, and would eaſily grow againe, but the enlargement of his Tertitory by addition of Syria, he prized at a higher rate; as if thereby he had fed upon a limbe of *Ptolomy* his enemy, and ſtrengthened the body of his owne Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto ſufficient to counterpoize the bad, hee meant to proceed as occaſion ſhould direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want no mony.

That which moſt moleſted him, was the attempts of his enemies upon Aſia the leſſe, wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cauſe to fear, leſt the people, being tied unto him by no bond of allegeance, might upon ſmall occaſion revolt from him, to men of as honourable reputation as he himſelfe. To prevent this, and to be neerer to Greece, he held it expedient for him to be there in perſon, where his affaires did ſeeme to proſper the worſe, by reaſon of his abſence. Therefore he left part of his Army in Syria under his ſon *Demetrius*, to whom, being then but two & twenty yeers old, he appointed many ancient Captaines as aſſiſtants, or rather as Directors: the reſt he carried with him into Phrygia, where he meant to winter.

## §. V.

### *How* Lyſimachus *and* Caſſander *vanquiſhed ſome enemies, raiſed againſt them by* Antigonus. *The good ſucceſſe of* Antigonus *in Aſia and Greece: with the rebellion of many Cities againſt* Caſſander.

THe comming of *Antigonus* into thoſe parts, wrought a great alteration in the proceſſe of his buſineſſe thereabouts. For his enemies had ſhort leiſure to thinke upon moleſting him in Aſia: they themſelves were held over-hardly to their owne worke on Europe ſide. *Seuthes* a King of the Thracians, joyning with ſome Townes that rebelled againſt *Lyſimachus*, brought alſo the bordering Scythians into the quarrell. All theſe relied upon *Antigonus*, who was to help them with mony and other aide. The Ætolians likewiſe tooke courage, and roſe againſt *Caſſander*, having *Aeacides*, lately reſtored to the Kingdome of Epirus, their aſſiſtant. But *Lyſimachus* gave unto his Rebells no time to confirme themſelves. Hee ſuddainly preſented himſelfe before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by feare to returne unto their former duty. Hee fought a battaile with the Scythians, and wilde Thracians, and drave them out of the Country. Finally, hee overcame *Seuthes*; and following the heate of his victory, ſlew *Pauſanias* in battaile, whom *Antigonus* had ſent over with an Army; and all his men hee did either put to ranſome, or fill up with them his owne Bands. The like ſucceſſe had *Philip*, *Caſſanders* Lievtenant, againſt the Ætolians. For hee waſted their Countrey; fought with the Epirotes, that came to helpe them: and after the victory, fought againe with their forces joyned in one, overthrowing them, & killing *Aeacides* that unfortunate King. Finally, he drave the Ætolians out of moſt of their Country, and forced them to ſeeke their ſafety among the wilde Mountaines. Of the Epirotes he ſent as priſoners to *Caſſander*, the principall authors of the Kings reſtitution, and of the preſent War.

Yet theſe actions required ſome time, and wearied *Antigonus* his adverſaries with painfull travaile; after which they remained onely ſavers. *Antigonus* himſelfe at faire leiſure wan all Caria the whileſt, and ſent Armies into Peloponneſus, and other parts of Greece, beſtowing liberty upon all the Cities he tooke out of *Caſſanders* hands. The whole Country of Peloponneſus (excepting Sicyon and Corinth) with the Iſle of Eubœa, and many places of the firme Land, were by thoſe means won to bee his in true and vehement affection, ready to doe or ſuffer any thing for him that had made ſo evident a demonſtration of his readineſſe, to give them the liberty in deed, which others had promiſed in idle words. Many States deſirous of the ſame benefit, would faine have ſhewed their good will; but they were kept in by *Caſſanders* Garriſons, who was too wiſe to truſt them looſe. Therefore *Antigonus* made ſhew as if hee would paſſe over into Macedon: by which terrour he forced *Caſſander* to repaire thither in all haſte, with the beſt of his ſtrength, leaving many good Towns of Greece ſo weakly guarded, that well they might take courage to help themſelves, if any forraine ſuccour appeared. The aide which they deſired was not long wanting. The Lievtenant of *Antigonus*, taking the advantage of *Caſſanders* departure, entred the Country; drave his Garriſons out of divers Cities; forced the Governour of Athens to enter into league with their Lord; wanne the Citadell of Thebes; and ſet the people at liberty. This laſt action was ſomewhat remarkeable. For Thebes had not long before bin raiſed out of her old ruines by the meere power of *Caſſander*; of which act he was accuſed by *Antigonus*, as if it had beene ſome hainous crime. Yet now the ſame *Antigonus* winneth the City, and the love of the Inhabitants, onely by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thanke the Increaſer, than the Author of their good; and rather to looke forward upon thoſe hopes, which vainly they extend beyond all meaſure, than backward upon their miſerable nullity, that held them uncapable of being any thing.

## §. VI.

### *Victories of* Ptolomy *by Sea. A great battaile at Gaza, which* Ptolomy *and* Seleucus *wan, againſt* Demetrius *the ſonne of* Antigonus.

As the preſence or neerneſſe of *Antigonus* gave life to his affaires in the lower Aſia and Greece; ſo the deſignes of his enemies, taking advantage of his abſence, ruined the very foundations of thoſe great workes in the Eaſterne parts, wherewith in the yeare preceding he had over-topped them. The Iſle of Cyprus, whoſe Princes wavered betweene contrary affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another while faintly regarding their covenant with *Ptolomy*, was viſited by an Egyptian Fleet, wherewith *Ptolomy*, in his owne perſon eaſily reduced them to a more ſetled order, putting ſome to death, carrying others away priſoners, & leaving a Lievtenant of his owne appointment, Governour of the whole Country. With the ſame Fleet he ran alongſt the Sea-coaſts, waſting a great part of Caria & Cilicia, with the ſpoiles of which he enriched his followers, and returned loaden to Cyprus. *Demetrius* the ſonne of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the miſeries, wherewith his Fathers ſubjects were oppreſſed, made all haſte out of Syria to the reſcue, taking only his Horſe and light-armed Foote with him, becauſe the buſineſſe required expedition. But in vaine did hee tire himſelfe and his followers, in haſty ſeeking of one, that by lanching out into the deep, could in a few minutes delude the labour of ſo many dayes, if need had ſo required. Anſwerable to the vanity of this expedition was the ſucceſſe. For *Ptolomy* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into Cilicia. Neither was it certain, whether having lightned his ſhips of their burthen in Cyprus, hee would return upon thoſe maritime Countries, or make towards Syria, where his comming was expected. He was indeed gone into Egypt, and there with *Seleucus* was deſcribing a Royall Army, which he levied with all convenient ſpeed, for the recovery of *Syria*. This was more than *Demetrius* knew. Therefore he was faine to chooſe out of uncertainties the moſt likelihood, and returne the way that he came, with all his companies, which were fitter for ſervice in the open field, than to be beſtowed in Garriſons among the Cilicians. He had ſcarce refreſhed his men and Horſes in Syria, when the newes arrived of *Ptolomies* comming with a puiſſant Army, to give him battaile. Hereupon hee called to counſaile his principall friends, who adviſed him to give way to the time, and expect ſome better opportunity in the future: being a young man, and weakly furniſhed with meanes to reſiſt ſuch ancient and famous Generalls, as *Ptolomy* & *Seleucus*. This counſaile ſeemed rather to proceed from the cold temper of thoſe aged men that gave it, than from any neceſſity growing out of the preſent buſineſſe. For *Demetrius* conſidering himſelfe to be the ſon of *Antigonus*, and now Generall of his Fathers Army, thought his own title weightie enough to belaid in ballance againſt the bare names of thoſe two great Commanders. Neither found hee much reaſon that ſhould move him to diſtruſt his forces, as inſufficient. His men were better exerciſed than the enemies, & promiſed as much as could be required. Therefore perſwading himſelfe, that ſuch oddes of number, and of great fame, would rather ſerve to adorne his victory, than hinder him in obtaining it, he reſolved to put the matter to triall, without expecting the advantage of more helpe. So animating his Souldiers with hope of ſpoile and rewards, he abode the comming of the Enemies at Gaza, with purpoſe to encounter them, as ſoone as they had finiſhed their weariſome journy over the Deſarts of Arabia.

*Ptolomy* and *Seleucus* iſſuing out of ſo rich a Province as Egypt, came ſo well provided of all neceſſaries, that their Army felt not any great grievance of the evill way, when battaile was preſented them, which confidently they undertooke. In all things elſe they had the ods of *Demetrius*; of Elephants they were utterly unprovided. But how to deale with thoſe beaſts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kinde of Paliſado, faſtened ſtrongly together with chaines, and ſharpened in ſuch a manner, that the Elephants could not ſeeke to breake upon it, without receiving much hurt. The reſt of their forces (which (beſides that they had advantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate ſervices, by them performed that yeere, whileſt the enemies had wearied themſelves, either with vaine journies, or long and dulling expectation,) they diſpoſed in ſuch order, as beſt anſwered to the forme, wherein *Demetrius* was embattailed. The fight began, and was maintained with equall courage, for a long time, each part ſtriving more to win honour, than to ſatisfie any other paſſion, as having little cauſe of hatred, or revenge. But after ſome continuance, the greater number holding better out, the errour of *Demetrius*, who upon no neceſſity would needes fight a battaile with diſadvantage, began to appeare by his loſſes. He had committed himſelfe to Fortune, having more to loſe by her than he could get: but in this fight ſhee was idle, and left all to be decided by ſtrong hands; unleſſe it may be ſaid, that the terror brought upon his men, by the loſſe of his Elephants, was bad lucke. Thoſe beaſts were in that kinde of warre hardly to bee reſiſted on plaine ground; and therefore at the firſt they made great ſpoile amongſt *Ptolomies* men. Afterward ſeeking to breake throught he Paliſado, they were ſorely hurt, and every one of them taken. This diſaſter cauſed the Horſe-men of *Demetrius* to faint. They had laboured hard, & prevailed little, till now perceiving that all muſt lye upon their hands, who were ill able to make their owne places good, they began to ſhrinke, and many of them to provide for their ſafety by timely flight, which example the reſt quickly followed. When *Demetrius* had ſtroven ſo long in vaine to make his men abide, that he himſelfe was likely to be loſt; he was faine to give place to the ſtronger, making a violent retrait as far as to Azotus, which was about thirty miles from the place of battaile. A great part of his carriages was in Gaza, whither ſome of his company turned aſide, hoping to ſave ſuch goods, as in haſte they could pack up. This fooliſh covetouſneſſe was their deſtruction, and the loſſe of the Towne. For whileſt they, forgetfull of the danger, had filled the ſtreets with ſumpter-Horſes, and cloyed up the gates, thronging, ſome to get in and fetch; others, to carry out what they had already loaden, *Ptolomies* Army brake in without reſiſtance, taking them with their goods and the City altogether.

This victory reſtored unto *Ptolomy* the beſt part of Syria, a Province more eaſie in thoſe times to get, than to keepe; and opened the way unto all the greatneſſe of *Seleucus*. For between Gaza & Phœnicia no place offered reſiſtance. In Cœloſyria & Phœnicia, ſome Townes held out a while, but were ſoon taken in by *Ptolomy*. Among theſe were the great Cities of Tyrus and Sidon; of which Sidon was given up by the inhabitants: Tyrus by the Garriſon, falling to mutiny againſt their Captaine, who truſting to the ſtrength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardoned by *Ptolomy*, and honourably entertained in reſpect of his fidelity.

## §. VII.

### *How* Seleucus *recovered Babylon, and made himſelfe Lord of many Countries in the higheſt Aſia. The Æra of the Kingdome of the* Greekes, *which began with the Dominion of* Seleucus.

WHile *Ptolomy* followed this buſineſſe with ſuch proſperity, *Seleucus* tooke leave of him, and went up to Babylon, to try his owne fortune; which he found ſo favourable, that recovering firſt his owne Province, he became at length maſter of the better part of *Alexanders* purchaſes.

This expedition of *Seleucus* was very ſtrange, and full of unlikelihoods. His traine conſiſted of no more than eight hundred foot, and two hundred horſe, a number too ſmall to have been placed as Garriſon, in ſome one of thoſe maine great Cities, againſt which he carried it into the higher Aſia. But little force is needfull, to make way into ſtrong places, for him that already ſtands poſſeſſed of their hearts which dwell within the wals. The name of *Seleucus* was enough; whom the Babylonians had found ſo good a Governour, that none of them would finde courage to reſiſt him; but left that worke to *Antigonus* his owne men, wiſhing them ill to ſpeed. Some of the Macedonians that were in thoſe Countries, had the like affection; others made a countenance of warre, which by eaſie compulſion they left off, and followed new Enſignes. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and ſubmitted themſelves joyfully to *Seleucus*. In a defection ſo generall, it was not a ſafe courſe for the Antigonians, to thruſt themſelves into the Townes of moſt importance: for every man of them ſhould have beene troubled with daily enemies in his owne lodging. It remained that they ſhould iſſue forth into the field, and try the matter by fight. But the treaſon of one principall man, who revolted to the enemy, with more than a thouſand Souldiers following him, ſo diſmayed the reſt, that they did no more than ſeeke to make good one ſtrong place, wherein were kept the Hoſtages and Priſoners, that *Antigonus* held for his ſecurity in thoſe quarters. This Caſtle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leiſure, againſt dangers, that were not then apparent. *Seleucus* quickly tooke it; and ſo got the entire poſſeſſion of Meſopotamia and Babylon.

*Antigonus* had beſtowed in Media and Perſia, forces convenient for defence of thoſe Provinces, that were the utmoſt of his Dominion. In the Countries about Euphrates he had not done the like: for his owne great Army lay between them & all enemies. Therefore when the victory at Gaza had opened unto *Seleucus* the way into thoſe parts; hee found little impediment in the reſt of his buſineſſe. Having now gotten what he ſought, it behooved him to ſeeke how hee might keepe his gettings: for his owne forces were too ſmall, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not doe for him, his enemies did. *Nicanor*, to whom *Antigonus* had committed his Army in Media, joyning unto himſelfe, out of Perſia and other Countries, all needfull helpe, came, with ten thouſand Foot, and ſeaven thouſand Horſe, either to ſave all from being loſt, or to drive *Seleucus* out of that which he had won.

Againſt this power, *Seleucus* had onely foure hundred Horſe, and ſomewhat above three thouſand Foote, wherewith to oppoſe himſelfe: his large Conqueſt of unwarlike Nations having yeelded him many loving Subjects, but few Souldiers. Therefore when his enemies were neere to the River of Tigris, he withdrew himſelf from the place where his reſiſtance was expected, into certaine mariſhes not farre off; where he lay ſecretly waiting for ſome advantage. *Nicanor* thought that he had been fled, and was the leſſe carefull in fortifying his Campe. In recompence of this vaine ſecurity, his Campe was taken by ſurpriſe, the firſt night of his arrivall; the *Satrapa*, or Lievtenant of Perſia, together with ſundry of the Captaines, were ſlaine; hee himſelfe was driven to flee for his life into the deſarts, and the whole Army yeelded unto *Seleucus*: whoſe gentle demeanour, after the victory, drew all Media, Suſiana, and the Neighbour Provinces, to acknowledge him their Lord without any further ſtroke ſtricken.

This victory of *Seleucus* gave beginning unto the new ſtile, of *The Kingdome of the Greekes*, an accompt much uſed by the Jewes, Chaldæans, Syrians, and other Nations in thoſe parts. I will not make any long diſputation about the firſt yeere of this *Aera*. The authority of that great Aſtrologer *Ptolomy*, from which there is no appeale, makes it plaine, that *the five hundred and nineteenth yeare of* Nabonaſſar, *was the foureſcore and two yeere of this accompt*. Other inference hereupon is needleſſe, than that note of the learned *Gauricus*, *That the firſt of theſe yeers was reckoned compleat, at Babylon, together with the end of foure hundred thirty and eight yeers after* Nabonaſſar. With the obſervation of the *Saturne*, recorded by *Ptolomy*, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of *Bunting*; finding the ſame Planet to have beene ſo placed in the ſigne of *Virgo*, as the Chaldæans had obſerved it, in the ſame yeere; which was from *Nabonaſſar* the five hundred and nineteenth; from *Seleucus* the foureſcore and two yeer; & the laſt of the hundred thirty and ſeaventh Olympiad. Theſe obſervations of the celeſtiall bodies, are the ſureſt marks of time: from which he that wilfully varies, is inexcuſable. As for ſuch occurrences in Hiſtory, and the yeeres of ſucceeding Princes (that are not ſeldome ambiguous, by reaſon of unremembred fractions) if they ſeeme to be here-againſt, it is not greatly materiall. Yet thus much is worthy of note; that theſe yeares of the Greekes were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainly appears in the difference of one yeer, that is found between actions, related by the ſeverall Authors of the two Books of the *Macchabees*, who follow divers accompts. He that ſhall adhere to the time defined by *Ptolomy*, may apply the other ſupputations thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a years diſtance.

*Ptol. Almag. lib. 11. cap. 7. & 8.*

*L. Gauric. in annot. ad locum citatum.*

## §. VIII.

*How* Ptolomy *loſt all he wonne in Syria. What the cauſes were of the quiet obedience, performed unto the Macedonians, by thoſe that had beene ſubject unto the Perſian Empire. Of divers petty enterprizes, taken in hand by* Antigonus *and* Demetrius, *with ill ſucceſſe.*

IN a happy houre did *Seleucus* adventure to goe up to Babylon, with ſo few men as his friend could then well ſpare: for had he ſtaied longer upon hope of getting more Souldiers, *Ptolomy* could have ſpared him none at all. *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus*, having loſt the battaile at Gaza, received from *Ptolomy* all his owne goods, his Pages, and Servants, in free gift, and therewithall a courteous meſſage, to his effect: That no perſonall hatred was the ground of this Warre, which he and his Confederates held with *Antigonus*; but only termes of honour, wherein they would ſeeke to right themſelves after ſuch maner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrell, ſhould not be forgotten.

This Noble dealing of *Ptolomy*, did kindle in *Demetrius* an earneſt deſire of requiting him, with ſome as brave liberality. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken troupes; drew as many as could be ſpared, out of the Garriſons in Cilicia, or other Provinces thereabouts, and advertiſing his Father of his misfortune, beſought him to ſend a new ſupply, wherewith he might redeeme his honour loſt. *Antigonus* upon the firſt newes of this overthrow, had ſaid, That the victory which *Ptolomy* wan upon a beardleſſe Boy, ſhould be taken from him by bearded men: yet upon deſire that his ſon, whom he tenderly loved, ſhould amend his owne reputation, he was content to make a ſtand in Phrygia. *Ptolomy* hearing of *Demetrius* his preparations, did neverthleſſe follow his own buſineſſe in Cœloſyria; thinking it enough to ſpend part of his Army under *Cilles* his Lievtenant, againſt the remnant of thoſe, that had been already vanquiſhed, when *Cilles* too much undervalued the power of ſuch an Enemy. Hee thought that this young Gallant, having lately ſaved his life by flight, would now bee more carefull of having a faire way at his backe, than adventurous in ſetting further forward, than urgent reaſon ſhould provoke him. In this confidence he paſſed on without all feare; as one that were already Maſter of the field, and ſhould meet with none, that would iſſue out of their places of ſtrength, to make reſiſtance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this careleſſe march; he tooke the lighteſt of his Army, and made his journey with ſuch diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came upon *Cilles* unexpected, and was on the ſuddaine, without any battaile, Maſter of his Campe: taking him alive, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit ſerved not only to repaire the credit of *Demetrius*, which his loſſe at Gaza had almoſt ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bounty of *Ptolomy*, with equall favour, in reſtoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich preſents. But neither was *Ptolomy* ſo weakened by this loſſe, nor *Demetrius* ſo emboldened by his victory, that any matter of conſequence thereupon enſued. For *Demetrius* feared the comming of *Ptolomy*; & therefore he fortified himſelfe in places of advantage: *Ptolomy* on the other ſide was loth to engage himſelfe in an enterpriſe, wherein he might perceive, that if the comming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, hee ſhould either bee driven to make a ſhamefull retrait, or a dangerous adventure of his whole eſtate, in hope of not much more than already he poſſeſſed.

*Antigonus*, indeede, was nothing ſlow in his way towards Syria; whither hee made all haſte, not ſo much to relieve his ſonne, as to embrace him. For he rejoyced exceedingly, that the young man had ſo well acquitted himſelfe, and being left to his owne advice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to increaſe the reputation of this late victory, he brought ſuch forces, as might ſerve to re-conquer all Syria: meaning, that the honour of all ſhould bee referred unto the good foundation, laied by his ſon; whom from this time forwards, he imploied in matters of greateſt importance.

*Ptolomy* had now leſſe reaſon to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his comming to have aſſailed the Campe of *Demetrius*. Yet he made it a matter of conſultation; as if he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captaines adviſed him to retire into Egypt; alledging many good arguments to that purpoſe: which they might well perceive to be agreeable to his own intent, by his propounding that courſe; not without remembrance of the good ſucceſſe againſt *Perdiccas*, in the like defenſive warre. So he departed out of Syria, preſerving his honour; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any ſuddaine paſſion of fear: and he departed at faire leiſure, not onely carrying his treaſures along with him, but ſtaying to diſmantle ſome principall Cities, that he thought moſt likely to trouble him in the future. All the Country that he left at his backe, fell preſently to *Antigonus*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: ſo eaſie was it in thoſe times, for the Captain of a ſtrong Army, to make himſelfe Lord of a great Province.

We may juſtly wonder, that theſe Kingdomes of Syria, Media, Babylon, and many other Nations, (which the victory of *Alexander* had over-run, with ſo haſty a courſe, as gave him not leiſure to take any good view of them) were ſo eaſily held not onely by himſelfe, but by the Captaines of his Army after him. The hot contentions for ſuperiority betweene the King of Iſrael, and thoſe of Damaſcus; betweene Egypt, and Babylon; Babylon and Nineve; the Perſians and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to have once beene in thoſe people; which are now ſo patient of a forraigne yoke, that like Sheepe or Oxen, they ſuffer themſelves to be diſtributed, fought for, won, loſt, and againe recovered by contentious Maſters; as if they had no title to their owne heads, but were borne to follow the fortune of the Macedonians. This will appear the more ſtrange, if we ſhall conſider, how the ſeverall States of Greece (many of which had never poſſeſſed ſo large Dominion, as might cauſe their ſpirits to ſwell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occaſions of liberty: and how theſe proud Conquerours were glad to offer it, deſiring to have them rather friends than ſervants, for feare of further inconvenience.

It muſt therefore bee noted, that moſt of theſe Countries had alwayes beene ſubject unto the rule of Kings, or petty Lords, whom the Babylonians and Perſians long ſince had rooted out, and held them in ſuch bondage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of forraigne Maſters. This had utterly taken from them all remembrance of home-borne Princes, & incorporated them into the great body of the Perſian Empire: ſo that wanting within themſelves all ſoveraigne power, or high authority, the life and ſpirit of every Eſtate; they lay as dead, and were bereaved of motion, when that Kingdome fell, whereof they lately had beene members.

Why the Perſian *Satrapa*, or Princes of that Empire, did not when *Darius* was taken from them, as the Macedonian Captains, after the death of *Alexander*, ſtrive to lay hold upon thoſe Provinces, which had many ages bin ſubject unto them, & ſcarce foure years in quiet poſſeſſion of their enemies; or why at leaſt they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conquerour did ceaſe to affright them) to get their ſhares among his followers, if not wholly to diſpoſſeſſe them of their new purchaſes: it is a queſtion wherein, who is not ſatisfied, may finde no leſſe reaſon to ſuſpect the Hiſtory, than authority to confirme it. For wee ſeldome reade, that any ſmall Kingdome, prevailing againſt a farre greater, hath made ſo entire a conqueſt, in the compaſſe of ten yeares, as left unto the vanquiſhed no hope of recovery, nor meanes to rebell; eſpecially when ſuch diſorders, or rather utter confuſion hath enſued, by the fury of civill warre among the Victors.

The cauſe why the Macedonians held ſo quietly the Perſian Empire, is well ſet down by *Machiavell*; and concernes all other Kingdomes, that are ſubject unto the like forme of Government: the ſumme whereof is this; Whereſoever the Prince doth hold all his Subjects under the condition of ſlaves, there is the conqueſt eaſie, and ſoone aſſured: Where ancient Nobility is had in due regard; there is it hard to winne all, and harder to keepe that which is won. Examples of this are the Turkiſh Empire, and the Kingdome of France. If any invader ſhould prevaile ſo farre upon Turkie, that the great Sultan and his Children (for Brethren he uſeth not to ſuffer alive) were taken or ſlaine: the whole Empire would quickly bee wonne, and eaſily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the Baſſaes, how great ſoever they may ſeeme, are meere ſlaves; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whoſe perſonall regard could get the people to follow him in ſuch an attempt, wherein hope of private gaine ſhould not countervaile all apparent matter of feare. Contrariwiſe, in *France*, it were not enough for him that would make a conqueſt, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though he further got the better part of the Country, and were by farre the ſtrongeſt in the field. For, beſides the Princes of the Royall bloud, there are in that Kingdom ſtore of great men; who are mighty in their ſeverall Countries, and having certaine Royalties and Principalities of their owne, are able to raiſe Warre in all quarters of the Realme; whereunto the remembrance of their owne ancient Families, and long continued Nobility, will alwayes ſtirre up and inflame them: ſo that untill every one piece were won, and every one (an endleſſe worke) of the chiefe Nobility brought under or deſtroyed, the victory were not compleat, nor well aſſured. It is true, that ſuch power of the Nobility, doth often-times make way for an Invader; to whom the diſcontentments of a few can eaſily make a faire entrance. But ſuch aſſiſtants are not ſo eaſily kept, as they are gotten; for they looke to be ſatisfied at full, in all their demands; and having what they would, they ſoone returne to their old allegeance, upon condition to keepe what they have, unleſſe they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to pleaſe one man, without offending another as good as himſelfe. The *Turke*, on the other ſide, needs not to fear any peril, that might ariſe from the diſcontented ſpirits of his principall men. The greateſt miſchiefe that any of them could worke againſt him, were the betraying of ſome frontier Towne, or the wilfull loſſe of a battaile: which done, the Traitor hath ſpent his ſting, and muſt either flye to the enemy, whereby he loſeth all that hee formerly did hold; or elſe, in hope of doing ſome further harme, he muſt adventure to excuſe himſelfe unto his Maſter, who ſeldome forgives the Captaine, that hath not ſtrived by deſperate valour againſt misfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers againſt the great *Sultan*, and ſo joyning themſelves unto any Invader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them have any followers or dependants at all, other than ſuch as are ſubject unto them, by vertue of their Offices and Commiſſions. Now as this baſe condition of the principall men, doth leave unto them no meanes, whereby to oppoſe themſelves againſt the flouriſhing eſtate of their Prince; ſo would it weaken both their power and their courage in giving him aſſiſtance, if adverſity ſhould make him ſtand in need of them. For there is ſcarce any one among the *Turks* Baſſaes, or Provinciall Governours, that knowes either from whence he was brought, or from whom deſcended, nor any one among them, that by the loſſe & utter ruine of the Turkiſh Empire, can loſe any foote of his proper inheritance; and it is the proper inheritance of the ſubject, which is alſo a Kingdom unto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart againſt the Conquerer, who hath no other device painted on his Enſigne, than the picture of ſlavery.

As in the Turkiſh Empire, ſo was the *Perſian*, voide of liberty in the Subjects, and utterly deſtitute of other Nobility, than ſuch as depended upon meere favour of the Prince. Some indeede there were of the Royall bloud, and others, deſcended from the Princes that joyned with *Darius*, the Sonne of *Hyſtaſpes*, in oppreſſing the *Magi*: theſe were men of reputation in *Perſia*, but their reputation conſiſted onely in their Pedigree, and their ſafety in not medling with affaires of State, which made them little eſteemed. In what ſmall account theſe *Perſian* Princes were held, it may appeare by this, that the Kings Uncles, Couſin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, *Their Slaves*, and ſo did ſtile themſelves, in ſpeaking unto theſe great Monarchs. That upon every light occaſion of diſpleaſure they were handled as Slaves, it is eaſie to bee diſcerned, in that example of cruelty, practiſed by *Xerxes* upon his owne brother *Maſiſtes*, which hath beene formerly noted, in place more convenient. As for the *Satrapæ*, or Governours of the Provinces, it is needleſſe to cite examples, proving them to have beene meer ſlaves: it may ſuffice, that their heads were taken from them at the Kings will; that is, at the will of thoſe Women and Eunuchs, by whom the King was governed.

To this want of Nobility in *Perſia*, may be added the generall want of liberty convenient among the people: a matter no leſſe availeable, in making eaſie and ſure the conqueſt of a Nation, than is the cauſe aſſigned by *Machiavell*. For as *Aeſope* his Aſſe did not care to run from the enemies, becauſe it was not poſſible, that they ſhould load him with heavier burthens, than his Maſter cauſed him daily to beare: ſo the Nations, that endure the worſt under their owne Princes, are not greatly fearfull of a forraigne yoke;

Nor will be haſty to ſhake it off, if by experience they finde it more light, than was that whereunto they had been long accuſtomed. This was it that made the *Gaſcoignes* beare ſuch faithfull affection to the Kings of England; for that they governed more mildely than the French: this enlarged the *Venetian* juriſdiction in *Lombardy*; for the Townes that they wan, they wan out of the hands of Tyrannous oppreſſours: & this did cauſe the Macedonians, with other Nations, that had been ſubject unto the poſterity of *Alexanders* followers, to ſerve the Romans patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were eaſed of many burthens, which had been impoſed upon them by their own Kings.

So that of this tameneſſe, which we finde in thoſe that had been ſubjects of the Perſian Kings, the reaſons are apparent. Yet ſome of theſe there were, that could not ſo eaſily be contained in good order by the *Macedonians*: for they had not indeed been abſolutely conquered by the *Perſian*. Such were the *Sogdians*, *Bactrians*, and other Nations about the Caſpian Sea. Such alſo were the Arabians bordering upon Syria: againſt whom *Antigonus* ſent part of his Army; thinking therewith to bring them under, or rather to get a rich booty. The Captains that he ſent, fell upon the *Nabathæans*, at ſuch time as they were buſied in a great Mart; wherein they traded with the more remote *Arabians*, for Myrre, Frankincenſe, & other ſuch commodities. All or moſt of theſe rich wares, together with five hundred talents of ſilver, and many priſoners, the *Macedonians* laid hold upon: for their comming was ſudden & unexpected. But ere they could recover *Syria*, the *Nabathæans* overtook them, & finding them weary with long marches, made ſuch a ſlaughter, that of foure thouſand foote, and ſixe hundred horſe, onely fifty horſe eſcaped. To revenge this loſſe, *Demetrius* was ſet out with a great power: yet all in vaine; for hee was not reſiſted by any Army, but by the naturall defence of a vaſte Wilderneſſe, lacke of water, and of all things neceſſary. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein hee loſt not much honour: for they craved it, and gave him preſents. Returning from the *Nabathæans*, he viewed the Lake Aſphaltites, whence hee conceived hope of great profit that might bee raiſed, by gathering the Sulphure. With this good husbandry of his ſon, *Antigonus* was well pleaſed, and appointed men to the worke: but they were ſlaine by the *Arabians*, and ſo that hope vaniſhed.

Theſe petty enterpriſes, with the ill ſucceſſe accompanying them, had much impaired the good advantage againſt *Ptolomy*: when the newes of *Seleucus* his victories in the high Countries, marred all together. For neither was the loſſe of thoſe great and wealthy Provinces, a matter to be neglected, neither was it ſafe to tranſport the warre into the parts beyond *Euphrates*, whereby Syria and the lower Aſia ſhould have beene expoſed, to the danger of ill-affected Neighbours. A middle courſe was thought the beſt; and *Demetrius* with fifteen thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, was ſent againſt *Seleucus*. Theſe forces being ſent away, *Antigonus* did nothing, and his ſonne did leſſe. For *Seleucus* was then in *Media*; his Lievtenants about Babylon withdrew themſelves from neceſſity of fight; ſome places they fortified and kept; *Demetrius* could hold nothing that he got, without ſetting in Garriſon more men than hee could ſpare, neither did he get much; & therefore was faine to ſet out the bravery of his expedition, by burning and ſpoiling the Country; which he did thereby the more alienate, & as it were acknowledge to belong unto his enemy, who thenceforth held it as his owne aſſured.

*Antigonus* had laid upon his ſon a peremptory commandement, to returne unto him at a time prefixed: reaſonably thinking (as may ſeeme) that in ſuch an unſettled ſtate of things, either the Warre might bee ended, by the fury of the firſt brunt; or elſe it would be vaine to ſtrive againſt all difficulties likely to ariſe, where want of neceſſaries ſhould fruſtrate the valour, that by ſtrength of time was like to become leſſe terrible to the Enemy. *Demetrius* therefore leaving behinde him five thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, rather to make ſhew of continuing the warre, than to effect much, where himſelfe, with greater forces could doe little more than nothing, forſooke the enterpriſe, and went backe to his Father.

§. IX.

## §. IX.

### *A generall peace made and broken. How all the houſe of* Alexander *was deſtroyed.*

THeſe ambitious heads, having thus wearied themſelves with uneffectuall travell, in ſeeking to get more than any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded; that each of them ſhould hold quietly, that which at the preſent he had in poſſeſſion. As no private hatred, but meere deſire of Empire, had moved them to enter into the war; ſo was it no friendly reconciliation, but only a dulneſſe growing upon the ſlow advancement of their ſeverall hopes, that made them willing to breathe a while, til occaſion might better ſerve to fight againe.

Beſides that maine point, *Of retaining the Provinces which every man held*, there were two Articles of the peace, that gave a faire, but a falſe colour, to the buſineſſe; *That the ſon of* Alexander *by* Roxane, *ſhould be made King when he came to full age*; and, *That all the Eſtates of Greece ſhould be ſet at libertie*. The advancement of young *Alexander* to his Fathers kindome, ſeems to have bin a matter forceably extorted from *Antigonus*; in whom was diſcovered a purpoſe, to make himſelfe Lord of all. But this, indeed, more neerely touched *Caſſander*. For in his cuſtodie was the young Prince and his Mother: neither did he keepe them in ſort anſwerable to their degree; but as cloſe priſoners, taken in that warre, wherein they had ſeene the old Queene *Olympias* taken and murdered, that ſought to put them in poſſeſſion of the Empire. The mutuall hatred and feare betweene them, rooted in theſe grounds, of injuries done, and revenge expected; upon this concluſion of peace, grew up faſter than any time before, in the heart of *Caſſander*: who ſaw the *Macedonians* turne their favourable expectation, towards the ſon of their late renowned King.

All this either little concerned *Antigonus*; or tended greatly to his good. The young Prince muſt firſt have poſſeſſion of *Macedon*: whereby *Caſſander* ſhould be reduced to his poor office, *of Captain over a thouſand men*, if not left in worſe caſe. As for them that held Provinces abroad, they might either doe as they had done under *Aridæus*; or better, as being better acquainted with their owne ſtrength. He in the meane time, by his readineſſe to acknowledge the true Heire, had freed himſelfe from that ill favoured imputation, of ſeeking to make himſelfe Lord of all that *Alexander* had gotten.

The like advantage had he in that Article, *of reſtoring the Greeks to their libertie*. This libertie had hitherto beene the ſubject of much idle diſcourſe: but it never tooke effect. *Antigonus* held ſcarce any Towne of theirs, *Caſſander* occupied moſt of the Countrie: which if he ſhould ſet free, he muſt be a poore Prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrell againſt him, as againſt a Diſturber of the common peace.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Countries lying between *Euphrates* and the *Greek* ſeas, together with a great Armie, and mony enough to entertaine a greater, might ſerve to hold up the credit of *Antigonus*, and to raiſe his hopes as high as ever they had beene.

With much diſadvantage doe many men contend againſt one that is equall to them all in puiſſance. *Caſſanders* friends had left him in an ill caſe; but he could not doe withall: for where every one mans helpe is neceſſarie to the warre, there may any one make his own peace; but no one can ſtand out alone, when all the reſt are wearie. The beſt was, that he knew all their affections: which tended to no ſuch end as the becomming Subjects unto any man, much leſſe to the ſon of an *Aſiatique* woman, of whom they had long ſince refuſed to heare mention. Therefore he tooke a ſhort courſe, and cauſed both the child and his Mother to be ſlaine: freeing thereby himſelfe in a trice, from the dangerous neceſſitie of yeelding up his government, which he muſt have done when the childe had come to age. *Roxane* was a Ladie of ſingular beautie, which was perhaps the cauſe, why *Perdiccas* deſired to have her ſonne, being as yet unborne, proclaimed Heire to the great *Alexander*. Immediatly upon the death of *Alexander*, ſhe had uſed the favour (if it were not love) of *Perdiccas*, to the ſatisfying of her owne bloudie malice, upon *Statira*, the Daughter of King *Darius*; whom *Alexander* had likewiſe married, according to the cuſtome of thoſe Countries, wherein pluralitie of wives is held no crime. For, having by a counterfeit letter, in *Alexanders* name, gotten this poore Ladie into her hands, ſhe did, by aſſiſtance of *Perdiccas*, murder her and her Siſter, and threw their bodies into a Well, cauſing it to be filled up with earth. But now, by Gods juſt vengeance, were ſhe and her ſon made away, in the like ſecret faſhion; even at ſuch time as the near approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a weariſome impriſonment, grow dearer unto her than it was before.

The fact of *Caſſander* was not ſo much deteſted in outward ſhew; as inwardly it was pleaſing unto all the reſt of the Princes. For now they held themſelves free Lords of all that they had under them; fearing none other change of their eſtates, than ſuch as might ariſe by chance of warre; wherein every one perſwaded himſelfe of ſucceſſe, rather better than worſe. Hereupon all of them (except *Lyſimachus* and *Seleucus*, that had work enough at home) began to rowze themſelves; as if now the time were come, for each man to improve his own ſtocke. *Antigonus* his Lievtenants were buſie in *Peloponneſus*, and about *Helleſpont*: while their Maſter was carefull in following other, and ſome greater matters that were more ſecretly to be handled. He pretended the libertie of *Greece*: yet did the ſame argument miniſter unto *Ptolomie* matter of quarrell, againſt both him and *Caſſander*; *Ptolomie* complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that *Antigonus* had put Garriſons into ſome Townes, which ought, in faire dealing, to be ſet at liberty. Under colour of redreſſing this enormitie, he ſent an Armie into *Cilicia*, where he won foure Townes, and ſoon after loſt them, without much labour of his owne or his enemies.

After this, putting to Sea with a ſtrong Fleet, he ran along the coaſt of *Aſia*, winning many places: and in that voyage allured unto him a nephew of *Antigonus* (a good Commander, but diſcontented with the ill requitall of his ſervices) whom finding ſhortly, as falſe to himſelfe as he had been to his own Uncle, he was fain to put to death. But in doing theſe things, his deſire to ſet the *Greekes* at libertie, appeared not ſo plaine, as he wiſhed that it ſhould: for their caſe was no way bettered by his moleſting *Antigonus* in *Aſia*. Therefore to get the love of that valiant Nation, he made at the laſt an expedition into *Greece* it ſelfe: where having ſet free ſome little Ilands, and landed in *Peloponneſus*, he raiſed ſo great an expectation of finiſhing the long deſired work, that *Crateſipolis*, the Widow of *Alexander*, *Polyſperchons* ſon, gave up into his hands the Towns of *Sicyon* and *Corinth*.

*Ptolomie* had conceived a vain beliefe that the *Greeks*, emboldened by his countenance and aſſiſtance, would all of them take heart and riſe up in armes; whereby with little labour their libertie might be gotten; and he be acknowledged as Author of this immortall benefit. But long ſervitude had wel-neare extinguiſhed the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to recover freedome, had ſo tired their ſpirits, that they would no more ſtir in purſuit thereof; but ſate idly ſtill, as wiſhing it to fall into their mouthes.

The *Lacedæmonians*, about theſe times, began to fortifie their Town with wals; truſting no longer in their vertue (for both it, and the diſcipline that upheld it were too much impaired) that had been a wall to their Town and Territorie.

The *Athenians* were become as humble ſervants, as they had been in times paſt inſolent Maſters: erecting as many ſtatuaes in honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*, as there were daies in the year. This *Demetrius* was now their Governour; and he governed them with much moderation: but in ſpight of their hearts, as being ſet over them by *Caſſander*. By this baſe temper of the principall Cities, it is eaſie to gather, how the reſt of the Country ſtood affected. *Ptolomie* could not get them to ſet their helping hands to their own good, and to furniſh him with the promiſed ſupplies of mony and victuals. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliver them from thraldome; as judging the commoditie that would ariſe by annexing them to his partie, a matter of more weight than the loſſe that *Caſſander* ſhould receive thereby, who could hardly retaine them, if once *Antigonus* took the worke in hand. But when he found ſuch difficultie in the buſineſſe, he changed his purpoſe: and renewing his former friendſhip with *Caſſander*, he retained *Sicyon* and *Corinth* in his own poſſeſſion.

Before the comming of *Ptolomie* into *Greece*, *Caſſander* had beene held occupied with very much worke. For (beſides his paines taken in warres among barbarous Princes) hee found meanes to allure unto himſelfe the Lievtenants of *Antigonus*, that were in *Peloponneſus*, and about *Helleſpont*: making his owne advantage of their diſcontentments. By the like skilfull practice he freed himſelfe from a greater danger, and made thoſe murthers which he had committed ſeeme the leſſe odious, by teaching his enemies to doe the like. Old *Polyſperchon*, that had made ſo great a ſtir in the reign of *Aridæus*, did after the death of *Roxane* and her childe, enter againe upon the Stage: leading in his hand another ſonne of the great *Alexander*, and meaning to place him in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this young Prince was *Hercules*: he was begotten on *Barſine* the daughter of *Artabazus* a *Perſian*; but had been leſſe eſteemed than the ſonne of *Roxane*, either for that his Mother was held no better than a Concubine, or elſe perhaps, in regard of the favour which *Perdiccas*, and after him *Olympias*, did beare unto *Roxane*. At this time the death of his brother had moved ſuch compaſſion, and regard of his being *Alexanders* onely living childe, had procured unto him ſuch good will, that the demand which *Polyſperchon* made in his behalfe, was deemed very juſt and honourable. There were indeed more hearts than hands, that joyned with this young Prince: yet wanted he not ſufficient ſtrength of hands, if the heart of him that leaſt ought, had not been moſt falſe. *Caſſander* had raiſed an Armie to withſtand his entrie into *Macedon*: but little truſt could he repoſe in that Armie, whoſe wiſhes he perceived to be with *Hercules*. Therefore he aſſailed *Polyſperchon* himſelfe with gifts and promiſes; wherewith at length he prevailed ſo far, that the old Villaine was contented to murder his Pupill; chooſing rather with many curſes and foule diſhonour, to take the offered Lordſhip of *Peloponneſus*, and Commander of an Armie; than to purchaſe a noble fame with dangerous travell, in maintaining his faith, unto both his dead and living Soveraignes.

*Antigonus* had not all this while bin aſleep; though his loſſes were hitherto the chiefe witneſſes, of his having beene a ſtirrer in theſe commotions. He thought it enough for him at the preſent to retaine his owne: and therefore tooke order for the recoverie of thoſe places which *Ptolomie* had taken paines to winne. As for the reſt, it no way grieved him to ſee *Caſſander* incur the general hatred of men by committing thoſe murders of which the profit was like to redound unto him that was the moſt powerfull, or to ſee *Polyſperchon* and *Ptolomie* ſweat in a buſie warre againſt *Caſſander*. If they would have continued their quarrels, he could well have affoorded them leaſure, and have thought the time well ſpent in beholding their contentions. For he was throughly perſwaded that when the reſt had wearied themſelves in vaine with long ſtrife, his armies and treaſures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all under. According to theſe haughtie conceits, he demeaned himſelfe among his followers; looking big upon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that cauſed ſo many of them to revolt from him: but it was no great loſſe to be forſaken by thoſe that looked with envious eyes upon that fortune whereon their owne ſhould have depended. Againſt this envie of his men, and the malice of others, *Antigonus* buſily ſought a remedie, ſuch as was like to give him a goodly title to the whole Empire.

*Cleopatra*, Siſter unto the great *Alexander*, lay for the moſt part in *Sardes*: whom he had a great deſire to take to wife. This his deſire was not without good hope: for howſoever ſhe diſcovered much unwillingneſſe thereunto, yet was ſhe in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it only for feare of being enforced. But it was not his purpoſe to get her by compulſive meanes: either becauſe his fancie, being an old man, was not over-violent; or rather becauſe his ambition, whereunto all his affections had reference, could have made ſmall uſe of her, by doing ſuch apparent wrong. She had been married unto *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, after whoſe death ſhe came to her brother in *Aſia*; hoping belike to finde a new husband in his Campe. But neither any of thoſe brave Captaines, that were, in times following, ſo hot in love with her, durſt then aſpire unto her marriage: nor did her brother, full of other cares, trouble himſelfe with providing her of an husband. She therefore, being a luſtie widow, ſuffered her bloud ſo farre to prevaile againſt her honour, that ſhe ſupplied the want of an husband by entertainment of Paramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a jeſt: ſaying, That ſhe was his ſiſter, and muſt be allowed this libertie, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death the Empire lay in a manner voide, and the portion due to her thereingrew, in mens opinion, greater than it had beene: then did many ſeeke to obtaine her, while ſhe her ſelfe deſired onely a proper man, with whom ſhee might leade a merrie life. To this purpoſe did ſhe invite *Leonatus* unto her; who made great haſte, but was cut off by death ere he came to her preſence. Now at the laſt, after long

Leonatus

tarrying, ſhe had her choice of all the great Commanders: *Antigonus*, *Ptolomie*, *Lyſimachus*, and *Caſſander*, being all her earneſt wooers. All theſe (*Antigonus* excepted) had wives alreadie; *Ptolomie* had many wives, and many Concubines, whom he reſpected as much as his wives, being noted of too much dotage in that kind. This hindred not his ſuite: peradventure it advanced it, by giving to *Cleopatra* ſome hope of mutuall toleration. To him therefore ſhe bequeathed her ſelf, and was taking her journie from *Sandes* towards him; when *Antigonus* his Deputie in that Citie, made her to ſtay, untill his Maſters further pleaſure ſhould be known. *Antigonus* had now a Wolfe by the eares: he neither could well hold her, nor durſt let her goe. She would not be his wife; he had no honeſt pretence to force her; and to keepe her priſoner, had bin the way, by which he might have incurred a generall hatred, laſting perhaps beyond her life; as the courſe taken by *Caſſander* againſt *Roxane* (a Ladie leſſe reſpected than *Alexanders* own ſiſter) did well teſtifie. Therefore he thought it the wiſeſt way to procure her death: for to let any other enjoy the commoditie of ſo faire a title to the kingdome, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpoſe he ſent inſtructions to the Governour of *Sardes*, willing him in any caſe to doe it ſecretly. So the fact was committed, and certain women about her put in truſt with the murder: which women afterwards were put to death, as miſchievous conſpirers againſt the life of that good Ladie. So was *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the leaſt, in his owne opinion: but the world was leſſe fooliſh, than to be ſo deluded. How the murther was detected, we need not aske: for ſeldome is that bloudie crime unrevealed, and never ſo ill ſmothered, as when great perſons are the Authors.

Thus was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the great extinguiſhed, and it was extinguiſhed by the hands of ſuch as thought upon nothing leſſe than the execution of Gods juſtice, due unto the crueltie of theſe powerfull, but mercileſſe Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by theſe Tyrants, upon ſo wicked foundations of innocent bloud, were ſoon after caſt down, over-whelming themſelves or their children, with the ruines, as the ſequell will declare.

## §. X.

*How* Demetrius, *the ſon of* Antigonus, *gave libertie to Athens, expelling the Garriſons of* Caſſander *out of thoſe parts. The immoderate honour decreed by the Athenians to* Antigonus *and* Demetrius.

NOne being left alive that had any title to the Kingdome; it ſtood with good reaſon, that they which were Lords of the Provinces, acknowledging no Superiour, ſhould freely profeſſe themſelves Kings in name, as they were already in ſubſtance. Yet had this name il beſeemed the weaker, while the ſtrongeſt of all did forbeare it: neither ſeemed it convenient in the judgement of *Antigonus*, to crowne his laſt action with ſuch a title, as if he had attained unto greatneſſe by that foule murder, the infamie whereof he was carefull how to diſcharge from his own head. He purpoſed therefore to undertake a plauſible enterpriſe, even the libertie of *Greece*: whereby it was apparent, that he might get ſuch honour as would not only drown all bad reports, but make him be thought equall to any name of royaltie, whereof in ſeeming modeſtie, he was not covetous. To this purpoſe he delivered a ſtrong armie, with a Navie of two hundred and fiftie ſaile, and five thouſand talents of ſilver, unto *Demetrius* his ſon: willing him to begin at *Athens*, and thence to proceed, in ſetting all the Countrie free.

*Demetrius* came to *Athens* before he was expected: ſo that without reſiſtance he entred the Haven; it being thought that a fleet of *Ptolomie*, *Caſſanders* good friend, had bin arrived. But when it was known, both who he was, & what was the cauſe of his comming; the joy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations: *Demetrius Phalereus* forſooke the town, and withdrew himſelf to *Thebes* under ſafe conduct; only the Garriſon in *Munychia* ſtrove to make good that piece, which after a while was won upon them by force. During the ſiege of *Munychia*, *Demetrius* went to *Megara*; whence he expelled the Garriſon of *Caſſander*, and ſo reſtored the Citie to libertie.

I thinke it not impertinent, ſometimes to relate ſuch accidents, as may ſeeme no better than meere trifles: for even by trifles are the qualities of great Perſons as well diſcloſed, as by their great actions; becauſe in matters of importance, they commonly ſtraine themſelves, to the obſervance of generall commended rules; in leſſer things they follow the current of their owne Natures. The Lady *Crateſipolis* lay in *Patras*, and had a great deſire to ſee *Demetrius*; hoping, belike, that ſhe might by his meanes better her eſtate, and recover her Townes of *Sycion* and *Corinth*, detained by *Ptolomie*; to whoſe Lievtenant, in thoſe places, *Demetrius* before his departure out of *Greece*, offered mony for the ſurrender of them. Yet the onely buſineſſe pretended was love. He being advertiſed hereof, left his forces in the Country of *Megara*, and taking a company of his lighteſt armed, for guard of his perſon, made a long journey to meet with her. This troupe alſo, he cauſed to lodge a great way from his Tent, that none might ſee her when ſhee came. As cloſely as the buſineſſe was carried, ſome of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceived good hope, that the diligence of a very few men might overthrow all the great preparations of *Antigonus*; and bring him to any termes of reaſon, by taking his deare ſonne priſoner. Their project fell but a little ſhort of the effect. For they came ſo ſuddenly upon him, that he had no better ſhift, than to muffle himſelfe in an old cloake, and creepe away diſguiſed; leaving them to ranſacke his Tent. There was in this Prince a ſtrange medly of conditions; eſpecially an extreme diſſoluteneſſe in wanton pleaſures, and a painefull induſtry in matter of Warre. He was of a moſt amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; excellent in deviſing Engines of Warre, and curious in working them with his owne hands. He knew better how to reforme his bad fortune, than how to rule his good. For adverſitie made his valour more active: proſperity puffed him with over-weening, wherein he thought that he might do what he liſted. His fortune was changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her wheele, till ſhe had wound up the threed of his life, in ſuch manner as followeth to be ſhewed.

Returning to his Campe, and finiſhing his buſineſſe at *Megara*; he reſolved no longer to attend the iſſue of a ſiege, to aſſail *Munychia* by force, that ſo he might accompliſh the liberty of *Athens*: which, untill it was fully wrought out, he refuſed to enter into the Citie. *Munychia* was ſtrongly fortified: yet by continuance of the aſſault, the multitude without, through help of their Engines that ſcoured the walles, prevailed upon the reſolution of thoſe that lay within it, and wan the place in two dayes. The wals, and all the defences of that piece againſt the Citie, were levelled with the ground, and ſo was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom withall was given their liberty, with promiſe to aide them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was lowder, than of any other victory, gotten by *Demetrius* with greater skill and induſtry. For the *Athenians*, having forgotten how to imploy their hands, laboured to make up that defect with their tongues: converting to baſe flattery, that eloquence of theirs which the vertues of their Anceſtors had ſuted unto more manly arguments.

They decreed unto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* the name of Kings; they conſecrated the place in which *Demetrius* leaped from his Chariot, when he entred their Citie, and built there an Altar, calling it of *Demetrius the a-lighter*; they called them by the names of the *gods their Saviours*, ordaining that every yeare, there ſhould be choſen a Prieſt of theſe gods; and further, that ſuch as were imployed by their State, in dealing with either of theſe two Princes, ſhould not be called Embaſſadours, but *Theori*, or *Conſulters with the gods*; like as were they, whom they ſent unto the Oracle of *Jupiter* or *Apollo*.

It were a frivolous diligence to rehearſe all their flatteries, theſe being ſo groſſe. Hereby they not onely corrupted the young Prince; but made that acclamation, which beſt would have pleaſed the old man, to be of no uſe. For he could not handſomely take upon him the name of King, as impoſed by the *Athenians*; unleſſe he would ſeeme to approve their vanity, in loading him with more than humane honours. Yet was he ſo tickled with this their fine handling him, that when their *Theori* or *Conſulters* came ſhortly after, deſiring him to relieve them with Corne and Timber to build ſhips; he gave them almoſt a hundred thouſand quarters of wheate, and matter ſufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his firſt Oracle: or rather ſo weake is great power in reſiſting the aſſaults of flattery.

## §. XI.

*The great victorie of* Demetrius *againſt* Ptolomie *in Cyprus. How* Antigonus *and* Demetrius *tooke upon them the ſtile of Kings; wherein others followed their example.*

FRom this glorious worke, *Antigonus* called away *Demetrius*, unto a buſineſſe of greater difficultie; meaning to imploy his ſervice againſt *Ptolomie*, in *Cyprus*. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he was willed to eſtabliſh a generall Counſell, that ſhould treat of matters concerning the common good of the Countrie. About the ſame time *Antigonus* withdrew his owne Garriſon out of *Imbros*, committing their libertie entire, into the peoples hands; whereby it might appeare, that as he would not permit any other to oppreſſe the *Greekes*, ſo would he be farre from doing it himſelfe. This was enough to hold his reputation high, among theſe new purchaſed Friends: it followed, that hee ſhould convert his forces, to the winning of ground upon his Enemies.

A pittifull Tragedie had lately hapned in *Cyprus*, through the indiſcretion of *Menelaus*, *Ptolomies* brother, and his lievtenant in that Iſle. *Nicocles*, King of *Paphos*, was entred into ſome practice with *Antigonus*: yet not ſo far that he thought himſelfe paſt excuſe; by which confidence, he was perhaps the more eaſily detected. To cut off this negotiation, and the falſe-hearted King of *Paphos* at one blow, *Menelaus* was ſent thither: who ſurrounding *Nicocles* his houſe with Souldiers, required in *Ptolomies* name, to have him yeelded to the death. *Nicocles* offered to cleare himſelfe; but *Menelaus* told him, that dye he muſt, and bad him come forth quietly. This deſperate neceſſitie cauſed the unhappie King to rid himſelfe of life: and his death ſtrooke ſuch an impreſſion into his wife, that ſhe not onely ſlew her ſelfe, but perſwaded the wives of her husbands brethren to doe the like. Alſo thoſe brethren of *Nicocles*, unto whom *Ptolomie* had intended no ill, being amazed with the ſuddenneſſe of this calamitie, did ſhut up the Palace, and ſetting it on fire, conſumed it, with all that was in it, and themſelves together.

Whatſoever the crime objected was; *Nicocles* periſhed as a man innocent, becauſe he was not ſuffered to make his anſwer. Of this ſad accident, though *Menelaus* deſerved the blame, for his rigorous proceeding: yet is it to be thought, that much diſlike fell alſo upon *Ptolomie*: as men that are grieved, caſt an ill affection even upon thoſe that gave the fartheſt removed occaſion.

Not long after this, *Demetrius* came into *Cyprus*, with a power ſufficient, againſt any oppoſition that *Ptolomie* was like to make. The *Cypriots* did little or nothing againſt him: either becauſe they had ſmal ſtrength, or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being ſure that they ſhould not themſelves have the rule of their owne Countrie. *Menelaus* therefore, out of his Garriſons, drew forth an Armie, and fought with *Demetrius*. But he was beaten, and driven to ſave himſelf within the walls of *Salamis*, where he was ſo hardly beſieged, that without ſtrong ſuccour, he had no likelihood to make good the place, much leſſe to retaine poſſeſſion of the whole Iland. His greateſt helpe at the preſent was the fidelitie of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could win from him, nor good uſage (when any of them were taken priſoners, and inrolled in the enemies bands) keepe from returning to him, with the firſt opportunitie. Moſt of them were Mercenaries: but all their goods were in *Egypt*, which was enough to keepe them faithfull. Yet could not this their reſolution have ſtood long againſt the ods of number, which *Demetrius* had of men as reſolute, and againſt his terrible Engines of batterie, if *Ptolomie* had not haſted to the reſcue.

*Ptolomie* brought with him a hundred and fortie Gallies, beſides two hundred ſhips of burden, for tranſporting his Armie and Carriages. This Fleet made a terrible ſhew, when it was deſcried afarre; though more than halfe of it was unfit for ſervice in fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadful, *Ptolomie* ſent unto *Demetrius* a threatning meſſage: willing him to be gone, unleſſe he would be overwhelmed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a throng. But this young gallant repaied him with words of as much braverie, promiſing to let him eſcape, upon condition, that he ſhould withdraw his Garriſons out of *Sycion* and *Corinth*.

*Demetrius* had no more than one hundred and eighteene Gallies; but they were, for the moſt part, greater than thoſe of *Ptolomie*; better ſtored with weapons fit for that ſervice;

vice; and very well furniſhed with Engines in the prows, to beat upon the enemie. Nevertheleſs he ſtood in great doubt of threeſcore gallies that lay in the Haven of *Salamis*, leſt *Menelaus* with them ſhould ſet upon his back: in which caſe, it was very likely that all would goe very ill with him. Againſt this miſchiſe, he beſtowed ten of his own Gallies in the mouth of that Haven, to keepe *Menelaus* from iſſuing forth, and ſetting his horſemen on the ſhore, to give what aſſiſtance they could, he with the reſt of his Fleet, puts to Sea againſt *Ptolomie*.

The fight began early in the morning, and continued long, with doubtfull ſucceſſe. The Generals were not ranged oppoſite one to the other; but held each of them the left wing of his owne fleet. Each of them prevailed againſt the ſquadron wherewith he encountred; but the ſucceſſe of *Demetrius* was to better purpoſe. For his victorie in one part was ſuch, as cauſed others to fall out of order, and finally drave all to betake themſelves unto ſpeedie flight. As for *Ptolomie*, he was faine to leave his advantage upon the enemie in one part of the fight, that he might relieve and animate thoſe of his own which needed him in another: wherein he found his loſſe over-great to be repaired, by contending any longer againſt the fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured onely to ſave himſelfe, in hope of better event, that might follow ſome other time.

There fell out in this battell no unuſuall accident; yet was the victorie greater than could have been expected. The occaſions whereof were, partly the great skill in Sea-ſervices, which the *Greekes* and *Phœnicians*, that were with *Demetrius*, had, above thoſe which followed *Ptolomie*: partly the good furniture of the Ships, wherein conſiſted no leſſe, than in the qualitie of thoſe with whom they were manned. Further, we may reaſonably judge, that the two hundred ſhips of burthen, carrying the ſtrength of *Ptolomies* Armie, did not more encourage his own men, and terrefie his enemies the day before the fight, than breed in each part the contrarie affections, when in the beginning of the fight they fell off, and ſtood aloofe. For though it were fitting that they ſhould ſo doe; yet a multitude, prepoſſeſſed with vain conceits, will commonly apprehend very ſleight occaſions to thinke themſelves abandoned. Beſides all this, the expectation that *Menelaus*, iſſuing with his fleet out of *Salamis*, ſhould charge the enemies in ſterne, was utterly fruſtrate. He was kept-in perforce, by the ten ſhips appointed to bar up the mouth of the Haven: which they manfully performed, as great neceſſitie required.

Such diſappointment of expectation doth much abate the courage of men in Fight; eſpecially of the aſſailants: whereas on the contrarie, they that finde ſome part of their feares vaine, doe eaſily gather hopefull ſpirits, and conceive an opinion of their own abilitie, to doe more than they thought upon, out of their not ſuffering the harm that they had imagined.

Whatſoever the cauſes of this victorie were, the fruit was very great. For *Ptolomie* had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the reſt of his fleet was either taken or ſunk. Neither did *Menelaus* any longer ſtrive againſt the violence of fortune; but yeelded up all that he held in *Cyprus*, together with his Armie, conſiſting of twelve thouſand foot, and a thouſand and two hundred horſe, and thoſe Gallies in the Haven of *Salamis*. The ſame dejection of ſpirit was found in the common Souldier, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had ſerved the *Egyptian* by Land; none of them repoſing any more confidence in *Ptolomie*, but willingly becomming followers of a new Lord, whoſe Armie they now increaſed.

It was generally beleeved, that much more depended on the event of this fight, than the Iſle of *Cyprus*; for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was great; eſpecially *Antigonus*, whom it moſt concerned, was deeply perplexed with cares, thinking every day a year, till he were advertiſed of the iſſue. In this mood *Ariſtodemus* found him, a noble flatterer, whom *Demetrius* had honoured with the Meſſage of theſe good newes. *Ariſtodemus* had bethought himſelfe of a tricke, whereby to double the welcome of his joyfull errand: He cauſed his ſhips to ride at Anchor, a good diſtance from the ſhore: he himſelfe landed in a Cock-boat, which he ſent immediately back to the ſhip; and ſo all alone he went forward, looking very ſadly that no part of his tidings might appeare in his countenance. Report of his arrivall (for it was not known where he had bin) came preſently to *Antigonus*; who ſent Meſſenger after Meſſenger to meet him on the way, and bring ſpeedie word how all went. But neither any anſwer, nor ſo much of a looke, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could be won from this demure Gentleman. Thus marched he faire and ſoftly forward with a great throng at his heeles (that ſerved well to ſet out his Pageant) untill he came in ſight of *Antigonus*; who could not containe himſelfe, but went downe to meet him at the Gate, and heare the newes. Then did *Ariſtodemus*, upon the ſudden, with a high voyce ſalute *Antigonus* by the name of King; uttering the greatneſſe of the victorie (with as much pomp, as before he had covered it with ſilence) in the hearing of all the people; who with loud acclamations, gave that name of King, both to *Antigonus* and his ſon *Demetrius*. *Antigonus*, in requitall of the long ſuſpence, wherein *Ariſtodemus* had held him, ſayd, That it ſhould alſo be long ere he received his reward. But the Title of King, together with the Diademe, which his friends did ſet on his head, he could not wiſh a fairer occaſion to aſſume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and ſent the like to his ſon.

When it was once noyſed abroad, that *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* called themſelves Kings; it was not long ere their fellowes were readie to follow the good example. *Ptolomie* his friends would by no meanes endure, that their Lord ſhould be thought a man dejected for the loſſe of a fleet; therefore they ſaluted him alſo King. *Lyſimachus* in *Thrace* had boldneſſe enough to put the Diademe about his own head. *Seleucus* had, before this time, among the barbarous people, taken upon him as King: but now he uſed the ſtile indifferently, as well among the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*, as in dealing with others. Only *Caſſander* held himſelfe contented with his own name: whereby howſoever he might ſhadow his pride, he no way leſſened the fame of his crueltie againſt his Maſters houſe. But the name which he forbore, his ſons after him were bold to uſurpe, though with ill ſucceſſe, as will appeare, when they ſhall enter upon the Stage, whereon theſe old Tragedians, under new habits, as no longer now the ſame perſons, begin to play their parts, with bigger lookes, and more boiſterous actions, not with greater grace and judgement, than in the Scenes alreadie paſt.

# CHAP. VI.

## *Of the Warres betweene the Kings of Egypt, Aſia, Macedon, Thrace, and others: untill all* Alexanders *Princes were conſumed.*

### §. I.

### *The Expedition of* Antigonus *againſt Egypt, with ill ſucceſſe.*

ALl the reſt of theſe Kings had taken that name upon them, in imitation of *Antigonus* himſelfe, as beſeeming his greatneſſe: which was ſuch as gave him hope to ſwallow them up, together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his own ſtrength, he reſolved to ſingle out *Ptolomie*, and make him an example to others: who ſhould hardly be able to ſtand, when the greateſt of them was fallen. To this purpoſe he prepared an armie of eighteen thouſand foot, & eight thouſand horſe, with fourſcore and three Elephants: as likewiſe a fleet of a hundred and fiftie Gallies, and a hundred ſhips of burthen. The Land forces he commanded in perſon: of the Navie *Demetrius* was Admirall.

When all was readie for the journey, the Sea-men adviſed him to ſtay yet eight dayes longer, and expect the ſetting of the *Pleiades*. But his haſtie deſire to prevent all preparations for reſiſtance that *Ptolomie* ſhould make, rejected this counſell; imputing it rather to their feare than ſkill: wherefore he departed from *Antigonia* (a Town which he had built in *Syria*, and called after his owne name, that was ſoon changed into *Seleucia*, by his mortall enemie) and came to *Gaza*, where he met with his Fleet. The nearer that he drew to *Egypt*, the more haſte he made: thinking by celeritie to prevaile more than by his great power. He cauſed his Souldiers to carrie tenne dayes proviſion of Victuals; and had many Camels loaden with all neceſſaries for paſſing the Deſarts, over which he marched with no ſmall toile, though he met with no reſiſtance. At Mount *Caſius*, which is neare adjoyning to *Nilus*, he ſaw his Fleet riding at Anchor, not farre from the ſhore, in ill caſe, and many Shippes wanting. It had been ſorely beaten with foule weather, wherein ſome were loſt, others driven backe to *Gaza*, or ſcattered elſewhere into ſuch creekes as they could recover: *Demetrius* himſelfe, with the beſt and ſtrongeſt veſſels, did ſo long beat it up againſt the wind, that all his freſh water was ſpent; in which extremity, he and all his muſt have periſhed, had not the tempeſt ceaſed when it did, and *Antigonus* appeared in ſight, from whom theſe over-wearied, thirſty and Sea-beaten Souldiers received reliefe. After theſe painfull travels, there followed a Warre no leſſe painfull than to little purpoſe; for *Ptolomie* had ſo fortified all the paſſages upon the River of *Nilus*, as hee aſſured himſelfe either to end the warre there, or if his guards ſhould happen to be forc't, yet could it not be done but ſo much to the weakning of the Aſſailants, as he ſhould afterward, with a ſecond Army (which he held entire) entertain the Invader upon advantage enough. All that *Antigonus* ſought, was to come to blowes ſpeedily: *Ptolomie* on the contrary, to beat *Antigonus* by the belly. It is true that *Nilus* gave him water enough, but wood he had none to warme it, and while *Antigonus* aſſaulted the Rampiers raiſed upon the River in vaine, *Ptolomie* aſſaied the faith of his ſouldiers with good ſucceſſe; for with great gifts, and greater promiſes, he ferried them over ſo faſt; as had not *Antigonus* thruſt ſome aſſured Regiments, upon the paſſages next the enemy, and in the mean while taken a reſolution to returne, *Ptolomie* had turned him out of *Egypt* ill attended.

Some of them indeed he laid hands on, in the way of their eſcape, and thoſe he put to death with extreme torments; but in all likelihood with the ſame ill ſucceſſe that *Perdiccas* had formerly done, when he invaded *Egypt*: had he not readily removed his Army further off, from the noyſe of their entertainment, that had already been won from him. To prevent therfore as wel the preſent danger of his ſtay, as the ſhame following a forc't retrait, he ſecretly practiſed the advice of his Councell, upon whom the burthen muſt be laid of his entrance, and leaving *Egypt*.

It is indeed leſſe prejudiciall in ſuch like caſes, that errours, diſhonours, and loſſes be laid on Counſellors and Captains, than on Kings; on the Directed, than on the Director: for the honour and reputation of a Prince is farre more precious than that of a Vaſſall. *Charles* the fift, as many other Princes have done, layd the loſſe and diſhonour he received in the invaſion of *France*, by the way of *Provence*, to *Antonie de Leva*, whether juſtly or no, I know not; but howſoever, all the Hiſtorians of that time agree, that the ſorrow thereof coſt that brave Captaine his life. Certainly to give any violent advice in doubtfull enterpriſes is rather a teſtimony of love, than of wiſdome, in the giver; for the ill ſucceſſe is alwaies caſt upon the Councell, the good never wants a Father, though a falſe one, to acknowledge it. Yet I have ſometime known it, that great Commanders, who are for the preſent in place of Kings, have not onely beene diſſwaded, but held, in a kind, by ſtrong hand, from hazzarding their own perſons, and yet have thoſe kind of Mutiners never been called to a Marſhals Court.

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## §. II.

### *How the Citie of Rhodes was beſieged by* Demetrius.

THis departure of *Antigonus*, left behind it many dead carcaſſes, and a great deale of joy in *Egypt*. *Ptolomy* held a ſolemne Feaſt, and ſent Meſſengers abroad, loaden with glad newes, to *Seleucus*, *Lyſimachus*, and *Caſſander*, his Confederates: ſtrongly encouraging all that ſide, with the report of this his late felicity, though it appeared but in a defenſive Warre. *Antigonus* on the contrary, flattered himſelfe with another interpretation, calling the joyes of his enemies for witneſſes of his owne greatneſſe, ſeeing they aroſe but from ſo little things: his enemies being but bare ſavers by the laſt bargaine, and himſelfe, as he ſuppoſed, having loſt but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retrait. Howſoever it were, yet he meant to follow his affaires henceforth in another faſhion; for that which he could not cleave a-ſunder by great blowes, he purpoſed by little and little to pare off, by cutting off the branches firſt, to fell the Tree it ſelfe with the more facility. To effect which, he reſolved (leaving the great ones to grow awhile) to roote up the Dependants of his Enemies: Dependants, whom the fore-named Confederates ſhould be forc't either to relieve, or to loſe; and hereby he doubted not to draw them into the field, where the advantage of power, and of all other warlike proviſion promiſed him victory.

At this time the Citie of *Rhodes* was very mighty, being well governed, and having long held it ſelfe in good Neutrality; it drew the better part of all the trade of thoſe parts, and therein a great deale of riches to it ſelfe; to maintain which, and to increaſe it, it furniſhed and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed Shipps, by which it not onely beate off all Pyrates and petty Theeves, but the reputation of their ſtrength was thereby ſo much encreaſed, as all the neighbour Princes ſought their alliance and confederacy.

In this ſo dangerous a time (in which they muſt either refuſe all that ſought them, and ſo ſtand friendleſſe and apart; or joyne themſelves to ſome one, and thereby forgoe the peace, by which their greatneſſe had growne) their affections carryed them to the *Egyptian*: both becauſe the greateſt part of their trade lay that way, as alſo for that *Antigonus* his diſpoſition, greatneſſe, and neighbourhood was fearfull unto them. This affection of theirs, with ſome other paſſages more apparent, gave argument of quarrell to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himſelf againſt them by petty injuries, of taking ſome of their ſhips, with ſuch other grievances, while he made a more weighty preparation, to purſue the War againſt them openly and ſtrongly. All things ſoon after ordered according to the greatneſſe of the enterpriſe, he employed his Sonne *Demetrius* againſt them in their owne Iland, who brought ſuch terrour upon the Citizens, that laying aſide all reſpect of friendſhip and honour, they offered him their aſſiſtance and ſervice againſt whomſoever. *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this change came, and that the alteration was perſwaded by feare, and not by love; raiſed his demands to an intolerable height, requiring a hundred Hoſtages to be delivered him, and liberty to lodge in their Port as many ſhips of War as himſelfe pleaſed. Theſe conditions more properly to bee impoſed upon a State already conquered, than on thoſe who as yet had heard of nothing but a conſtrained aſſiſtance, reſtored unto the *Rhodians* their loſt courage, and made them reſolve to defend their liberty to the laſt man: this taught them to infranchiſe all their able bond-men, and wiſely rather to make them their fellow-Citizens, than to make themſelves fellow-ſlaves with them.

*Demetrius* having refuſed the faire conditions offered (as the *Rhodians* the fearfull ones propounded unto them) makes preparation for a long ſiege, and finding no appearance to carry the place in furie, he ſet in hand with his Engines of battery; in the invention and uſe of which, he did never ſhew himſelfe a greater *Artiſan*, than in this War. But in concluſion, after the Citizens had ſuſtained all the aſſaults given them for a whole year, after many brave ſallies out of the Town, and the famine which they endured within the Towne, which had proved farre more extreme, if *Ptolomy* had not with many hazzards relieved them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Grecian* Embaſſadors, gave over the ſiege; a hundred hoſtages they gave him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the Magiſtrates and Officers of the Citie.

Hereunto *Demetrius* was brought by the uſuall policie of War, and ſtate: for while with the flower of all his fathers forces he lay before *Rhodes*, *Caſſander* recovered many of thoſe places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from him; neither did *Caſſander* make the War as in former times, by practice and ſurpriſe, but by a ſtrong and well compounded army, which he himſelfe led as far as into *Attica*, and therewith greatly diſtreſſed and endangered *Athens* it ſelf. On the other ſide (though with leſſe ſucceſſe) did *Polyſperchon* invade *Peloponneſus*. Theſe dangerous undertakings upon *Greece*, adviſed the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* to diſpatch their Embaſſadors towards *Demetrius*, and adviſed *Demetrius* rather to abandon the enterpriſe of *Rhodes*, than to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten by ſetting all *Greece* at liberty.

*Demetrius* was no ſooner out of the Iland, than that the *Rhodians* erected ſtatues in honour of *Lyſimachus* and *Caſſander*; but for *Ptolomy*, whom they moſt affected, and from whom they received their moſt relief, they conſulted with the Oracle of *Jupiter*, whether it were not lawfull to call him a *god*. The Prieſts which attended in the Temple of *Hammon*, gave the ſame fair anſwer for *Ptolomy*, which they had formerly done for *Alexander* his Maſter; for as *Alexander* conſulted the Oracle with an Army at his heeles, ſo was *Ptolomy* at this time Lord of the ſoile: and yet was this a far more cleanly creation than that done by the *Athenians*, who Deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* by decree of the people. A madage it was, when ſo many of *Alexanders* Captaines could not content themſelves with the ſtile of Kings, but that they would needs be called gods.

## §. III.

How Demetrius *prevailed in Greece.* Caſſander *deſires peace of* Antigonus, *and cannot obtaine it. Great preparations of War againſt* Antigonus.

DEmetrius comming with a ſtrong Fleete and Army into *Greece*, quickly drave *Caſſander* out of *Attica*; and purſuing his fortune, chaſed him beyond the ſtraits of *Thermopylæ*. Herein his reputation did much availe him; which was ſo great, that ſixe thouſand of his enemies Souldiers revolted unto him. So, partly by the greatneſſe of his name, partly by force, he recovered in ſhort ſpace all that *Caſſander* held inthoſe ſtraits, and giving liberty unto the people, he beſtowed upon the *Athenians* thoſe peeces, which had been fortified againſt them, to blocke them up. Then went he into *Peloponneſus*, where he found the like, or more eaſie ſucceſſe: for he ſuddenly tooke *Argos*, *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, and the moſt of the Country, beſtowing liberty upon ſuch as needed it. The Town of *Sicyon* he tranſlated by conſent of the Citizens, from the old ſeat into another place, and called it after his owne name, *Demetrius*. This done, he betooke himſelfe to his pleaſure. At the *Iſthman* games, he cauſed himſelfe to be proclaimed Captaine Generall of *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had been in former times: whereupon (as if he were now become as great as *Alexander*) he deſpiſed all others, making it a matter of jeſt, that any, ſave himſelfe or his father, ſhould uſurpe the name of King. But in his behaviour he was ſo farre unlike to a King, that in all the time of his leaſure, he deſerved none other name than of a drunken *Palliard*. Yet were the *Athenians* as ready as ever to deviſe new honours for him: among which they made one Decree, That whatſoever King *Demetrius* ſhould command, ought to be held ſacred with the gods, and juſt with men.

All *Greece* being now at the diſpoſition of *Antigonus*, *Caſſander* ſtood in great feare, leſt the war ſhould fall heavily upon him in *Macedon*: which to avoyd, he knew no better way than to make peace with his enemies betimes. And to that purpoſe he ſent Embaſſadors; but had no better anſwer from *Antigonus*, than that he ſhould ſubmit his whole eſtate to his diſcretion. This proud demand made him looke about him, and labour hard in ſolliciting his friends, both to aſſiſt him, and take heed to themſelves; neither found he them ſlow in apprehending the common danger: for *Lyſimachus* knew that if once *Caſſander* had loſt *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would ſoon be Maſter of *Thrace*. Neither were *Ptolomy* and *Seleucus* ignorant of that which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were ſuffered to put himſelfe in quiet poſſeſſion of thoſe Provinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with joynt forces they ſhould all together ſet upon the common enemy.

Hereof *Antigonus* had notice: but ſcorned all their preparations, ſaying, That he would as eaſily ſcatter them, as a flock of birds are driven away with a ſtone. With theſe conceits he pleaſed himſelfe, and no way hindred the proceedings of his Enemies. He lay at that time in his Towne of *Antigonia* (a name that it muſt ſhortly loſe) where he was carefully providing to ſet out ſome ſtately game and Pageants, in oſtentation of his glory. But thither was brought unto him the tumultuous newes of *Lyſimachus* his victories about *Helleſpont*. For *Caſſander* had committed unto *Lyſimachus* part of his forces, wherewith to paſſe over into *Aſia*, while he himſelf with the reſt ſhould oppoſe *Demetrius* on *Europe* ſide. So *Lyſimachus* paſſing the *Helleſpont*, began to make hot War upon the ſubjects of *Antigonus*; getting ſome of the Cities in thoſe parts, to joyne with him by faire means; winning others by force, and waſting the Country round about.

To repreſſe this unexpected boldneſſe, *Antigonus* made haſty journies, and came ſoone enough to recover his loſſes, but not ſtrong enough to drive *Lyſimachus* home, or compell him to come to battell. *Lyſimachus* waited for the comming of *Seleucus*; keeping himſelfe the whileſt from neceſſity of fighting. But *Babylon* was far off; and *Seleucus* his preparations were too great to bee ſoon in a readineſſe. The Winter alſo did hinder his journy: which inforced them on both ſides to reſt in ſome quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrell in open field, held all thoſe Nations in a great ſuſpence, & bred much expectation. Yet might all have come to nothing, had not *Antigonus* bin ſo forward, that he refuſed to yeeld upon any peaceable conditions. At length *Seleucus* drew neare with a mighty Army of his owne (for he had gathered ſtrength in that long time of leaſure, which *Antigonus* had given him) and with great aid from *Ptolomie*, that was joyned with his forces.

To helpe in this needfull caſe, *Demetrius* was called over into *Aſia* by his Fathers letters: which he readily obeyed. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he made peace with *Caſſander*, upon reaſonable termes: to the end he might not be driven to leave any part of his Army for defence of the Country; and that his journy might be without any ſuch blemiſh of reputation, as if hee had abandoned his Dependants: for one Article of the peace was, That all the Cities of *Greece* ſhould be at liberty. *Caſſander* was glad to be ſo rid of an Enemy that was too ſtrong for him. Yet would this league have done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwiſe than they did in *Aſia*; ſeeing the ratification thereof was referred unto *Antigonus*. It ſufficed, that for the preſent, every one found meanes to cleare himſelſe of all incumbrances elſe-where, to the end that each of them might freely apply himſelſe to the tryall of the maine controverſie in *Aſia*.

## §. IIII.

### How Antigonus *was ſlaine in a great battell at* Ipſus, *neare unto* Epheſus; *wherein his whole eſtate was loſt.*

Seleucus, with his Sonne *Antiochus*, joyning with *Lyſimachus*, compounded a great Army, which was (all conſidered) not inferiour to that of the Enemy. In greatneſſe of name (that helpeth much in all Warres, but eſpecially in the Civill) they were rather unanſwerable than unequall to their adverſaries: for *Antigonus* had of long time kept them under with a maſtering ſpirit, and had been reputed a King indeed, when the reſt were held but Uſurpers of the Title. Likewiſe *Demetrius* was generally acknowledged a brave Commander, having given proofe of his worth in many great ſervices of all kinds, and enriched the art of war with many inventions, which even his enemies, and particularly *Lyſimachus*, did much admire. *Seleucus*, who had ſome times flattered *Antigonus*, and fearfully ſtolne away from him to ſave his life, with young *Antiochus*, a Prince not heard of before this journy; and *Lyſimachus*, that had lived long in a corner, hardly keeping his owne from the wilde *Thracians*; wanted much in reputation, of that which was yeelded to their oppoſites: yet ſo, that as ancient Captains under *Philip* and *Alexander*, two of them were held worthy enough to receive any benefit that fortune might give, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The Souldiers, on both ſides, were for the moſt part hardy and well exerciſed: many of them having ſerved under *Alexander*; though of thoſe old Companies, the long ſpace of two and twenty years had conſumed the greateſt number. But concerning their affections, the followers of *Seleucus* were eaſily perſwaded, that in this battell they muſt either get the upper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged unto the Confederate Princes; whereas *Antigonus* his men could diſcerne no other neceſſity of fighting, than the obſtinate quality of their Lord, that needes would be Maſter of all. *Antigonus* had about threeſcore and ten thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and threeſcore and fifteene Elephants. His enemies were ſixe thouſand ſhort of him in number of their foot; in horſe they had the oddes of five hundred; of Elephants they had foure hundred, and an hundred and twenty armed Chariots of War: which helpes, though they little had availed the *Perſians*, yet were they not to be deſpiſed, in the hands of a good Captaine.

*Antigonus* himſelfe, either troubled with the unexpected greatneſſe of his enemies forces, or preſaging little good like to enſue, grew very penſive, communing much in private with his ſonne whom hee commended to the Army as his Succeſſor: whereas in former times he had never been ſo jocund, as towards the houre of battaile, nor had been accuſtomed to make his ſon, or any other, private to his counſaile, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad lucke, either foregoing the fight, or afterwards deviſed, I hold it needleſſe to recount. *Diana* of *Epheſus* dwelt neere to the place of battell, a buſie goddeſſe in many great fights; and therefore likely to have beene thruſt into the fable, if any matter, neerly reſembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is eaſie to beleeve, that theſe two ſo gallant Armies, containing well neere all the ſtrength of *Alexanders* whole Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by ſuch worthy Commanders, and whom the iſſue thereof did highly concerne. Yet are few of the particulars recorded: an eaſie loſſe in regard of the much variety, wherewith every ſtory aboundeth in this kinde. The moſt memorable things in the battaile, were theſe: *Demetrius* with his beſt force of horſe, charged valiantly upon young *Antiochus*; whom when he had broken, and put to flight, hee was ſo tranſported with the heat of his good ſucceſſe, that he never gave over his purſuit, but left his Father naked, and loſt thereby both him, and the victory. For when *Seleucus* perceived this advantage, hee enterpoſed his Elephants, betweene *Demetrius* and the Phalanx of *Antigonus*; and with many troupes of horſe offering to breake upon the enemies battaile, whereſoever it lay moſt open, he did ſo terrefie the *Antigonians*, that a great part of them rather choſe to revolt from their Lord, whilſt they were fairely invited, than to ſuſtaine the fury of ſo dangerous an impreſſion. This cowardize, or rather treaſon of ſome, diſcouraged others; and finally, caſt them all into flight; expoſing their Generall to the laſt end of his deſtinies. *Antigonus* was then foureſcore yeares old, very fat and unwieldy, ſo that hee was unapt for flight, if his high ſpirit could have entertained any thought thereof. He had about him ſome of his moſt truſty followers, & as many others as he could hold together. When one that perceived a great troupe making towards his perſon, told him, *Sir King, yonder company meanes to charge you*; He anſwered, *Well may they; for who defends me? but anon* Demetrius *will relieve us.* Thus expecting to the very laſt, that his ſon ſhould come to the reſcue, he received ſo many Darts into his body, as tooke away his lately ambitious, but then fearfull hopes, together with his troubleſome life.

His great ability in matter of Armes, together with his unſatiable deſire of Empire, have ſufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his actions. He was more feared by his enemies, than loved by his friends; as one that could not moderate his fortune, but uſed inſolence towards all alike, as if it had bin ſome vertue neereſt repreſenting a Kingly Majeſty. This was the cauſe that ſo many of his followers revolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Army forſooke him in his laſt neceſſity. For thoſe Kings and Princes that call all the carefull indeavours of their Vaſſalls, onely duty and debt; and are more apt to puniſh the leaſt offences, than to reward the greateſt ſervices: ſhall finde themſelves upon the firſt change of fortune, (ſeeing it is love onely that ſtaies by adverſity) not only the moſt friendleſſe, but even the moſt contemptible, and deſpiſed of all other. This *Antigonus* found true in part, while he lived; in part he left it to be verified upon his ſon.

## §. V.

### *How* Demetrius, *forſaken by the Athenians after his overthrow, was reconciled to* Seleucus *and* Ptolomy, *beginning a new fortune, and ſhortly entring into quarrels.*

FOr *Demetrius*, at his returne from the idle purſuit of young *Antiochus*, finding all quite loſt, was glad to ſave himſelfe, with foure thouſand horſe ad five thouſand foot, by a ſpeedy retrait unto *Epheſus*, whence hee made great haſte unto *Athens*, as to the place, that for his ſake would ſuffer any extremity. But whileſt hee was in the middeſt of his courſe thither, the *Athenian* Embaſſadours met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the Kings ſhould bee admitted into their Citie. Theſe were Embaſſadours, not *Theori*, or Conſulters with the Oracle. It was a ſhameleſſe ingratitude in the *Athenians*, to reward their Benefactor, in his miſery, with ſuch a decree: neither did any part of his calamity more afflict the unfortunate

Prince than to ſee his adverſity deſpiſed by thoſe whom hee had thought his ſureſt friends. Yet was he faine to give good words. For he had left many of his ſhips in their Haven, of which he now ſtood in great need; & therefore was faine to ſpeak them faire, that ſomtims had groſly flattered him. But he ſhall live to teach them their old language, & ſpeake unto them in another tune. When he had gotten his ſhips, he ſailed to the *Iſthmus*, where he found nothing but matter of diſcomfort. His Garriſons were every where broken up; the Souldiers having betaken themſelves to his enemies pay. So that he was King only of a ſmall Army and Fleet, without money or meanes wherewith to ſuſtaine him & his followers any long time. All the reſt, or the greateſt part of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in dividing among the Conquerers, and thoſe few places which as yet held for him (having not perchance heard the worſt of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieve: for to put himſelfe into the field on that ſide of the Sea, hee had no power; and to incloſe himſelfe in any of them, how ſtrong ſoever, were but to impriſon his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeede to bury himſelfe and his eſtate: He therefore creeping thorow thoſe buſhes that had feweſt briers, fell upon a corner of *Lyſimachus* his Kingdome, whereof he gave all the ſpoile that was gotten, to his Souldiers, his owne loſſes having beene too great to be repaied againe by ſmall prizes.

In the meane while the Confederate Princes had wherewithall to buſie themſelves, in the partition of thoſe Provinces, of which their late victory had made them Lords: wherein *Seleucus* had a notable advantage by being preſent, and Maſter of the field; for neither *Ptolomy* nor *Caſſander* were at the overthrow given, having onely ſent certaine troupes to re-inforce the Army which *Seleucus* led, who tooke hold of a part of *Aſia* the leſſe, and all *Syria*, being no otherwiſe divided from his owne Territory, than by the River of *Euphrates*. For there had not any order beene taken by the Confederates, for the diviſion of all thoſe Lands: becauſe they did not expect ſo proſperous an iſſue of that warre, which they made onely in their owne common defence. It was therefore lawfull for *Seleucus*, to make the beſt benefit that hee could of the victory, at which nevertheleſſe others did repine; and though they neither could nor durſt accuſe him of ill dealing for the preſent, yet ſeeing the over-greatneſſe of *Seleucus* brought no leſſe danger to the reſt of the new Kings, than that of *Antigonus* had done, they conſulted upon the ſame reaſon of State as before, how to oppoſe it in time. Neither was *Seleucus* ignorant of what they had determined; for he read it in the Law univerſall of Kingdomes and States, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget friendſhips on all ſides, and cure themſelves of all unprofitable paſſion, the hatred of each to other, and their loves being laid on the one ſide, againſt their profits on the other, were found ſo far too light, as *Seleucus*, who had to day ſlaine *Antigonus* the father, and driven *Demetrius* the ſonne out of *Aſia*, ſought to morrow how to match himſelfe with *Stratonica*, *Demetrius* his Daughter, and ſo by *Demetrius* to ſerve his turne againſt *Lyſimachus*.

The ſtory of this *Stratonica*, with whom young *Antiochus*, the ſonne of *Seleucus* fell ſo paſſionately in love, and ſo diſtempered, as *Seleucus* his father, to ſave his ſonnes life, gave her (though ſhee were his wife) unto him; and how his paſſion was diſcovered by his pulſe, is generally noted by all Writers. But neither did this alliance between *Seleucus* and *Demetrius*; betweene *Ptolomy* and *Lyſimachus*; betweene *Demetrius* and *Caſſander*; betweene *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*; though for the preſent it brought him againe into the ranke of Kings; otherwiſe tye any of them to each other, than the marriages between Chriſtian Kings have done in latter times, namely between the *Auſtrians*, the *Aragonians*, the *French*, & other Princes; neither have the Leagues of thoſe elder times beene found more faithfull, than thoſe of the ſame latter times have beene; as in the ſtories of *Charles* the eighth of *France*, & of *Charles* the Emperour, of *Francis* the firſt, and of the Kings of *Naples*, Dukes of *Millan*, and others, the Reader may obſerve: betweene whom from the yeer of our Lord, *One thouſand foure hundred ninety and five*, when *Charles* the eighth undertooke the Conqueſt of *Naples*, to the yeer *One thouſand five hundred fifty and eight*, when *Henry* the ſecond died; the Hiſtories of thoſe times tell us, that all the bonds, either by the Bedde or by the Booke, either by Weddings, or Sacramentall Oaths, had neither faithfull purpoſe nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reap this profit by giving his daughter to his enemy *Seleucus*, that he recovered *Cilicia* from *Pliſtarchus*, the brother of *Caſſander*, who had gotten it as his ſhare in the diviſion of *Antigonus* his poſſeſſions: for the Intruder was not ſtrong enough to hold it by his proper forces from him, that entred upon it as a lawfull Heire; neither would *Seleucus* lend him any helpe, as by the rule of Confederacy hee ſhould have done againſt the common enemy. So *Pliſtarchus* with very angry complaint, as well againſt *Seleucus* as *Demetrius*, went unto *Caſſander*; whither *Phila*, their ſiſter, followed him ſhortly, to pacifie them both, & keep all quiet; being ſent for that purpoſe by *Demetrius* her husband, that was not ſtrong enough to deale with *Caſſander*; and therefore glad to make uſe of that bond of aliance betwixt them, whereof in his owne proſperity, he never tooke notice to the others good. About the ſame time hee tooke to Wiſe a daughter of *Ptolomy* (plurality of Wives being familiar with theſe *Macedonians*, that had learned it in their Eaſtern conqueſts) & ſo was he by two marriages rather freed from two enemies, than ſtrengthened with two friends; for neither of them wiſhed him any good, otherwiſe than might ſeeme to advance their owne ambitious deſires.

*Seleucus* and *Ptolomy* could both of them have beene contented better, that *Demetrius*, with helpe of their countenance, ſhould ſeeke his fortune ſomewhat farther off, than ſettle his eſtate under their noſes. Particularly, *Seleucus* thought that *Cilicia* lay very fitly for himſelfe: and *Ptolomy* had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the Iſle of *Cyprus*. Now whether it were ſo, that *Seleucus* would faine have ſet his new father-in-law upon the necke of *Lyſimachus*; or whether hee were indeede greedy of the bargaine; he offered to buy of *Demetrius* for ready money, his late purchaſe of *Cilicia*. Hereunto *Demetrius* would not haerken, but meant to keep as much land as he could, having already found in *Cilicia* twelve thouſand talents of his fathers treaſure, that would ſerve him to make ſport a while. This refuſall ſo diſpleaſed *Seleucus*, that in angry terms he demanded the Cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, to be ſurrendred unto him; which were the onely places in *Syria*, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battaile. In ſtead of giving them up, *Demetrius* tooke preſent order to have them better manned; & ſpake it ſtoutly, That were hee overcome a thouſand times, yet would he not hire *Seleucus* to become his Son-in-law. In this quarrell *Seleucus* was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant diſpoſition, that would breake friendſhip with his Father-in-law for two Townes, from whom he had already taken more than well he knew how to governe. But the fire conſumed it ſelfe in words, which had it faſtened upon armes, like it is that the weaker ſhould have found friends out of envie to the ſtronger.

## §. VI.

### *How* Demetrius *wan the City of Athens, and prevailed in Greece, but loſt in Aſia. Of troubles in Macedon following the death of* Caſſander.

IN the meane while, the *Athenians* not knowing how to uſe the liberty which *Demetrius* had beſtowed on them, were fallen by ſedition, under the tyranny of *Lachares*. Through which alteration their diſtempered City was ſo weakened, that it ſeemed ill able to keepe off the puniſhment due to their late ingratitude. This advantage haſtened him, whom they had once called their *God and Saviour*, to preſent himſelfe unto them, in the habit of a revenging fury. He brought againſt them all the force that hee could well ſpare from other employments; which were at that time perhaps the more, becauſe his doubtfull Eaſterne friends, were unwilling to give impediment to any buſineſſe, that might entangle him in Greece. His firſt enterpriſe in *Athens* had ill ſucceſſe; a great part of his fleet periſhing in a tempeſt. But he ſoone repaired the loſſe; and (after ſome victories in *Peloponneſus*, where hee wan divers Towns that had fallen from him) returning to the enterprize, waſted the Country of *Attica*, and cut off all reliefe from the City, both by Land and Sea.

*Athens* was not able to feed the great multitude within it, any long time: for it ſtood in a barren ſoile, and wanted now the command of thoſe Ilands, and places abroad, from whence it was wont to be ſtored with victuals; being alſo deſtitute of means to keep ſuch a Navie, as might bring in ſupply, or dare to do any thing at Sea, againſt that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there ſome hope of ſuccour from *Ptolomy*, who (truſting thereby to win the love of Greece) had loaden a hundred and fifty ſhips with corne, and ſent them to relieve the hungry City. But theſe hundred and fifty were unable to deale with three hundred good fighting ſhips, which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, & therefore haſted them away betimes, as having done enough, in adventuring to come ſo neere that they might be deſcried. This brake the heart of the people, among whom the famine was ſo extreme, that a Father and his Son did fight for a dead Mouſe, which dropped downe betweene them from the houſe top. Wherefore they ſent Embaſſadors to yeeld up the Towne, and crave pardon, having ſo farre offended, that out of deſperation, they made it a capitall offence to propoſe any motion of peace. Yet were they fain to aboliſh this decree: rather becauſe they knew not what elſe to do, than becauſe they hoped to be forgiven.

*Demetrius*, contented with the honour of the victory, did not only forbeare to take away the lives of theſe unthankfull men, which they had ſubmitted unto his mercy; but out of his liberality gave them food, & placed in Office amongſt them ſuch as were moſt acceptable to the people. Neverthelesſe he was growne wiſer than to truſt them ſo far as he had done in times paſt. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their Havens, and diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure; hee was ready to lay hold upon the word, & leave a ſure Garriſon within their walls, to keep them honeſt perforce. After this hee went into *Peloponneſus*, vanquiſhed the *Lacedæmonians* in two battailes, and was in very faire poſſibility to take their City: when the dangerous newes of *Lyſimachus* and *Ptolomy*, that prevailed faſter upon him elſewhere, than himſelfe did upon his enemies in *Greece*, called him in all haſte. *Lyſimachus* had won many Towns in *Aſia*; *Ptolomy* had gotten all the Iſle of *Cyprus*, except the City of *Salamis*, wherein *Demetrius* had left his Children & Mother, that were ſtraightly beſieged. Whilſt he was bethinking himſelfe which way to turne his face, a notable piece of buſineſſe offered it ſelfe, which thruſt all other cares out of his head.

*Caſſander* was lately dead in *Macedon*, and ſoon after him, *Philip* his eldeſt ſon, whoſe two yonger brethren, *Antipater* & *Alexander*, ſought for the Kingdom. In this quarrell *Theſſalonica* the Daughter of King *Philip*, whom *Caſſander* had married, ſeemed better affected to *Alexander*, than to her elder ſon: who thereupon grew ſo enraged, that moſt barbarouſly he ſlew his owne Mother. The odiouſneſſe of this fact gave a faire luſtre to *Alexanders* cauſe: drawing the generality of the *Macedons* to take his part, as in revenge of the Queens death, upon that wicked parricide *Antipater*. But *Antipater* was ſo ſtrongly backed by *Lyſimachus*, whoſe daughter he had married, that *Alexander* could not hope to make his party good without ſome forraigne aide. For which cauſe he called in both *Pyrrhus* & *Demetrius*; who how they dealt with him, it will ſoon appeare in the following Tragedy, of him and his brother. Their Father *Caſſander* had been one that ſhifted well for himſelfe, at ſuch time as every man ſought how to get ſomewhat, in the ill ordered diviſion of the Empire. He was cunning in practice, & a good Souldier: one of more open dealing than were his Companions, but withall more impudent, rudely killing thoſe, whom others would more wiſely have made away. He deeply hated the memory of *Alexander*, that had knocked his head againſt a wall, upon ſome opinion of contempt. With *Olympias* he had an hereditary quarrell, derived from his father, whom ſhe could not abide. Her feminine malice did ſo exaſperate him, by cruelty that ſhe uſed againſt his friends, both alive and dead; as it made him adventure upon ſhedding the Royall bloud: wherewith, when once he had ſtained his hands, he did not care how farre he proceeded in that courſe of murder. His carefulneſſe to deſtroy thoſe women and children, whoſe lives hindred his purpoſe, argues him to have beene rather skilfull in matters of Armes, than a valiant man; ſuch cruelty being a true marke of cowardize, which feares a-far off the dangers, that may quietly paſſe away; and ſeeks to avoide them by baſe & wicked meanes, as never thinking it ſelf ſafe enough, untill there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympias* & *Roxane* it may be ſaid, that they had well deſerved the bloudy end which over-tooke them; yet ill beſeemed it *Caſſander* to doe the office of a Hang-man. But *Alexanders* children had by no law of men, deſerved to die for the tyranny of their Father. Wherefore, though *Caſſander* died in his bed, yet the divine Juſtice brought ſwords upon his wife and children, that well revenged the cruelty of this bloudy man, by deſtroying his whole houſe, as he had done his Maſters.

## §. VII.

Of Pyrrhus *and his doings in Macedon. The death of* Caſſanders *children.* Demetrius *gets the Kingdome of Macedon; prevailes in warre againſt the Greeks; Loſeth reputation in his warre againſt* Pyrrhus, *and in his civill Government, and prepares to win Aſia. How all conſpire againſt* Demetrius. Pyrrhus *and* Lyſimachus *invade him, his Army yeelds to* Pyrrhus, *who ſhares the Kingdome of Macedon with* Lyſimachus.

P*yrrhus*, the Sonne of that unfortunate Prince *Aeacides*, which periſhed in warre againſt *Caſſander*, was hardly preſerved, being a ſuckling Infant, from the fury of his Fathers enemies. When his Foſterers had conveighed him to *Glaucias* King of *Illyria*; the deadly hatred of *Caſſander* would have bought his life with the price of two hundred Talents. But no man can kill him that ſhall be his heire. *Glaucias* was ſo farre from betraying *Pyrrhus*, that he reſtored him by force to his Fathers Kingdome, when he was but twelve yeeres of age. Within the compaſſe of ſixe yeers, either the indiſcretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects, drave him out of his Kingdome, and left him to trie the world anew. Then went he to *Demetrius* (who married his ſiſter) became his Page, followed him a while in his warres, was with him in the great battell of *Ipſus*, whence he fled with him to *Epheſus*; & was content to be hoſtage for him, in his reconciliation with *Ptolomy*. In *Egypt* he ſo behaved himſelfe, that he got the favour of *Berenice*, *Ptolomies* principall wife; ſo that he married her Daughter, & was thereupon ſent home, with mony & men, into *Epirus*; more beholding now to *Ptolomy*, than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recovered the Kingdome of *Epirus*, and was ſettled in it, then fell out that buſines between the children of *Caſſander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into *Macedon*.

*Antipater*, the elder of *Caſſanders* ſons, was ſo farre too weake for *Pyrrhus*, that he had no deſire to attend the comming of *Demetrius*, but made an haſty agreement, and divided the Kingdome with his younger brother *Alexander*; who likewiſe felt the aide of *Pyrrhus* ſo troubleſome, that he was more willing to ſend him away, than to call in ſuch another helper. For *Pyrrhus* had the audacity to requeſt, or take as granted, by ſtrong hand, *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, & much more of the Country, as the reward of his pains: leaving the two brethren to agree as well as they could about the reſt. Neceſſity enforced the brethren to compoſition: but their compoſition would not ſatisfie *Demetrius*, who tooke the matter hainouſly, that he was ſent for, and made a foole, to come ſo farre with an Army, and finde no worke for it. This was a frivolous complaint; whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpoſe to doe as *Pyrrhus* had done, and ſo much more, by how much he was ſtronger. Hereupon it ſeemed to *Alexander* a wiſe courſe, to remove this over-diligent friend, by murdering him upon ſome advantage. Thus *Demetrius* reported the ſtory, and it might bee true; though the greateſt part, and perhaps the wiſeſt, beleeved it not. But the iſſue was, that *Alexander* himſelfe was feaſted and ſlaine by *Demetrius*; who tooke his part of the Kingdome, as a reward of the murder; excuſing the fact ſo well, by telling his owne danger, and what a naughty man *Caſſander* had beene, that all the *Macedonians* grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the ſame time *Lyſimachus* was buſied in warre with a King of the wilde *Thracians*: for thereby he was compelled to ſeek peace of *Demetrius*, which to obtaine he cauſed the remainder of *Macedon* to bee given up; that is, the part belonging to *Antipater*, his Son-in-law. At this ill bargaine *Antipater* grievouſly ſtormed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet ſtill he ſtormed; untill his Father-in-law, to ſave the labour of making many excuſes, tooke away his troubleſome life. Thus in haſte, with a kinde of neglect, and as it were to avoide moleſtation, were ſlaine the children of *Caſſander*: of *Caſſander* that had ſlain his owne Maſters children, in a wiſe courſe of policy, with carefull meditation (ſo much the more wicked as the more long) ſtudying how to erect his owne houſe, that fell downe upon his grave, ere the earth on it was throughly ſettled.

It might be thought, that ſuch an acceſſe of Dominion, added much to the greatneſſe of *Demetrius*. But indeed it ſhewed his infirmity; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of civill Government: but thought (or ſhewed by his actions that he thought) the uſe and fruit of a Kingdome, to be none other, than to doe what a King liſted. He gave himſelfe over to Women and Wine, laughing openly at thoſe which offered to trouble him with ſupplications, and the tedious diſcourſe of doing juſtice. He had more skill in getting a Kingdome, than in ruling it: warre being his recreation, and luxury his nature. By long reſt (as ſixe years reigne is long to him, that knowes not how to reigne one yeare) he diſcovered ſo much of his worſt conditions, as made the people both weary of his idleneſſe; and the Souldiers of his vanity. He was freed from care of matters in *Aſia*, by hearing that all was loſt: though more eſpecially, by hearing that *Ptolomy* had with great honour, entertained & diſmiſſed his mother and children. This affoorded him the better leiſure, of making war in *Greece*: where hee vanquiſhed the *Thebans*, and won their City twice in ſhort ſpace, but uſed his victory with mercy. Againſt *Lyſimachus* he would faine have done ſomewhat (the peace betweene them notwithſtanding) at ſuch time as he was taken by the *Thracians*; but *Lyſimachus* was freely diſmiſſed, and in good caſe to make reſiſtance ere *Demetrius* came; ſo as this journey purchaſed nothing but enmity. Another expedition he took in hand againſt *Pyrrhus*, with no better, or rather with worſe event. *Pyrrhus* held ſomewhat belonging to *Macedon*, which he had indeed as honeſtly gotten, as *Demetrius* the whole Kingdome; he had alſo made excurſions into *Theſſaly*. But there needed not any handſome pretence of quarrell, ſeeing *Demetrius* thought himſelfe ſtrong enough, to over-run his enemies Countrey, with two great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to deſpiſe the vertue of thoſe, whom they have knowne raw Novices in that faculty, wherein themſelves are noted as extraordinary. *Pyrrhus* was a Captaine, whom latter ages, & particularly the great *Hannibal*, placed higher in the ranke of Generals, than either *Demetrius*, or any of *Alexanders* followers. At this time, he miſſed that part of the Army, which *Demetrius* led, and fell upon the other halfe: which hee overthrew, not with more commendations of his good conduct, than of his private valour, ſhewed in ſingle combat againſt *Pantauchus*, *Demetrius* his Lievtenant; who being a ſtrong man of body, challenged this young Prince to fight hand to hand, and was utterly beaten. The loſſe of this battaile did not ſo much offend the *Macedonians*, as the gallant behaviour of *Pyrrhus* delighted them. For in him they ſeemed to behold the lively figure of *Alexander* in his beſt quality. Other Kings did imitate, in a counterfeit manner, ſome of *Alexanders* graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely veſtures: but (ſaid they) none, ſave *Pyrrhus*, is like him in deed, in performing the office of a Captaine.

Theſe rumours were not more nouriſhed by the vertue of the *Epirot*, than by diſlike of their owne King; whom they began to diſ-eſteeme, not ſo much in regard of his unprofitable journey into *Epirus* (for he had waſted much of the Country, and brought home his Army in good caſe) as of his inſolence, that grew daily more and more intolerable. His apparrell ſeemed, in the eyes of the *Macedons*, not onely too ſumptuous and new-fangled, but very unmanly; and ſerving chiefly to bee a daily witneſſe, how much he contemned them and their good opinions. Of his Souldiers lives he was retchleſſe: & ſuffered unwiſely this un-princely ſentence to eſcape out of his mouth; That *the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay*. He made a mockery of juſtice; and (as it were, to publiſh unto all his Subjects, how little hee eſteemed it or them) having by a ſhew of popularity invited Petitioners, and with a gratious countenance entertained their Supplications, he led the poore ſuters after him in great hope, till comming to a bridge, he threw all their writings into a River; pleaſing himſelfe, in that he could ſo eaſily and ſo boldly delude the cares of other men. By theſe courſes hee grew ſo odious, that *Pyrrhus* gathered audacity, and invading *Macedon*, had almoſt wonne it all with little reſiſtance. *Demetrius* lay then ſicke in his bed: who recovering health, and taking the field, had ſuch great oddes of ſtrength, as made *Pyrrhus* glad to forſake his winnings and be gone.

At length he began to have ſome feeling of the generall hate; which to redreſſe, he did not (for hee could not) alter his owne conditions; but purpoſed to alter their idle diſcourſes of him, by ſetting them on worke in ſuch an action, wherein his beſt qualities might appeare; that is, in a great Warre. His intent was to invade *Aſia*, with a Royall Army: wherein the fortune of one battaile might give him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end, he firſt made peace with *Pyrrhus*; that ſo hee might leave all ſafe and quiet at home. Then did he compoſe a mighty Army, of almoſt a hundred thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſes with a Navie of five hundred ſaile, wherein were many ſhips, farre exceeding the greatneſſe of any that had bin ſeen before; yet ſo ſwift and uſefull withall, that the greatneſſe was leaſt part of their commendation.

The terrible fame of theſe preparations, made *Seleucus* & *Ptolomy* ſuſpect their owne forces, and labour hard with *Lyſimachus* & *Pyrrhus*, to joyne againſt this ambitious ſon of *Antigonus*, that was like to prove more dangerous to them all, than ever was his father. It was eaſily diſcerned, that if *Demetrius* once prevailed in *Aſia*, there could be no ſecurity for his friends in *Europe*, what league ſoever were of old concluded. Therefore they reſolved to begin with him betimes, & each to invade that quarter of *Macedon*, that lay next his owne Kingdome. *Lyſimachus* came firſt, and againſt him went *Demetrius* with a great part of his Army: but whilſt he was yet on the way, newes were brought into his Camp, that *Pyrrhus* had won Berrhæa. The matter was not over great: were it not, that minds prepared with long diſcontent, are ready to lay hold upon ſmall occaſions of diſlike. All the campe was in uproare: ſome wept, others raged, few or none did forbeare to utter ſeditious words, and many deſired leave of *Demetrius*, to goe to their owne houſes, meaning indeed to have gone to *Lyſimachus*.

When *Demetrius* perceived the bad affection of his Army, he thought it the wiſeſt way, to lead the *Macedonians* further off from *Lyſimachus* their own countriman, againſt *Pyrrhus* that was a ſtranger: hoping by victory againſt the *Epirot*, to recover the love of his followers, in ſuch ſort that he might afterwards at leiſure deale with the other. But herein his wiſedome beguiled him. For the Souldiers were as haſty as he, to meet with *Pyrrhus*; not intending to hurt him, but longing to ſee that noble Prince, of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some ſpake of his valour; ſome enquired, others anſwered, of his perſon, his armour, and other tokens whereby hee might be knowne; as particularly, by a paire of Goats hornes, that he wore on his creſt. It was not likely, that theſe men ſhould hurt him. Divers of them ſtole away, and ran over into *Pyrrhus* his campe: where the newes that they brought, were better welcome than their perſons. For they ſaid, and it was true, that if the *Macedonians* might once get ſight of *Pyrrhus*, they would all ſalute him King. To trie this, *Pyrrhus* rode forth, and preſented himſelfe bareheaded in view of the campe, whither ſome were ſent before to prepare his wellcome. The newes of his arrivall found a generall applauſe, and every one began to looke out, with deſire to ſet eye on him. His face was not ſo well knowne as his Helmet; therefore he was admoniſhed to put it on: which done, all came about him, and proffered their ſervice; neither were there any, that ſpake for *Demetrius*; only ſome (& they the moſt moderate of tongue) bad him be gone betimes, and ſhift for himſelfe. So *Demetrius* threw aſide his maskers habit, and attyring himſelfe poorly, did fearfully ſteale away out of his owne campe, deſerving well this calamity: whether it were ſo, that hee would not hearken to the good counſaile of his friends, or whether his behaviour deprived him of ſuch friends, as would dare to let him heare the unpleaſant ſound of neceſſary truth.

Whileſt *Pyrrhus* was making this triumphant entry into the Kingdome of *Macedon*; *Lyſimachus* came upon him very unſeaſonably, and would needs have halfe: ſaying, that he had done as much as *Pyrrhus* in the warre; and therefore had reaſon to challenge his part of the gaine. The bargaine was quickly made, and the diviſion agreed upon: each of them being rather deſirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them, to worke his fellow quite out of all, upon better opportunity.

## §. VIII.

### *How* Demetrius *gathering forces, enterpriſed many things will ill ſucceſſe, in Greece and Aſia. How he was driven upon* Seleucus, *and compelled to yeeld himſelfe. His impriſonment and death.*

THe *Athenians* were as unthankfull to *Demetrius* in this his adverſity, as they had beene in former times. For they preſently forſooke his friendſhip, and called *Pyrrhus* out of *Macedon* to bee their Patron. *Demetrius*, when hee went againſt *Lyſimachus*, had left a great part of his forces in *Greece*, under his ſonne *Antigonus*. Therefore it is like, that he had ſoone gotten an Army, though *Phila* his wife (who is highly commended for a wiſe and vertuous Lady ) did poyſon her ſelfe, upon deſperate griefe for his misfortune. The firſt, upon whom he attempted to ſhew his anger, were the *Athenians* that had well deſerved it. He began to lay ſiege to their Towne: but was pacified by *Crates* the Philoſopher, whom they had made their ſpokeſ-man; and taking faire words in ſtead of ſatisfaction, paſſed over into *Aſia*, with eleven thouſand Souldiers, meaning to trie his fortune againſt *Lyſimachus*, for the Provinces of *Lydia* and *Caria*.

At his firſt comming into thoſe parts, fortune ſeemed to ſmile upon him. For many good Townes, willingly, or by compulſion, yeelded to his obedience. There were alſo ſome Captaines that fell from *Lyſimachus* to him, with their companies and treaſures. But it was not longer ere *Agathocles* the ſon of *Lyſimachus*, came upon him with an Army ſo ſtrong, that it was not for *Demetrius* his good, to hazzard his laſt ſtocke againſt it. Wherefore, he reſolved to paſſe through *Phrygia* & *Armenia*, into *Media*, & the Provinces of the higher *Aſia*; truſting to finde a Kingdome ſomewhere in thoſe remote quarters. The execution of this counſaile was grievouſly impeached by *Agathocles*: who purſued him cloſe, and cut off all his proviſions, driving him to take which wayes hee could, without following his intended courſe. In many skirmiſhes *Demetrius* vanquiſhed this troubleſome Enemy: nevertheleſſe, he could not be ſhaken off, but continued afflicting the poore titulary King, with extreme famine. At length, in paſſing the river *Lycus*, ſo many of *Demetrius* his men were loſt, that the reſt could no longer make reſiſtance: but were driven to travaile with ſuch ſpeed as might well be called a plain flight. So that with famine, peſtilent diſeaſes following famine, and other accidents of warre, eight thouſand of them were conſumed: the reſt, with their Captaine, eſcaped into *Cilicia*. *Seleucus* had gotten poſſeſſion of *Cilicia*, whileſt *Demetrius* was occupied in *Greece*: yet was it no part of *Demetrius* his errand, to lay claime to the Country; but with vehement & humble letters he beſought his Son-in-law, to call to mind their alliance, & to pitty him in his great miſery. Theſe letters, at the firſt wrought well with *Seleucus*, and he condeſcended to the requeſt; yet conſidering further how *Demetrius* had carried himſelfe, when he recovered ſtrength after the battell at *Ipſus*, he changed his purpoſe, and went againſt him with an Army.

Many treaties were held between them; of which none tooke effect, through the jealouſie of *Seleucus*. Therefore, meere deſperation enforced *Demetrius* to fight like a mad man, and his furies got him ſome victories, though of ſmall importance. At length ſickneſſe tooke and held him forty dayes, in which time, a great number of his few men, ran to the enemy. This notwithſtanding he ſtill held out, and once had like to have taken *Seleucus* in his bed, had not his comming beene diſcovered by fugitives, that gave alarme. Finally, when all his Army had forſaken him, and left him with a few of his friends to ſhift for himſelf, he was compelled by the laſt of thoſe adherents (for even ſome of thoſe few forſooke him ) to yeeld unto *Seleucus*.

*Seleucus* hearing this, was exceeding glad, and ſent him very comfortable meſſages. But the approbation of his owne humanity, by his followers, was ſuch, as renewed his jealous thoughts; and hindred him from admitting *Demetrius* to his preſence, though otherwiſe he uſed him with as much favour, as any priſoner could wiſh. He was kept under ſure guard in a demy-Iland, wherein were goodly Walkes, Orchards, and Parkes for hunting. He had all that he asked royally, & friends allowed to viſit him, at his, and their pleaſure. Only his liberty was reſerved unto the comming of young *Antiochus* and *Stratonica*, out of the high Countries. In this ſort he ſpent three years, living merily all the while ( as one that now enjoyed the happineſſe, which with ſo much travaile and bloud-ſhed, he had ſought in vaine ) and then dyed, leaving to his ſonne *Antigonus*, the ſame which his father had left unto himſelfe; that is, friends and hope. His aſhes were honourably buried in *Corinth*; his qualities have appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his Houſe will ſhew it ſelfe hereafter, in times and places convenient.

§.IX.

## §. IX.

### *The death of* Ptolomy, *of* Lyſimachus, *and of* Seleucus, *that was laſt of* Alexander *Captaines: with other occurrences.*

ABout the ſame time that *Demetrius* died, died alſo *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, a vertuous Prince, warlike, gentle, bountifull, & (which in thoſe times was a rare commendation) regardfull of his word. He had, by many Wives and Concubines, many children, out of whom he ſelected *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and cauſed him to reigne together with himſelfe, two or three yeares before he died, that ſo he might confirme him in the inheritance of the Kingdome. At this, *Ptolomy Ceraunus* (for all of that houſe aſſumed the name of *Ptolomy*) was grievouſly incenſed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to *Seleucus*, who gave him loving entertainement. There were now only two of *Alexanders* Captaines left, *Seleucus* & *Lyſimachus*. Theſe two needs would fight for it, who ſhould be the longeſt liver of that brave Company. The true ground of their quarrell, was their neere equality of ſtrength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was the murders which *Lyſimachus* had committed upon many of his Nobles, together with his poyſoning *Agathocles* his eldeſt ſon: whoſe wife and children fled unto *Seleucus* for aide.

The *Macedons* after ſeven Moneths pauſe, having ſpent their firſt heat of admiration, began to harken ſo well to *Lyſimachus*, their naturall Country-man, that they forſooke *Pyrrhus*, upon none other ground than becauſe hee was an Alien. This they had knowne well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, that they lightly gave him. *Lyſimachus* had reigned about five yeares alone, when the City of *Lyſimachia* (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earth-quake, appeared, by events, to have foreſhewed the fall of his houſe. His owne jealouſie, and the inſtigation of a Mother-in-law, cauſed him to poyſon his Son *Agathocles*; which drew upon him that War, wherein (after the loſſe of all his fifteen children that were taken away by divers accidents) he periſhed himſelfe.

*Seleucus* was encountred by *Lyſimachus* on *Aſia* ſide, where one battell concluded the warre, with *Lyſimachus* his death. It pleaſed *Seleucus* more than the victory, that he was the laſt of all the great Heroes that followed *Alexander*. For now he ſeemed to himſelf as Lord and Heire of all the conquered World. So he paſſed over into *Macedon*, to take poſſeſſion of *Europe*, where there was none to withſtand him. But there he ended his dayes, and within ſeaven Moneths followed *Lyſimachus*, and other of his fellowes, by a bloudy death, being treacherouſly ſlaine by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, whoſe friend and Patron he had bin. Seventy & ſeven year old he was, when he fought with *Lyſimachus*, and *Lyſimachus* was ſeventy and foure. With them ended the generation of old Captaines, that had ſeen the daies as it were of another World under the *Perſian*: yet was there left one equall to any of them in the Art of Warre: even *Pyrrhus* the Epirot, of whom we ſpake before; that is now ready to enter into warre with the *Romans*, a more warlike people than *Alexander* himſelfe did ever encounter. Of which warre, and of which people, it is needfull that wee here make mention, as of a ſtory more important, than any likely to enſue in *Greece*, or in the great Kingdomes that were held by *Alexanders* Succeſſours, with leſſe (and ſtill decreaſing) vertue, than was that, by which they were firſt purchaſed.

# Chap. VII.

## *The growth of Rome: and ſettling of the Eaſterne Kingdomes.*

### §. I.

### *How the Romanes enlarged their Dominions in Italy, from the death of* Tullus Hoſtilius, *unto ſuch time as they were aſſailed by* Pyrrhus.

HOw Rome was founded by *Romulus*; ſettled in good order by *Numa Pompilius*; and by many, though ſmall, victories, it gathered ſtrength, unto ſuch time as it became the head of *Latium*, by the conqueſt of *Alba*, in the raigne of *Tullus Hoſtilius*: it hath beene already noted, in due order of time. But whereas now the Roman greatneſſe beginneth to encounter the power of Greece; and extending it ſelfe out of Italy, to overwhelme the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it convenient (as in like caſes I have done) briefly to ſet downe the growth of this mighty City, in a compendious relation of thoſe many actions, which could not have beene delivered in the ages, wherein they were ſeverally performed, without much interruption of the Hiſtory, that was then occupied in matter more important.

After the death of *Tullus Hoſtilius* (who when he had reigned two and thirty years, was burnt together with his houſe by lightning) *Ancus Martius*, Grand-childe to *Numa Pompilius* by his daughter, & not much unlike him in diſpoſition, ſucceeded in the Kingdome of *Rome*. He walled the City about; enlarged it with the hill *Aventine*, which he encloſed; built a bridge over Tybris, and the City of *Oſtia* upon the Sea, ſixteene miles diſtant from Rome. Finally, having reigned foure and twenty years, he died, and by his laſt Will hee left his children in charge with one *Lucumon*, the ſon of *Damaratus*, a Corinthian, who avoiding *Cypſelus* King of *Corinth* his tyranny, had fled into *Hetruria*, and dwelt in *Tarquinii*, by the name of which Towne he was afterwards called *Tarquinius*. From that City in *Hetruria* comming to *Rome*, & encouraged by ſome ominous occurrents, together with his wife *Tanaquils* prophecy, he grew a favorite of *Ancus Martius*; by his *Græcian* wit humouring the factions of the Romane Court, inſomuch that after his deceaſe, he became not only Protector to the children, but Governour to the City. He doubled the number of Senatours, and enlarged the Centurions of Horſemen: neither was he leſſe eminent in warre, than in peace: for he prevailed often againſt the *Tuſcans*, and from his victories, the chiefeſt ornaments of triumph tooke their originall. When this *Lucius Tarquinius* had reigned eight and thirty yeers, hee was ſlaine by the ſons of *Ancus Martius*, to whom he had been left Guardian. But *Tanaquil* his wife, perceiving what was done, enformed the people, from out of an high Turret, that her Husband was wounded, and ſicke, but not dangerouſly. And withall ſignified unto them, that in the *interim* of his ſicknes, one *Servius Tullius*, whom from his birth ſhe alwaies prophecied to be borne to great hopes (the ſonne of *P. Corniculanus* and *Ocriſia*, a well deſcended, but captive woman) brought up in her houſe, and husband unto her daughter, ſhould ſupply her husbands place, in governing the State, untill his recovery: which government, being thus at firſt obtained by cunning, he afterwards uſurped as his right. He firſt ordained Ratements, Subſidies, and valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom, at that time, foureſcore thouſand were muſtered, of which number conſiſted their whole corporation; and by diſtinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, he managed the Kingdome in as good ſort, as if it had beene a private houſehold. At length, having two daughters of different natures, the one milde and gentle, the other fierce and outragious: and finding alſo that the two ſonnes of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, *Sextus* and *Aruns*, which had beene committed unto his tuition, were of different diſpoſitions, proportionably anſwering to his daughters; he (willing to adde water, not oyle, to fire) gave the milde daughter to *Sextus* the hot-headed ſon, & the violent, to *Aruns* the gentle in marriage. But whether by intended courſes, or by accident, it hapned; the two milde ones being made away, the furious natures were readily joyned in marriage: who ſoon concurring, and calling the Senate together, began to lay claime to the Kingdome. Upon this tumult, *Servius Tullius* haſtning to the Senate, (where hee thought by authority to have bridled inſolency) was thrown down the ſtaires, & going home ſore bruiſed, was ſlain by the way, when he had reigned forty & foure yeares. Then *Tullia* his daughter, firſt proclaiming her husband *Tarquinius Superbus* King; returning home, enforced her Coachman to drive his Chariot over her fathers corpes; whereupon the ſtreet had the denomination of wicked ſtreet. This *Tarquine*, exerciſing cruelty without juſtice, & tyranny without mercy, upon the people & Senators; having tired himſelfe & them at home, uſed the ſame rage of treachery upon his borders. He tooke *Ocriculum*, *Sueſſa*, *Pometia*, and the *Gabii.* The iſſue of beſieging *Ardea*, a towne eighteene miles diſtant from *Rome*, was of bad ſucceſſe. In the heat of which warre, his ſonne *Sextus Tarquinius* violently raviſhed that chaſte Lady *Lucretia*, his kiſman *Collatines* wife: who in way of expiation for ſo unchaſte a deed, thought good to waſh out thoſe ſpots of infamy with her owne bloud; ſo (having firſt bequeathed the revenge unto her father *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, her husband *Collatine*, and *Junius Brutus*) ſhe kill'd her ſelfe: whereupon (chiefly by *Junius Brutus* his reſolution) *Tarquinius Superbus*, with his wife & children, was depoſed and baniſhed; & fled to *Porſenna* King of *Hetruria* for ſuccour, in the five & twentieth year of his reigne, and the two hundred forty and fourth from the building of their City: in which ſpace *Rome* had ſcarce gotten poſſeſſion of fifteene miles round about her.

*Junius Brutus* by the helpe of *Collatine*, having expelled *Tarquine*, & freed his Countrey from that heavie yoke of bondage, inforced the people by ſolemne oath, never to admit any government by Kings amongſt them: whereupon they ranſacked their Kings goods, conſecrated their fields to *Mars*, & conferred the government of the State upon *Brutus* and *Collatine.* But becauſe the name of King was odious in their eares, they changed the manner of their government, from perpetuall to annuall, and from a ſingle governour to a double; leſt perpetuall or ſole dominion might be ſome motive to uſurpation; & in ſtead of Kings they called them Conſuls, ſignifying, as it may be interpreted, Providers: that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to bee alwayes mindefull of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it ſo hard ſettling of troubled waters, that the people, after this innovation of State, ſcarce daring to aſſure themſelves of their owne ſecurity, enforced *Tarquinius Collatine* to reſigne up his authority, fearing that tyranny would bee hereditary, and ſuppoſing that the very name and affinity with the houſe of *Tarquine*, ſavoured already of their condition. In his roome was ſubſtitued *Valerius Publicola*, who that he might (as his name importeth) be gracious in the peoples eyes, gave liberty, in matters of controverſie, to appeale from the Conſuls to the people: and that hee might as well in goods as in perſon, avoide occaſion of ſuſpition, cauſed his owne houſe to be pulled downe, becauſe it was built in a place defencible, as if it had beene a Cittadell. Neither was *Brutus* any wayes deficient in matter of greater moment; which concerned as well the peoples ſafety, as their favour: for having got intelligence, that ſome greener wits, and in the firſt ranke his owne ſonnes, were itching after innovations, hoping to reſtore the baniſhed Kings; hee cauſed them, publikely in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to be brought all unpartially to the blocke.

Hitherto the *Romans*, having by the unblemiſhed integrity of *Brutus*, well appeaſed all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter imploy their military deſignements againſt Forrainers: firſt, for their liberty; ſecondly, for enlarging of their poſſeſſions; & laſtly, for defending their confederate Provinces, & extending their Empire. For *Rome*, ſituated as it were in the mid-way betweene *Latium* and the *Tuſcans*, having as yet but narrow bounds, being in her minority, could not but give occaſion of offence to her neighbours; untill by maine oppoſition, having prevailed againſt her borderers, ſhee uſed them as inſtruments, whereby to obtaine the reſt.

Their firſt war, in the firſt yeere of Conſuls, was againſt *Porſenna* King of *Hetruria*: who being over-perſwaded by *Tarquines* lamentation, came to *Rome*, together with the baniſhed King, and with great forces, to ſeate him againe in his Kingdome.

In the firſt conflict, *Horatius Cocles*, having long time born the maine brunt of his enemies, on the bridge over *Tibris*; at length, feeling himſelfe too faint to ſtand againſt ſo many, cauſed the bridge behinde him to be broken downe, and with his armour, leaping into the River, like a hunted Stagge, refreſhed his hot ſpirits, and returned ſafe to his fellowes, with the like reſolution to ſuſtaine a new charge. *Porſenna*, although by this he had well-nigh won the hill *Janiculus*, which is the very entrance into the City, & found the victory, in a maner, aſſuredly his owne: yet admiring their valour, & terrefied by the conſtant reſolution of *Mutius Scævola* (who having by errour ſlaine *Porſenna* his Secretary, in ſtead of the King himſelfe, did in ſcorne of torments threatned, burne off his own hand) he thought it not any whit prejudiciall, either to his ſafety, or credit, to enter league with them at the worſt hand. And yet the edge of *Tarquinius* his ſpleen was not quite abated, though *Aruns* his ſonne, & *Brutus* his enemy, in ſingle combat, had ſlaine each other. And here the *Romans*, although they loſt *Brutus*, got the field; and their Ladies, whoſe Champion he was, for their chaſtity, not for beauty, mourned the loſſe of him one whole yeare. Into his place, for the reſidue of his yeare, was ſubrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, father to *Lucretia*: and in his roome (deceaſing naturally before the yeare expired) *Horatius Pulvillus*.

*Tarquine*, upon his overthrow, feeling the fates diſaſtrous, thought it no boot to ſtrive againſt the ſtreame, but ſpent the reſidue of his time, which was about fourteene years, privately at *Tuſculum*. Yet his Son-in-law *Mamilius Tuſculanus*, ſtomaching a-freſh at thoſe old repulſes, becauſe *Porſenna* had made peace with the *Romans*, and denied further ſuccour unto the *Tarquines*, muſtered up his Latines, & gave battell to the *Romans*, at the Lake *Regillum*; where the conflict was fierce, & the iſſue uncertaine, untill *Aulus Poſthumus*, the *Roman* Dictator, (for they had created this Magiſtracy greater than Conſuls, purpoſely for this Warre, when firſt it was expected) to exaſperate his Souldiers courage, threw their owne Enſignes amidſt the Enemies; & *Coſſus* or *Spurius Caſſius*, (Maſter of the Horſe-men, an aſſiſtant Officer to the Dictator) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might run with free violence, to recover againe their Enſignes. This fight was ſo well performed, that a report went of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, two gods, who came on milke-white Steeds, to be eye-witneſſes of their valour, and fellow-helpers of their victory; for the Generall conſecrated a Temple to them, as a ſtipend for their paines. After this the *Romans* fierce ſpirits, having no object of valour abroad, reflected upon themſelves at home; and the ſixteenth yeare after the Kings expulſion, upon inſtigation of ſome deſperate banckrouts, thinking themſelves wrongfully oppreſſed by the Senate and Conſuls, they made an uproare in the holy Mount; untill by *Mevenius Agrippa*, his diſcreet alluſion, of the inconvenience in the head and bellies diſcord, to that preſent occaſion, they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might have ſome new Magiſtrates created, to whom they might appeale in caſes of variance, and make them Solicitors in all their controverſies, the Conſuls authority notwithſtanding. This was enacted, and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this attonement among themſelves, they had continuall Warre with the *Latines*, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring States. Among theſe, the *Volſci* and *Aequi* held them longeſt; who made Warre of themſelves upon the *Romans*: whereby they loſt the beſt City in their whole juriſdiction, *Corioli*.

In this conqueſt, *T. Martius* got the ſurname of *Coriolanus*: a name honorable then, as derived from a great victory; although, by reaſon of the poverty of the Towne, a *Roman* General, in after times, would have bin aſhamed of that title. But yet theſe graces had bin no occaſion of diſparagement, had he not afterwards in a great time of dearth, adviſed to ſell corne, which they procured from *Sicil*, at too high a rate, to the people, whereupon, *Decius Mus*, their Tribune, in their behalfe, accuſed him, & after judgement baniſhed him. *Coriolanus* flying to the *Volſci*, whom lately before he had vanquiſhed, incenſed them to renue their forces againe; which being committed unto him, and to *Attius Tullus*, he prevailed in field, ſo far forth, that he was come within foure or five miles of the City. Incamping there, he made ſo ſharp warre, and was at ſuch defiance with his Country, that he would not relent by any ſupplication of Embaſſadors, untill his Mother *Veturia*, & *Volumnia* his wife, with a pittifull tune of deprecation, ſhewing themſelves better Subjects to their Country, than friends to their Son and Husband, were more available to *Rome*, than was any force of Armes. Hereupon *Coriolanus* diſmiſſing his Army, was after put to death among the *Volſci*, as a Traitor, for neglecting ſuch opportunity: or (as others ſurmiſe) living with them untill old age, he died naturally.

Not long after this the *Veii* in *Hetruria*, provoked the *Romans*; againſt whom the *Fabii*, three hundred and ſixe in number, all of one Familie, intreated and obtained, that they only might be employed, as it had bin in a private quarrell. Theſe *Fabii*, after ſome good ſervices, lying incamped at *Cremera*, were circumvented, and all ſlaine: one only of that whole houſe had bin left, by reaſon of infancie, at home; from whom afterward ſprang *Fabius Maximus*, who vanquiſhed *Hannibal*.

In proceſſe of time, the *Romans* were alſo troubled with the *Volſci*, at the hill of *Algidum*, two miles from *Rome*; where *Lucius Minutius* their Conſul, with his whole armie, had bin diſcomfited, had not *L. Quintius Cincinatus* choſen Dictator, and taken from the plough to the higheſt honour in *Rome*, with ſucceſſe anſwerable to his expedition, diſperſed his enemies, and freed his Countrie in the ſpace of ſixteen dayes. In the continuance of this *Volſcian* war it was that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two years before choſen Governors of the State, and Inactors of *Solons* lawes amongſt them, procured from *Athens* (abrogating in the mean while the Conſuls, and all other Magiſtrates) would have raviſhed *Virginia*, the daughter of *T. Virginius*, Captain of a companie, and lying then in a Campe at *Algidum*. Hereupon the people in an uproare tooke the Hill *Aventine*, and after much variance, enforced the ten men to reſign up their authority again to new Conſuls.

After this, either new quarrels, or deſire to revenge old loſſes, drew the *Romans* into a new war againſt the *Veientes* and their adherents, upon whom, having tried their forces with diverſitie of Captaines, and varietie of event, they vanquiſhed the *Faliſci*; and the *Fidenates*, and utterly ſubdued the *Veientes*. In conquering the *Faliſci*, *Furius Camillus* ſhewed no leſſe integritie than fortitude. For when a Schoolemaſter, by trayning forth into the *Roman* campe, many children of the principall Citizens, thought to betray the Towne, yeelding them all up as Hoſtages: *Camillus* delivered this Traitor bound unto his Schollers, willing them to whip him backe into the Citie; which forthwith yeelded unto him in reverence of his juſtice. The ſiege of *Veii* was ten years, and ſo troubleſome, that the *Romans* were there firſt enforced to winter abroad under beaſts skins (to which they were the more eaſily induced, becauſe then firſt they received pay) and to make vowes never to return without victorie.

At length winning the Citie by a Mine, they got ſo large ſpoils, that they conſecrated their tenths to *Apollo Pythius*: and the whole people in generall were called to the ranſacking of the Citie. But yet they were no leſs unthankful to *Camillus* for his ſervice, than before they had been to *Coriolanus*; for they baniſhed him the Citie, upon ſome occaſion of inequalitie in dividing the ſpoiles: yet he requited their unkindneſſe with a new peece of ſervice againſt the furie of the *Gaules*; who being a populous Countrie, and very healthfull, the fathers (as ſometimes now) lived ſo long, that the ſons, deſtitute of meanes, were enforced to roave abroad, ſeeking ſome place where to ſet up their reſt: and withall being a Nation vaſte in bodie, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandred as Rovers over many Countries. Some of them lighting on *Italie*, ſet upon *Cluſium* a Towne in *Hetruria*: whereof *Rome* having information, (and being carefull of her Confederate Townes) ſent Embaſſadours, warning them to deſiſt from ſuch injurious enterpriſes. But the barbarous people, not regarding the meſſage, upon ſome injurie offered by the *Romane* Embaſſadours, converted their forces from *Cluſium* towards *Rome*; and giving a great overthrow unto the *Romans*, by the River *Allia*, upon the ſixteenth day before the Calends of *Auguſt* (which day was after branded for unluckie, & called *Allienſis* in the *Roman* Kalendar) they haſtned towards the Citie. Then was *Rome* the true map of miſerie and deſolation. For ſome leaving the Citie; ſome creeping into holes; Prieſts hiding their reliques; and every one ſhifting for himſelfe ere the enemie came; *Rome* was abandoned as indefenſible. The Veſtall Virgins, in this tumult, were ſafely conveyed away; the Ancients of the Citie, gathering boldneſſe out of deſperate fear, did put on their Robes, and taking their leave of the world, did ſeat themſelves in Thrones, in their ſeverall houſes, hourely expecting the meſſengers of death, and meaning to dye, as they had lived, in State. The younger ſort, with *M. Manlius* their Captaine, took upon them to make good the Capitoll.

By this the *Gaules* were entred the Citie, who ſeeing all quiet, at firſt ſuſpected ſome ambuſh; afterward finding all ſecure, they fell to the ſpoyle, committing all to the fire and ſword. As for the old Senatours, they ſate in their Majeſtie with a grave reſolution, having firſt reverenced them as gods, anon they tried whether they would die like men. When the Citie was throughly rifled, they attempted the Capitoll: which held them work for the ſpace of ſeven moneths. Once they were like to have ſurpriſed it by night, but being deſcried by the gagling of Geeſe, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a compoſition was agreed upon: the *Gaules* being weary, and the *Romans* hungry. The bargaine was, that the *Gaules* ſhould take a thouſand pound weight in gold, to deſiſt from their ſiege. Whileſt the gold was in weighing, the *Gaules*, with open inſolencie, made their weights too heavie: *Brennus* their Captaine, caſting his ſword into the ballance, and with a proud exprobration, ſaying, that the vanquiſhed muſt be patient perforce. But in the middeſt of this cavilling came *Furius Camillus* with an Army from *Ardea*, (where he had lived in his baniſhment) and fell upon the *Gaules*, with ſuch violence, that he diſperſed their troupes, quenched the fire of the Citie with their bloud, forcing them to reſtore the ſpoyles with advantage, and forbeare the gold, in accepting which they had lately been ſo nice. Further, having rid the City of them, he ſo hotly purſued them through a great part of *Italie*, that the remainder of their Army, which eſcaped from him, was very ſmall. Other Armies of the *Gaules*, which followed this firſt, had the like ill ſucceſſe. They were often beaten by the *Romans*; eſpecially the victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Corvinus* (each of which in ſingle fight ſlew a ſeverall Champion of the *Gaules*) abated their preſumption, and reſtored courage to the *Romans*. *Camillus*, for his notable ſervice, was afterwards accounted a ſecond *Romulus*.

The people, after this deſtruction of their Citie, were earneſtly bent to go to the Veii to inhabite; but *Camillus* diſſwaded them.

About the ſame time, ſomewhat before the ſiege of Veii they changed their government from Conſuls to military Tribunes. The government of theſe alſo, after ſome yeares, was by civill diſſention interrupted; ſo that one while Conſuls ruled, another while there was an Anarchie; Then the Tribunes were reſtored and ruled againe, till after many yeares expired, the Conſular authority was eſtabliſhed, it being enacted, that one of the Conſuls ſhould alwaies be a Plebeian. This was after the building of the City 365. yeares. And now *Rome* by ſuppreſſion of her neighbour Countries, creeping well forward out of her Minority, dares ſet forth againſt the warlike *Samnites*, who dwelt almoſt one hundred and thirty miles off: ſituated betweene *Campania* and *Apulia*. Theſe did ſo ſtrongly invade the *Campanians* their Neighbours, that they forced them to yeeld themſelves ſubjects to *Rome*, and undergoe any conditions of Tribute, or whatſoever elſe to obtaine protection: which the *Romans*, although both Countries had been their Confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fiſh, ſhould devoure the leſſe, eaſily allowed of; aiming themſelves at the good ſituation of *Campania*, the aboundance of Corne and Wine, pleaſant Cities and Townes, but eſpecially *Capua* it ſelfe, the faireſt City then in all *Italy*.

The families of the *Papyrii* and *Fabii* were moſt imployed in the managing of this War, which endured the ſpace of fifty years. And in this ſeaſon were the Romans oftentimes dangerouſly encountred by the *Samnites*, as when *T. Veturius* and *Sp. Poſthumius* were Conſuls, and diſcomfited by *Pontius* at *Caudium*, with no ſmall ignominie: and when *Q. Fabius Gurges* loſt the field with three thouſand men. But for thoſe loſſes, many great victories made large amends: The greateſt whereof were gotten by *L. Papyrius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The *Samnites* drew the *Hetrurians* into their quarrell. But the force of the *Samnites* was well broken, ere the *Hetrurians* (the greater and richer, but leſſe warlike Nation) began to ſtir. So the one and the other of theſe two Countries, became at length, tributary to Rome. In the continuance of this long war it was, (though in time of truce between the *Romans* and *Samnites*) that the *Latines* began to challenge equall freedome in the Corporation of *Rome*, and right in bearing office, ſo that they required to have one of the Conſuls yearly choſen out of them.

This demand of the *Latines* was not unreaſonable. For the *Romans* themſelves were a Latine Colonie; beſides all which, they made offer to change their name, and to be all called *Romans*. But the *Romans* were too proud to admit any ſuch capitulation. So a great battell was fought between them: wherein the fortune of *Rome* prevailed, by the vertue of the Conſuls.

*Manlius Torquatus* and the elder *Decius* were then Conſuls, whom the Soothſayers advertiſed, that the ſide ſhould be victorious which loſt the Generall in fight. Hereupon *Decius* the Conſull expoſed his life to the Enemie, and purchaſed victorie (as was beleeved) by his death. In which kinde of devoting himſelfe for his Armie, the ſonne of this *Decius* being after Conſull, did imitate his father in the *Hetrurian* warre. But (as *Tully* well notes) it was rather the deſperate reſolution of theſe *Decii*, that purchaſed victorie, by ruſhing into the midſt of the enemies, wherein their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of ſuch a religion, as required the lives of ſo worthie Citizens, to be ſacrificed for their Countrie. The diſcipline of *Manlius* was no leſſe reſolute, than the valour of *Decius*. He forbad any one to forſake his place, and fight ſingle with an enemie. For breach of which order he cauſed his own ſon to be put to death, who had ſlain a Captain of the *Latines*, being challenged in ſingle fight.

When the *Latines*, the *Æqui*, *Volſci*, *Hernici*, *Campani*, *Samnites*, and *Hetrurians*, with ſome other people,, were brought under obedience; it was a vain labour for any people of *Italie* to contend againſt the *Romans*.

Yet the *Sabines* adventured to trie their fortune, and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus*, the *Roman* Conſull, waſting all their Countrie with fire and ſword, from the River *Nar* and *Velia*, to the *Adriatique* Sea, brought them into quiet ſubjection.

The laſt of the *Italians* that made triall of the *Roman* arms, were the *Tarentines* and their adherents. Theſe had interpoſed themſelves as mediatours betweene the *Romans* and *Samnites*; with a peremptorie denunciation of War, unto that partie which ſhould dare to refuſe peace by them tendred. Theſe threats which diſcovered their bad affection unto *Rome*, ended in words; but when the *Samnites* were utterly ſubdued, matter enough of quarrell was found to examine their abilitie of performance.

The *Romanes* complained that certain ſhips of theirs were robbed, and ſent Embaſſadours unto *Tarentum*, to require amends. Upon ſome wrong done to theſe Embaſſadours, was laid the foundation of that War, wherein the *Lucans*, *Meſſapians*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, joyning with the *Tarentines*, procured the *Samnites*, and other Subjects of *Rome* to rebell, and take their part. But ſome experience of the *Roman* ſtrength, taught all theſe people to know their own weakneſſe. Wherefore they agreed to ſend for *Pyrrhus*, by whoſe aide (being a *Grecian*, as the *Tarentines* alſo were) great hope was conceived, that the Dominion of *Rome* ſhould be confined unto more narrow bounds than all *Italy*, which alreadie in a manner it did over-ſpread.

## §. II.

### *How* Pyrrhus *warred upon the* Romans, *and vanquiſhed them in two battailes.*

Pyrrhus, forſaken by the *Macedonians*, and unable to deale with *Lyſimachus*, was compelled a while to live in reſt: which he abhorred no leſſe than a wiſer Prince would have deſired. He had a ſtrong Armie, and a good Fleet, which in that unſetled eſtate of things, was enough to purchaſe a kingdom: but the fall of *Demetrius* had ſo increaſed the power of *Lyſimachus*, that it was no point of wiſdome to make an offenſive war upon him, without far greater forces: *Antigonus*, the ſon of *Demetrius*, held *Corinth* at the ſame time, and ſome other Townes, with the remainder of his Fathers Armie and treaſures, left in his hand. Upon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might have won; but it was better to let him alone, that he might ſerve to give ſome hindrance to *Lyſimachus*.

In this want of imployment, and covetous deſire of finding it, the *Tarentine* Embaſſadours came very fitly to *Pyrrhus*: and they came with brave offers, as needing no other aide than his good conduct, which to obtaine, they would caſt themſelves under his protection. They had in their companie ſome of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, *Meſſapians*, and others; which promiſed, in behalf of their ſeverall Nations, as much as could be deſired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly conqueſts; that hee might enlarge his Empire to the Weſt, as farre as *Alexander* had gotten Eaſtward; and ſtill by one victorie open the gate unto another. To which effect it is ſayd, that once he anſwered *Cyneas* his chiefe Counſellour, aſking what hee meant to doe after everie of the victories which he hoped to get: that having wonne *Rome*, hee would ſoone bee Maſter of all *Italie*; that, after *Italie* hee would quickly get the Iſle of *Sicil*; that, out of *Sicill*, he would paſſe over into *Affrick*, and winne *Carthage*, with all the reſt of the Country; and being ſtrengthened with the force of all theſe Provinces, he would be too hard for any of thoſe that were now ſo proud and troubleſome. But *Cyneas* enquired yet further, what they ſhould doe, when they were Lords of all: Whereunto *Pyrrhus* (finding his drift) anſwered pleaſantly, that they would live merrily; a thing (as *Cyneas* then told him) that they preſently might doe, without any trouble, if he could be contented with his owne.

Nevertheleſſe, this *Italian* expedition ſeemed unto *Pyrrhus* a matter of ſuch conſequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any ſcholaſticall diſputation. Wherefore he prepared his Army, of almoſt thirty thouſand men, well ſorted, and well trained ſouldiers: part of which he ſent over before him under *Cyneas*, with the reſt he followed in perſon. At his comming, he found the *Tarentines*, very prompt of tongue, but in matter of execution, utterly careleſſe to provide for the War. Wherefore he was faine to ſhut up their Theater, and other places of pleaſure and reſort; enforcing them to take Armes, and making ſuch a ſtrict muſter, as was to them very unpleaſing, though greatly behooving to their eſtate.

Whileſt he was occupied with theſe cares, *Lævinus* the *Roman* Conſul drew near, and began to waſte *Lucania*, a Province confederate with the *Tarentines* in this War.

The *Lucanians* were not ready to defend their own Country; the *Samnites* were careleſſe of the harme, that fell not (as yet) upon themſelves; the *Tarentines* were better prepared than they would have beene, but their valour was little: all of theſe had beene accuſtomed to ſhrinke for feare of the *Roman* fortitude: and therefore it fell out happily, that *Pyrrhus* relyed more upon his owne forces, than the iſſue of their vaunting promiſes. He was now driven either to ſet forward with thoſe that himſelfe had brought into *Italy*, and the aſſiſtance of the *Tarentines*, wherein little was to be repoſed; or elſe to weaken the reputation of his own ſufficiency, which by all meanes he was carefull to uphold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had been ſcattered by foule weather at Sea, were ſafely come to him: with which he reſolved to aſſay the valour of the *Romans*, againſt whom he proudly marched.

*Lævinus* the Conſul was not affrighted with the terrible name of a great King; but came on confidently to meet him, and give him battel ere all his adherents ſhould be ready to joyne with him. This boldneſſe of the *Roman*, and the ſlackneſſe of the *Meſſapians*, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, & others, whom the danger moſt concerned, cauſed *Pyrrhus* to offer a treaty of peace: requiring to have the quarrell between the *Romans* and his *Italian* friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to win time, that the *Samnites* and their fellowes might arrive at his Camp; or whether, conſidering better at neare diſtance, the weight of the buſineſſe which he had taken in hand, he were deſirous to quit it with his honour; the ſhort anſwer that was returned to his propoſition, gave him no means of either the one or the other: for the *Romans* ſent him this word, that *they had neither choſen him their Judge, nor feared him their enemy*.

Hereupon both Armies haſtened their march unto the River of *Siris*: *Lævinus* intending to fight before the arrivall of the *Samnites*; *Pyrrhus*, to hinder him from paſſing that River, untill his own Army were full. Upon the firſt view of the *Roman* Campe, it was readily conceived by *Pyrrhus*, that he had not now to do with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a brave diſcipline of War: which cauſed him to ſet a ſtrong *Corps de garde* upon the paſſage of the river, that he might not be compelled to fight, untill he ſaw his beſt advantage. But he quickly found, that this new enemy was not only ſkilfull in the Art of War, but courageous in execution. For the *Roman* Army entred the Foord, in face of his *Corps de garde*; and their horſe, at the ſame time began to paſſe the River, in ſundry places: which cauſed the *Greekes* to forſake the defence of their bank, and ſpeedily retire unto their Camp.

This audacity forced *Pyrrhus* to battell; wherewith hee thought it beſt to preſent them, ere the whole Army had recovered firme footing, and were in order. So directing his Captaines how to marſhall his battels; himſelfe with the horſe, charged upon the *Romans*: who ſtoutly received him, as men well exerciſed in ſuſtaining furious impreſſions. In this fight, neither did his courage tranſport him beyond the duty of a carefull Generall; nor his providence in directing others, hinder the manifeſtation of his perſonall valour. It behooved him indeed to do his beſt; for he never met with better oppoſers. Once, and ſhortly after the fight began, his horſe was ſlaine under him: afterwards, he changed armour with a friend; but that friend paid his life for the uſe of his Kings armour, which was torne from his backe. This accident had almoſt loſt him the battell: but he perceiving it, diſcovered his face, and thereby reſtored courage to his men, and took from the *Romans* their vain joy. The fight was obſtinate, and with the greater loſſe (at leaſt of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus* his ſide, as long as onely ſpeare and ſword were uſed. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whoſe unuſuall form and terrible aſpect, the horſes of the *Romans* (unaccuſtomed to the like) were not able to ſuſtaine; then was the victorie quickely gotten. For the *Roman* battels, perceiving their horſe put to rout, and driven out of the field; finding alſo themſelves both charged in flanke, and over-borne, by the force and huge bulke of thoſe ſtrange beaſts; gave way to neceſſitie, and ſaved themſelves, as well as they could, by haſtie flight: in which conſternation, they were ſo forgetfull of their diſcipline, that they tarried not to defend their Campe, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both it, and the honour of the day, entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

The fame of this victorie was ſoon ſpread over *Italie*; and the reputation was no leſſe than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to be heard, that a *Roman* Conſul, with a ſelect Armie, ſhould loſe in plaine battell, not onely the Field, but the Campe it ſelfe, being ſo notably fortified as they alwaies were. And this honour was the more bravely won by *Pyrrhus*, for that he had with him none of his *Italian* friends, ſave the unwarlike *Tarentines*. Neither could he well diſſemble his content that he took, in having the glory of this action peculiarly his own, at ſuch time as he blamed the *Lucans* & *Samnites*, for comming (as we ſay) a day after the Faire. Nevertheleſſe he wiſely conſidered the ſtrength of the *Romans*, which was ſuch, as would better endure many ſuch loſſes, than he could many ſuch victories. Therefore he thought it good to compound with them, whileſt with his honour he might; and to that purpoſe he ſent unto them *Cyneas* his Embaſſadour, demanding only to have the *Tarentines* permitted to live at reſt, and himſelf accepted as their eſpeciall friend. This did *Cyneas*, with all his cunning, and with liberall gifts labour to effect: but neither man nor woman could be found in *Rome*, that would take any bribe of him; neither did their deſire of recovering their captives, or their danger, by the riſing of many States in *Italy* againſt them, ſo incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of *Appius Claudius*, an old and blinde Senatour, did ſtirre them up to make good their honour by war. So they returned anſwer, that whilſt *Pyrrhus* abode in *Italie*, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report that *Cyneas* made at his return, of the *Roman* puiſſance and vertue, as kindled in *Pyrrhus* a great deſire of confederacie with that gallant Citie. Hereupon many kinde Offices paſſed between them: but ſtill when he urged his motion of peace, the anſwer was; *He muſt firſt depart out of Italy, and then treat of peace.*

In the meane ſeaſon, each part made proviſion for war; the *Romans* levying a more mightie armie than the former; and *Pyrrhus* being ſtrengthened with acceſſe unto his forces of all the Eaſt parts of *Italie*. So they came to triall of a ſecond battell, wherein (though after long and cruell fight) the boiſterous violence of the Elephants gave to *Pyrrhus* a ſecond victorie. But this was not altogether ſo joyfull as the former had bin: rather it gave him cauſe to ſay, that ſuch another victorie would be his utter undoing. For he had loſt the flower of his Armie in this battell: and though he drave the *Romans* into their Campe, yet he could not force them out of it, nor ſaw any likelihood of prevailing againſt them, that were like to be relieved with daily ſupplies, whileſt he ſhould be driven to ſpend upon his old ſtock. Neither could he expect that his Elephants ſhould alwaies ſtand him in ſtead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight would ſoon teach the *Romans*, that were apt Schollers in ſuch learning, how to make them unſerviceable. Wherefore he deſired nothing more, than how to carrie his honour ſafe out of *Italie*: which to doe (ſeeing the *Romans* would not helpe him, by offering or accepting any faire conditions of peace, or of truce) he tooke a ſleight occaſion, preſented by fortune, that followeth to be related.

## §. III.

### *The great troubles in Macedon and Sicill. How* Pyrrhus, *being invited into Sicill, forſook Italie; wan the moſt of the Ile; and loſt it in ſhort ſpace.* Pyrrhus *returns into Italie, where he is beaten by the Romanes, and ſo goes backe to his own Kingdome.*

WHen *Ptolomie Ceraunus* had traiterouſly murdered his Benefactor and Patron *Seleucus*, he preſently ſeized upon all the Dominions of *Lyſimachus* in *Europe*, as if they had bin the due reward unto him, that had ſlain the Conqueror. The houſes of *Caſſander* and *Lyſimachus* were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in *Macedon* any man of ſtrength and reputation enough to advance himſelf againſt *Ceraunus*. The friends of *Lyſimachus* were rather pleaſed to have him their King, that had (as he profeſſed) revenged their Lords death; than any way offended with the odiouſneſſe of his fact, by which they were freed from ſubjection, to one, againſt whom they had ſtood in oppoſition. Many there were, that upon remembrance of his fathers great vertue, gathered hope of finding the like in *Ceraunus*: perſwading themſelves that his reign might prove good, though his entrance had bin wicked. Theſe affections of the *Macedonians* did ſerve to defeat *Antigonus* the ſon of *Demetrius*, that made an attempt upon the Kingdome. As for *Antigonus* the ſonne of *Seleucus*, he was far off, and might be queſtioned about ſome part of *Aſia*, ere he ſhould be able to bring an Armie neere unto *Europe*. Yet he made great ſhew of meaning to revenge his Fathers death: but being ſtronger in money than in armes, he was content, after a while, to take faire words, and make peace with the murtherer. While theſe three ſtrove about the kingdome, *Pyrrhus*, who thought his claime as good as any of theirs, made uſe of their diſſention: threatning war, or promiſing his aſſiſtance to every one of them. By theſe meanes he ſtrengthened himſelfe, and greatly advantaged his *Italian* voyage, which he had then in hand: requeſting money of *Antiochus*, ſhips of *Antigonus*, and ſouldiers of *Ptolomie*, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a ſtrong power of *Macedonian* Souldiers, and of Elephants (covenanting to have them reſtored at two years end) more for feare than for love: that ſo he might free himſelfe from trouble, and quietly enjoy his kingdome.

Thus *Ptolomie* grew mightie on the ſudden; and the power that by wicked means he had gotten, by meanes as wicked he encreaſed.

All *Macedon* and *Thrace* being his, the ſtrong Citie of *Caſſandria* was held by *Arſinoe* his ſiſter, the widow of *Lyſimachus*, who lay therein with her young children. Her he circumvented by making love to her, and (according to the faſhion of thoſe times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of conſanguinitie) taking her to wife, with promiſe to adopt her children: a promiſe that he meant not to performe; for it was not long, ere he ſlew them, and drave her into exile.

In the pride of this good ſucceſſe, which his villanie found, vengeance came upon him from afarre, by the furie of a Nation that he never heard of. *Belgius* a Captaine of the *Gaules*, having forced his paſſage through many Countries, unto the confines of *Macedon*, ſent a proud meſſage to *Ceraunus*, commanding him to buy peace with money, or otherwiſe, to look for all the miſeries of warre. Theſe *Gaules* were the race of thoſe, that iſſued out of their Countrie, to ſeeke new ſeates in that great expedition, wherein *Brennus* tooke and burnt the Citie of *Rome*. They had divided themſelves, at their ſetting forth, into two companies; of which the one fell upon *Italie*; the other, paſſing through the Countries that lye on the Northerne ſide of the *Adriaticke* Sea, made long abode in *Pannonia*, & the Regions adjoyning, where they forced all the neighbour Princes to redeeme peace with tribute, as now they would have compelled *Ceraunus* to doe; unto whoſe borders they came about an hundred and eight years after ſuch time as their fellowes had taken *Rome*.

When their Embaſſadours came to *Ptolomie*, asking what he would give: His anſwe was, That he would be contented to give them peace, but it muſt be with condition, tha they ſhould put into his hands their Princes as hoſtages, and yeeld up their armes; fo otherwiſe, he would neither pardon their boldneſſe, nor give any credit to their words. At this anſwer, when it was returned, the *Gaules* did laugh; ſaying, That the would ſoone confute with deeds, the vanitie of ſuch proud words. It may ſeeme ſtrang

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that he, who had given away part of his Army unto *Pyrrhus*, for very feare; ſhould bee ſo confident in undertaking more mighty enemies. The King of the Dardanians offered to lend him twenty thouſand men againſt the *Gaules*: but he ſcorned the offer; ſaying, That he had the children of thoſe, which under the conduct of *Alexander* had ſubdued all the Eaſt. Thus he iſſued forth againſt all the barbarous people, with his famous Macedonians, as if the victory muſt needs have followed the reputation of a great name. But he ſoone found his great errour when it was too late. For the Enemies were not onely equall in ſtrength of body, and fierceneſſe of courage, but ſo farre ſuperiour to the Macedonians in number, that few or none eſcaped their furie. *Ptolomie* himſelfe grievouſly wounded, fell into their hands, whileſt the battell continued; and they preſently ſtrook off his head, which they ſhewed to his men, on the top of a Lance, to their utter aſtoniſhment.

The report of this great overthrow filled all Macedon with ſuch deſperation, that the people fled into walled Townes, and abandoned the whole Country as loſt. Only *Soſthenes*, a valiant Captaine, animating as many as he could, gathered a ſmall Army, with which he many times got the upper hand, and hindred *Belgius* from uſing the victory at his whole pleaſure. In regard of this his vertue, the Souldiers would have made him King; which title he refuſed, and was contented with the name of a Generall. But (as miſchiefes doe ſeldome come alone) the good ſucceſſe of *Belgius* drew into *Macedon*, *Brennus*, another Captain of the *Gaules*, with an hundred and fifty thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe; againſt which mighty Army, when *Soſthenes* with his weake troupes made oppoſition, he was eaſily beaten, and the *Macedonians* again compelled to hide themſelves within their wals, leaving all their Country to the ſpoile of the Barbarians.

Thus were the *Macedonians* deſtitute of a king, & trodden down by a Nation that they had not heard of, in leſſe than fifty years after the death of *Alexander*, who ſought to diſcover and ſubdue unknowne Countries, as if all *Greece*, and the Empire of *Perſia* had been too little for a King of *Macedon*.

Very ſeaſonably had theſe newes beene carried to *Pyrrhus* in *Italie*, who ſought a faire pretext of relinquiſhing his Warre with the *Romanes*; had not other tidings out of Sicil diſtracted him, and carried him away in purſuit of nearer hopes. For after the death of *Agathocles*, who reigned over the whole Iſland, the *Carthaginians* ſent an Armie to conquer Sicil, out of which, by him, they had beene expelled. This Armie did ſo faſt prevaile, that the Sicilians had no other hope to avoyd ſlavery, than in ſubmitting themſelves to the rule of *Pyrrhus*; whom, being a *Grecian*, and a noble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, than to live under the well known heavie yoke of *Carthage*. To him therefore the *Syracuſans*, *Leontines*, and *Agragentines*, principall Eſtates of the Iſle, ſent Embaſſadors, earneſtly deſiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieved *Pyrrhus* exceedingly, that two ſuch notable occaſions of enlarging his Dominions, ſhould fall out ſo unluckily, both at one time. Yet whether he thought the buſineſſe of Sicil more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps he beleeved (as came after to paſſe) that his advantage upon Macedon would not ſo haſtily paſſe away, but that he might find ſome occaſion to lay hold on it at better leaſure; over into *Sicil* he tranſported his army, leaving the *Tarentines* to ſhift for themſelves; yet not leaving them free as he found them, but with a Garriſon in their town, to hold them in ſubjection.

As his departure out of *Italie* was rather grounded on head-long paſſion, than mature advice; ſo were his actions following, untill his returne unto *Epirus*, rather many and tumultuous, than well ordered or note-worthy. The Army which he carried into that Iſle, conſiſted of thirty thouſand foote, and two thouſand five hundred horſe: with which, ſoone after his deſcent into *Sicil*, he forc't the *Carthaginians* out of all, in effect, that they had therein. He alſo won the ſtrong Citie of *Eryx*, and having beaten the *Mamertines* in battell; he began to change condition, and turne Tyrant. For he drave *Soſtratus* (to whom his cruelty was ſuſpect) out of the Iland, & put *Thenon* of *Syracuſe* to death, being jealous of his greatneſſe; which two perſons had faithfully ſerved him, and delivered the great and rich Citie of *Syracuſe* into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined ſo faſt, as he ſerved himſelfe, and ſalved the diſ-reputation of his leaving *Sicil*, by an Embaſſage ſent him from the *Tarentines*, and *Samnites*, imploring his preſent helpe againſt the *Romans*, who ſince his leaving *Italie*, had wel-neare diſpoſſeſt them of all that they had.

Taking this faire occaſion, he imbarked for *Italie*; but was firſt beaten by the *Carthaginian* Gallies, in his paſſage, and ſecondly aſſayled in *Italie* it ſelfe, by eighteen hundred *Mamertines*, that attended him in the ſtraits of the Countrie. Laſtly, after he had recovered *Tarentum*, he fought a third battell with the *Romans*, led by *M. Curius*, who was victorious over him, and forc't him out of *Italie* into his owne *Epirus*.

A Prince he was far more valiant than conſtant, and had he beene but a Generall of an Armie for ſome other great King or State, and had beene directed to have conquered any one countrey or kingdome, it is to be thought, that he would have purchaſed no leſſe honour than any man of warre, either preceding or ſucceeding him; for a greater Captaine, or a valianter man, hath beene no where found. But he never ſtayed upon any enterpriſe; which was, indeed, the diſeaſe he had, whereof not long after he died in *Argos*.

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## §. IIII.

### *How* Antigonus, *the ſon of* Demetrius, *delivered Macedon from the Gauls*. *How* Pyrrhus *won the Kingdome of Macedon from* Antigonus.

The vertue of *Soſthenes* being too weak to defend the kingdome of *Macedon*; and the fortune which had accompanied him againſt *Belgius*, failing him in his attempts againſt *Brennus*; the *Macedonians* were no leſſe glad to ſubmit themſelves unto the government of *Antigonus*, than they had been formerly deſirous to free themſelves from the impotent rule of his Father *Demetrius*. His comming into the Countrie with an Armie, Navie, and Treaſure beſeeming a king, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence: for he was driven to uſe againſt the *Barbarians*, onely thoſe forces which he brought with him, having none other than good wiſhes of the *Macedons* to take his part; *Brennus*, with the maine ſtrength of his Armie, was gone to ſpoyle the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, having left no more behind him, than he thought neceſſarie to guard the borders of *Macedon* and *Pannonia*; which were about fifteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. Theſe could not be idle, but thought to get ſomewhat for themſelves, in the abſence of their fellowes: and therefore ſent unto *Antigonus*, offering to ſell him peace, if he would pay well for it; which by the example of *Ceraunus*, he had learnt (as they thought) not to refuſe. *Antigonus* was unwilling to weaken his reputation by condeſcending to their proud demands; yet he judged it unfit to exaſperate their furious choler, by uncourteous words or uſage, as *Ceraunus* had over-fondly done. Wherfore he entertained their Embaſſadors in very loving and ſumptuous manner, with a royall feaſt: wherein he expoſed to their view ſuch abundance of maſſie gold and ſilver, that they were not ſo much delighted with the meat, as with ſight of the veſſels, wherein it was ſerved. He thought hereby to make them underſtand how great a Prince he was, and how able if need required, to wage a mighty Army.

To which end, he likewiſe did ſhew unto them his Camp and Navie, but eſpecially his Elephants. But all this bravery ſerved only to kindle their greedy appetites; who ſeeing his ſhips heavie loaden, his Camp full of wealth, and ill fortified, himſelf (as it ſeemed) ſecure, and his men, both in ſtrength and courage, inferiour unto the Gaules, thought all time loſt, wherein they ſuffered the preſent poſſeſſors to ſpend the riches which they accounted aſſuredly their owne. They returned therefore to their companions with none other newes in their mouthes, than of ſpoile and purchaſe: which tale carried the *Gaules* head-long to *Antigonus* his Camp, where they expected a greater booty, than the victory over *Ceraunus* had given to *Belgius*. Their comming was terrible and ſudden; yet not ſo ſudden, but that *Antigonus* had notice of it, who diſtruſting the courage of his owne men, diſlodged ſomewhat before their arrivall, and conveighed himſelfe, with his whole army and carriage, into certaine woods adjoyning, where he lay cloſe.

The *Gaules*, finding his Campe forſaken, were not haſty to purſue him, but fell to ranſacking the emptie Cabbins of the Souldiers; in hope of finding all that was either loſt or hidden. At length, when they had ſearched every place in vaine, angry at their loſt labour, they marched with all ſpeed towards the Sea-ſide; that they might fall upon him, whileſt he was buſie in getting his men and carriages a ſhip-board. But the ſucceſſe was no way anſwerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terrour which they had brought upon *Antigonus*, they were ſo careleſſe of the Sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the ſpoyle of what they found on the ſhore, and in ſuch ſhips as lay on ground.

Part of the Armie had left *Antigonus*, where he lay in covert; and had ſaved it ſelf by getting aboard the fleet: in which number were ſome well experienced men of war: who diſcovering the much advantage offred unto them, by the deſperate preſumption of their enemies, tooke courage, and encouraged others to lay manly hold upon the opportunitie. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great reſolution, gave ſo brave a charge upon the diſordered *Gaules*, that their contemptuous boldneſſe was thereby changed into ſudden feare, and they, after a great ſlaughter, driven to caſt themſelves into the ſervice of *Antigonus*.

The fame of this victorie cauſed all the barbarous Nations in thoſe quarters, to re-entertain their ancient beleefe of the *Macedonian* valour: by which the terrible and reſiſtleſſe oppreſſors of ſo many Countries were overthrowne.

To ſpeake more of the *Gaules* in this place, and to ſhew how, about theſe times, three Tribes of them paſſed over into *Aſia* the leſſe, with their wars and conqueſts there; I hold it needleſſe: the victorious armies of the *Romans* taming them hereafter in the Countries which now they wan, ſhall give better occaſion to rehearſe theſe matters briefly.

Howſoever the good ſucceſſe of *Antigonus* got him reputation among the barbarous people, yet his owne Souldiers, that without his leading had won this victorie, could not thereupon be perſwaded to thinke him a good man of war: knowing that he had no intereſt in the honour of the ſervice, wherein his conduct was no better than creeping into a wood.

This (as preſently will appeare) was greatly helpfull unto *Pyrrhus*: though as yet he knew not ſo much. For *Pyrrhus*, when his affaires in *Italie* ſtood upon hard termes, had ſent unto *Antigonus* for helpe: not without threats, in caſe it were denied. So was he ſure to get either a ſupply, wherewith to continue his war againſt the *Romans*, or ſome ſeeming honourable pretence, to forſake *Italie*, under colour of making his word good, in ſeeking revenge. The threats which he had uſed in braverie, meer neceſſitie forced him, at his returne into *Epirus*, to put in practiſe.

He brought home with him eight thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe: an armie too little to be employed, by his reſtleſſe nature, in any action of importance; yet greater than he had meanes to keepe in pay. Therefore he fell upon *Macedon*; intending to take what ſpoile he could get, & make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his firſt entrance into this buſineſſe, two thouſand of *Antigonus* his Souldiers revolted unto *Pyrrhus*; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, received him. Such fair beginnings eaſily perſwaded the courage of this daring Prince to ſet upon *Antigonus* himſelfe, and to hazzard his fortune, in triall of a battell, for the whole kingdome of *Macedon*.

It appeares, that *Antigonus* had no deſire to fight with this hot warriour; but thought it the wiſeſt way, by protracting of time, to wearie him out of the countrie. For *Pyrrhus* overtooke him in a ſtreight paſſage, and charged him in the reare; wherein were the *Gaules* and the Elephants, which were thought the beſt of his ſtrength: a manifeſt proofe that he was in retrait. The *Gaules* very bravely ſuſtained *Pyrrhus* his impreſſion; yet were broken at length (when moſt of them were ſlaine) after a ſharpe fight: wherein it ſeems that *Antigonus* keeping his *Macedonian Phalanx* within the ſtreight, & not advancing to their ſuccour, tooke away their courage by deceiving their expectation. The Captaines of the Elephants were taken ſoone after; who finding themſelves expoſed to the ſame violence that had conſumed ſo many of the *Gaules*, yeelded themſelves and the beaſts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus* and his *Macedonians*, to their great diſcomfort; which emboldned *Pyrrhus* to charge them where they lay in their ſtrength. Where the *Phalanx* could be charged only in a front, it was a matter of extreme difficultie (if not impoſſible) to force it. But the *Macedonians* had ſeene ſo much, that they had no deſire to fight againſt *Pyrrhus*; who diſcovered ſo well their affections, that he adventured to draw neare in perſon, and exhort them to yeeld. Neither the common Souldier nor any Leader refuſed to become his follower. All forſooke *Antigonus*, a few horſemen excepted, that fled along with him to *Theſſalonica*; where he had ſome ſmall forces left, and money enough to entertaine a greater power, had he known where to levie it. But whileſt he was thinking how to allure a ſufficient number of the *Gaules* into his ſervice; whereby he might repaire his loſſe: *Ptolomie*, the ſonne of *Pyrrhus*, came upon him, and eaſily defeating his weake forces, drave him to flye from the parts about *Macedon*, to thoſe Townes afarre off in *Peloponneſus*, in which he had formerly lurked, before ſuch time as he looked abroad into the world, and made himſelfe a King.

This good ſucceſſe revived the ſpirits of the *Epirot*, and cauſed him to forget all ſorrow of his late miſ-fortunes in the *Roman* warre; ſo that he ſent for his ſonne *Helenus* (whom he had left with a Garriſon, in the Caſtle of *Tarentum*) willing him to come over into *Greece*, where was more matter of conqueſt, and let the *Italians* ſhift for themſelves.

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## §. V.

### *How* Pyrrhus *aſſailed Sparta without ſucceſſe. His enterpriſe upon Argos, and his death.*

PYrrhus had now conceived a great hope that nothing ſhould be able to withſtand him; ſeeing that in open fight he had vanquiſhed the *Gaules*, beaten *Antigonus*, and wonne the Kingdome of *Macedon*. There was not in all *Greece*, nor, indeed, in all the Lands that *Alexander* had wonne, any Leader of ſuch name and worth, as deſerved to be ſet up againſt him: which filled him with the opinion that he might doe what he pleaſed. He raiſed therefore an Armie, conſiſting of five and twentie thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and foure and twentie Elephants; pretending warre againſt *Antigonus*, and the giving libertie to thoſe Townes in *Peloponneſus*, which the ſame *Antigonus* held in ſubjection; though it was eaſily diſcovered, that ſuch great preparations were made, for accompliſhment of ſome deſigne more important than warre againſt a Prince alreadie vanquiſhed, and almoſt utterly dejected. Eſpecially the *Lacedæmonians* feared this expedition, as made againſt their State. For *Cleonymus*, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Countrie, had betaken himſelfe to *Pyrrhus*: who readily entertained him, and promiſed to reſtore him to his kingdome. This promiſe was made in ſecret; neither would *Pyrrhus* make ſhew of any diſpleaſure that hee bare unto *Sparta*; but contrariwiſe profeſſed, that it was his intent, to have two of his owne younger ſons trained up in that Citie, as in a place of noble diſcipline. With ſuch colours he deluded men, even till he entred upon *Laconia*; where preſently he demeaned himſelfe as an open enemie: excuſing himſelfe and his former diſſembling words with a jeſt; *That hee followed herein the Lacedæmonian cuſtome, of concealing what was truely purpoſed.* It had been, indeed, the manner of the *Lacedæmonians*, to deale in like ſort with others, whom, in the time of their greatneſſe, they ſought to oppreſſe: but now they complained of that, as falſhood, in *Pyrrhus*, which they alwaies practiſed in wiſedome, till it made them diſtruſted, forſaken, and almoſt contemptible. Neverthеleſſe, they were not wanting to themſelves in this dangerous extremitie. For the old men and women laboured in fortifying the Towne; cauſing ſuch as could beare armes to reſerve themſelves freſh againſt the aſſault: which *Pyrrhus* had unwiſely deferred, upon aſſurance of prevailing.

*Sparta* was never fortified, before this time, otherwiſe than with armed Citizens: ſoon after this, (it being built upon uneven ground, and, for the moſt part, hard to approach) the lower and more acceſſible places, were fenced with wals; at the preſent only trenches were caſt, and barricadoes made with carts, where the entrance ſeemed moſt eaſie. Three dayes together it was aſſailed by *Pyrrhus* exceeding fiercely; and no leſſe ſtoutly defended. The deſperate courage of the Citizens preſerved the Town the firſt day; whereinto the violence of *Pyrrhus* had forced entrance the ſecond day, but that his wounded horſe threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindfull of ſaving the perſon of their King, than of breaking into the Citie, though already they had torne in ſunder the Barricadoes. Preſently after this, one of *Antigonus* his Captains got into *Sparta* with a good ſtrength of men; and *Areus* the King returned out of *Crete* (where he had bin helping his friends in war) with two thouſand men, little knowing the danger, in which his own Countrie ſtood, untill he was almoſt at home. Theſe ſuccours did not more animate the *Spartans*, than kindle in *Pyrrhus* a deſire to prevaile againſt all impediments. But the third dayes worke ſhewed how great his error had beene, in forbearing to aſſault the Town at his firſt comming. For he was ſo manfully repelled, that he ſaw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwiſe than by a long ſiege: in which tedious courſe he had no deſire to ſpend his time.

*Antigonus* had now raiſed an Armie, though not ſtrong enough to meete the enemie in plaine field, yet able to hinder all his purpoſes. This made *Pyrrhus* doubtfull what way to take; being diverſly affected, by the difficultie of his enterpriſe in hand, and the ſhame of taking a repulſe in his firſt attempt. Whileſt he was thus perplexed, letters came from *Argos*, inviting him thither; with promiſe to deliver that Citie into his hands.

Civill diſſention raging then hotly in *Argos*, cauſed the heads of ſeveral factions to call in *Pyrrhus* and *Antigonus*; but the comming of theſe two Princes taught the Citizens wit, and made them deſirous to rid their hands of ſuch powerfull aſſiſtants, as each of the two Kings pretended himſelfe to be. *Antigonus* told the *Argives*, that he came to ſave them from the tyrannie of *Pyrrhus*: and that he would be gone if they needed not his help. On the other ſide, *Pyrrhus* would needs perſwade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them ſafe from *Antigonus*; offering in like manner, to depart, if they ſo deſired.

The *Argives* tooke ſmall pleaſure in hearing the Foxe and Kite at ſtrife, which of them ſhould keepe the Chickens from his enemie: and therefore prayed them both to divert their powers ſome other way. Hereunto *Antigonus* readily condeſcended, and gave hoſtages to aſſure his word: for he was the weaker, and ſtood in need of good will. But *Pyrrhus* thought it enough to promiſe: Hoſtages he would give none, to his inferiours: eſpecially, meaning deceipt. This made them ſuſpect his purpoſe to be ſuch, as indeed it was. Yet he leſſe regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthy of aſſurance, by giving ſuch a bond, as he intended to breake ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the Citie ſhould be opened by night unto *Pyrrhus*, by his Complices within *Argos*: which was accordingly performed. So his Armie without any tumult, entred the Citie; till the Elephants, with Towers on their backes, cloyed the way, being too high to paſſe the Gate. The taking off, and ſetting on againe of thoſe Towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both give alarme to the Citie, and ſome leaſure to take order for defence, before ſo many were entred, as could fully maſter it. *Argos* was full of ditches, which greatly hindred the *Gaules* (that had the Vantguard) being ignorant of the wayes, in the darke night. The Citizens, on the other ſide, had much advantage, by their knowledge of every bypaſſage: and ſetting upon the enemies on all ſides, did put them to great loſſe and more trouble.

*Pyrrhus* therefore, underſtanding by the confuſed noyſe, and unequall ſhoutings of his owne men, that they were in diſtreſſe, entred the Citie in perſon, to take order for their reliefe, and aſſurance of the place. But the darkneſſe, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, untill breake of day. Then began he to make his paſſage by force, and ſo farre prevailed, that he got into the market place. It is ſaid, that ſeeing in that place the Image of a Wolfe and a Bull, in ſuch poſiture as if they had been combatant, he called to minde an Oracle, which threatned him with death, when he ſhould behold a Bull fighting with a Wolfe: and that hereupon he made retrait.

Indeed, the comming of *Antigonus* to the reſcue, the diſorder and confuſion of his owne men, with divers ill accidents, gave him reaſonable cauſe to have retired out of the Citie, though the Wolfe and Bull had beene away. The tumult was ſuch, that no directions could be heard; but as ſome gave backe, ſo did others thruſt forward, and the *Argives* preſſing hard upon him, forced *Pyrrhus* to make good his retrait, with his own ſword. The tops of the houſes were covered with women, that ſtood looking on the fight. Among theſe was one, that ſaw her owne ſon in dangerous caſe, fighting with *Pyrrhus*. Wherefore ſhe tooke a tile-ſtone, or ſlate, and threw it ſo violently down on the head of *Pyrrhus*, that he fell to ground aſtoniſhed with the blow; and lying in that caſe, had his head cut off.

Thus ended the reſtleſſe ambition of *Pyrrhus*, together with his life: and thus returned the Kingdome of *Macedon* to *Antigonus*; who forthwith poſſeſſed the armie, the bodie, and the children of his enemie. The bodie of *Pyrrhus* had honourable buriall, and was given by *Antigonus* unto *Helenus* his ſon; which young Prince he graciouſly ſent home into his fathers Kingdome of *Epirus*. From this time forwards, the race of *Antigonus* held the Kingdom of *Macedon*; the poſteritie of *Seleucus* reigned over *Aſia* and *Syria*; and the houſe of *Ptolomie* had quiet poſſeſſion of *Egypt*: untill ſuch time as the Citie of *Rome*, ſwallowing all up, digeſted theſe, among other Countries, into the bodie of her owne Empire.

***Finis Libri quarti.***

THE

# THE
# FIRST PART
# OF THE HISTORIE
# OF THE WORLD;

## Intreating of the times from the ſettled rule of ALEXANDERS Succeſſors in the Eaſt, untill the ROMANS, *prevailing over all, made Conqueſt* of ASIA and MACEDON.

## *THE FIFTH BOOKE.*

## CHAP. I.

### *Of the firſt Punicke Warre.*

### §. I.

*A diſcuſsion of that probleme of* Livie; Whether the Romans could have reſiſted the great Alexander. *That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman Souldier, was of equall valour to the Engliſh.*

THat queſtion handled by *Livie, Whether the great* Alexander *could have prevailed againſt the Romans, if after his Eaſterne conqueſt, he had bent all his forces againſt them,* hath been, and is the ſubject of much diſpute; which (as it ſeemes to me) the arguments on both ſides do not ſo well explaine, as doth the experience that *Pyrrhus* hath given of the *Roman* power in his daies. For if he, a Commander (in *Hannibals* judgment) inferior to *Alexander*, though to none elſe, could with ſmall ſtrength of men, and little ſtore of mony, or of other needfull helps in War, vanquiſh them in two battels, and endanger their Eſtate, when it was well ſettled, and held the beſt part of *Italie*, under a confirmed obedience: what would *Alexander* have done, that was abundantly provided of all which is needfull to a Conquerour, wanting only matter of employment, comming upon them before their Dominion was halfe ſo well ſettled? It is eaſie to ſay, that *Alexander* had no more than thirty thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe (as indeed, at his firſt paſſage into *Aſia*, he carried over not many more) and that the reſt of his followers were no better than baſe effeminate *Aſiatiques*. But he that conſiders the Armies of *Perdiccas, Antipater, Craterus, Eumenes, Ptolomie, Antigonus* & *Lyſimachus*, with the actions by them performed, every one of which (to omit others) commanded only ſome fragment of this dead Emperours power, ſhall eaſily find, that ſuch a reckoning is far ſhort of the truth.

It were needleſſe to ſpeake of Treaſure, Horſes, Elephants, Engines of battery, and the like: of all which the *Macedonian* had abundance; the *Roman* having nought, ſave men and armes. As for Sea-forces; he that ſhall conſider after what ſort the *Romans*, in their firſt *Punick* Warre, were trained in the rudiments of Navigation; ſitting upon the ſhoare, and beating the ſand with poles, to practice the ſtroke of the Oare, as not daring to lanch their ill-built veſſels into the Sea; will eaſily conceive how farre too weak they would have proved in ſuch ſervices.

Now for helpers in Warre; I do not ſee why all *Greece* and *Macedon*, being abſolutely commanded by *Alexander*, might not well deſerve to be laid in ballance againſt thoſe parts of *Italy*, which the *Romans* held in ill-aſſured ſubjection. To omit therefore all benefit that the Eaſterne world, more wealthy, indeed, than valiant, could have affoorded unto the *Macedonian*: let us onely conjecture, how the States of *Sicill* and *Carthage*, neareſt neighbours to ſuch a quarrell (had it happened) would have ſtood affected. The *Sicilians* were for the moſt part *Grecians*; neither is it to be doubted, that they would readily have ſubmitted themſelves unto him, that ruled all *Greece* beſides them. In what termes they commonly ſtood, and how ill they were able to defend themſelves, it ſhall appeare anon. Sure it is, that *Alexanders* comming into thoſe parts, would have brought exceſſive joy to them that were faine to get the helpe of *Pyrrhus*, by offering to become his ſubjects. As for the *Carthaginians*, if *Agathocles* the Tyrant of *Syracuſe*, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his owne beſieged Citie, could by adventuring to ſaile into *Affrick*, put their Dominion, yea, and *Carthage* it ſelfe, in extreme hazzard; ſhall we thinke that they would have been able to withſtand *Alexander*? But why doe I queſtion their ability, ſeeing that they ſent Embaſſadors, with their ſubmiſſion, as farre as *Babylon*, ere the Warre drew neare them? Wherefore it is manifeſt, that the *Romans* muſt, without other ſuccour, than perhaps of ſome other few *Italian* friends (of which yet there were none that forſooke them not, at ſome time, both before and after this) have oppoſed their valour and good militarie diſcipline, againſt the power of all Countries to them knowne, if they would have made reſiſtance. How they could have ſped well, in undertaking ſuch a match; it is uneaſie to finde in diſcourſe of humane reaſon. It is true, that vertue and fortune worke wonders: but it is againſt cowardly fooles, and the unfortunate: for whoſoever contends with one too mighty for him; either muſt excell in theſe, as much as his enemy goes beyond him in power; or elſe muſt looke both to be overcome, and to be caſt downe ſo much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and vertue renders him ſuſpected, as likely to make head another time againſt the vanquiſher. Whether the *Roman* or the *Macedonian* were in thoſe dayes the better Souldier, I will not take upon me to determine: though I might, without partiality, deliver mine owne opinion, and preferre that Army, which followed not onely *Philip* and *Alexander*, but alſo *Alexanders* Princes after him, in the greateſt dangers of all ſorts of Warre; before any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did ſend forth. Concerning fortune, who can give a rule that ſhall alwaies hold? *Alexander* was victorious in every battell that he fought: and the *Romans* in the iſſue of every Warre. But foraſmuch as *Livie* hath judged this a matter worthy of conſideration; I think it a great part of *Romes* good fortune, that *Alexander* came not into *Italie*: where in three yeares after his death, the two *Roman* Conſuls, together with all the power of that State, were ſurprized by the *Samnites*, and enforced to yeeld up their armes. We may therefore permit *Livie* to admire his own *Romans*, and to compare with *Alexander* thoſe Captains of theirs, which were honoured ſufficiently, in being thought equall to his followers: that the ſame conceipt ſhould blind our judgement, we cannot permit without much vanity.

Now in deciding ſuch a controverſie, me thinkes it were not amiſſe, for an *Engliſhman*, to give ſuch a ſentence between the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being choſen Arbitrators) betweene the *Ardeates* and *Aricini*, that ſtrove about a piece of land; ſaying, That it belonged unto neither of them, but unto the *Romans* themſelves.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonian* or the *Roman* were the beſt Warriour? I will anſwer: The *Engliſh-men*. For it will ſoone appeare to any that ſhall examine the noble acts of our Nation in warre, that they were performed by no advantage of weapon; againſt no ſavage or unmanly people; the enemy being farre ſuperiour unto us in number, and all needfull proviſions, yea as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exerciſe of Warre.

In what ſort *Philip* wan his Dominion in *Greece*; what manner of men the *Perſians* and *Indians* were, whom *Alexander* vanquiſhed; as likewiſe of what force the *Macedonian Phalanx* was, and how well appointed, againſt ſuch armes as it commonly encountred: any man, that hath taken paines to reade the foregoing ſtorie of them, doth ſufficiently underſtand. Yet was this *Phalanx* never, or very ſeldome, able to ſtand againſt the *Roman* Armies; which were embattailed in ſo excellent a forme, as I know not whether any Nation beſides them have uſed, either before or ſince. The *Roman* weapons likewiſe, both offenſive and defenſive, were of greater uſe than thoſe with which any other Nation hath ſerved, before the fiery inſtruments of Gun-powder were known. As for the enemies with which *Rome* had to doe, we finde, that they which did over-match her in numbers, were as far over-matched by her in weapons; and that they, of whom ſhe had little advantage in arms, had as little advantage of her in multitude. This alſo (as *Plutarch* well obſerveth) was a part of her happineſſe, that ſhe was never over-laid with two great wars at once.

Hereby it came to paſſe, that having at firſt increaſed her ſtrength by acceſſion of the *Sabines*; having won the State of *Alba*, againſt which ſhe adventured her own ſelfe, as it were in wager, upon the heads of three Champions: and having thereby made her ſelfe Princeſſe of *Latium*, ſhe did afterwards, by long war, in many ages, extend her Dominion over all *Italie*. The *Carthaginians* had well-neare oppreſſed her: but her Souldiers were Mercenarie; ſo that for want of proper ſtrength, they were eaſily beaten at their owne doores. The *Ætolians*, and with them all, or the moſt of *Greece*, aſſiſted her againſt *Philip* the *Macedonian*: he being beaten, did lend her his helpe to beat the ſame *Ætolians*. The wars againſt *Antiochus*, and other *Aſiatiques*, were ſuch as gave to *Rome* ſmall cauſe of boaſt, though much of joy: for thoſe oppoſites were as baſe of courage, as the lands which they held were aboundant of riches. *Sicil*, *Spain*, and all *Greece*, fell into her hands, by uſing her aide to protect them againſt the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I ſhall not need to ſpeake of her other conqueſts: it was eaſie to get more when ſhee had gotten all this. It is not my purpoſe to diſgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemiſh the reputation of ſo many famous victories: I am not ſo idle. This I ſay, That among all their wars, I finde not any, wherein their valour hath appeared comparable to the *Engliſh*. If my judgement ſeem over-partiall, our wars in *France* may help to make it good.

Firſt therefore it is well knowne, that *Rome* (or perhaps all the world beſides) had never any ſo brave a Commander in war as *Julius Cæſar*: and that no *Roman* armie was comparable unto that which ſerved under the ſame *Cæſar*. Likewiſe, it is apparent, that this gallant Armie, which had given faire proofe of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Helvetian* war, when it firſt entred into *Gaule*; was nevertheleſſe utterly diſheartned, when *Cæſar* led it againſt the *Germans*. So that we may juſtly impute all that was extraordinarie in the valour of *Cæſars* men, to their long exerciſe, under ſo good a Leader, in ſo great a war. Now let us in generall compare with the deeds done by theſe beſt of *Roman* Souldiers, in their principall ſervice; the things performed in the ſame Countrie, by our common *Engliſh* Souldiers, levied in haſte, from following the Cart, or ſitting on the ſhop-ſtall; ſo ſhall we ſee the difference. Herein will we deale fairly, and beleeve *Cæſar*, in relating the acts of the *Romans*: but will call the *French* Hiſtorians to witneſſe, what actions were performed by the *Engliſh*. In *Cæſars* time *France* was inhabited by the *Gaules*, a ſtout people, but inferiour to the *French*, by whom they were ſubdued; even when the *Romans* gave them aſſiſtance. The Countrie of *Gaule* was rent in ſunder (as *Cæſar* witneſſeth) into many Lordſhips: ſome of which were governed by petty Kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in ſuch ſort as might make it appliable to the neareſt Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent: not onely in generall through the whole Countrie, but between the pettie States, yea in every Citie, and almoſt in every houſe. What greater advantage could a Conquerour deſire? Yet there was a greater. *Arioviſtus*, with his *Germans*, had over-run the Countrie, and held much part of it in ſubjection, little different from meere ſlaverie: yea, ſo often had the *Germans* prevailed in warre upon the *Gaules*, that the *Gaules*, (who had ſometimes been the better Souldiers) did hold themſelves no way equall to thoſe daily Invaders. Had *France* bin ſo prepared unto our *Engliſh* Kings, *Rome* it ſelfe by this time, and long ere this time, would have bin ours. But when King *Edward* the third began his War upon *France*, he found the whole Countrey ſettled in obedience to one mighty King; a King whoſe reputation abroad, was no leſſe than his puiſſance at home; under whoſe Enſigne, the King of *Bohemia* did ſerve in perſon; at whoſe call the *Genowayes*, and other Neighbour States, were ready to take armes: finally, a King, unto whom one [a] Prince gave away his Dominion, for love; [b] another ſold away a goodly City and Territory for mony. The Country lying ſo open to the *Romans*, and being ſo well fenced againſt the *Engliſh*; it is note-worthy, not who prevailed moſt therein (for it were meer vanity to match the *Engliſh* purchaſes with the *Roman* conqueſt) but whether of the two gave the greater proofe of military vertue. *Cæſar* himſelfe doth witneſſe, that the *Gaules* complained of their owne ignorance in the Art of War, and that their owne hardineſſe was overmaſtered by the skill of their enemies. Poore men, they admired the *Roman* Towers, and Engines of battery, raiſed and planted againſt their walles, as more than humane workes. What greater wonder is it, that ſuch a people was beaten by the *Romans*; than that the *Caribes*, a naked people, but valiant, as any under the skie, are commonly put to the worſe by ſmall numbers of *Spaniards*? Beſides all this, we are to have regard of the great difficulty that was found, in drawing all the *Gaules*, or any great part of them, to one head, that with joynt forces they might oppoſe their aſſailants: as alſo the much more difficulty of holding them long together. For hereby it came to paſſe, that they were never able to make uſe of opportunity: but ſometimes compelled to ſtay for their fellowes; and ſometimes driven to give or take battell upon extreame diſadvantages, for feare leſt their Companies ſhould fall aſunder: as indeed, upon any little diſaſter, they were ready to break; and return every one to the defence of his own. All this, and (which was little leſſe than all this) great oddes in weapon gave to the *Romans* the honour of many gallant victories. What ſuch helpe? or what other worldly helpe, than the golden metall of their Souldiers, had our *Engliſh* Kings againſt the *French*? Were not the *French* as well experienced in feats of Warre? Yea, did they not thinke themſelves therein our ſuperiours? Were they not in arms, in horſe, and in all proviſion, exceedingly beyond us? Let us heare what a *French* writer ſaith of the inequality that was between the *French* and *Engliſh*, when their King *John* was ready to give the on-ſet upon the *Blacke Prince*, at the battell of *Poitiers*. John *had all advantages over* Edward, *both of number, force, ſhew, Countrey and conceit, (the which is commonly a conſideration of no ſmall importance in worldly affaires) and withall, the choice of all his horſe-men (eſteemed then the beſt in Europe) with the greateſt and wiſeſt Captaines of his whole Realme.* And what could he more?

[a] The Dolphin of Viennois.
[b] The King of Maiorca.

*John de Serres.*

JEAN *avoit tout l'avantage par deſſus* EDOVARD, *le numbre, la force, le luſtre, le pay, le preiuge (qui n'eſt pas communement une conſideration de peu d'importance aux affaires du monde) & avec ſoy l'élite de ſa cavallerie, lors eſtimee la meilleure de tout ſon Royaume.*

I thinke it would trouble a *Roman* antiquary to finde the like example in their Hiſtories; the example I ſay, of a King, brought priſoner to *Rome*, by an Army of eight thouſand, which he had ſurrounded with forty thouſand, better appointed, and no leſſe expert Warriours. This I am ſure of, that neither *Syphax* the *Numidian*, followed by a rabble of halfe Scullions, as *Livie* rightly termes them, nor thoſe cowardly Kings, *Perſeus* and *Gentius*, are worthy patternes. All that have read of *Creſsi* and *Agincourt*, will beare me witneſſe, that I doe not alledge the battell of *Poitiers*, for lacke of other, as good examples of the *Engliſh* vertue: the proofe whereof hath left many a hundred better markes in all quarters of *France*, than ever did the valour of the *Romans*. If any man impute theſe victories of ours to the long Bow, as carrying farther, piercing more ſtrongly, and quicker of diſcharge than the *French* Croſſe-bow: my anſwer is ready; That in all theſe reſpects, it is alſo (being drawne with a ſtrong arme) ſuperiour to the Musket; yet is the Musket a weapon of more uſe. The Gunne and the Croſſe-bow are of like force, when diſcharged by a Boy or Woman, as when by a ſtrong Man: weakneſſe or ſickneſſe, or a ſore finger makes the long Bow unſerviceable. More particularly, I ſay, that it was the cuſtome of our Anceſtors, to ſhoot, for the moſt part, *point blank*: and ſo ſhall hee perceive, that will note the circumſtances of almoſt any one battell. This takes away all objection: for when two Armies are within the diſtance of a Butts length, one flight of arrowes, or two at the moſt can be delivered before they cloſe. Neither is it in generall true, that the long Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth more ſtrongly than the Croſſe-bow: But this is the rare effect of an extraordinarie arme; whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man ſhall aske, How then came it to paſſe, that the *Engliſh* wan ſo many great battels, having no advantage to helpe him? I may, with beſt commendation of modeſtie, referre him to the *French* Hiſtorian: who relating the victorie of our men at *Crevant*, where they paſſed a bridge, in face of the enemie, uſeth theſe words: *The Engliſh comes with a conquering braverie, as he that was accuſtomed to gaine every where, without any ſtay: he forceth our guard, placed upon the bridge to keepe the paſſage.* Or I may cite another place of the ſame Author, where he tels, how the *Britons*, being invaded by *Charles* the eighth, King of *France*, thought it good policie, to apparell a thouſand and five hundred of their owne men in *Engliſh* Caſſocks; hoping that the very ſight of the *Engliſh* red croſſe, would be enough to terrefie the *French*. But I will not ſtand to borrow of the *French* Hiſtorians (all which, excepting *De Serres*, and *Paulus Æmylius*, report wonders of our Nation:) the propoſition which firſt I undertooke to maintaine; *That the militarie vertue of the Engliſh, prevailing againſt all maner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of the Romans, which was aſſiſted with all advantages that could be deſired.* If it be demanded, why then did not our Kings finiſh the conqueſt, as *Cæſar* had done? my anſwer may be (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the race of the *Æacidæ*, of whom the old Poet *Ennius* gave this note; *Bellipotentes ſunt magè quàm ſapienti potentes; They were more warlike than politique.* Whoſo notes their proceedings, may find, that none of them went to worke like a Conquerour, ſave onely King *Henrie* the fift; the courſe of whoſe victories it pleaſed God to interrupt by his death. But this queſtion is the more eaſily anſwered, if another be firſt made. Why did not the *Romans* attempt the conqueſt of *Gaule* before the time of *Cæſar*? why not after the *Macedonian* war? why not after the third *Punick*, or after the *Numantian*? At all theſe times they had good leiſure: and then eſpecially had they both leiſure and fit opportunitie, when under the conduct of *Marius*, they had newly vanquiſhed the *Cimbri*, and *Teutones*, by whom the country of *Gaule* had bin piteouſly waſted. Surely the words of *Tullie* were true; That with other Nations the *Romans* fought for Dominion, with the *Gaules* for preſervation of their own ſafety.

*John de Serres.*

Therefore they attempted not the conqueſt of *Gaule*, untill they were Lords of all other Countries, to them knowne. We on the other ſide, held only the one halfe of our owne Iland; the other halfe being inhabited by a Nation (unleſſe perhaps in wealth and numbers of men ſomewhat inferiour) every way equall to our ſelves; a Nation anciently and ſtrongly allied to our enemies the *French*, and in that regard enemie to us. So that our danger lay both before and behinde us: and the greater danger at our backs; where commonly we felt, alwayes we feared, a ſtronger invaſion by land, than we could make upon *France*, tranſporting our forces over Sea.

It is uſuall with men, that have pleaſed themſelves in admiring the matters which they find in ancient Hiſtories; to hold it a great injurie done to their judgment, if any take upon him, by way of compariſon, to extoll the things of later ages. But I am well perſwaded, that as the divided vertue of this our Iland, hath given more noble proofe of it ſelfe, than under ſo worthie a Leader, that *Roman* Armie could doe, which afterwards could win *Rome*, and all her Empire, making *Cæſar* a *Monarch*; ſo hereafter, by Gods bleſſing, who hath converted our greateſt hinderance, into our greateſt helpe, the enemie that ſhall dare to trie our forces, will find cauſe to wiſh, that avoyding us, he had rather encountred as great a puiſſance as was that of the *Roman* Empire. But it is now high time, that, laying aſide compariſons, we return to the rehearſall of deeds done: wherein we ſhall find, how *Rome* began, after *Pyrrhus* had left *Italie*, to ſtrive with *Carthage* for Dominion, in the firſt *Punick* war.

## §. II.

### *The eſtate of Carthage before it entred into war with Rome.*

THe Citie of *Carthage* had ſtood above ſixe hundred yeares, when firſt it began to contend with *Rome* for the maſterie of *Sicil*. It forewent *Rome* one hundred and fiftie yeares in antiquitie of foundation: but in the honour of great atchievements, it excelled farre beyond this advantage of time. For *Carthage* had extended her Dominion *Africa* it ſelfe, from the weſt part of *Cyrene*, to the ſtreights of *Hercules*, about one thouſand and five hundred miles in length, wherein ſtood three hundred Cities. It had ſubjected all *Spaine*, even to the *Pyrenæan* Mountaines, together with all the Ilands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, to the weſt of *Sicil*; and of *Sicil* the better part. It flouriſhed about ſeven hundred and thirtie yeares, before the deſtruction thereof by *Scipio*: who, beſides other ſpoyles, and all that the Souldiers reſerved, carried thence foure hundred and ſeventie thouſand weight of ſilver, which make of our mony (if our pounds differ not) fourteen hundred and ten thouſand pound ſterling. So as this glorious Citie ran the ſame fortune, which many other great ones have done, both before and ſince. The ruine of the goodlieſt pieces of the world fore-ſhewes the diſſolution of the whole.

About one hundred yeares after ſuch time as it was caſt downe, the Senate of *Rome* cauſed it to be re-built: and by *Gracchus* it was called *Junonia*: it was again and again abandoned and re-peopled, taken and re-taken; by *Genſericus* the *Vandal*, by *Belliſarius* under *Juſtinian*, by the *Perſians*, by the *Egyptians*, and by the *Mahometans*. It is now nothing. The ſeat thereof was exceeding ſtrong: and while the *Carthaginians* commanded the Sea, invincible. For the Sea compaſſed it about, ſaving that it was tied to the maine by a necke of land; which paſſage had two mile and more of breadth (*Appian* ſaith, three mile and one furlong) by which we may be induced to beleeve the common report, that the Citie it ſelfe was above twentie miles in compaſſe; if not that of *Strabo*, affirming the circuit to have been twice as great.

It had three wals without the wall of the Citie; and betweene each of thoſe, three or foure ſtreets, with vaults under ground, of thirtie foot deepe, in which they had place for three hundred Elephants, and all their food: over theſe they had ſtables for four thouſand horſe, and Granaries for their provender. They had alſo lodgings in theſe ſtreets, betweene theſe out-walls, for foure thouſand horſe-men, and twentie thouſand foot-men, which (according to the diſcipline uſed now by thoſe of *China*) never peſtered the Citie. It had towards the South part, the Caſtle of *Byrſa*; to which *Servius* gives two and twentie furlongs in compaſſe, that make two mils and a halfe. This was the ſame piece of ground which *Dido* obtained of the *Libyans*, when ſhe got leave to buy only ſo much Land of them, as ſhe could compaſſe with an Oxe hide. On the Weſt ſide, it had alſo the ſalt Sea, but in the nature of a ſtanding poole; for a certaine arme of Land, faſtened to the ground on which the Citie ſtood, ſtretched it ſelfe towards the weſt continent, and left but ſeventie foot open for the Sea to enter. Over this ſtanding Sea was built a moſt ſumptuous *Arſenall*, having their Ships and Gallies riding under it.

The forme of their Common-weale reſembled that of *Sparta*; for they had titularie Kings, and the *Ariſtocraticall* power of Senators. But (as *Regius* well obſerveth) the people in later times uſurped too great authoritie in their Councels. This confuſion in governement, together with the truſt that they repoſed in hired Souldiers, were helping cauſes of their deſtruction in the end. Two other more forcible cauſes of their ruin, were their avarice and their crueltie. [a] Their avarice was ſhewed both in exacting from their Vaſſals (beſides ordinarie tributes) the one [b] halfe of the fruits of the earth; and in conferring of great offices, not upon gentle and mercifull perſons, but upon thoſe who could beſt tyrannize over the people, to augment their treaſures. Their crueltie appeared, in putting them to death without mercie, that had offended through ignorance: the one of theſe rendred them odious to their vaſſals, whom it made readie, upon all occaſions, to revolt from them: the other did breake the ſpirits of their Generals, by preſenting in the heat of their actions abroad, the feare of a cruell death at home. Hereby it came to paſſe, that many good Commanders of the *Carthaginian* forces, after ſome great loſſe received, have deſperatly caſt themſelvs, with all that remained under their charge, into the throat of deſtruction; holding it neceſſary, either to repaire their loſſes quickly, or to ruine all together: and few of them have dared to manage their owne beſt projects, after that good forme, wherein they firſt conceived them, for feare leſt the manner of their proceeding ſhould be miſ-interpreted: It being the *Carthaginian* rule, to crucifie, not only the unhappy Captain, but even him, whoſe bad counſell had proſperous event. The faults, wherewith, in generall, they of *Carthage* are taxed, by *Roman* Hiſtorians, I finde to be theſe; luſt, crueltie, avarice, craft, unfaithfulneſſe, and perjurie. Whether the *Romans*

[a] *In Pol. Ariſt.* l.2.c.9.

[b] The *Turkes*, at this day, doe alſo take the one halfe of the poore mans corne, that labors the earth: yea, they take tribute both of the bodies, and of the ſoules of the *Chriſtians* their Vaſſals, by bereaving them of their ableſt children, and bringing them up in the *Mahometan* Religion. The *Iriſh* take the fourth ſheaf: and were wont to eate up with their horſmen, footmen, and dogs, what they pleaſed, of the other three parts remaining. The husbandman and the yeoman of *England*, are the freeſt of all the World: And reaſon good: for of them have the bodies of our victorious armies bin compounded. And it is the free-man, and not the ſlave, that hath courage & the ſenſe of ſhame deſerved by cowardiſe. How free the *Engliſh* yeomen have beene in times, not long ſince paſt, *Forteſcue* hath ſhewed in his praiſe of our countries laws. But I may ſay, that they are more free now than ever: and our Nobilitie & Gentrie more ſervile. For, ſince the exceſſive braverie & vain expence of our *Grandes* hath taught them to raiſe their Rents, ſince by incloſures, and diſmembring of Manors, the Court Baron, and the Court Leet, the Principalities of the Gentrie of *England*, have beene diſſolved, the Tenants having payed unto their Lords their racke Rent, owe them now no ſervice at all, and (perchance) as little love.

themſelves were free from the ſame crimes, let the triall be referred unto their actions. The firſt league betweene *Carthage* and *Rome*, was very ancient: having bin made the yeare following the expulſion of *Tarquine*. In that league the *Carthaginians* had the ſuperioritie, as impoſing upon the *Romans* the more ſtrict conditions. For it was agreed, that the *Romans* ſhould not ſo much as have trade in ſome part of *Africk*, nor ſuffer any ſhip of theirs to paſſe beyond the headland, or cape, then called the *faire Promontorie*, unleſſe it were by force of tempeſt: whereas on the other ſide, no Haven in *Italie* was forbidden to the *Carthaginians*. A ſecond league was made long after, which (howſoever it hath pleaſed *Livie* to ſay, that the *Romans* granted it, at the *Carthaginians* intreatie) was more ſtrict than the former: prohibiting the *Romans* to have trade in any part of *Africa*, or in the Iland of *Sardinia*.

*Liv.Dec.1.l.7.*

By theſe two treaties, it may appeare that the *Carthaginians* had an intent not only to keepe the *Romans* (as perhaps they did other people) from getting any knowledg of the ſtate of *Africk*; but to countenance and uphold them, in their troubling all *Italy*, wherby they themſelves might have the better meanes to occupie all *Sicil*, whileſt that Iland ſhould be deſtitute of *Italian* ſuccours. Hereupon we finde good cauſe of the joy that was in *Carthage*, and of the Crowne of gold, weighing twentie and five pound, ſent from thence to *Rome*, when the *Samnites* were overthrowne. But the little ſtate of *Rome* prevailed faſter in *Italie*, than the great power of *Carthage* did in *Sicil*. For that mightie Armie of three hundred thouſand men, which *Hannibal* conducted out of *Africk* into *Sicil*, wan only two Cities therein: many great fleets were devoured by tempeſts; and howſoever the *Carthaginians* prevailed at one time, the *Sicilians*, either by their own valour, or by the aſſiſtance of their good friends out of *Greece*, did at ſome other time repaire their own loſſes, and take revenge upon thoſe Invaders. But never were the people of *Carthage* in better hope of getting all *Sicil*, than when the death of *Agathocles* the Tyrant, had left the whole Iland in combuſtion; the eſtate of *Greece* being ſuch, at the ſame time, that it ſeemed impoſſible for any ſuccour to be ſent from thence. But whileſt the *Carthaginians* were buſie in making their advantage of this good opportunitie; *Pyrrhus*, invited by the *Tarentines* and their fellowes, came into *Italie*, where he made ſharp war upon the *Romans*. Theſe newes were unpleaſing to the *Carthaginians*; who, being a ſubtile Nation, eaſily foreſaw, that the ſame buſie diſpoſition which had brought this Prince out of *Greece* into *Italie*, would as eaſily tranſport him over into *Sicil*, as ſoon as he could finiſh his *Roman* war. To prevent this danger, they ſent *Mago* Embaſſador to *Rome*; who declared in their name, that they were ſorry to heare, what miſadventure had befallen the *Romans*, their good friends, in this war with *Pyrrhus*; and that the people of *Carthage* were very willing to aſſiſt the ſtate of *Rome*, by ſending an army into *Italie*; if their helpe were thought needfull, againſt the *Epirots*.

*Xen.Græc.hiſt.l.1*

It was indeed the maine deſire of the *Carthaginians*, to hold *Pyrrhus* ſo hardly to his worke in *Italie*, that they might, at good leiſure, purſue their buſineſſe in *Sicil*: which cauſed them to make ſuch a goodly offer. But the *Romans* were too high-minded: and refuſed to accept any ſuch aide of their friends, leſt it ſhould blemiſh their reputation, and make them ſeeme unable to ſtand by their own ſtrength. Yet the meſſage was taken lovingly, as it ought; and the former league betweene *Rome* and *Carthage* renued; with covenants added, concerning the preſent buſineſſe; That if either of the two Cities made peace with *Pyrrhus*, it ſhould be with reſervation of libertie, to aſſiſt the other, in caſe that *Pyrrhus* ſhould invade either of their Dominions. All this notwithſtanding, and notwithſtanding that the ſame *Mago* went and treated with *Pyrrhus*, uſing all means to ſound his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one upon every new occaſion, changeth his own purpoſes) yet *Pyrrhus* found leaſure to make a ſtep into *Sicil*: where, though in fine hee was neither getter nor ſaver, yet hee cleane defeated the purpoſes of *Carthage*, leaving them, at his departure from thence, as farre from any end, as when they firſt began.

So many diſaſters, in an enterpriſe that from the firſt undertaking had bin ſo ſtrongly purſued, through the length of many generations, might well have induced the *Carthaginians* to beleeve, that an higher providence reſiſted their intendment. But their deſire of winning that fruitfull Iland, was ſo inveterate, that with unwearied patience, they ſtill continued in hope of ſo much the greater an harveſt, by how much their coſt and paines therein buried had bin the more. Wherefore they re-continued their former courſes;

and by force or practice, recovered in few yeares all their old poſſeſſions: making peace with *Syracuſe*, the chiefe Citie of the Iland, that ſo they might the better enable themſelves to deale with the reſt.

Somewhat before this time, a troupe of *Campanian* Souldiers, that had ſerved under *Agathocles*, being entertained within *Meſſana* as friends, & finding themſelves too ſtrong for the Citizens, tooke advantage of the power that they had to doe wrong; and with perfidious crueltie, ſlue thoſe that had truſted them; which done, they occupied the Citie, Lands, Goods, and Wives of thoſe whom they had murdered. Theſe Mercenaries called themſelves *Mamertines*. Good Souldiers they were: and like enough it is, that meere deſperation of finding any that would approve their barbarous treacherie, added rage unto their ſtoutneſſe. Having therefore not any other colour of their proceedings, than *the law of the ſtronger*, they over-ranne all the Countrie round about them.

In this courſe, at firſt, they ſped ſo well, that they did not only defend *Meſſana* againſt the Cities of *Sicil* Confederate; to wit, againſt the *Syracuſians*, and others, but they rather wan upon them, yea and upon the *Carthaginians*, exacting tribute from many Neighbour places. But it was not long, ere fortune turning her back to theſe *Mamertines*, the *Syracuſians* wan faſt upon them, and finally, confining them within the wals of *Meſſana*, they alſo with a powerfull Armie beſieged the Citie. It hapned ill, that about the ſame time, a contention began, betweene the *Syracuſian* Souldiers, then lying at *Megara*, and the Citizens of *Syracuſe*, and Governors of the Common-wealth; which proceeded ſo far, that the Armie elected two Governors among themſelves, to wit, *Artemidorus* and *Hieron*, that was afterward King. *Hieron*, being for his yeares excellently adorned with many vertues, although it was contrary to the policie of that State, to approve any election made by the Souldiers; yet for the great clemencie he uſed at his firſt entrance, was by generall conſent eſtabliſhed and made Governour. This Office, he rather uſed as a Scale, thereby to climb to ſome higher degree, than reſted content with his preſent preferment.

In briefe, there was ſomewhat wanting, whereby to ſtrengthen himſelfe within the Citie; and ſomewhat without it, that gave impediment to his obtaining, and ſafe keeping, of the place he ſought; to wit, a powerfull partie within the Towne, and certaine mutinous troups of Souldiers without, often and eaſily moved to ſedition and tumult. For the firſt, whereby to ſtrengthen himſelfe, he tooke to wife the daughter of *Leptines*, a man of the greateſt eſtimation and authoritie among the *Syracuſians*. For the ſecond, leading out the Armie to beſiege *Meſſana*, he quartered all thoſe companies, which he held ſuſpected, on the one ſide of the Citie, and leading the reſt of his horſe and foot unto the other ſide, as if he would have aſſaulted it in two ſeverall parts, he marched away under the covert of the Towne walls, and left the Mutiners to be cut in pieces by the aſſieged: So returning home, and levying an Armie of his owne Citizens, well trained and obedient, he haſted again towards *Meſſana*, and was by the *Mamertines* (growne proud by their former victorie over the Mutiners) incountred in the plaines of *Mylæum*, where he obtained a moſt ſignall victorie, and leading with him their Commander Captive into *Syracuſe*, himſelfe by common conſent was elected and ſaluted King. Hereupon the *Mamertines*, finding themſelves utterly enfeebled, ſome of them reſolved to give themſelves to the *Carthaginians*, others to crave aſſiſtance of the *Romans*: to each of whom the ſeverall factions diſpatched Embaſſadours for the very ſame purpoſe.

The *Carthaginians* were ſoone readie to lay hold upon the good offer: ſo that a Captaine of theirs got into the Caſtle of *Meſſana*, whereof they that had ſent for him gave him poſſeſſion. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the *Romans* had brought their Companions to ſo good agreement, that this Captaine, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of doores, and the Towne reſerved for othe Maſters.

Theſe newes did much offend the people of *Carthage*; who crucified their Captaine as both a Traitor and Coward; and ſent a Fleet and Armie to beſiege *Meſſana*, as Towne that rebelled, having once bin theirs. *Hieron*, the new-made King of *Syracuſ* (to gratifie his people, incenſed with the ſmart of injuries lately received) added his forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom he entred into a league, for exterminating th

*Mamertines* out of *Sicil*. So the *Mamertines* on all ſides were cloſed up within *Meſſana*: the *Carthaginians* lying with a Navie at Sea, and with an Army on the one ſide of the Towne, whileſt *Hieron* with his *Syracuſians*, lay before it on the other ſide.

In this their great danger came *Appius Claudius* the *Roman* Conſul, with an Army to the ſtreights of *Sicil*: which paſſing by night with notable audacity, he put himſelfe into the Towne, and ſending Meſſengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hieron*, required them to depart; ſignifying unto them that the *Mamertines* were now become confederate with the people of *Rome*, and that therefore he was come to give them protection, even by force of War, if reaſon would not prevaile.

This meſſage was utterly neglected; And ſo began the War betweene *Rome* and *Carthage*; wherein it will then be time to ſhew on which part was the juſtice of the quarrell, when ſome actions of the *Romans* lately foregoing this, have been firſt conſidered.

## §. III.

*The beginning of the firſt Punick Warre. That it was unjuſtly undertaken by the Romans.*

WHen *Pyrrhus* began his wars in *Italie*, the Citie of *Rhegium*, being well affected to *Rome*, and not only fearing to be taken by the *Epirot*, but much more diſtruſting the *Carthaginians*, as likely to ſeize upon it in that buſie time; ſought aide from the *Romans*, & obtained from them a Legion, conſiſting of 4. thouſand Souldiers, under the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a *Roman* Prefect; by whom they were defended and aſſured for the preſent. But after a while, this *Roman* Garriſon, conſidering at good leaſure, the fact of the *Mamertines*, committed in *Meſſana* (a City in *Sicil*, ſituate almoſt oppoſite to *Rhegium*, and no otherwiſe divided than by a narrow Sea, which ſevereth it from *Italie*) and rather weighing the greatneſſe of the booty, than the odiouſneſſe of the villanie, by which it was gotten; reſolved finally, to make the like purchaſe, by taking the like wicked courſe. Confederating therefore themſelves with the *Mamertines*, they entertained their Hoſts of *Rhegium*, after the ſame manner; dividing the ſpoil, and all which that State had, among themſelves.

When complaint was made to the Senate and people of *Rome*, of this outrage; they finding their honour thereby greatly ſtained (for no Nation in the world made a more ſevere profeſſion of juſtice, than they did during all the time of their growing greatneſſe) reſolved, after a while, to take revenge upon the offenders. And this they performed ſhortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in *Italy* by *Pyrrhus*. For, notwithſtanding that thoſe *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for the fouleneſſe of their fact, hopeleſſe of pardon) defended themſelves with an obſtinate reſolution: yet in the end, the aſſailants forced them; and thoſe which eſcaped the preſent fury, were brought bound to *Rome*, where, after the uſuall torments by whipping inflicted, according to the cuſtome of the Country, they had their heads ſtricken from their ſhoulders, and the people of *Rhegium* were againe reſtored to their former liberty and eſtates.

This execution of Juſtice being newly performed, and the fame thereof ſounding honourably through all quarters of *Italy*: meſſengers came to *Rome* from *Meſſana*, deſiring helpe againſt the *Carthaginians*, and *Syracuſians*, that were in a readineſſe to inflict the like puniſhment upon the *Mamertines*, for the like offence. A very impudent requeſt it was, which they made: who having both given example of that villany to the *Roman* Souldiers, and holpen them with joynt forces to make it good, do intreat the Judges to give them that aſſiſtance, which they were wont to receive from their fellow-theeves.

The *Romans* could not ſuddenly reſolve, whether the way of honeſty or of profit were to be followed; they evermore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They conſidered, how contrary the courſe of ſuccouring the *Mamertines* was to their former counſels and actions: ſeeing for the ſame offences they had lately put to torment, and to the ſword, their owne Souldiers, and reſtored the oppreſſed to their libertie. Yet when they beheld the deſcription of the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and that they were alreadie Lords of the beſt part of *Africa*, of the *Mediterran* Ilands, of a great part of *Spaine*, and ſome part of *Sicil* it ſelfe; whileſt alſo they feared, that *Syracuſe* therein ſeated (a City in beauty and riches, little at that time inferiour to *Carthage*, and farre ſuperiour to *Rome* it ſelfe) might become theirs; the ſafety of their owne eſtate ſpake for theſe *Mamertines*: who, if they (driven to deſpaire by the *Romans*) ſhould deliver up *Meſſana*, with thoſe other holds that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing ſtand betweene *Carthage* and the Lordſhip of *Sicil*: for *Syracuſe* it ſelfe could not, for want of ſuccour, any long time ſubſiſt, if once the *Carthaginians*, that were Maſters of the Sea, did faſten upon that paſſage from the maine Land. It was further conſidered; that the opportunity of *Meſſana* was ſuch, as would not onely debarre all ſuccours out of the continent, from arrivall in *Sicil*; but would ſerve as a bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might have entrance into *Italie*, at their owne pleaſure.

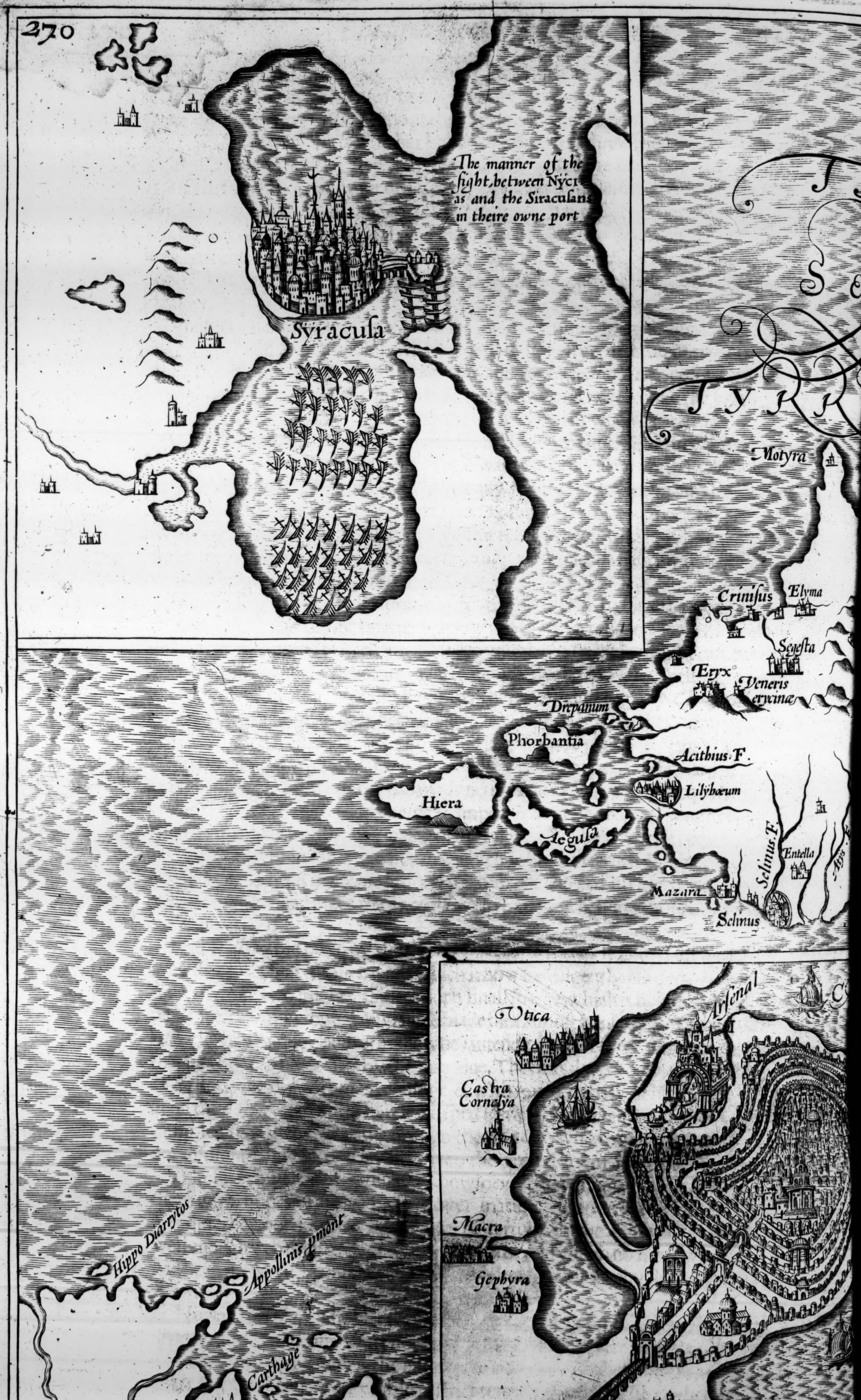
Theſe conſiderations of profit at hand, and of preventing dangers, that threatned from a-farre, did ſo prevaile above all regard of honeſty, that the *Mamertines* were admitted into Confederacy with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudius* the Conſull, preſently diſpatcht away for *Meſſana*: into which he entred, and undertooke the protection of it, as is ſhewed before. The beſiegers were little troubled with his arrivall; and leſſe moved, with his requiring them to deſiſt from their attempt. For they did farre exceede him in number of men; The whole Iland was ready to relieve them in their wants; and they were ſtrong enough at Sea, to hinder any ſupply from getting into the Towne. All this *Appius* himſelfe well underſtood: and againſt all this he thought the ſtiffe mettall of his *Roman* Souldier a ſufficient remedy. Therefore he reſolved to iſſue out into the field, and to let the enemies know, that his comming was to ſend them away from the Town; not to be beſieged by them within it.

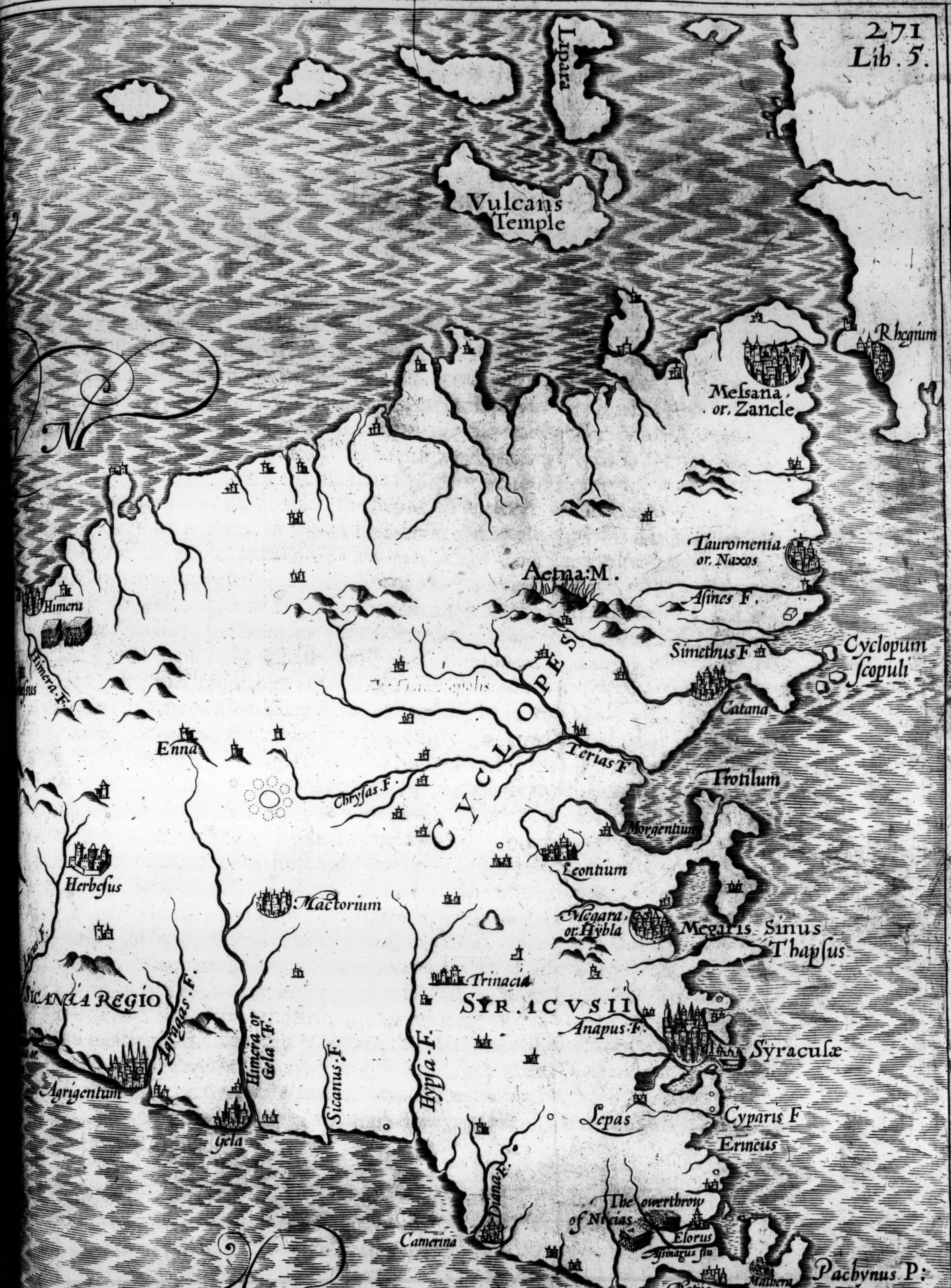
In executing this determination, it was very beneficiall to him, that the enemy lay encamped in ſuch ſort, as one quarter was not well able to relieve another in diſtreſſe. *Hieron* was now expoſed to the ſame danger, whereinto he had wilfully caſt his owne mutinous followers not long before: onely he was ſtrong enough (or thought ſo) to make good his owne quarter, without helpe of others. Againſt him *Ap. Claudius* iſſued forth, and (not attempting, by unexpected ſally, to ſurprize his trenches) arranged his men in order of battell, wherewith he preſented him. The *Syracuſian* wanted not courage to fight; but ſurely he wanted good advice: elſe would he not have hazzarded all his power againſt an enemy of whom he had made no tryall; when it had been eaſie, and as much as was requiſite, to defend his owne Campe. It may be, that he thought to get honour, wherewith to adorne the beginning of his reigne. But he was well beaten, and driven to ſave himſelfe within his Trenches: by which loſſe, he learned a point of wiſdome, that ſtood him and his Kingdome in good ſtead all the daies of his life. It was a fooliſh deſire of revenge, that had made the *Syracuſians* ſo buſie, in helping thoſe of *Carthage*, againſt the *Mamertines*.

Had *Meſſana* bin taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuſe* it ſelfe muſt have ſought helpe from *Rome*, againſt thoſe friends which it now ſo diligently aſſiſted. *Hieron* had (in reſpect of thoſe two mighty Cities) but a ſmall ſtocke, which it behooved him to governe well: ſuch another loſſe would have made him almoſt bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake up his Campe, and retired home: intending to let them ſtand to their adventures, that had hope to be gainers by the bargaine. The next day, *Claudius* perceiving the *Sicilian* Army gone, did with great courage, & with much alacrity of his ſouldiers, give charge upon the *Carthaginians*: wherein he ſped ſo well, that the enemy forſook both field and camp, leaving all the Country open to the *Romans*; who having ſpoiled all round, without reſiſtance, intended to lay ſiege unto the great City of *Syracuſe*.

Theſe proſperous beginnings, howſoever they animated the *Romans*, and filled them with hopes of attaining to greater matters, than at the firſt they had expected: Yet did they not imprint any forme of terrour in the Citie of *Carthage*, that had well enough repaired greater loſſes than this; in which no more was loſt, than what had been prepared againſt the *Mamertines* alone, without any ſuſpicion of Warre from *Rome*.

Now in this place I hold it ſeaſonable, to conſider of thoſe grounds, whereupon the *Romans* entred into this War; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honeſty (for queſtionleſs the enterprize was much to their benefit, though as much to their ſhame) but how allowable in ſtrict termes of lawfulneſſe; whereupon they built


The manner of the fight between Nycias and the Siracusans in theire owne port
Syracusa
Tyrr
Se
Motyra
Crinisus
Elyma
Segesta
Eryx
Veneris erycinæ
Drepanum
Phorbantia
Acithius F.
Lilybœum
Hiera
Aegusa
Selinus F.
Entella
Mazara
Selinus
Hippo Diarrytos
Appollinis pmont
Carthage
Tunis
Vtica
Castra Cornelya
Arsenal
Macra
Gephyra
Aquæ ductus


Lipara
Vulcans Temple
Rhegium
Messana. or. Zancle
Tauromenia or. Naxos
Aetna. M.
Asines F.
Cyclopum scopuli
Simethus F
Catana
Himera
Himera. F.
Enna
Terias F
Chrysas. F.
CYCLOPES
Trotilum
Morgentium
Leontium
Herbesus
Mactorium
Megara or Hybla
Megaris Sinus
Thapsus
Trinacia
SYR. ACVSII
Anapus. F.
Syracusæ
SICANIA REGIO
Acragas. F.
Himera or Gela. F.
Sicanus. F.
Hypsa. F.
Agrigentum
Gela
Lepas
Cyparis F
Erineus
Diana F.
Camerina
The owerthrow of Nicias
Elorus
Asinarus flu
Callipolis
Motya
Mathera
Pachynus P.
THE AFRICAN SEA

all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yeeld themſelves, and all that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, diſtreſſed by the *Samnites*, had done) I cannot finde: neither can I finde how the meſſengers of thoſe folke, whereof one part had already admitted the *Carthaginians*, could be enabled to make any ſuch ſurrendry in the publike name of all.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawfull ſurrendry of themſelves and their poſſeſſions, were become ſubject unto *Rome*, by what better title could the *Romans* aſſiſt the *Mamertines*, againſt their moſt ancient friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might have ayded the *Campanes*, againſt the *Samnites*, without the ſame condition: which was (as they themſelves confeſſed) by none at all. But let it be ſuppoſed, that ſome point ſerving to cleare this doubt, is loſt in all Hiſtories. Doubtleſſe it is, that no company of Pyrates, Theeves, Out-lawes, Murderers, or ſuch other Malefactors, can by any good ſucceſſe of their villanie, obtaine the priviledge of civill ſocieties, to make league or truce; yea, or to require faire Warre: but are by all meanes, as moſt pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take upon me to maintaine that opinion of ſome *Civilians*, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith with one of theſe; it were a Poſition of ill conſequence: This I hold; that no one Prince or State can give protection to ſuch as theſe, as long as any other is uſing the ſword of vengeance againſt them, without becomming acceſſary to their crimes. Wherefore we may eſteeme this action of the *Romans* ſo farre from being juſtifiable, by any pretence of Confederacie made with them; as that contrariwiſe, by admitting this neſt of Murderers and Theeves into their protection, they juſtly deſerved to be warred upon themſelves, by the people of *Sicil*; yea, although *Meſſana* had been taken, and the *Mamertines* all ſlain, ere any newes of the Confederacy had been brought unto the beſiegers. The great *Alexander* was ſo farre perſwaded herein; that he did put to ſword all the *Branchiadæ* (a people in *Sogdiana*) and razed their Citie, notwithſtanding that they joyfully entertained him as their Lord and King; becauſe they were deſcended from a Company of *Mileſians*, who to gratifie King *Xerxes*, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Towne and Country, which theſe of their poſterity enjoyed. Nevertheleſſe, in courſe of humane juſtice, long and peaceable poſſeſſion gives *jus acquiſitum*, a kinde of right by preſcription unto that which was firſt obtained by wicked meanes: and doth free the Deſcendants from the crime of their Anceſtors, whoſe villanies they doe not exerciſe. But that the ſame generation of Theeves, which by a deteſtable fact hath purchaſed a rich Towne, ſhould be acknowledged a lawfull company of Citizens, there is no ſhew of right. For even the Conqueror that by open Warre obtaineth a kingdome, doth not confirme his title, by thoſe victories which gave him firſt poſſeſſion: but length of time is requiſite to eſtabliſh him, unleſſe by ſome alliance with the ancient inheritors, he can better the violence of his claime, as did our King *Henry* the firſt, by his marriage with *Maude*, that was daughter of *Malcolme*, King of the *Scots*, by *Margaret*, the Neece of *Edmund Ironſide*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had ſo good) of juſtice, in this quarrell, than had the *Gothes*, *Hunnes*, *Vandalls*, and other Nations, of the Wars that they made upon the *Roman* Empire, wherein *Rome* her ſelfe, in the time of her viſitation, was burnt to the ground.

## §. IIII.

## *Of the Iland of Sicil.*

### †. I.

### *The qualitie of the Iland: and the firſt inhabitants thereof.*

THe defence of the *Mamertines*, or the poſſeſſion of *Meſſana*, being now no longer ſince the firſt victories of *Appius Claudius*, the objects of the *Roman* hopes; but the Dominion of all *Sicil* being the prize, for which *Rome* and *Carthage* are about to contend: it will be agreeable unto the order, which in the like caſes we have obſerved, to make a briefe collection of things concerning that noble Iland, which hath bin the ſtage of many great acts, performed as well before and after, as in this preſent War.

That *Sicil* was ſometimes a *Peninſula*, or *Demie-Iſle*, adjoyning to *Italie*, as a part of *Brutium* in *Calabria*, neare unto *Rhegium*, and afterward by violence of tempeſt ſevered from the ſame: it is a generall opinion of all antiquitie. But at what certaine time this diviſion happened, there is no memoriall remaining, in any ancient writer. *Strabo*, *Plinie*, and *Dionyſius* affirme, that it was cauſed by an earth-quake; *Silius* and *Caſsiodorus* doe thinke it to have beene done by the rage and violence of the tide, and ſurges of the Sea. Either of theſe opinions may be true; for ſo was *Eubœa* ſevered from *Bœotia*; *Atalante* and *Macris* from *Eubœa*; *Silkie* here in *England*, from the Cape of *Cornwall*; and *Brittain* it ſelfe (as may ſeeme by *Verſtigans* arguments) from the oppoſite continent of *Gaule*. But for *Sicil*, they which lend their eares to fables, doe attribute the cauſe of it to *Neptune* (as *Euſtathius* witneſſeth) who with his three-forked Mace, in favour of *Jocaſtus*, the ſonne of *Æolus*, divided it from the maine land, and ſo made it an Iland, which before was but a *Demie-Iſle*; that by that means he might the more ſafely inhabite, and poſſeſſe the ſame. *Diodorus Siculus*, moved by the authority of *Heſiodus*, aſcribeth the labour of ſundring it from *Italie*, to *Orion*: who, that he might be compared to *Hercules* (cutting through the rocks and mountains) firſt opened the *Sicilian* ſtreights, as *Hercules* did thoſe of *Gibralter*.

*Plin.l.2.c.91.*
*Sil.l 5.*

*Orion l.4 c.14.*
*Diod.l.6.*
*Ovid.de Faſt.4.*

They which value the Ilands of the mid-land Sea, according to their quantity and content, doe make this the greateſt, as *Euſtathius* and *Strabo*, who affirme this, not only to excell the reſt for bigneſſe, but alſo for goodneſſe of ſoyle. As concerning the forme of this Iland, *Pomponius Mela* ſaith, it is like that Capitall letter of the *Greeke*, which they call *Delta*, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle; which is generally knowne to be true. That the whole Iland was conſecrated to *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, all old writers with one conſent affirme. To *Ceres* it was dedicated, becauſe it firſt taught the rules of ſetting and ſowing of Corne: to *Proſerpina*, not ſo much for that ſhe was from hence violently taken by *Pluto*, as becauſe (which *Plutarch* and *Diodorus* do report for truth) that *Pluto*, as ſoon as ſhe, uncovering her ſelfe, firſt ſhewed her ſelfe to be ſeene of him, gave her the Dominion thereof.

Of the fertility and riches of this Countrie, there is a famous teſtimonie written by *Cicero*, in his ſecond Oration againſt *Verres*, where he ſaith, that *Marcus Cato* did call it the *Granarie* and *Store-houſe of the Common-wealth, and the Nurſe of the vulgar ſort*. The ſame *Cicero* doth adde in that place; that it was not onely the Store-houſe of the people of *Rome*: but alſo that it was a well-furniſhed treaſurie. For without any coſt or charge of ours (ſaith he) it hath uſually clothed, maintained and furniſhed our greateſt Armies with leather, apparrell, and corne. *Strabo* reporteth almoſt the ſame thing of it. Whatſoever *Sicilie* doth yeeld (ſaith *Solinus*) whether by the ſunne, and temperature of the ayre, or by the induſtry and labour of man, it is accounted next unto thoſe things that are of beſt eſtimation: were it not that ſuch things as the earth firſt putteth forth, are extremely over-growne with ſaffron. *Diodorus Siculus* ſaith, that in the fields neare unto *Leontium*, and in divers other places of this Iland, wheate doth grow of it ſelfe without any labour or looking to of the husbandman. *Martianus* ſheweth, that there were in it ſixe Colonies, and ſixty Cities: there are that reckon more, whereof the names are found ſcatteringly in many good Authors.

*Strabo l.6.*

Now beſides many famous acts, done by the people of this Iland, as well in peace as Warre, there be many other things which have made it very renowned, as the birth of *Ceres*; the raviſhing of *Proſerpina*; the Giant *Encelladus*; the mount *Ætna*, *Scylla* & *Charybdis*, with other antiquities and rarities; beſides thoſe learned men, the noble *Mathematician*, *Archimedes*, the famous *Geometrician Euclides*, the painfull Hiſtorian *Diodorus*, and *Empedocles*, the deep Philoſopher.

That *Scicil* was at firſt poſſeſſed and inhabited by Giants, *Laſtriogones* and *Cyclopes*, barbarous people, and uncivill; all hiſtories and fables do jointly with one conſent averre. Yet *Thucydides* ſaith, that theſe ſavage people dwelt onely in one part of the Iland. Afterward the *Sicani*, a people of *Spaine*, poſſeſſed it. That theſe *Sicani* were not bredde in the Iſle (although ſome ſo thinke) *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* doe very conſtantly avouch.

Of theſe it was named *Sicania*. Theſe *Sicani* were invaded by the *Siculi*; who, inhabiting that part of *Latium*, wheron *Rome* was afterward built, were driven by the *Pelaſgi* from their owne ſeates, and finding no place upon the Continent, which they were able to

maſte

maſter and inhabite, paſſed over into this Iland, three hundred years before the *Greekes* ſent any Colonies thither: & (ſaith *Philiſtus*) eighty years before the fall of *Troy*. Theſe *Siculi* gave the name of *Sicilia*, to the Iland; & making warre upon the *Sicani*, drave them from the Eaſt and Northerne part thereof, into the Weſt and South. At their landing, they firſt built the Citie *Zancle*, afterward called *Meſſena*; and after that, *Catana*, *Leontium*, & *Syracuſe* it ſelfe, beating from thence the *Aetolians*, who long before had ſet up a Towne in that place. As for the name of *Syracuſe*, it was not knowne, till ſuch time as *Archias* of *Corinth* (long after) wonne that part of the Iland from the *Siculi*; Neither did the *Siculi* at their firſt arrivall diſpoſſeſſe the *Aetolians* thereof, but ſome hundred years after their deſcent, and after ſuch time as they had founded the Cities before named with *Neæ*, *Hybla*, *Trynacia*, and divers others.

After theſe *Siculi* came another nation out of *Italy*, called *Morgetes*; who were thence driven by the *Oenotrians*. Theſe ſat downe in that part of *Sicil*, where they afterward raiſed the Cities of *Morgentum*, & *Leontium*. For at this time the *Siculi* were divided, and by a civill war greatly infeebled. Among theſe ancient ſtories, we finde the laſt voyage, and the death of *Minos*, King of *Creet*. *Theucydides*, an Hiſtorian of unqueſtionable ſincerity, reports of *Minos*, that he made conqueſt of many Ilands: and ſome ſuch buſineſſe, perhaps, drew him into *Sicil*. But the common report is, that he came thither in purſuit of *Dædalus*. The tale goes thus: *Dædalus* fleeing the revenge of *Minos*, came into *Sicil* to *Cocalus*, King of the *Sicani*, and during his abode there, he built a place of great ſtrength, neere unto *Megara*, for *Cocalus* to lay up his treaſure in; together with many notable works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the reſt, he caſt a Ramme in gold, that was ſet up in the Temple of *Venus Erytina*; which he did with ſo great Art, as thoſe that beheld it, thought it rather to be living, than counterfeit.

Now *Minos*, hearing that *Cocalus* had entertained *Dædalus*, prepares to invade the Territory of *Cocalus*; but when he was arrived, *Cocalus* doubting his own ſtrength, promiſeth to deliver *Dædalus*. This he performes not, but in the meane while, kils *Minos* by treaſon, and perſwades the *Cretans*, *Minos* his followers, to inhabite a part of *Sicil*; the better (as it ſeems) to ſtrengthen himſelfe againſt the *Siculi*. Hereunto the *Cretans* (their King being dead) gave their conſent, and builded for themſelves the Citie of *Minoa*, after the name of their King *Minos*. After, they likewiſe built the Towne of *Engium*, now called *Gange*: and theſe were the firſt Cities, built by the *Greekes* in *Sicil*, about two ages before the warre of *Troy*; for the grand-children of *Minos* ſerved with the *Greeks* at the ſiege thereof.

But after ſuch time as the *Cretans* underſtood, that their King had by treaſon beene made away; they gathered together a great Armie, to invade *Cocalus*: and landing neere unto *Camicus*, they beſieged the ſame five yeers, but in vaine. In the end (being forced to returne, without any revenge taken) they were wrackt on the coaſt of *Italy*, and having no meanes to repaire their ſhips, nor the honour they had loſt, they made good the place whereon they fell, and built *Hyria*, or *Hyrium*, between the two famous Ports of *Brunduſium* and *Tarentum*. Of theſe *Cretans* came thoſe Nations, afterward called *Japyges* and *Meſſapii*.

After the taking of *Troy*, *Aegeſtus* and *Elymus*, brought with them certaine troups into *Sicil*, & ſeated themſelves among the *Sicani*; where they built the Cities of *Aegeſta* and *Elyma*.

It is ſaid, that *Aeneas* viſited theſe places in his paſſage into *Italie*: and that ſome of the *Trojans*, his followers, were left behinde him, in theſe Townes of *Sicil*: whereof there want not good Authors, that make *Aeneas* himſelfe the founder.

About the ſame time, the *Phœnicians* ſeized upon the Promontories of *Pachinus*, & *Lilybæum*, & upon certaine ſmall Iſles adjoyning to the maine Iland: which they fortified, to ſecure the trades that they had with the *Sicilians*; like as the *Portugals* have done in the *Eaſt India*, at *Goa*, *Ormus*, *Moſambique*, & other places. But the *Phœnicians* ſtaied not there; for after they had once aſſured their deſcents, they built the goodly Citie of *Panormus*, now called *Palerma*.

Theſe we finde, were the Nations that inhabited the Iſle of *Sicil*, before the warre of *Troy*, and ere the *Greekes* in any numbers began to ſtraggle in thoſe parts.

It may perchance ſeeme ſtrange to the Reader, that in all ancient ſtorie, he findes one

*Saxo G. in præfat. hiſt.*

*Tertul. de Reſurr. Auguſt. de Civit. Dei lib.* 15. *Et quæſt. in Gen. Nicep. lib.* 2. *c.* 37. *Procop. lib.* 2. *de Bello Goth. Plin. lib.* 7. *c.* 2.

and the ſame beginning of Nations, after the floud; & that the firſt planters of all parts of the World, were ſaid to be mighty and Giant-like men; & that, as *Phœnicia*, *Aegypt*, *Lybia*, & *Greece*, had *Hercules*, *Oreſtes*, *Antæus*, *Typhon*, and the like; as *Denmarke* had *Starchaterus*, remembred by *Saxo Grammaticus*; as *Scythia*, *Britanie*, & other Regions had Giants for their firſt Inhabitants; ſo this Iſle of *Sicil* had her *Leſtrigones* & *Cyclopes*. This diſcourſe I could alſo reject for fained and fabulous, did not *Moſes* make us know, that the *Zamzummims*, *Emims*, *Anakims*, & *Og* of *Baſan*, with others, which ſometime inhabited the Mountaines and Deſarts of *Moab*, *Ammon*, and Mount *Seir*, were men of exceeding ſtrength and ſtature, and of the races of Giants: and were it not, that *Tertullian*, *S. Auguſtine*, *Nicephorus*, *Procopius*, *Iſidore*, *Plinie*, *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Solinus*, *Plutarch*, and many other Authors, have confirmed the opinion. Yea, *Veſputius*, in his ſecond Navigation into *America*, hath reported, that himſelfe hath ſeene the like men in thoſe parts. Againe, whereas the ſelfe-ſame is written of all Nations, that is written of any one; as touching their ſimplicity of life, their meane fare, their feeding on acorns and rootes, their poore cottages, the covering of their bodies with the skins of beaſts, their hunting, their armes, and weapons, and their warfare, their firſt paſſages over great Rivers & Armes of the Sea, upon rafts of trees tied together; & afterward, their making boats, firſt of twigs and leather, then of wood; firſt with Oares, & then with Saile; that they eſteemed as gods, the firſt finders out of Arts; as of Husbandrie, of Lawes, and of Policie: it is a matter, that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all lived in the ſame newneſſe of time, which we call *Old time*, and had all the ſame want of his inſtruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankinde. For other teaching had they none, that were remooved farre off from the *Hebrewes*, (who inherited the knowledge of the firſt Patriarchs) than that from variable effects they beganne, by time and degrees, to finde out the cauſes: from whence came Philoſophie Naturall; as the Morall did from diſorder and confuſion; and the Law from cruelty and oppreſſion.

But it is certaine, that the Age of *Time* hath brought forth ſtranger and more incredible things, than the Infancie. For wee have now greater Giants, for vice and injuſtice, than the World had in thoſe daies, for bodily ſtrength; for cottages, and houſes of clay and timber, we have raiſed Palaces of ſtone; we carve them, we paint them, and adorne them with gold, inſomuch as men are rather knowne by their houſes, than their houſes by them; we are fallen from two diſhes, to two hundred; from water, to wine & drunkenneſſe; from the covering of our bodies with the skinnes of beaſts, not onely to ſilke and gold, but to the very skinnes of men. But to conclude this digreſſion, *Time* will alſo take revenge of the exceſſe, which it hath brought forth; *Quam longa dies peperit, longiorque auxit, longiſſima ſubruet: Long time brought forth, longer time increaſed it, and a time, longer than the reſt, ſhall overthrow it.*

## †. II.

## *The plantation of the Greekes in Sicill.*

WHen the firſt inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all *Sicill*: it happened, that one *Theocles*, a *Greek*, being driven upon that coaſt by an Eaſterly wind; & finding true the commendations thereof, which had been thought fabulous, being delivered only by Poets, gave information to the *Athenians* of this his diſcoverie, & propoſed unto them the benefit of this eaſie conqueſt, offering to become their guide. But *Theocles* was as little regarded by the *Athenians*, a *Columbus*, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the *Engliſh*. Wherefore he tooke the ſam courſe that *Columbus* afterwards did. He over-laboured not himſelfe in perſwading th Noble *Athenians* (who thought themſelves to bee well enough already) to their own profit; but went to the *Chalcidians*, that were needie and induſtrious, by whom hi project was gladly entertained. By theſe was built the Citie of *Naxus*, and a Colon planted of *Eubœans*.

But the reſt of the *Greekes* were wiſer than our Weſterne Princes of *Europe*: fo they had no Pope, that ſhould forbid them to occupie the voide places of the Worl *Archias* of *Corinth* followed the *Eubœans*, and landed in *Sicill*, neere unto that City calle called afterward * *Syracuſe*: of which, that part onely was then compaſſed with a wall, which the *Aetolians* called *Homothermon*; the *Greeks*, *Naſos*; the *Latines*, *Inſula*. He with his *Corinthians* having overcome the Siculi, drave them up into the Country; and after a few years, their multitudes increaſing, they added unto the City of the Iland, that of *Acradina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*. So as well by the commodity of the double Port, capable of as many ſhips, as any Haven of that part of *Europe*, as by the fertility of the ſoyle; *Syracuſe* grew up in great haſte, to be one of the goodlieſt Townes of the world. In ſhort time the *Greeks* did poſſeſſe the better part of all the Sea-coaſt; forcing the *Sicilians* to withdraw themelves into the faſt and mountainous parts of the Iland, making their Royall reſidence in *Trinacia*.

* *Syracuſe*, as *Cicero* relates, was the greateſt, & moſt goodly Citie of all that the *Greeks* poſſeſt. For the ſituation is both ſtrong, & of an excellent proſpect from everie entrance, by Land, or Sea. The Port was (for the moſt part) environed with beautifull buildings: and that part which was without the City, was on both ſides bankt up, and ſuſtained with beautifull walls of Marble. The city it ſelfe was one of the greateſt of the world: for it had in compaſſe (as *Strabo* reporteth) without the treble wall thereof, 180. furlongs, which make of our miles about 18. It was compounded of foure Cities, (*Strabo* ſaith, of five; to wit, *Inſula*, *Acradina*, *Tycha*, & *Neapolis*: of which greatneſſe, the ruines & foundations of the walls doe yet witneſſe. After ſuch time as the *Dores* of *Peloponneſus* had driven out the *Sicilians*, this goodly city for a long time became the ſeat of Tyrants. The firſt whereof was *Gelo*: The ſecond, *Hiero* the elder: the third *Thraſybulus*: the fouth and fift, *Dionyſius* the elder, & younger: the ſixt, *Dion*: the ſeven *Agathocles*: the eighth, *Pyrrhus*: the ninth, *Hiero* the younger: the tenth & laſt, *Hieronymus*: who being ſlaine at *Leontium*, at length the *Romans* conquered it under the conduct of *Marcellus*.

Some ſeven years after the arrivall of *Archias*, the *Chalcidians*, encouraged by the ſucceſſe of the *Corinthians*, did aſſaile, & obtaine the city of *Leentium*, built & poſſeſt by the *Siculi*. In briefe, the *Greeks* win from the *Siculi*, & their Aſſociates, the cities of *Catana* and *Hybla*, which, in honour of the *Megarians* that forc't it, they called *Megara*.

About 45. years after *Archias* had taken *Syracuſe*; *Antiphemus* and *Entimus*, the one from *Rhodes*, the other from *Crete*, brought an Army into *Sicil*, and built *Gela*; whoſe Citizens, one hundred and eight years after, did erect that magnificent and renowned city of *Agrigentum*, governed according to the Lawes of the *Dorians*.

The *Syracuſians* alſo, in the ſeventieth year after their plantation, did ſet up the city of *Acra*, in the Mountaines; and in the ninetieth year *Caſmena*, in the Plaines adjoyning; & againe in the hundred and thirtieth year of their dwelling in *Syracuſe*, they built *Camerina*: & ſoon after that, *Enna*, in the very Center of the Iland. So did the *Cumani* about the ſame time, recover from the *Siculi* the city of *Zancle*, which they had founded in the ſtreight betweene *Sicil* and *Italy*. They of *Zancle* had beene the founders of *Himera*.

Not long after this, *Doriæus* the *Lacedæmonian* built *Heraclia*; which the *Phœnicians*, and *Carthaginians*, fearing the Neighbourhood of the *Spartans*, ſoon after invaded and ruined, though the ſame were againe ere long re-edified.

*Selinus* alſo was built by a Colony of *Megara*: & *Zancle* was taken by the *Meſſenians*; who having loſt their owne Country, gave the name thereof unto this their new purchaſe. Such were the beginnings of the greateſt cities in this Iland.

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## †. III.

### *Of the Government and affaires of Sicil, before* Dionyſius *his tyranny.*

THe moſt part of the cities in *Sicil*, were governed by the rule of the people, till ſuch time as *Phalaris* began to uſurpe the ſtate of *Agrigentum*, and to exerciſe all maner of tyranny therein.

This was that *Phalaris*, to whom *Perillus*, the cunning Artificer of a deteſtable Engine, gave an hollow Bull of braſſe, wherein to incloſe men, and ſcortch them to death: praiſing the device with this commendation; That the noiſe of one tormented therein, ſhould bee like unto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gave a due reward to the Inventour; by cauſing the firſt triall to be made upon himſelfe. He reigned one and thirty years, ſaith *Euſebius*; others give him but ſixteene: Howſoever it were, one *Telemachus* in the end, fell upon him with the whole multitude of *Agrigentum*, and ſtoned him to death; being thereto animated by *Zeno*, even whileſt the Tyrant was tormenting the ſame *Zeno*, to make him confeſſe ſome matter of conſpiracy.

After the death of *Phalaris*, the Citizens recovered their liberty, & enjoyed it long, till *Thero* uſurped the government of the Common-weale: at which time alſo *Panætius* made himſelf Lord of *Leontium*; & *Cleander*, of *Gela*: but *Cleander*, having ruled ſeven yeares, was ſlaine by one of the Citizens. *Cleander* being dead, his brother *Hyppocrates* ſucceeded in his roome, & greatly afflicted the people of *Naxos*, of *Zancle*, or *Meſſena*, and of *Leontium*; whom with divers others of the ancient inhabitants, he forced to acknowledge him their Lord. He alſo made warre with the *Syracuſians*, and, in the end, got from them by compoſition, the City of *Camerina*. But when he had reigned ſeven years, he was ſlaine in a battell againſt the *Siculi*, before *Hybla*.

At this time did the *Syracuſians* change their form of government, from Popular to *Ariſtocratical*, a preparation towards a principality, whereinto it was ſoon after changed.

After the death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon* (deſcended from the *Rhodians*, which together with the *Cretans* had long before, among other of the *Greeks*, ſeated themſelves in *Sicil*) that had commanded the forces of *Hippocrates*, in the former war, with notable ſucceſſe, became Lord of *Gela*. He, after his Maſters death, breaking the truſt committed unto him by *Hippocrates* over his childeen, and being in poſſeſſion of *Gela*, tooke the occaſion and advantage of a contention in *Syracuſe*, betweene the Magiſtrates and the People. For comming with a ſtrong Army to the ſuccour of the Governours, driven out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the firſt, and (indeed) the moſt famous, that ever governed the *Syracuſians*. This change happened in the ſecond yeere of the threeſcore and twelfth Olympiad; wherein the better to eſtabliſh himſelfe, he tooke to wife the Daughter of *Thero*, who had alſo uſurped the ſtate of *Agrigentum*.

*Pauſ. lib.6.*

Now this *Gelon*, the ſonne of *Dinomenes*, had three brethren; *Hiero*, *Polyżelus*, and *Thraſybulus*: to the firſt of which he gave up the Citie of *Gela*, when hee had obtained the Principalitie of *Syracuſe*. For, after that time, all his thoughts travelled in the ſtrengthening, beautifying, and amplifying of *Syracuſe*. He defaced *Camerina*, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the *Syracuſians* who built it, and brought the Citizens to *Syracuſe*. The *Megarians* that had moved a war againſt him, he overcame; the richer ſort he brought unto *Syracuſe*; and the people he ſold for ſlaves. In like manner dealt he with other places upon the like occaſion. Not long after this, *Thero*, a Prince of the *Agrigentines*, having diſpoſſeſt *Terillus* of his Citie *Himera*; the *Carthaginians* were drawne into the quarrell by *Anaxilus*, Lord of *Meſſena*, Father-in-law to *Terillus*: and *Gelon* was alſo ſolicited by his Father-in-law, *Thero*. *Gelon* was content, and in fine, after divers conflicts, the *Carthaginians*, and other *Africans*, led by *Amilcar*, were overthrowne by *Gelon*: and an hundred and fifty thouſand of them left their bodies in *Sicil*.

*Herod. & Dio.*

This *Gelon* it was, to whom the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* ſent for ſuccour, when *Xerxes* with his huge Army paſt the *Helleſpont*. He, for their reliefe having armed thirty thouſand Souldiers, and two hundred ſhips, refuſed neverthleſſe to ſend them into *Greece*, becauſe they refuſed him the commandement of one of their Armies, either by Sea, or Land. So hee uſed to their Embaſſadors only this ſaying, *That their Spring was withered*; accounting the Army, by him prepared, to be the very flower of the *Greeke* Nation.

The *Carthaginians*, after this great loſſe received, fearing the invaſion of their owne Countrie, ſent to *Gelon* by their Embaſſadours, to deſire peace, who grants it them on theſe conditions: That from thenceforth they ſhould not ſacrifice their children to *Saturne*; That they ſhould pay him 2000. talent of ſilver, and preſent him with two armed ſhips, in ſigne of amitie. Theſe conditions the *Carthaginians*, not only willingly accepted, but with the two thouſand talents, and the ſhips for warre, they ſent unto *Demarata*, *Gelons* wife, a crowne, valued at an hundred talents of gold, with other preſents. Whereby we ſee, that ſome Nations, and ſome Natures, are much the better for being well beaten. The warres ended, and *Sicil* in peace, *Gelon* beautified the Temples of the gods, & erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloved and honoured of his Subjects, he left the World, and left for his Succeſſor his brother *Hiero*. *Philiſtus* and *Pliny* report, That, when his body was burnt, according to the cuſtome of that Age, a Dogge of his, which alwaies waited on him, ranne into the fire, and ſuffered himſelfe to be burnt with him.

To *Gelon*, *Hiero* his brother ſucceeded, a man rude, cruell, covetous, and ſo ſuſpicious of his brethren *Polyzelus*, and *Thraſybulus*, as hee ſought by all meanes to deſtroy them. Notwithſtanding all this, by the converſation which he had with *Simonides*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the ſtudy of good Arts. Divers quarrels he had, as well with *Theron* of *Agrigentum*, as with other cities: all which he ſhortly after compounded, and gave a notable overthrow to the *Carthaginians*, whom *Xerxes* had incited to invade *Sicil*, fearing the ſuccours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aide the *Grecians*, againſt him. He alſo overthrew in battaile *Thraſydæus*, the ſonne of *Theron*, and thereby reſtored the *Agrigentines*, to their former liberty. But in the end, he loſt the love of the *Syracuſians*; and after he had reigned eleven yeeres, he left the Kingdome to his brother *Thraſybulus*, who became a moſt unjuſt and bloudy Tyrant. *Thraſybulus* injoyed his Principality no longer than ten moneths. For, notwithſtanding the force of mercenary Souldiers, which he entertained for his guards, he was beaten out of *Syracuſe* by the Citizens; to whom, being beſieged in *Acradina*, he reſtored the governement, and was baniſhed the Iland. From whence he ſailed into *Greece*, where he died a private man, among the *Locrians*.

And now had the *Syracuſians* recovered againe their former liberty, as all the reſt of the Cities did, after which they had never ſought, had the Succeſſors of *Gelon* inherited his vertue, as they did the Principality of *Syracuſe*. For in all changes of Eſtates, the preſervation oughtt o anſwer the acquiſition. Where a liberall, valiant, and adviſed Prince, hath obtained any new Signiory, and added it to that of his owne, or exalted himſelfe from being a private man, to the dignity of a Prince; it behooveth the Succeſſour to maintaine it by the ſame way and art, by which it was gotten.

To conclude, *Syracuſe* (though not without blowes, ere that ſhe could cleanſe her ſelfe of the creatures and lovers of *Gelon*) was now againe become Miſtreſſe of her ſelfe, and held her ſelfe free, well neere threeſcore yeares, to the time of *Dionyſius*; though ſhe were in the meane while greatly endangered by a Citizen of her owne, called *Tindario*.

Now, to prevent the greatneſſe of any one among them, for the future, they deviſed a kinde of baniſhment of ſuch among them, as were ſuſpected; taking patterne from the *Athenian Oſtraciſme*. They called this their new deviſed judgment of exile, *Petaliſmus*, wherein every one wrote upon an Olive leafe (as at *Athens* they wrote upon ſhells) the name of him, whom he would have expelled the City. He that had moſt ſuffrages againſt him, was baniſhed for five yeeres. Hereby in a ſhort time, it came to paſſe that thoſe of judgement, and beſt able to governe the Common-weale, were by the worſt able, either ſuppreſt, or thruſt out of the City. Yea, ſuch as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themſelves as ſecretly as they could; ſeeking ſome place of more ſecurity, wherein to maintaine themſelves. And good reaſon they had ſo to doe; ſeeing that there is nothing ſo terrible in any State, as a powerfull and authorized ignorance. But this Law laſted not very long. For their neceſſity taught them to aboliſh it, and reſtore againe the wiſer ſort unto the Governenent; from which, the Nobility having practiſed to baniſh one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being invaded by *Ducetius*, King of the *Sicilians*, that inhabited the inner part of the Iland (who had already taken *Enna*, and ſome other of the *Græcian* Cities, and overthrowne the Army of the *Agregentines*) the *Syracuſians* ſent forces againſt him, commanded by an unworthy Citizen of theirs, called *Bolcon*. This their Captaine made nothing ſo much haſte to finde out *Ducetius*, againſt whom he was imployed, as he did to flee from the Army, he led, as ſoone as *Ducetius* preſented him battell. So for want of conduct, the greateſt number of the *Syracuſians* periſhed.

But making better choice among thoſe whom they had baniſhed, they levie other troupes: by whom, in concluſion, *Ducetius* being beaten, ſubmitteth himſelfe, and is conſtrained to leave the Iland for a time. Yet it was not long ere he returned againe, and built the City *Collatina* on the Sea-ſide.

*Ducetius* being dead; all the *Greek* Cities did in a ſort acknowledge *Syracuſe*: *Trinacia* excepted; which alſo by force of armes, in the foureſcore and fift Olympiad, they brought to reaſon.

But they doe not long enjoy this their Superintendencie. For the Citizens of *Leontium*, being oppreſt by them, ſeeke aide from the *Athenians*, about the ſixt year of the *Peloponneſian* Warre. In this ſuite they prevailed by the eloquence of *Gorgias* their Orator; and got an hundred *Athenian* Gallies to ſuccour them, under the leading of *Laches*, and *Charœodes*. To this fleet, the *Leontines*, and their Partners, added one hundred more; with which forces, and with ſome ſupplies brought by *Sophocles*, *Pythodorus*, *Eurymedon* and other *Athenian* Captains, they invaded the Territories of the *Syracuſians*, and their Partiſans; wanne and loſt divers places; tooke *Meſſana*; and, in the ſeventh yeare of the *Peloponneſian* Warre, loſt it againe. They alſo at the ſame time, attempted *Hymera*, but in vaine. The fire of this quarrell tooke hold upon many Cities, which did invade each others Territory with great violence. But when they had wearied themſelves on all hands, & yet could ſee none iſſue of the warre, the *Leontines*, without the advice of the *Athenians*, came to an accord with the *Syracuſians*, and were admitted into their ſociety, with equall freedome. So the *Athenians*, who hoped to have greatned themſelves in *Sicil*, by the diviſion and civill warre, were diſappointed of their expectation, by the good agreement of the *Sicilians*, and faine to be gone with the broken remainder of their fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the cuſtome of popular Eſtates) by taking revenge upon their owne Commanders. So they baniſhed *Pythodorus*, & *Sophocles*, & laid an heavie fine upon *Eurymedon*. Shortly after this, followed the moſt memorable war, that ever was made by the *Greeks* in *Sicil*: which was that of the *Athenians*, againſt the *Selinuntines* & *Syracuſians*, in favour of the Cities of *Egeſta*, *Leontium*, and *Catana*. They of *Selinus* had oppreſt the *Egeſtans*; & they of *Syracuſe* the *Leontines*, & the *Catanians*: which was the ground of the war. For, the *Athenians* undertooke the protection of their old friends: and, in hatred of the *Athenians*, aide from *Lacedæmon* was ſent to the *Syracuſians*. The *Lacedæmonians* dealt plainly, having none other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to help a people of their owne Tribe, that craved their ſuccour, being in diſtreſſe. The *Athenians* ſcarce knew what to pretend: for their preparations were ſo great, as diſcovered their intent to be none other, than the conqueſt of the whole Iland. Yet they which had called them in, were ſo blinded with their owne paſſions, that they would not beleeve their owne eies; which preſented unto them a Fleet and Army, far greater, than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this expedition, the city of *Athens* had engaged all her power; as regarding, not onely the greatneſſe of the enterpriſe, but the neceſſity of finiſhing it in a ſhort ſpace of time. For the *Lacedæmonians* (as hath already been ſhewed in due place) ſtood at that time in ſuch broken terms of peace with *Athens*, as differed not much from open warre. Wherefore it was thought neceſſary, either to ſpare coſt in this great expedition, or altogether to forbeare it: which was likely to be hindred by warres at home, if their proceedings were ſlacke abroad. And ſurely, had not the deſire of the *Athenians* bin over-paſſionate, the arguments of *Nicias* had cauſed them to abſtaine from ſo chargeable a buſineſſe, and to reſerve their forces for a more needfull uſe. But young counſailes prevailed againſt the authority of ancient men, that were more regardfull of ſafety than of honour.

Of this buſineſſe, mention hath beene already made, in that which wee have written of the *Peloponneſian* warre. But what was there delivered in generall termes, as not concerning the affaires of *Greece*, otherwiſe than by conſequence, doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of *Sicil* was like to have felt a great converſion.

Though *Alcibiades* had prevailed againſt *Nicias*, in exhorting the people to this great voyage; yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chiefe Commanders therein.

Theſe had commiſſion & direction, as well to ſuccour the *Segeſtans*, & to re-eſtabliſh the *Leontines*, caſt out of their places by the *Syracuſians*; as alſo by force of armes, t ſubject the *Syracuſians*, and all their adherents in *Sicil*, and compell them by tribute, t acknowledge the *Athenians* for their ſupreme Lords. To effect which, the fore-named Captaines were ſent off, with an hundred and thirty Gallies, and five thouſand one hundred Souldiers, beſides the thirty ſhips of burden, which tranſported their victuals, engines, and other munitions for the war: and theſe were *Athenians*, *Mantinæans*, *Rhodians*, and *Candians*: there were, beſides theſe, ſixe thouſand *Megarians* light-armed, with thirty horſe-men.

Thucyd.l.6.c.9.

With theſe troups & fleets they arrive at *Rhegium*, where the *Rhegians* refuſe to giv them entry; but ſell them victualls for their mony. From thence they ſent to the *Egeſtans*, to know what treaſure they would contribute towards the warre, ſeeing for thei ſakes they had entred thereinto. But they found by their anſwers, that theſe *Egeſtan* were poore, and that they had abuſed the *Athenian* Embaſſadours with falſe ſhewes o gold, having in all but 30. talents. The *Athenians* further were diſcouraged, when the found that the *Rhegians*, their ancient friends, and allied unto the *Leontines*, refuſed t truſt them within their Walls. Hereupon *Nicias* adviſeth to depart towards the *Selinuntines*, and to force them, or perſwade them to an agreement with the *Egeſtans*; likewiſe to ſee what disburſements the *Egeſtans* could make; and ſo returne againe int *Greece*, and not to waſte *Athens* in a needleſſe war. *Alcibiades*, on the other ſide, woul

ſolicit

ſolicite the cities of *Sicil* to confederacie againſt the *Syracuſians* & *Selinuntines*, whereby to force them unto reſtitution of all that they had taken from the *Leontines*. *Lamachus*, he perſwades them to aſſaile *Syracuſe* it ſelf, before it were prepared againſt them. But in the end (being excluded out of divers Cities) they ſurpriſe *Catana*: and there they take new counſell how to proceed. Thence they imployed *Nicias* to thoſe of *Egeſta*, who received from them thirtie talents towards his charges; and one hundred and twentie talents more there were of the ſpoyles they had gotten in the Iland. Thus, the Summer being ſpent in idle conſultations, and vaine attempts, the *Athenians* prepare to aſſaile *Syracuſe*. But *Alcibiades* having been accuſed at home, in his abſence, was ſent for back by the *Athenians* to make his anſwer: and the Armie was left to the conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. Theſe Commanders obtaine a landing place very neer unto *Syracuſe*, by this device.

They imploy to *Syracuſe* an inhabitant of *Catana*, whom they truſt; and inſtruct him, to promiſe unto the *Syracuſians*, that he would deliver into their hands all the *Athenians* within *Catana*. Hereupon the *Syracuſians* draw thitherward with their beſt forces. But in the mean while, the *Athenians*, ſetting ſail from *Catana*, arrive at *Syracuſe*, where they land at faire eaſe, and fortifie themſelves againſt the Town. Shortly after this, they fight, and the *Syracuſians* had the loſſe: but the *Athenians*, wanting horſe, could not purſue their victorie to any great effect. They then retire themſelves, with a reſolution to refreſh their Armie at *Catana*, for the winter-ſeaſon. From thence they made an attempt upon *Meſſana*, hoping to have taken it by an intelligence, but in vain. For *Alcibiades* had diſcovered ſuch as were Traitors within the Citie to the *Meſſenians*. This he now did, in deſpight of his own Citizens, the *Athenians*; becauſe they had recalled him from his command, with a purpoſe either to have put him to death, or to have baniſhed him: whereof being aſſured by his friends, he tooke his way towards the *Lacedæmonians*, and to them he gave miſchievous counſell againſt his countrey. While this Winter yet laſted, the *Syracuſians* ſend Embaſſadors to *Lacedæmon*, and *Corinth*, for aid: as likewiſe the *Athenian* Captains in *Sicil*, ſend to *Athens* for ſupplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth year of the *Peloponneſian* war) the *Athenians* in *Sicil* ſaile from the Port of *Catana* to *Megara*, forſaken of the Inhabitants; from whence, forraging the Country, they obtain ſome ſmall victories over the ſtraggling *Syracuſians*: and at their return to *Catana*, they receive a ſupplie of two hundred men at arms, but without horſe, which they hoped to furniſh in the Iland from the *Segeſtans*, and other their adherents: they were alſo ſtrengthened with a companie of Archers, and with three hundred talents in mony.

Hereupon they take courage, and incampe neere *Syracuſe*, upon the banks of the great Port, repelling the *Syracuſians*, that ſallied to impeach their intrenchments. They alſo received from their Confederates foure hundred horſe-men, with two hundred other horſe, to mount their men at arms. *Syracuſe* was now in effect blockt up, ſo as hardly any ſuccours could enter, but ſuch as were able to force their paſſage: yet the *Athenians* receive divers loſſes; among which it was not the leaſt, that *Lamachus*, one of their beſt Commanders, was ſlaine.

In the mean while, *Gylyppus* and *Pythen*, with the *Lacedæmonian* and *Corinthian* forces, arrive, and take land at *Hymera*. The Citizens of *Hymera*, and of *Gela*, together with the *Selinuntines*, joyne with them; ſo that with theſe and his owne troupes, *Gylyppus* adventured to march over-land toward *Syracuſe*. The *Syracuſians* ſend a part of their forces to meet him and conduct him. The *Athenians* prepare to encounter them, expecting his arivall neere unto the Citie upon a place of advantage. At the firſt encounter they had the better of their enemies, by reaſon that the *Syracuſian* horſe-men could not come to fight in thoſe ſtreights: but ſoone after, *Gylyppus* charging them againe, brake them, and conſtrained *Nicias* to fortifie himſelfe within his Campe. Whereupon *Nicias* made the ſtate of his affaires knowne, by his letters to the *Athenians*; ſhewing, that without great ſupplies by Sea and Land, the enterpriſe would be loſt, together with the ſmall Army remaining. Theſe letters received, the *Athenians* appoint two other Generals, *Eurymedon* and *Demoſthenes*, to joyne with *Nicias*: the one they diſpatch preſently with ſome ſupplies; the other they ſend after him in the Spring following.

In the meane while, *Gylyppus* at *Syracuſe*, fights with the *Athenians* both by Sea and

Land,ſometimes with ill,and at other times with good ſucceſſe: but in concluſion, he took from their Fort,neer unto *Syracuſe*, the Promontorie called *Plymmyrium*; wherein the *Athenians* loſt their treaſure,and a great part of all their proviſions. Notwithſtanding which loſſe,and that the *Athenians* themſelves, in *Greece*, were (in effect)beſieged within *Athens*,by the *Lacedæmonians*; yet were they moſt obſtinate in proſecuting the War in *Sicil*, and diſpatched away *Demoſthenes* with new ſuccours. *Demoſthenes*, in his way towards *Sicil*, encountred with *Polyanthes* the *Corinthian*, with his fleet: both the Captaines being bound for *Sicil*,the one to ſuccour *Nicias*,the other *Gylyppus*. The loſſe betweene them was in effect equall; and neither ſo broken,but that each of them proſecuted the enterpriſe they had in hand. But before the ſuccours arrived to either, *Gylyppus* and *Ariſton* had aſſailed the *Athenians* in the great Port of *Syracuſe*, and in a Sea fight put them to the worſt, to the great diſcouragement of the *Athenians*. On the neck of this, *Demoſthenes* arrived with threeſcore and thirteen Gallies,charged with footmen; and (blaming the ſloath of *Nicias*) he invaded the *Syracuſians* the ſame day that he arrived. But he made more haſte than he had good ſpeed,being ſhamefully beaten, and repulſed with great loſſe. Hereupon *Demoſthenes* and *Eurymedon* determine to riſe up from before *Syracuſe*, and returne to the ſuccour of *Athens*: but *Nicias* diſputed to the contrarie, pretending that he had good intelligence within *Syracuſe*, whereby he learned, that the Towne could not long hold out.

Whatſoever *Nicias* his intelligence was; upon the arrivall of a new ſupplie into the Towne,the *Athenians* had all conſented to depart, and to lodge at *Catana*: had not an Eclipſe of the Moone, boding (as was thought) ill ſucceſſe,cauſed them to deferre their departure. But this ſuperſtition coſt them dear. For the *Syracuſians*, *Lacedæmonians*,and *Corinthians*, with threeſcore and ſeventeen ſaile of Gallies, entred the great Port of *Syracuſe*,wherein the *Athenians* kept their fleet,& whereon they had fortified themſelves. The *Athenians*,in the ſame Port,encountred them with foureſcore & ſixe Gallies,commanded by *Eurymedon*; in which the *Athenian* fleet was beaten,by the leſſer number,& *Eurymedon* ſlaine. Now, though it were ſo,that the *Syracuſians* received the more loſſe by land(for the fight was generall)yet when the *Athenians* were beaten by ſea,in which kinde they thought themſelves invincible,they were wonderfully caſt downe. For it was well ſaid of *Gylyppus*, to the *Syracuſians*; *When any people doe finde themſelves vanquiſhed in that manner of fight, and with thoſe weapons, in which they perſwade themſelves that they exceede all others, they not onely loſe their reputation, but their courage.* The *Athenians*, beſides the Gallies ſuncke and wrackt, had ſeventeene taken,& poſſeſt by the enemy: & with great labour and loſſe they defended the reſt from being fired, having drawn them within a *Paliſado*, in one corner of the Port, unadviſedly: for it is as contrary to a Sea-war, to thruſt ſhips into a ſtreight roome and corner, as it is to ſcatter foot in a plaine field againſt horſe; the one ſubſiſting by being at large, the other by cloſe imbattailing.

The *Syracuſians*,having now weakned the *Athenian* fleet, reſolve to impriſon them within the Port. And to that purpoſe they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Haven,being about a mile over,and there they came to *Anchor*; filling the out-let with all manner of Veſſells; which they man moſt ſtrongly, becauſe the *Athenians*, being now made deſperate, ſhould not with double ranks of Gallies break though the *Syracuſian* fleet; which lay but ſingle, becauſe they were forc't to range themſelves over all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore, not onely mored themſelves ſtrongly by their *Anchors*, but chained the ſides of their Gallies together, and laid behinde them againe certaine ſhips,which ſerved in the former warre for victuallers: to the end, that if any of their Gallies were ſunke; or the chaine,which joyned them to their fellowes,broken,the *Athenians* might yet find themſelves, a ſecond time,intangled and arreſted. To diſorder alſo thoſe *Athenian* Gallies, which came on in forme of a wedge, to breake through, and force a paſſage, the *Syracuſians* had left within theſe Gallies & Ships,inchained together, a certain number of looſe ones, to ſtop their courſe and fury. For where the way of any veſſell, uſing oare or ſailes, is broken, and their ſpeede fore-ſlowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence, the reſiſtance oppoſing.

On the other ſide, the *Athenians* knew that they were utterly loſt,except with an invincible reſolution, they could make their way, and breake downe this great bridge of boats; or (at leaſt) force a paſſage through them in ſome part or other: which they reſolve to hazzard, with all their ſhipping (to the number of one hundred & ten, of all ſorts) and with all the ſtrength of their Land-armie, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the bridge of boats, did ſo diſorder the *Athenian* fleet, ere they came to force the bridge, as, albeit ſome few of them had broken through the chaines, yet being ſtopt with the ſhips without, and aſſailed by other looſe Gallies of the *Syracuſians*, which were purpoſely left at large in the ſea, they were either taken or ſunk. Three great diſadvantages the *Athenians* had: the firſt, that fighting within a Haven, and (as it were) in a ſtreight, they had no room to turn themſelves, nor to free themſelves one from another, being intangled; the ſecond, that having over-peſtered their Gallies with Souldiers, who uſed offenſive armes of darts and ſlings, they had not place upon the decks to ſtretch their armes; the third was, the diſcomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a paſſage, by which they might ſave themſelves by running away. To be ſhort, the fight was no leſſe terrible than the confuſion; the ſlaughter great on all ſides; and the noiſe, and the cries, ſo lowd and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the *Athenians*, as many as ſurvived, were beaten backe to the Land, with loſſe of threeſcore of their Gallies, broken, ſunke, or abandoned. The *Syracuſians* did alſo loſe twentie of theirs, with *Python*, Commander of the *Corinthians*. The reſt of the *Athenian* Gallies, running themſelves into the bottome of the Port, ſaved themſelves by the helpe and countenance of the Land-armie there fortified. In this deſperate eſtate, the *Athenian* Commanders goe to counſel. *Demoſthenes* perſwades them to furniſh with freſh Souldiers thoſe few Gallies which remained; and while the *Syracuſians* were triumphing, and made ſecure by their preſent victorie, to ſet upon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to returne to *Athens*. This was no ill counſell. For, as we have heard of many great Captaines (yea, the greateſt number of all that have beene victorious) that have neglected the ſpeedie proſecution of a beaten enemie; ſo might we produce many examples of thoſe, who, having ſlept ſecurely in the boſome of good ſucceſſe, have beene ſuddenly awaked, by the re-allied Companies of a broken Armie, and have thereby loſt again all the honour and advantage formerly gotten. But *Nicias* oppoſeth the advice of *Demoſthenes*: Others ſay, that the Sea-men were againſt it. Whereupon abandoning their Gallies, they all reſolve to march over land to the Cities of their Confederates, till ſome more favourable fortune ſhould call them thence. On the other ſide, *Gylyppus*, & other the *Lacedæmonian* & *Corinthian* Captains, with *Hermocrates*, exhort the *Syracuſians* to put themſelves preſently into the field, & to ſtop all the paſſages, leading to thoſe Cities of their enemies, to which the *Athenians* might make retrait. But many were weary, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the preſent. Which humour in ſome of our Commanders at *Cadez*, loſt us both the *Indian* fleet, and the ſpoiles of many other Neighbour-places. *Hermocrates*, the *Syracuſian*, finding it a loſt labour, to perſwade his Countrimen to any haſty proſecution, deviſed this good ſtratagem, thereby to gaine time; not doubting, but that after a day or two, he ſhould draw them willingly out. He ſent two or three horſe-men out of *Syracuſe* by night, willing them to finde *Nicias*, and (after they had aſſured him, that they were of the *Athenians* faction) to give him advice not to march away over-haſtily from the place, wherein hee was fortified; alledging that the *Syracuſians* had lodged their Armie, which could not long ſtay there, upon the paſſages and places of advantage, leading towards the cities of their Allies. Theſe tidings *Nicias* eaſily beleeved, and put off his journey to the third day. For men newly beaten, are (for the moſt part) more fearefull than wiſe; and to them, every thiſtle in the field, appeares, by night, a man at armes.

The third day (leaving all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remove; being pierced and purſued with the lamentable out-cries of thoſe that were ſicke and hurt: whom they abandon to the cure of their enemies ſwords. The reſt march away, to the number of forty thouſand; and make their firſt paſſage by force, over the River of *Anapus*, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of their enemies. But being every day charged in their marches, and by the *Syracuſian* horſe-men, beaten in from forraging and proviſion of food, they grow weake and heartleſſe. The *Syracuſians* alſo poſſeſſe the Mountaine *Lepas*, by which they were to paſſe towards *Camerina*, and thereby force them to fall backe againe towards the Sea-coaſt, and to take what way they could: being unable to proceed in their journey intended. Many hard ſhifts they made, in difficult paſſages, and blinde marches by night; which they were ſaine to endure, as having none other meanes to eſcape from the enemy that purſued them, and held them waking with continuall skirmiſhing. To keep all in order, *Nicias* undertooke the leading of the Vauntguard; & *Demoſthenes* conducted the Reare. At the River Erineus, *Nicias* takes the ſtart of a whole nights march, leaving *Demoſthenes* to make the retrait: who being incompaſſed, and overpreſt with numbers, in the end renders himſelfe. The conditions he obtained, were farre better than he could have hoped for; and the faith of his enemies farre worſe than he ſuſpected. For he was afterward, with *Nicias*, murdered in priſon. The Army of *Demoſthenes* being diſſolved, they purſue *Nicias* with the greater courage: who being utterly broken, upon the paſſage of the River *Aſſinarus*, rendred himſelfe to *Gylippus*, upon honeſt conditions. *Gylippus* ſought to preſerve him, and to have had the honour, to have brought theſe two to Sparta; *Nicias*, as a Noble Enemy to the *Lacedæmonians*, and who, at the overthrow which they received at Pylus by the *Athenians*, had ſaved the lives of the vanquiſhed; *Demoſthenes*, as one that had done to *Lacedæmon* the greateſt hurt. *Hermocrates* alſo, the Commander of the *Syracuſian* Army, diſſwaded the reſt, by all the art he had, from uſing any barbarous violence, after ſo noble a victory. But the cruell, and the cowardly ſort, (cowardiſe and cruelty being inſeparable paſſions) prevailed, and cauſed theſe brave Captains to bee miſerably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to be ſtarved in loathſome priſons; and the reſt, ſold for ſlaves. This was the ſucceſſe of the *Sicilian* warre: which tooke end at the River *Aſſinarus*, the foure and twentieth day of May, in the foureſcore and eleventh Olympiad.

The *Athenians* being beaten out of *Sicil*; the *Egeſtans* (for whoſe defence, againſt the *Selinuntines*, this late war had beene taken in hand) fearing the victorious *Syracuſians*, ſought helpe from the Carthaginians; to whom they offered themſelves, and their Citie, as their vaſſals. The Carthaginians, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in Sicil, yet conſidering the proſperity of the Syracuſians, & their late victories over the Athenians, they ſtayed a while to diſpute of the matter, whether they ſhould refuſe or accept the offer made unto them: for the Selinuntines were ſtreightly allied to the Syracuſians, as may appeare by what is paſt. In the end, the Senators of Carthage reſolve upon the enterpriſe; & (by a tricke of their Punick wit) to ſeparate the Syracuſians from the Selinuntines, they ſend Embaſſadors to *Syracuſe*: praying that City, as in the behalfe of the Egeſtans, to compell the Selinuntines to take reaſon, and to reſt content with ſo much of the lands in queſtion, as they of *Syracuſe* ſhould thinke meet to allow them. The Syracuſians approved the motion; for it tended to their owne honour. But the Selinuntines would make no ſuch appointment: rather they tooke it ill, that the Syracuſians, with whom they had run one courſe of fortune, in the *Athenian* warre, ſhould offer to trouble them, by interpoſing as Arbitrators, in a buſineſſe that themſelves could end by force. This was right as the Carthaginians would have it. For now could they of Selinus with an ill grace crave aide of *Syracuſe*; and the Syracuſians as ill grant it unto thoſe, that had refuſed to ſtand to the Arbitrement, which the Carthaginians would have put into their hands. Hereupon, an Army of three hundred thouſand men is ſet out from Carthage, under the conduct of *Hannibal*, Nephew to that *Amilcar*, who (as you have heard before) was overthrowne with the great Carthaginian Army at Himera by Gelon. *Hannibal* was exceeding greedy of this imployment, that he might take revenge as well of his Uncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of them having bin ſlaine by the Himerans, the other by thoſe of *Selinus*. Both the Cities, *Hannibal*, in this war, won by force of armes, ſackt them, and burnt them; and having taken three thouſand of the Himerans priſoners, he cauſed them to be led unto the place, where *Amilcar* was ſlaine, and buried them there.

After this followed ſome trouble at *Syracuſe*, occaſioned by the baniſhment of *Hermocrates*, who had lately bin Generall of the Syracuſian forces, againſt the Athenians. The malice of his enemies had ſo farre prevailed with the ingratefull multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his meer vertue, at ſuch time as he was aiding the *Lacedæmonians*, in their warre againſt *Athens*; wherein he did great ſervice. All the honeſteſt ſort within *Syracuſe* were ſorry for the injury done unto him, and ſought to have him repealed. *Hermocrates* himſelfe, returning into *Sicil*, gathered an Army of ſixe thouſand; with which he began to repaire *Selinus*; & by many noble actions laboured to wi

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the love of his Citizens. But the faction that oppoſed him was the ſtronger. Wherefore hee was adviſed to ſeize upon a Gate of *Syracuſe*, with ſome ſtrength of men; whereby his friends, within the Towne, might have the better meanes to riſe againſt the adverſe party. This he did: but preſently the multitude fell to armes, & ſet upon him; in which conflict he was ſlaine. But his Son-in-law, *Dionyſius*, ſhall make them wiſh *Hermocrates* alive againe.

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## †. IV.

### *Of* Dionyſius *the Tyrant: and others, following him, in Syracuſe.*

THe *Syracuſians* had enjoyed their liberty about threeſcore years, from the death of *Thraſybulus*, to the death of *Hermocrates*: at which time *Dionyſius* was raiſed up by God, to take revenge, as well of their cruelty towards ſtrangers, as of their ingratitude towards their owne beſt Citizens. For before the time of *Dionyſius*, they had made it their paſtime, to reward the vertue of their worthieſt Commanders with death, or diſgrace: which cuſtome they muſt now be taught to amend.

*Dionyſius* obtained the principality of *Syracuſe*, by the ſame degrees, that many others, before him, had made themſelves Maſters of other Cities, and of *Syracuſe* it ſelfe. For, being made *Prætor*, and commanding their Armies againſt the *Carthaginians*, and other their enemies, he behaved himſelfe ſo well, that he got a generall love among the people, and men of war. Then began he to follow the example of *Piſiſtratus*, that made himſelfe Lord of *Athens*; obtaining a band of ſixe hundred men, to defend his perſon: under pretence, that his private enemies, being traiterouſly affected to the State of *Syracuſe*, had laied plots how to murder him, becauſe of his good ſervices. Hee doubled the pay of his Souldiers; alledging, that it would incourage them to fight manfully: but intending thereby to aſſure them to himſelfe. He perſwaded the Citizens, to call home, out of exile, thoſe that had beene baniſhed, which were the beſt men of *Syracuſe*; and theſe were afterwards, at his devotion, as obliged unto him by ſo great a benefit. His firſt favour, among the *Syracuſians*, grew from his accuſation of the principall men. It is the delight of baſe people to reigne over their betters: wherefore, gladly did he helpe them to breake downe, as fetters impriſoning their liberty, the bars that held it under ſafe cuſtody. Long it was not, ere the chiefe Citizens had found whereat hee aimed. But what they ſaw, the people would not ſee: and ſome that were needy, and knew not how to get Offices without his helpe, were willing to helpe him, though they knew his purpoſes to bee ſuch, as would make all the Citie to ſmart. Hee began early to hunt after the tyranny; being but five and twenty yeers of age when he obtained it: belike, it was his deſire to reigne long. His firſt worke, of making himſelfe abſolute Lord in *Syracuſe*, was, the poſſeſſion of the Citadell; wherein was much good proviſion, & under it the Gallies were mored. This he obtained by allowance of the people; and having obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himſelfe without all ſhame or feare. The Armie, the chiefe Citizens, reſtored by him from baniſhment; all the needy ſort within *Syracuſe*, that could not thrive by honeſt courſes; and ſome neighbour-townes, bound unto him, either for his helpe in warre, or for eſtabliſhing the faction, reigning at that preſent, were wholly affected to his aſſiſtance. Having therefore gotten the Cittadell into his hands, he needed no more, ſave to aſſure what hee had already. Hee ſtrengthened himſelfe by divers marriages; taking firſt to wiſe the daughter of *Hermocrates*; and after her, two at once; the one a *Locrian*, *Doris*, by whom he had *Dionyſius*, his Succeſſor; the other, *Ariſtomache*, the daughter of *Hipparinus*, and ſiſter to *Dion*, honourable men in *Syracuſe*; which bare unto him many children, that ſerved to fortifie him with new alliances.

Yet it was not long, ere ſome of the *Syracuſians* (envying his proſperity) incited the multitude, and tooke armes againſt him, even in the noveltie of his Rule. But their enterpriſe was more paſſionately, than wiſely governed. He had ſhamefully beene beaten by the *Carthaginians* at *Gela*: which, as it vexed the *Sicilian* men at armes, making them ſuſpect that it was his purpoſe to let the *Carthaginians* waſt all, that he might afterwards take poſſeſſion of the deſolate places; ſo it inflamed them with a deſire to free themſelves from his tyranny. They departed therefore from him, and marched haſtily to *Syracuſe*, where they found friends to helpe them: there they forced his Palace, ran-

ſaked

ſacked his treaſures, and ſo ſhamefully abuſed his wife, that for the griefe thereof ſhe poiſoned her ſelfe. But he followed their heeles apace; and firing a Gate of the Citie by night, entred ſoone enough to take revenge, by making a ſpeedy riddance of them. For he ſpared none of his knowne, no not his ſuſpected enemies. After that, hee grew ſo doubtfull of his life, as he never durſt truſt Barber to trim him, nor any perſon, no not ſo much as his brother, to enter into his chamber, unſtript and ſearched. Hee was the greateſt Robber of the people that ever raigned in any State, and withall the moſt unreſpectively cruell.

After this, he ſeparated with fortification that part of the Citie, called the Iland, from the reſt; like as the Spaniard did the Citadell of *Antwerpe:* therein he lodged his Treaſures, and his Guards.

He then began to make warre upon the free Cities of *Sicil:* but while hee lay before Herbeſſe, an in-land Towne, the Syracuſians rebelled againſt him; ſo, as with great difficultie he recovered his Citadell: from whence, having allured the old Souldiers of the Campanians, who forced their paſſage through the Citie, with one thouſand and two hundred horſe, he againe recovered the maſterie over the Syracuſians. And when a multitude of them were buſied in gathering in their harveſt, he diſarmed all the Towns-men remayning, and new ſtrengthened the Fort of the Iland, with a double wall. Hee incloſed that part alſo, called *Epipoles*; which, with threeſcore thouſand labourers, he finiſhed in three weekes, being two leagues in compaſſe. He then built two hundred new Gallies; and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and forty thouſand Targets, with as many ſwords, and head-peeces, with fourteene thouſand corſlets, and all other ſutable armes. Which done, he ſent word to the *Carthaginians*, (greatly infeebled by the plague) That except they would abandon the *Greek* Townes, which they held in *Sicil*, he would make war upon them: and, not ſtaying for anſwer, hee tooke the ſpoile of all the *Phœnician* ſhips, and merchandize, within his Ports; as King *Philip* the ſecond did of our *Engliſh*, before the warre in our late Queenes time. He then goes to the field with foureſcore thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and ſends his brother *Leptines* to ſea, with two hundred Gallies, and five hundred ſhips of burden. Moſt of the Townes which held for *Carthage* yeelded unto him; ſaving *Panormus*, *Segeſta* or *Egeſta*, *Ancyræ*, *Motya*, and *Entella*. Of theſe, he firſt wan *Motya* by aſſault, and put all therein to the ſword; but before *Egeſta* he loſt a great part of his Army, by a ſally of the Citizens. In the meane while *Himilco* arrives; but, ere he tooke land, he loſt in a fight at Sea, with *Leptines*, fiftie ſhips of warre, and five thouſand Souldiers, beſides many ſhips of burden. This notwithſtanding, hee recovered againe *Motya* upon his firſt deſcent. From thence marching towards *Meſſena*, he tooke *Lypara*, and (ſoon after) *Meſſena*, and razed it to the ground. Now began *Dionyſius* greatly to doubt his eſtate. Hee therefore fortified all the places he could, in the Territorie of the *Leontines*, by which he ſuppoſed that *Himilco* would paſſe toward *Syracuſe*; and hee himſelfe tooke the field againe, with foure and thirty thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe. Now, hearing that *Himilco* had divided his Army into two parts, marching with the one halfe over-land, and ſending *Mago* with the other by Sea: he ſent *Leptines*, his brother, to encounter *Mago*. But *Leptines* was utterly beaten by the *Carthaginians*; twenty thouſand of his men were ſlaine, and an hundred of his Gallies loſt. It is very ſtrange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authors tell us; That one Citie ſhould bee able to furniſh five hundred ſaile of ſhips, and two hundred Gallies: (for, ſo many did *Syracuſe* arme in this warre) and more ſtrange it is, that in a battaile at Sea, without any great Artillerie, or Musket-ſhot, twenty thouſand ſhould be ſlaine in one fight. In all our fights againſt the *Turkes*, of which that at *Lepanto* was the moſt notable, wee heare of no ſuch number loſt; nor in any other fight by Sea, that ever happened in our age, nor before us. When *Charles* the fift went to beſiege *Algier*, he had in all his fleet, tranſporters and others, but two hundred and fifty ſaile of ſhippes, and threeſcore and five Gallies: for the furniſhing of which fleet, he ſought helpe from all the Cities and Ports of *Spaine*, *Naples*, and the reſt of *Italy*. But in old times it was the manner to carry into the field, upon extremity, as many as were needfull, of all that could beare armes, giving them little wages, or other allowance: in our dayes it is not ſo; neither indeed, is it often requiſite. Upon this overthrow, *Dionyſius* poſtes away to *Syracuſe*, to ſtrengthen it: *Himilco* followes him, and beſiegeth the Towne by Land & Sea. But the

Tyrant,

having received aide from the *Lacedæmonians*, under the conduct of *Pharacidas*, puts himſelfe to Sea, to make proviſion for his Citizens, who, in his abſence, take twentie of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, and ſinke foure. Hereupon, finding their owne ſucceſſe proſperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill; having alſo at the preſent weapons in their hands, they conſult how to recover their libertie. And this they had done, had not *Pharacidas* the *Lacedæmonian* reſiſted them. It alſo fell out, to his exceeding advantage, that the plague was ſo increaſed, and ſo violent among the *Carthaginians*, as it is ſaid, that above an hundred thouſand of them died thereof. He therefore, with the power that he could gather together, ſets upon them both by Sea and Land; and having ſlaine great numbers of them, forceth *Himilco* to deſire peace. This peace *Dionyſius* ſold him for a great ſumme of money; on condition, that he ſhould ſteale away with his *Carthaginians* onely: which he baſely accepted, betraying the reſt of the *Africans* and *Spaniards*. Yet no faith was kept with him: for he was purſued, and left many of his *Carthaginians* behind him. The reſt of the *Africans* fell under the ſwords of their enemies; only the *Spaniards*, after they had a while bravely defended themſelves, were (after their ſubmiſſion) entertained, and ſerved the Conquerour.

Many ſuch examples of perfidious dealing have I noted in other places, and can hardly forbeare to deliver unto memorie the like practices, when they meet with their matches: That which hapned unto *Monſieur de Piles*, was very ſutable to this treacherie, wherewith *Dionyſius* purſued *Himilco*. I was preſent when *De Piles* related the injurie done unto him. He had rendred S. *John d' Angelie* to the *French* King *Charles* the ninth, who beſieged him therein. He rendred it, upon promiſe made by the faith of a King, that he ſhould be ſuffered to depart in ſafetie, with all his followers. Yet in preſence of the King himſelfe, of the Duke of *Anjou* his brother, Generall of his Armie, of the Queene Mother, and of divers Dukes and Marſhals of *France*, he was ſet upon, and broken in his March; ſpoyled of all that he had, and forced to ſave his life by flight; leaving the moſt of his Souldiers dead upon the place, the Kings hand and faith warranting him to march away with enſigns diſplaid, and with all his goods and proviſions, no whit availing him. It needs not therefore ſeeme ſtrange, that an Heathen Tyrant ſhould thus breake his faith, ſince Kings, profeſſing Chriſtianitie, are bold to doe the like, or command their Captaines to doe it for them.

*Dionyſius*, after this great victorie, took care to re-edifie *Meſſena*. *Mago*, who ſtayed in *Sicil*, to hold up the *Carthaginians* therein, is againe beaten by *Dionyſius*; who is alſo beaten by the *Tauromenians*. A new ſupplie of foureſcore thouſand Souldiers is ſent from *Carthage* to *Mago*; but theſe take egges for their money, and make peace with *Dionyſius*, leaving the *Sicilians* in *Tauromenium*, to ſhift for themſelves: whom *Dionyſius*, after a long ſiege, overcame, and gave their Citie to his mercenarie Souldiers.

He then paſt into *Italie*, obtained divers victories there, brought the *Rhegians* on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred and foureſcore thouſand crowns, to furniſh him with threeſcore Gallies, and to put in an hundred pledges, for aſſurance of their future obſervance of covenants. This he did, not with any purpoſe to performe unto them the peace that they had ſo dearly bought; but that having taken from them their Gallies, he might beſiege them, and ruine them utterly, with the more eaſe. Now to the end he might not, without ſome colour, falſifie the faith that he had given to them; he pretended to want victuall for his Armie, at ſuch time as he ſeemed readie to depart out of *Italie*, and ſent to them to furniſh him therewith, promiſing to return them the like quantitie at his comming home to *Syracuſe*.

His reſolution was, that if they refuſed to furniſh him, he would then make their refuſall the cauſe of his quarrell: if they yeelded to aide him with the proportion which he deſired, that then they ſhould not be able, for want of food, to endure a ſiege any long time againſt him. For, to ruine them he had fully determined, at what price ſoever. And great reaſon he had to take revenge of them, if he had done it fairely, and without breach of faith. For when in the beginning of his reigne, he deſired them to beſtow a daughter of ſome of their Nobilitie upon him for a wife; they anſwered, that they had not any one fit for him, ſave the Hang-mans daughter. Princes doe rather pardon ill deeds, than villanous words. *Alexander* the great forgave many ſharpe ſwords, but never any ſharpe tongues; no, though they told him but truely of his errours.

and certainly, it belongs to thoſe that have warrant from God, to reprehend Princes; and to none elſe, eſpecially in publike.

It is ſaid, that *Henry* the fourth of *France*, had his heart more inflamed againſt the Duke of *Biron*, for his over-bold and biting taunts, that he uſed againſt him before *Amiens*, than for his conſpiracie with the *Spaniard* or *Savoyan*: for he had pardoned ten thouſand of ſuch as had gone farther, and drawn their ſwords againſt him. The contemptuous words that Sir *John Parret* uſed of our late Queene *Elizabeth*, were his ruine; and not the counterfeit letter of the *Romiſh* Prieſt, produced againſt him. So fared it with ſome other, greater than he, that thereby ranne the ſame, and a worſe fortune, ſoone after.

To be ſhort, he made them know new bred from old. He aſſaulted their Towne on all ſides, which he continued to doe eleven moneths, till he wonne it by force. He uſed his victorie without mercie, ſpecially againſt *Phyton*, who had commanded within it.

Some other wars he made with the *Carthaginians*, after the taking and razing of this Citie; and thoſe with variable ſucceſſe. For, as in one encounter he ſlue *Mago*, with ten thouſand *Africans*: ſo the ſonne of *Mago* beat him, and ſlue his brother *Leptines*, with foureteene thouſand of his Souldiers. After which he bought his peace of the *Carthaginians*, as they had formerly done of him; following therein the advice of Proſperitie and Adverſitie, as all Kings and States doe.

When he had reigned eight and thirtie years, he died: ſome ſay in his bed, peaceably, which is the moſt likely, though others report it otherwiſe. A cruell man he was, and a faithleſſe; a great Poet, but a fooliſh one. He entertained *Plato* a while, but afterward, for ſpeaking againſt his tyrannie, he gave order to have him ſlaine, or ſold for a ſlave. For he could endure no man that flattered him not beyond meaſure. His Paraſites therefore ſtiled his crueltie, *The hate of evill men*; & his lawleſſe ſlaughters, *The ornaments and effects of his juſtice*. True it is, that flatterers are a kind of vermine, which poyſon all the Princes of the World; and yet they proſper better than the worthieſt and valianteſt men doe: and I wonder not at it, for it is a world: and, as our *Saviour Chriſt* hath told us, *The Worl will love her owne*.

To this *Dionyſius* his ſonne of the ſame name ſucceeded, and inherited both his Kingdome and his Vices. To win the love of the People, he pardoned, and releaſed out o priſon, a great number of perſons, by his Father lockt up and condemned. Withall, h remitted unto his Citizens divers payments, by his Father impoſed upon them. Whic done, and thereby hoping that he had faſtned unto himſelfe the peoples affections; h caſt off the Sheepes skin, and put on that of the Wolfe. For being jealous of his own Brethren, as men of more vertue than himſelfe, he cauſed them all to be ſlain; and all the Kindred that they had by their Mothers ſide. For *Dionyſius* his Father (as hath bin ſaid) ha two Wives; *Doris* of *Locris*, and *Ariſtomache* a *Syracuſian*, the ſiſter of *Dion*, which Brother-in-law of his he greatly enriched.

By *Doris* he had this *Dioniſius*, who ſucceeded unto him: and by *Ariſtomache* he ha two Sons and two Daughters; of which the elder, called *Sophroſine*, he gave in marriag to his eldeſt ſonne, and her halfe-brother *Dionyſius*; the younger, called *Areta*, he beſtowed on his Brother *Theorides*: after whoſe death *Dion* tooke her to wife, being h Neece.

This *Dion*, a juſt and valiant man, finding that *Dionyſius* had abandoned all exerci of vertue, and that he was wholly given over to ſenſualitie, prevailed ſo much with *Plato*, whoſe Diſciple he had beene, as he drew him into *Sicil*, to inſtruct the young Kin And having perſwaded the King to entertaine him, he wrought ſo well with him, as *D* *onyſius* began to change condition; to change Tyrannie into Monarchie; and to ho the Principalitie that he had, rather by the love of his People, and his Nationall Lawe than by the violence of his Guards and Garriſons. But this goodneſſe of his laſted n long. For *Philiſtus* the Hiſtorian, and other his Paraſites, that hated *Dions* ſeveriti wrought him out of the Tyrants favour, and cauſed him ſoone after to be baniſh out of *Sicil*, to the great griefe of the whole Nation. For whereas *Dion* had ma offer to the King, either to compound the quarrels betweene him and the *Carthag nians*, of whom *Dionyſius* ſtood in great feare; or (at leaſt) if they refuſed it, to furni him with fiftie Gallies at his owne charge, during the warre againſt them: his enemi

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found meanes, by ſiniſter interpretation, to convert his good will into matter of treaſon. They told *Dionyſius*, that all the great commendations, given of *Plato*, had tended to none other end, than to ſoften his minde, and to make him neglect his owne affaires, by the ſtudie of Philoſophie; whileſt *Dion* in the meane time having furniſhed fifty Gallies, under colour of the Kings ſervice, had it in his owne power either to deliver to the *Syracuſians* their former liberty, or to make himſelfe Lord and Soveraigne of their State.

It is likely, that the honeſt and liberall offer which he made, to ſerve the King with ſo great a preparation, at his owne charge, begot him many enemies. For they that had ſerved the King for none other end than to raiſe and enrich themſelves, and had already beene raiſed and enriched, thought themſelves bound to make the ſame offer that *Dion* had made, if the King had had the grace to conceive it aright. But the covetous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring that *Dion* had, were bold to ſtile his Love and Liberality, Pride and Preſumption; and heartned the young King in his oppreſſing, and eating up his owne people, of whoſe ſpoyles they themſelves ſhared no ſmall portion. I have heard it, That when *Charles* the fifth had the repulſe at *Algier*, in *Affrica*, *Ferdinando Corteſe*, one of the braveſt men that ever *Spaine* brought forth, offered unto the Emperour, to continue the ſiege at his owne charge. But he had never good day after it. For they that envied his victories, and his conqueſt of Mexico in the Weſt Indies, perſwaded the Emperour, that *Corteſe* ſought to value himſelfe above him; and to have it ſaid, That what the Emperour could not, *Corteſe* had effected, and was therefore more worthy of the Empire, than hee that had it.

When *Dion* was newly baniſhed, the Tyrant was contented, at firſt to ſend him the revenues of his Lands, and permit him to diſpoſe of his moveables, at his owne pleaſure: not without giving hope to recall him in ſhort time. Had hee continued in this good moode, like enough it is, that *Dion* would have beene well pleaſed to live well, as he did at *Athens*. But after ſome time, *Dionyſius* made Port-ſale of this Noble-mans goods, and thereby urged him to take another courſe, even to ſeeke the reſtitution of his Countrey to liberty. The vertues of *Dion*, eſpecially his great liberality, had purchaſed much love in *Greece*. This love made him ſuſpected and hated of the Tyrant: but it ſtood him in good ſtead, when he ſought to raiſe men, with whoſe helpe he might returne into Sicill. Yet he got not above eight hundred (for he carried the matter cloſely) to follow him in this adventure. But many of them were men of quality, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did hee doubt of finding in *Syracuſe*, as many as ſhould bee needfull, that would readily aſſiſt him. Therefore he landed boldly in *Sicil*, marched to *Syracuſe*, entred the City without reſiſtance, armed the multitude, and won all, ſave the Citadell.

*Dionyſius* was then abſent in *Italie*, but hee quickly had advertiſement of this dangerous accident. Wherefore hee returned haſtily to *Syracuſe*: whence, after many vaine treaties of peace, and ſome forcible attempts to recover the Towne, hee was faine to depart; leaving yet the Caſtle to the cuſtody of *Apollocrates* his eldeſt Sonne. Yet ere hee went, his Minion *Philiſtus*, comming with a ſtrength of men to aſſiſt him, was beaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recovery of his Countries liberty, had the ſame reward that all worthy men have had from popular Eſtates. He was diſgraced, aſſaulted, and forced to abandon the Citie. He retired himſelfe to the *Leontines*, who received him with great joy. Soone after his departure from *Syracuſe*, new troupes enter the Caſtle: they ſally out, aſſaile, ſpoyle, and burne a great part of the City. *Dion* is ſent for, with humble requeſt: yet, ere hee could arrive, *Dionyſius* his Souldiers were retired; and the Townſ-men thinking themſelves ſecure, ſhut the gates againſt *Dion*. But the next night they of the Caſtle ſally againe, with greater fury than ever; they kill Man, Woman, and Childe, and ſet fire in all parts of the Towne. In this their extremity *Dion* comes the ſecond time to their ſuccour; the love of his Countrey ſurmounting all the injuries that he had received. Hee ſets upon the Garriſon of the Caſtle, with the one part of his Army; and quencheth the fire every where kindled, with the other part. In concluſion, after he had conquered both the fire and the ſword, that had wel-neare burnt to aſhes, and depopulated *Syracuſe*, he recovered the Caſtle, with the munition and furniture thereof, and ſent *Apollocrates* after *Dionyſius* his Father, into *Italie*. But their malice, of whom he had beſt deſerved, and whom he had loved moſt, gave an untimely end to his dayes. For hee was ſoone after his victorie, murdered by *Gylyppus*; who, after he had, with ill ſucceſſe, a while governed *Syracuſe*, was ſlaine with the ſame Dagger, with which hee had murdered *Dion*.

Ten yeares after the death of *Dion*, *Dionyſius*, with the aſſiſtance of his friends in *Italie*, recovers his eſtate, and returnes to *Syracuſe*, driving *Nyſæus* thence, whom he found Governour therein. The better ſort of the Citizens, fearing, more than ever, his cruelty, flee to *Icetes*, a *Syracuſian* borne, and then ruling the *Leontines*. *Icetes* enters into confederacie with the *Carthaginians*, hoping by their aſſiſtance, not onely to prevaile againſt 1 *Dionyſius*; but by the hatred of the *Syracuſians* towards *Dionyſius*, to make him alſo Lord of their Citie. The *Syracuſians*, being deſervedly afflicted on all ſides, ſend to the *Corinthians* for ſuccour. *Icetes* alſo ſends thither, and diſſwades the *Corinthians*, as well as he can, from intermedling in the buſineſſe. He tels them, by his Meſſengers, That he had entred into league with the *Carthaginians*, who were ſo ſtrong by Sea, that it was not in the power of *Corinth*, to land an Armie in *Sicil*. But the *Corinthians*, being by this treaſon of *Icetes*, more inraged than diſſwaded, ſent *Timoleon* with nineteene Gallies, to deliver *Syracuſe* from tyrannie. In the meane while, *Icetes* had entred *Syracuſe*, and with the helpe of the *Carthaginians*, driven *Dionyſius* into the Caſtle, where he beſieged him.

*Icetes*, being himſelfe a Tyrant in *Leontium*, rather ſought how to enlarge his power, 2 than how to deliver his Countrie. Therefore, hearing that *Timoleon* was arrived at *Rhegium*, he ſent to perſwade him, to returne his fleet; for that all things were (in effect) eſtabliſhed in *Sicil*. The *Carthaginian* Gallies were alſo in the ſame Port of *Rhegium*, whoſe Captaines adviſed *Timoleon* to get him gone in peace. They had farre more Gallies there than he had, and were like to compell him, if he would not be perſwaded. *Timoleon*, finding himſelfe over-maſtered, makes requeſt to the *Carthaginian* Captaines, that they would be pleaſed to enter into *Rhegium*, and there, in an open aſſembly of the people, to deliver unto him thoſe arguments, for his return, which they had uſed to him in private; that he might, by publike teſtimonie, diſcharge himſelfe to the Senate of *Corinth*.

The *Carthaginians*, perſwading themſelves, that a victorie, obtained by a few faire words, was without loſſe, and farre more eaſie, than that of many blowes and wounds, yeelded to *Timoleons* deſire. But while the Orations were delivering, *Timoleon*, favoured by the *Rhegians*, ſtole out of the preaſſe; and having ſet ſaile, before the Gates were opened to the *Carthaginians*, he recovered the Port of *Tauromenium*, where he was joyfully received by *Andromachus* the Governor. From thence he marched toward *Adranum*, where ſurpriſing *Icetes* his Armie, he ſlew a part thereof, and put the reſt to run. It is the nature of victorie to beget friends. The *Adranitans* joined with him, and ſo did *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of *Catana*. *Dionyſius* alſo ſent to *Timoleon*, offering to ſurrender the Caſtle of *Syracuſe* into his hands, as thinking it better to yeeld up himſelfe, and the places which he could not defend, unto the *Corinthians*, than either to *Icetes*, whom he diſdained, or to the *Carthaginians*, whom he hated. Now *Timoleon*, who, within fiftie dayes after his arrivall, had recovered the Caſtle of *Syracuſe*, and ſent *Dionyſius* to *Corinth*, to live there a private man, was ſtill invaded by the armies, and moleſted by the practices of *Icetes*. For he beſieged the *Corinthians* within the caſtle of *Syracuſe*, and attempted (but in vain) the murder of *Timoleon*.

The *Corinthians* ſend unto *Timoleon* a ſupplie of two thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, which are ſtayd in *Italie* by foule weather. *Icetes* is ſtrengthned with threeſcore thouſand *Africans*, brought unto him by *Mago* (all which he lodgeth within *Syracuſe*) & with an hundred and fiftie Gallies, to keep the Port. This was the firſt time that ever the *Carthaginians* had dominion within the walls of that Citie. With this great Armie *Icetes* aſſaileth the Caſtle. *Timoleon* ſends them victuals, and ſuccour, in ſmall boats, by night, from *Catana*. *Mago* and *Icetes* doe therefore reſolve to beſiege *Catana*; but they were no ſooner on their way towards it, with part of their forces, than *Leon*, Captain of the *Corinthians*, ſallied out of the Caſtle, and tooke that part of *Syracuſe*, called *Acradina*, which hee fortified.

In the meane while, the two thouſand *Corinthians* arrive: with whom, and two thouſand other Souldiers, *Timoleon* marcheth toward *Syracuſe*. *Mago* abandoneth *Icetes*, being frighted out of *Sicil* (which he might eaſily have conquered) with an idle rumour of treaſon. This made him return to *Carthage*; where the generall exclamation againſt his cowardize, did ſo much affright him, that for feare of farther puniſhment he hanged himſelfe. *Timoleon* enters the Citie, and beats down the Caſtle (which he called *the neſt of Tyrants*) to the ground. But he found the Citie, when the ſtrangers were fled, in effect deſolate; ſo as their horſes did feed on the graſſe growing in the market-place. Therefore he writes to *Corinth* for people to re-inhabit it. Ten thouſand are ſent out of *Greece*; many come from *Italie*; others from other parts of the Iland.

But a new ſtorm ariſeth. *Aſdrubal* and *Amilcar*, *Carthaginians*, arrive about *Lilybæum*, with threeſcore and ten thouſand Souldiers, tranſported (with all their proviſions) in a thouſand ſhips of burden, and two hundred Gallies. *Timoleon* marcheth thither, and chargeth this great Armie upon the paſſage of a River.

A tempeſt of raine, haile, and lightning, with boyſterous windes, beating upon the faces of the *Carthaginians*, they are utterly broken, ten thouſand ſlaine, five thouſand taken, with all their carriages and proviſions: among which there were found a thouſand corſlets gilt and graven. After this, *Timoleon* gave an overthrow to *Icetes*, and following his victorie, tooke him, with his ſon *Eupolemus*, and the Generall of his horſe, priſoners; whom he cauſed all to be ſlain: and afterwards (which was imputed to him for great crueltie) he ſuffered *Icetes* his wives & daughters to be put to death. But this was the revenge of God upon *Icetes*, who (after the murder of *Dion*) had cauſed *Arete*, *Dions* wife, and a young child of his, with *Ariſtomache* his ſiſter, to be caſt into the Sea.

He againe prevailed againſt *Mamercus* Tyrant of *Catana*, and won *Catana* it ſelf. *Mamercus* fled to *Hippon* Tyrant of *Meſſena*: but *Timoleon*, purſuing him, won the town; delivering *Hippon* to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The ſame end had *Mamercus*, and all other the Tyrants in *Sicil*.

Finally, he made peace with the *Carthaginians*, on condition, That they ſhould not paſſe the River of *Lycus*. After this, he lived in great honour among the *Syracuſians*, till his death; and was ſolemnly buried by them in the market-place of their Citie: the day of his Funerals being for ever ordained to be kept holy among them.

After ſuch time as *Timoleon* had delivered *Syracuſe* from the tyrannie of *Dionyſius*, and brought peace to the whole Iland; the Inhabitants enjoyed their libertie in peace, about twentie yeares. The Cities and temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant ſailed in ſafetie; and the Labouring man enjoyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But it was impoſſible that a Nation which neither knew how to governe, nor how to obey; which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthie to be Kings, to govern them; ſhould any long time ſubſiſt.

Twentie yeares after the death of *Timoleon*, there ſtarted up one *Agathocles* among them, a man of baſe birth, and of baſer condition; who from a Beggar, to a common Souldier; from a Souldier to a Captaine; and ſo from degree to degree, riſing to be a Prætor; finally, became Lord and Soveraigne of the *Syracuſians*. Many fortunes he ran, and under-went as many dangers, ere he obtained the Principalitie. For he had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and baniſht. A paſſing valiant man he was, and did notable ſervice, as well for thoſe by whom he was employed, as alſo for the *Syracuſians*, and againſt them. For in their wars againſt thoſe of *Enna*, and the *Campanes*, he did them memorable ſervice: and on the contrarie, as memorable ſervice for the *Murgantines* againſt the *Syracuſians*. For being entertained by the people of *Murgantia*, and made Generall of their forces, he ſackt *Leontium*, and beſieged *Syracuſe* ſo ſtreightly, that the Citizens were driven to crave aid, even from their ancient and naturall enemies, the *Carthaginians*. *Amilcar* was ſent by the *Carthaginians* to relieve *Syracuſe*. With him *Agathocles* wrought ſo well, that he got him to make peace between himſelfe and the *Syracuſians*; binding himſelfe by promiſe and oath to remaine a friend and ſervant to the State of *Carthage*, for ever after. *Amilcar* entertained the buſineſſe, and compounded the quarrels betweene *Agathocles* and the *Syracuſians*. *Agathocles* is choſen Prætor; he entertaines five thouſand *Africans*, and divers old Souldiers of the *Murgantines*, under colour of a purpoſe to beſiege *Herbita*. With theſe, and with the aſſiſtance of the poore and diſcontented *Syracuſians* (the Citie alſo being divided into many factions) he aſſailes the Senators, kills all his enemies and oppoſites;

divides the ſpoile of the rich among the poore; and gives libertie to his Souldiers, to rob, to raviſh, and to murder, for two whole dayes and nights, without controlement: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appetites, and ſtrewed the ſtreets with ten thouſand dead carkaſſes, beſides thoſe that had broken their necks over the wals; their furie had no further ſubject to worke on.

*Agathocles*, in an aſſemblie of the people (being an eloquent knave) perſwaded them, that, for the violent ſickneſſe, by which the common wealth was utterly conſumed, hee found no better, than the violent remedies which he had adminiſtred; and that hee affected no other thing than the reducing of the State from an Oligarchie, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magiſtrates, to the ancient and indifferent Democratie, by which it had been governed, from the firſt inſtitution, with ſo great glorie and proſperitie. This he did, to have the Crowne clapt on his head (as it were) perforce. For, as he know that he had left none living, within the Citie, fit, nor able, to exerciſe the office of a Magiſtrate: ſo knew he right well, that all they which had aſſiſted in the murder and ſpoyle of their fellow Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the ſupport of a lawleſs Lord, who had bin partaker with them in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this Rabble, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King: againe and againe ſaluting and adoring him, by that name, as if it had been given to him by ſome lawfull election. Hence had our King *Richard* the third a piece of his pattern; but the one was of baſe, the other of Kingly parents; the one tooke libertie from a common-weale, the other ſought only to ſucceed in a Monarchie; the one continued his crueltie to the end, the other, after he had obtained the Crowne, ſought, by making good lawes, to recover the love of his people.

The life of this Tyrant is briefly written by *Juſtine*; more largely and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*: the ſumme whereof is this. The ſame *Amilcar* that had brought him into *Syracuſe*, and that had lent him five thouſand men to helpe in the maſſacre of the Citizens, was alſo content to winke at many wrongs, that hee did unto the Confederates of the *Carthaginians*. It was the purpoſe of *Amilcar*, to ſettle *Agathocles* in his tyrannie, and to let him vexe and waſte the whole Iland; becauſe it was thereby like to come to paſſe, that he ſhould reduce all *Sicil* into ſuch termes as would make it become an eaſie prey to *Carthage*. But when the Cities, confederate with the *Carthaginians*, ſent their Embaſſadours, with complaint of this ill dealing, to *Carthage*; the *Punick* faith (ſo much taunted by the *Romans*, as no better than meere falſhood) ſhewed it ſelfe very honourable, in taking order for the redreſſe. Embaſſadours were ſent to comfort the *Sicilians*, and to put *Agathocles* in minde of his covenants; *Amilcar* was recalled home into *Africk*, and a new Captain appointed to ſucceed in his charge, with ſuch forces, as might compell *Agathocles* to reaſon, if otherwiſe he would not hearken to it. All this tended to ſave their Confederates, from ſuffering ſuch injuries in the future. For that which was paſt (ſince it could not be recalled) they tooke order to have it ſeverely puniſhed. *Amilcar* was accuſed ſecretly, and by way of ſcrutinie: the ſuffrages being given, but not calculated; and ſo reſerved untill he ſhould returne. This was not ſo cloſely handled, but that *Amilcar* had ſoone notice of it. In managing his buſineſſe with *Agathocles*, it is likely, that hee had an eye to his owne profit, as well as to the publike benefit of his Countrie. For he had made ſuch a compoſition with the *Syracuſian*, as gave him not onely meanes to weaken others, but to ſtrengthen himſelfe, both in power and authoritie, even againſt the *Carthaginians*. Such is commonly the cuſtome of thoſe, that hope to worke their owne ends by cunning practices, thinking to deale ſubtlely and finely, they ſpin their threads ſo ſmall, that they are broken with the very winde. *Amilcar* ſaw, that his *Carthaginians* had a purpoſe to deale ſubſtantially; and that therefore it would bee hard for him, to make them follow his crooked devices: which if he could not doe, it was to be expected, that their anger would breake out into ſo much the greater extremitie, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore hee followed the example, which ſome of his foregoers had taught him; and, for feare of ſuch a death as the Judges might award him, he ended his owne life in what ſort he thought beſt. This deſperation of *Amilcar* ſerved to informe *Agathocles* of the *Carthaginians* intent. He ſaw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore reſolved to get the ſtart of them in action. Hee diſſembled no longer; but, in ſtead of ſpoyle and robberie, made open warre upon all their Adherents. He had made the better part of *Sicil* his owne, ere the

*Carthaginian* forces arrived: which thinking to have incountred an ill-eſtabliſhed Tyrant, found him readie, as a King, to defend his owne, and give them ſharpe entertainement. They were beaten by him; and their Navie was ſo Tempeſt-beaten, that they could neither doe good by Land, nor Sea, but were glad to leave their buſineſſe undone, and returne into *Africke*.

The *Carthaginians* prepare a new fleet: which being very gallantly manned & furniſhed, was broken by foule weather, and the beſt part of it caſt away, even whileſt it was yet within kenning of their Citie. But *Amilcar*, the ſonne of *Giſco*, gathering together the remainders of his ſhip-wracke, was bold to paſſe over into *Sicil*, and landed not far from *Gela*; where *Agathocles* was ſoone readie to examine the cauſe of their comming. Many skirmiſhes paſſed betweene them, in which (commonly) the *Syracuſian* had the better. But his good ſucceſſe begat preſumption; whereby he loſt a battell more important than all the other fights. One adverſe chance is enough to overthrow the ſtate of a Tyrant, if it be not upheld by great circumſpection. The war was ſoon transferred to the walls of *Syracuſe*; within which *Agathocles* was cloſed up, and driven to make his laſt defence by their help, who may be judged to have loved him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of *Syracuſe*, after that great maſſacre of the principall men, made in the beginning of this new Tyrannie, were (for the moſt part) ſuch, as had beene either mercenarie Souldiers, infranchiſed ſlaves, or baſe and needie people; helpers in eſtabliſhing the preſent Government, and Executioners of the murders, and ſpoyle, committed in that change. If there were any other (as ſome there were) they were ſo well obſerved, and (withall) ſo fearefull, that they durſt not ſtirre. But it was enough that they all agreed in the common defence of themſelves and their Citie. Famine was likely to grow upon them, and inforce them to change their reſolution. In this neceſſitie *Agathocles* adventured upon a ſtrange courſe, which the event commended as wiſe. He imbarqued as many as he thought meet, in thoſe veſſels that rode in the Haven; and committing the government of the Citie to his brother *Antander*, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) hee had bethought himſelfe of a meane, both to raiſe the ſiege, and to repaire all other loſſes. A *Carthaginian* fleet lay in the mouth of the Haven, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keepe the beſieged from iſſuing forth.

Now, at ſuch time as *Agathocles* was readie to depart, advertiſement came, that many ſhips of burden, laden with corne, and other proviſions, were drawing neere unto *Syracuſe*. To intercept theſe the *Carthaginians* hoiſe ſaile, and lanch forth into the deep. They were not far gone, when they might behold *Agathocles*, iſſuing forth of the Port, with purpoſe (as they thought) to give convoy unto his victuallers. Hereupon they wheele about, and make amaine towards him, as thinking him the better bootie. He neither abode their comming, nor fled backe into the Citie, but made all ſpeed towards *Africk*; and was purſued by the *Carthaginians*, as long as the day would give them light. In the mean ſeaſon the victuallers were gotten to *Syracuſe*; which was the more plentifully relieved by their comming, for that *Agathocles* had unburdened the place of no ſmall number. When the *Carthaginian* Admirall perceived, firſt, that by purſuing two fleets at once, he had miſſed of them both; and ſecondly, that *Agathocles* returned not againe, but was gone to ſeeke his fortune elſewhere, he thought it good to purſue thoſe that were fled, and to attend ſo well upon them, that they ſhould not have leiſure to doe miſchiefe in ſome other part.

The *Carthaginian* Navie followed *Agathocles* (whether by chance, or by relation of ſuch as had met with him at Sea) directly towards *Africk*, and overtooke him after ſixe dayes. He had (at the firſt) a great ſtart of them; ſo that (belike) they rowed hard, and wearied themſelves in ſeeking their owne misfortune: for he fought with them, and beat them; and, having ſunke or taken many, drave the reſt to flie which way they could, laden with ſuch ſtrange tidings of his voyage.

When *Agathocles* had landed his men in *Africk*, then did he diſcover unto them his project, letting them underſtand, that there was no better way to divert the *Carthaginians*, not only from *Syracuſe*, but from all the Ile of *Sicil*, than by bringing the war to their own doors. For here (ſaid he) they have many that hate them, and that will readily take armes againſt them, as ſoone as they perceive that there is an Armie on foot, which dares to looke upon their walls. Their Townes are ill fortified, their people untrained, and unexperienced in dangers; the mercenarie forces, that they levie in theſe parts, will rather follow us than them, if we offer greater wages than they can give: which we may better promiſe and make good, by letting them have ſome ſhare with us in all the wealth of the *Carthaginians*, than our enemies can doe, by making ſome addition to their ſtipends. Thus he talked, as one alreadie Maſter of all the riches in *Africk*; and with many brave words encouraged his men ſo well, that they were contented to ſet fire on all their ſhips (reſerving one or two to uſe as Meſſengers) to the end that no hope ſhould remaine, ſave onely in victorie. In this heat of reſolution, they win by force two Cities; which after they had throughly ſacked, they burnt to the ground as a marke of terrour to all that ſhould make reſiſtance. The *Carthaginians* hearing this, are amazed; thinking that *Amilcar* is broken, and his whole Armie deſtroyed in *Sicil*. This impreſſion ſo diſmaies them, that when they know the truth of all, by ſuch as had ſcaped in the late Sea fight, yet ſtill they feare, and know not what. They ſuſpect *Amilcars* faith, who had ſuffered *Agathocles* to land in *Africk*: they ſuſpect their principall Citizens at home, of a meaning to betray *Carthage* unto the enemie; they raiſe a great Armie, and know not to whoſe charge they may ſafely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captaines in the Citie, *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*; great enemies, and therefore the more unlikely to conſpire againſt the Common-wealth. Theſe are made Generals of the Armie levied, which farre exceeded the forces of *Agathocles*. But it ſeldome happens, that diſſention betweene Commanders produceth any fortunate event. Neceſſitie drave *Agathocles* to fight: and the courage of his men, reſolved to deale with the whole multitude of the *Carthaginians*, made eaſie the victorie againſt the one halfe of them. For *Bomilcar* would not ſtirre, but ſuffered *Hanno* to be cut in pieces.

The reputation of this great victorie, brought over a King of the *Africans*, from the *Carthaginian* ſocietie, to take part with *Agathocles*: who purſuing his victorie, winneth many Townes, and ſends word to *Syracuſe* of his good ſucceſſe. *The Carthaginians* alſo ſend into *Sicil*, willing *Amilcar*, their Generall, to ſuccour the State of *Africk*, which was in danger to be loſt, whileſt he was travelling in the conqueſt of *Sicil*. *Amilcar* ſends them five thouſand men: all his forces he thought it not needfull to tranſport; as hoping rather to draw *Agathocles* back into *Sicil*, than to be drawn home by one, that could ſcarce retaine his owne Kingdome. But theſe good hopes had a bad iſſue. He ſpent ſome time in winning a few Townes that adhered unto the *Syracuſians*: and having brought his matters to ſome good order, he conceived a ſudden hope of taking *Syracuſe* by ſurpriſe. It was a prettie (though tragicall) accident, if it were true, as *Tullie* relates it. *Amilcar* had a dreame which told him that he ſhould ſup the next day within *Syracuſe*. His fancie begot this dreame, and hee verily beleeved it. He made more haſte than good ſpeed toward the Citie: and comming upon it on the ſudden, had good hope to carrie it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had layd an ambuſh to intrap him, whereinto he fell. So he was carried priſoner into the Citie; in which it was likely that he had no great cheare to his ſupper: for they ſtrucke off his head, and ſent it into *Africk* (a welcome preſent) to *Agathocles*.

This good ſucceſſe of things at home, did put ſuch courage into the *Sicilian* Armie, that *Agathocles* was bold to weare a Crown, and ſtile himſelfe *King of Africk*. He had allured *Ophellas*, King of the *Cyrenians*, to take his part, by promiſes to deliver the Countrie into his hands: for that (as he ſaid) it was ſufficient unto himſelfe to have diverted the *Carthaginians* from *Sicil*, wherein (after this warre ended) he might reigne quietly. *Ophellas* came with a great Armie, and was friendly entertained. But the traiterous *Sicilian*, taking an advantage, did murther this his aſſiſtant; and afterwards by good words, and great promiſes, drew all the *Cyrenian* Armie to follow him in his Warres. Thus his villanie found good ſucceſſe; and he ſo prevailed in *Africke*, that he got leaſure to make a ſtep into *Sicil*. Many Townes in *Sicil* had embraced a deſire of recovering their libertie; thinking it high time to fight at length for their owne freedome, after that they had ſo long beene expoſed, (as a reward of victorie) either unto Alienſe, or to Tyrants of their owne Countrie. Theſe had prevailed farre, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cauſe: when the comming of *Agathocles* abated their high ſpirits, and his good ſucceſſe in many fights, compelled them to Obedience. Out of

*Sicil* he returned into *Africk*, where his affaires ſtood in very bad terms. *Archagathus*, his ſonne had loſt a battell; and (which was worſe) had ill meanes to help himſelfe: his Armie being in mutinie for lacke of pay. But *Agathocles* pacified the tumult, by the accuſtomed promiſes of great bootie and ſpoyle. It had now beene time for him to offer peace to the *Carthaginians*: which to obtaine, they would (queſtionleſſe) have given to him, both mony enough to pay his armie, and all that they then held in *Sicil*. For their Citie had beene diſtreſſed, not only by this his warre, but by the treaſon of *Bomilcar*, who failed not much of making himſelfe Tyrant over them. But ambition is blind. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed upon the conqueſt of *Carthage* it ſelfe: out of which dreame he was awaked, by the loſſe of a battell, not ſo memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the ſtrange events following it. The *Carthaginians*, after their great misfortunes in this warre, had renewed their old ſacrifices of children to *Saturne*: from which they had abſtained ever ſince they made peace with *Gelon*. And now they made choice of ſome, the goodlieſt of their priſoners, taken in the battell, to offer unto the ſaid Idoll, in way of thankfulneſſe for their victorie. The fire, with which theſe unhappie men were conſumed, caught hold upon the lodgings neereſt unto the Altar; and ſpreading it ſelfe farther through the Campe, with the deſtruction of many men, cauſed ſuch a tumult as is uſuall in the like caſes. At the ſame time, the like accident of fire burnt up the Pavilion of *Agathocles*. Hereupon both the Armies fled away, each of them beleeving, that the noyſe in the adverſe Campe, was a ſigne of the enemies comming to invade it. But the *Carthaginians* had a ſafe retrait: *Agathocles*, by a ſecond errour, fell into a new calamitie. In the beginning of this his flight in the darke, he met with his own *African* Souldiers; and thinking them to be enemies, (as indeed the one halfe of them had revolted from him, to the *Carthaginians*, in the laſt battell) hee began to aſſaile them, and was ſo ſtoutly reſiſted, that he loſt in this blinde fight above foure thouſand of his men. This did ſo diſcourage his proud heart, that, being fallen from the neere hope of taking the Citie of *Carthage*, unto ſome diſtruſt of his own ſafetie, he knew no more how to moderate his preſent weak feares, than lately he had known how to governe his ambition. Therefore he tooke the way that came next into his head; which was, to ſteale cloſely a-boord his ſhips, with his younger ſonne (the elder he ſuſpected of Inceſt, and of Ambition) and ſo to flie into *Sicil*; thinking it the beſt courſe to ſhift for himſelfe, as wanting veſſels wherein to tranſport his Armie. His elder ſon *Archagathus*, perceiving his drift, arreſted him, and put him under cuſtodie: but by meanes of a ſudden tumult, he was let looſe, eſcaped, and fled alone, leaving both his ſonnes behinde him. His flight being noyſed through the Armie, all was in uproare; and extremitie of rage cauſed not onely the common Souldier, but even ſuch as had beene friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold upon his two ſonnes, and kill them. That this flight of *Agathocles* was extremely baſe, I need not uſe words to prove: That his feare was truely, as all feare is ſaid to be, a paſſion, depriving him of the ſuccours which reaſon offered, the ſequell doth manifeſt. His forſaken Souldiers, being now a headleſſe companie, and no longer an Armie to be feared, obtained nevertheleſſe a reaſonable compoſition from the *Carthaginians*: to whom they ſold thoſe places, whereof they had poſſeſſion, for nineteene talents. Likewiſe, *Agathocles* himſelfe, having loſt his Armie, did nevertheleſſe, by the reputation of this late war, make peace with *Carthage* upon equall termes.

After this, the Tyrant, being delivered from forraine enemies, diſcovered his bloudie nature, in moſt abominable cruelties, among the *Sicilians*. His wants, and his feares, urged him ſo violently, that he was not ſatisfied with the ſpoyles of the rich, or the death of thoſe whom he held ſuſpected: but in a beaſtly rage depopulated whole Cities. Hee deviſed new engines of torment; wherein ſtriving to exceed the Bull of *Phalaris*, he made a frame of braſſe, that ſhould ſerve to ſcorch mens bodies, and withall give him leave to behold them in their miſerie. So divelliſh is the nature of man, when reaſon, that ſhould be his guide, is become a ſlave to his brutiſh affections. In theſe miſchiefes he was ſo outragious, that he neither ſpared Sexe, nor Age; eſpecially, when he was informed of the ſlaughter of his children in *Africk*. But this was not the way to preſerve his eſtate: it threw him into new dangers. They whom he had chaſed out of their Countrey tooke armes againſt him, and drave him into ſuch feare, that he was faine to ſeeke the love at *Carthage*, which by ruling well he might have had in *Sicil*. Hee freely delivered into the *Carthaginians* hands, all thoſe Townes of the *Phænicians* in *Sicil*, belonging unto them, which were in his poſſeſſion. They requited him honourably, with great ſtore of corne, and with foure hundred talents of gold and ſilver. So (though not without much trouble & hazzard) he prevailed againſt the Rebels, and ſettled his eſtate. Having no further buſineſſe left in *Sicil*, he made a voyage into *Italie*. There he ſubdued the *Brutians*, rather by terrour of his name than by any force, for they yeelded at his firſt comming. This done, he went to the Iſle of *Lipara*, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one hundred talents of gold. But when he had gotten this great ſumme, he would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to ſpoyle the Temples of their gods. Herein (me thinkes) he did well enough. For how could he beleeve thoſe to be gods, that had continually given deafe eares to his horrible perjuries? Then he returned richly home, with eleven ſhips loaden with gold: all which, and all the reſt of his fleet, were caſt away by foule weather at Sea; one Gallie excepted, in which he himſelfe eſcaped, to ſuffer a more miſerable end. A grievous ſickneſſe fell upon him, that rotted his whole bodie, ſpreading it ſelfe through all his veines and ſinewes. Whileſt he lay in this caſe, all deſiring his end, ſave only *Theogenia* (a wife that he had taken out of *Egypt*) and her ſmall children: his Nephew, the ſonne of *Archagathus*, before mentioned, and a younger ſonne of his own, began to contend about the Kingdome. Neither did they ſeeke to end the controverſie by the old Tyrants deciſion; they regarded him not ſo much. But each of them laid wait for the others life: wherein the Nephew ſped ſo well, that he ſlue his Uncle, and got his grandfathers Kingdome, without asking any leave. Theſe tydings wounded the heart of *Agathocles* with feare and ſorrow. He ſaw himſelfe without helpe, like to become a prey to his ungracious Nephew, from whom he knew that no favour was to be expected, either by himſelfe, or by thoſe, whom only he now held deare, which were *Theogenia* and her children. Therefore he adviſed her and them to flie before they were ſurpriſed; for that otherwiſe they could by no meanes avoid, either death, or ſomewhat that would be worſe. He gave them all his treaſures and goods, wherewith he even compelled them (weeping to leave him deſolate in ſo wretched a caſe) to imbarke themſelves haſtily, and make ſpeed into *Egypt*. After their departure, whether he threw himſelfe into the fire, or whether his diſeaſe conſumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him; but he ended his life as baſely, as obſcurely, and in as much want as he firſt began it.

After the death of *Agathocles* it was, that the *Mamertines*, his Souldiers, traiterouſly occupied *Meſſana*, and infeſted a great part of the Iland. Then alſo did the *Carthaginians* begin to renew their attempts of conquering all *Sicil*. What the Nephew of *Agathocles* did, I cannot finde. Likely it is that he quickly periſhed. For the *Sicilians* were driven to ſend for *Pyrrhus* to help them, who had married with a daughter of *Agathocles*. But *Pyrrhus* was ſoone wearie of the Countrie (as hath been ſhewed before) and therefore left it; prophecying that it would become a goodly champion field, wherein *Rome* and *Carthage* ſhould fight for ſuperioritie. In which buſineſſe, how theſe two great Cities did ſpeed, the order of our ſtorie will declare.

## §. V.

### *A recontinuation of the Roman war in Sicil. How* Hieron, *King of Syracuſe, forſook the Carthaginians, and made his peace with Rome.*

WHen *Appius Claudius*, following the advantage of his victorie gotten at *Meſſana*, brought the war unto the Gates of *Syracuſe*, and beſieged that great Citie; *Hieron* found it high time for him to ſeek peace: knowing that the *Carthaginians* had neither any reaſon to be offended with him, for helping himſelfe by what means he could, when they were not in caſe to give him aſſiſtance; and foreſeeing withall, that when once he had purchaſed his quiet from the *Romans*, it would be free for him to ſit ſtill, without feare of moleſtation, whileſt *Rome* and *Carthage* were fighting for the maſterie. In this good mood the new *Roman* Conſuls *M. Valerius*, and *C. Oſtacilius* found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendſhip. Yet they made uſe of their preſent advantage,and ſold him peace for an hundred(ſome ſay two hundred) Talents.

Theſe Conſuls had brought a great Armie into *Sicil*; yet did they nothing elſe in effect, than bring over *Hiero* to their ſide. If the *Syracuſian* held them buſied(which I find not, otherwiſe than by circumſtances, as, by the ſumme of money impoſed upon him, and by their performing none other piece of ſervice) all the whole time of their abode in the Iland; then was his departure from the friendſhip of *Carthage*, no leſſe to his honour than it was to his commoditie. For by no reaſon could they require, that he ſhould ſuffer his owne Kingdome to run into manifeſt perill of ſubverſion, for their ſakes that ſhould have received all the profit of the victorie: ſeeing they did expoſe him to the whole danger, without ſtraining themſelves to give him reliefe. But the *Carthaginians* had lately made good proofe of the ſtrength of *Syracuſe*, in the daies of *Agathocles*: and therefore knew, that it was able to beare a very ſtrong ſiege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more ſlacke, in ſending helpe: if( perhaps) it were not ſome part of their deſire, that both *Rome* and *Syracuſe* ſhould weaken one the other, whereby their owne work might be the eaſier againſt them both. Yet indeed, the caſe of the beſieged Citie was not the ſame, when the *Romans* lay before it, as it had bin when the *Carthaginians* attempted it. For there was great reaſon to trie the uttermoſt hazzard of war againſt the *Carthaginians*, who ſought no other thing than to bring it into ſlavery: not ſo againſt the *Romans*, who thought it ſufficient if they could withdraw it from the partie of their enemies. Beſides, it was not all one to be governed by *Agathocles*, or by *Hiero*. The former of theſe cared not what the Citizens endured, ſo long as he might preſerve his owne tyrannie: the latter, as a juſt and good Prince, had no greater deſire than to win the love of his people, by ſeeking their commoditie; but including his owne felicitie within the publike, laboured to uphold both, by honeſt and faithfull dealing. Hereby it came to paſs, that he enjoyed a long and happy reign, living deare to his own Subjects, beloved of the *Romans*, and not greatly moleſted by the *Carthaginians*; whom, either the conſideration, *That they had left him to himſelfe, ere he left their ſocietie*, made unwilling to ſeeke his ruine; or their more earneſt buſineſſe with the *Romans*, made unable to compaſſe it.

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## §. VI.

### *How the Romans beſiege and winne Agrigentum. Their beginning to maintaine a fleet. Their firſt loſſe, and firſt victory by ſea. Of ſea-fight in generall.*

Hieron, having ſided himſelfe with the *Romans*, aided them with victuals, and other neceſſaries: ſo that they, preſuming upon his aſſiſtance, recall ſome part of their forces. The *Carthaginians* finde it high time to beſtirre them; they ſend to the *Ligurians*, and to the troupes they had in *Spaine*, to come to their aide; who being arrived, they made the Citie of *Agrigentum* the ſeat of the war, againſt the *Romans*, filling it with all manner of munition.

The *Roman* Conſuls, having made peace with *Hieron*, returne into *Italie*; and, in their places, *Lucius Poſthumus* and *Quintus Mamilius* arrive. They goe on towards * *Agrigentum*: and finding no enemie in the field, they beſiege it, though it were ſtuffed with fiftie thouſand Souldiers. After a while, the time of harveſt being come, a part of the *Roman* Armie range the Countrie to gather corn, and thoſe at the ſiege grow negligent; the *Carthaginians* ſallie furiouſly, and indanger the *Roman* Armie, but are in the end repelled into the town with great loſſe; but by the ſmart felt on both ſides, the Aſſailants redoubled their guards, and the beſieged kept within their covert. Yet the

* *Agrigentum* was a goodly Citie, built by the *Geloi*, under conduct of *Ariſton* and *Pyliſtus*. The compaſſe was ten miles about the wals; and it had ſometimes in it eight hundred thouſand Inhabitants. This Citie, by reaſon of the fertilitie of the ſoyle, and the neighbour-hood of *Carthage*, grew in a ſhort ſpace from ſmall beginnings, to great glorie and riches. The plentie and luxurie thereof was ſo great, as it cauſed *Empedocles* to ſay, that the *Agregentines* built Palaces of ſuch ſumptuoſitie, as if they meant to live for ever; and made ſuch feaſts, as if they meant to dye the next day. But their greateſt pompe and magnificence, was in their goodly temples, and theatres, water-conduits, and fiſh-ponds: the ruines whereof at this day are ſufficient arguments, that *Rome* it ſelfe could never boaſt of the like. In the Porch of the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, (by which we may judge of the Temple it ſelfe) there was ſet out on one ſide the full proportion of the Giants, fighting with the gods, all cut out in poliſhed marble of divers colours; a worke the moſt magnificent and rare that ever hath beene ſeene: on the other ſide the warre of Troy, and the encounters which hapned at that ſiege; with the perſonages of the Heroes that were doers in that warre; all of the like beautifull ſtone, and of equall ſtature to the bodies of thoſe men in ancient times: In compariſon of which, the latter workes of that kinde, are but pettie things, and meere trifles. It would require a volume to expreſſe the magnificence of the Temples of *Hercules*, *AEſculapius*, *Concord*, *Juno Lucinia*, *Chaſtitie*, *Proſerpina*, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, wherein the Maſter-peeces of thoſe exquiſite Painters and Carvers *Phidias*, *Xeuxis*, *Myron*, and *Polycletus*, were to be ſeene. But in proceſſe of time it ran the ſame fortune that all other great Cities have done, and was ruined by divers calamities of warre: whereof this war preſent brought unto it not the leaſt.

*Romans*, the better to aſſure themſelves, cut a deepe trench betweene the walls of the Citie and their Campe: and another on the out-ſide thereof; that neither the *Carthaginians* might force any ſuddenly, by a ſallie, nor thoſe of the Countrie without, breake upon them unawares: which double defence kept the beſieged alſo from the receiving any reliefe of victuals, and munitions, whileſt the *Syracuſian* ſupplies the aſſailants with what they want. The beſieged ſend for ſuccour to *Carthage*, after they had beene in this ſort pent up five moneths. The *Carthaginians* imbarke an Armie, with certaine Elephants, under the command of *Hanno*; who arrives with it at *Heraclea*, to the Weſt of *Agrigentum*. *Hanno* puts himſelfe into the field, and ſurpriſeth *Erbeſus*, a Citie wherein the *Romans* had beſtowed all their proviſion. By meanes hereof, the famine without grew to be as great, as it was within *Agrigentum*; and the *Roman* campe no leſſe ſtreightly aſſieged by *Hanno*, than the Citie was by the *Romans*: inſomuch, as if *Hieron* had not ſupplied them, they had beene forced to abandon the ſiege. But ſeeing that this diſtreſſe was not enough to make them riſe, *Hanno* determined to give them battell. To which end departing from *Heraclea*, hee makes approach unto the *Roman* campe. The *Romans* reſolve to ſuſtaine him, and put themſelves in order. *Hanno* directs the *Numidian* horſemen to charge the Vantguard, to the end to draw them further on; which done, he commands them to returne as broken, till they came to the bodie of the Armie, that lay ſhadowed behinde ſome riſing ground. The *Numidians* performe it accordingly; and while the *Romans* purſued the *Numidians*, *Hanno* gives upon them, and having ſlaughtered many, beats the reſt into their Trenches.

After this encounter, the *Carthaginians* made no other attempt for two moneths, but lay ſtrongly encamped, waiting untill ſome opportunitie ſhould invite them. But *Annibal* that was beſieged in *Agrigentum*, as well by ſignes as meſſengers, made *Hanno* know how ill the extremitie which he endured, was able to brooke ſuch dilatorie courſes. *Hanno* thereupon, a ſecond time, provoked the Conſuls to fight: But his Elephants being diſordered by his owne Vantguard, which was broken by the *Romans*, he loſt the day: and with ſuch as eſcaped, he recovered *Heraclea*. *Annibal* perceiving this, and remaining hopeleſſe of ſuccour, reſolved to make his owne way. Finding therefore that the *Romans*, after this daies victorie, wearied with labour, and ſecured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night; he ruſht out of the Towne, with all the remainder of his Armie, and paſt by the *Roman* campe without reſiſtance. The Conſuls purſue him in the morning, but in vaine: ſure they were, that he could not carry the Citie with him, which with little a-doe the *Romans* entred, and pitifully ſpoyled. The *Romans*, proud of this victorie, purpoſed rather to follow the direction of their preſent good fortunes, than their firſt determinations. They had reſolved in the beginning of this Warre, onely to ſuccour the *Mamertines*, and to keepe the *Carthaginians* from their owne coaſts: but now they determine to make themſelves Lords of all *Sicil*; and from thence, being favoured with the winde of good ſucceſſe, to ſaile over into *Africke*. It is the diſeaſe of Kings, of States, and alſo of private men, to covet the greateſt things, but not to enjoy the leaſt; the deſire of that which we neither have nor need, taking from us the true uſe and fruition of what wee have alreadie. This curſe upon mortall men, was never taken from them ſince the beginning of the World unto this day.

To proſecute this War, *Lucius Valerius* and *Titus Octacilius*, two new Conſuls, are ſent into *Sicil*. Whereupon, the *Romans* being Maſters of the field, many in-land towns gave themſelves unto them. On the contrarie, the *Carthaginians* keeping ſtill the Lordſhip of the Sea, many maritimate places became theirs. The *Romans* therefore, as well to ſecure their own coaſts, often invaded by the *African* fleets, as alſo to equall themſelves in every kinde of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And herein fortune favoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in ſhip-wrights craft, a ſtorme of winde thruſt one of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, of five bankes, to the ſhore.

Now had the *Romans* a patterne, and by it they beganne to ſet up an hundred *Quinqueremes*, which were Gallies, rowed by five on every banke; and twentie, of three on a banke: and while theſe were in preparing, they exerciſed their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a ſtrange faſhion. They placed upon the Sea-ſands many ſeats, in order of the bankes in Gallies, whereon they placed their water-men, and taught them to beate the ſand with long poles, orderly, & as they were directed by the Maſter, that ſo they might learne the ſtroke of the Gallie, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

When their fleet was finiſhed, ſome rigging and other implements excepted, *C. Cornelius*, one of the new Conſuls (for they changed every year) was made Admirall: who being more in love with this new kinde of warfare, than well adviſed, paſt over to *Meſſena* with ſeventeene Gallies, leaving the reſt to follow him. There he ſtaied not, but would needs row along the coaſt to *Lipara*, hoping to doe ſome piece of ſervice. *Hannibal*, a *Carthaginian* was at the ſame time Governour in *Panormus*; who being advertiſed of this new Sea mans arrivall, ſent forth one *Boodes*, a Senatour of *Carthage*, with twenty Gallies to entertaine him. *Boodes*, falling upon the Conſull unawares, took both him and the fleet he commanded. When *Hannibal* received this good newes, together with the *Roman* Gallies, and their Conſull; he grew no leſſe fooliſh hardie than *Cornelius* had bin. For he, fancying to himſelf to ſurprize the reſt of the *Roman* fleet, on their owne coaſt, ere they were yet in all points provided; ſought them out with a fleet of fiftie ſaile: wherewith falling among them, he was well beaten, and leaving the greater number of his owne behinde him, made an hard eſcape with the reſt: for of one hundred and twenty Gallies, the *Romans* under *Cornelius* had loſt but ſeventeene, ſo as one hundred and three remained, which were not eaſily beaten by fifty.

The *Romans*, being advertiſed of *Cornelius* his overthrow, make haſte to redeem him, but give the charge of their fleet to his Colleague, *Duilius*. *Duilius*, conſidering that the *Roman* veſſels were heavie and ſlow, the *African* Gallies having the ſpeed of them, deviſed a certaine Engine in the prow of his Gallies, whereby they might faſten or grapple themſelves with their enemies, when they were (as we call it) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies ſides together. This done, the weightier ſhips had gotten the advantage, and the *Africans* loſt it. For neither did their ſwiftneſſe ſerve them, nor their mariners craft; the Veſſels wherein both Nations fought, being open: ſo that all was to be carried by the advantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Beſides this, as the heavier Gallies were accidentally likely to cruſh and cracke the ſides of the lighter and weaker, ſo were they by the reaſon of their breadth, more ſteady; and thoſe, that beſt kept their feet, could alſo beſt uſe their hands. The example may be given betweene one of the long boates of his Majeſties great ſhips, and a *London Barge*.

Certainely, he that will happily performe a fight at Sea, muſt be skilfull in making choice of Veſſells to fight in: he muſt beleeve, that there is more belonging to a good man of Warre, upon the waters, than great daring; and muſt know, that there is a great deale of difference, between fighting looſe or at large, and grappling. The Gunnes of a ſlow ſhip pierce as well, and make as great holes, as thoſe in a ſwift. To clap ſhips together, without conſideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of war: for by ſuch an ignorant braverie was *Peter Stroſſie* loſt at the *Azores*, when he fought againſt the *Marqueſſe of Santa Cruz*. In like ſort had the Lord *Charles Howard*, Admirall of *England*, beene loſt in the yeere 1588. if he had not beene better adviſed, than a great many malignant fooles were, that found fault with his demeanour. The *Spaniards* had an Armie aboord them; and he had none: they had more ſhips than he had, and of higher building & charging; ſo that, had he intangled himſelfe with thoſe great and powerfull Veſſels, he had greatly endangered this Kingdom of *England*. For twenty men upon the defences, are equall to an hundred that boord and enter; whereas then, contrariwiſe, the *Spaniards* had an hundred, for twenty of ours, to defend themſelves withall. But our Admirall knew his advantage, & held it: which had he not done, he had not been worthy to have held his head. Heere to ſpeake in generall of Sea-fights (for particulars are fitter for private hands than for the Preſſe,) I ſay, That a fleete of twenty ſhippes, all good ſailers, and good ſhips, have the advantage, on the open Sea, of an hundred as good ſhips, & of ſlower ſayling. For if the fleet of an hundred ſaile keepe themſelves neere together, in a groſſe ſquadron; the twenty ſhips, charging them upon any angle, ſhall force them to give ground, and to fall backe upon their owne next fellowes: of which ſo many as intangle, are made unſerviceable or loſt. Force them they may eaſily, becauſe the twenty ſhips, which give themſelves ſcope, after they have given one broad ſide of Artillerie, by clapping into the winde, and ſtaying, they may give them the other: and ſo the twenty ſhips batter them in pieces with a perpetuall vollie; whereas thoſe, that fight in a troupe, have no room to turn, & can alwaies uſe but one and the ſame beaten ſide. If the fleet of an hundred ſaile give themſelves any diſtance, then ſhall the leſſer fleet prevaile, either againſt thoſe that are a-reare and hindmoſt, or againſt thoſe, that by advantage of over-ſailing their fellowes keepe the winde: and if upon a Lee-ſhore, the ſhips next the winde be conſtrained to fall backe into their owne ſquadron, then it is all to nothing, the whole fleet muſt ſuffer ſhipwracke, or render it ſelfe. That ſuch advantage may be taken upon a fleet of unequall ſpeed, it hath bin well enough conceived in old time; as by that Oration of *Hermocrates*, in *Thucydides*, which he made to the *Syracuſians*, when the *Athenians* invaded them, it may eaſily be obſerved.

Of the Art of Warre by Sea, I had written a Treatiſe, for the Lord *Henry*, *Prince of Wales*; a ſubject, to my knowledge, never handled by any man, ancient or moderne: but God hath ſpared me the labour of finiſhing it, by his loſſe; by the loſſe of that brave Prince; of which, like an Eclipſe of the Sunne, we ſhall finde the effects hereafter. Impoſſible it is to equall words and ſorrowes; I will therefore leave him in the hands of God that hath him. *Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes ſtupent.*

But it is now time to returne to the beaten *Carthaginians*; who by loſing their advantage of ſwift boats, & boording the *Romans*, have loſt fifty ſaile of their Gallies: as on the other ſide, their enemies by commanding the Seas, have gotten libertie to ſaile about the Weſt part of *Sicil*; where they raiſed the ſiege layed unto *Segeſta*, by the *Carthaginians*, and wonne the Towne of *Macella*, with ſome other places.

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## §. VII.

*Divers enterfeats of warre, betweene the* Romans *and* Carthaginians, *with variable ſucceſſe. The* Romans *prepare to invade* Africke: *and obtaine a great victory at Sea.*

THe victorie of *Duilius*, as it was honoured at *Rome*, with the firſt Navall Triumph, that was ever ſeene in that Citie; ſo gave it unto the *Romans* a great incouragement, to proceede in their warres by Sea; whereby they hoped, not onely to get *Sicil*, but all the other Iles between *Italy* and *Africk*, beginning with *Sardinia*, whither ſoon after they ſent a fleet for that purpoſe. On the contrary ſide, *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian*, lying in *Panormus*, carefully waited for all occaſions, that might helpe to recompence the late miſfortune: and being advertiſed, that ſome quarrell was grown betweene the *Roman* Souldiers, and their Auxiliaries, being ſuch as cauſed them to incampe a-part, he ſent forth *Hanno* to ſet upon them; who taking them unawarres, buried foure thouſand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land-warre in *Sicil*, *Hannibal*, who had lately been beaten by Sea, but eſcaped unto *Carthage*, meaning to make amends for his former errour, obtained the truſt of a new fleet, wherewith he arrived at *Sardinia*: the conqueſt of which Iland, the *Romans* had entertained for their next enterpriſe. Now it ſo fell out, that the *Romans*, croſſing the Sea from *Sicil*, arrived in the port where *Hannibal* with his new fleet anchored. They ſet upon him unawares, and tooke the better part of the fleet which he conducted; himſelfe hardly eſcaping the danger. But it little availed him to have eſcaped from the *Romans*. His good friends the *Carthaginians*, were ſo ill pleaſed with this his ſecond unfortunate voyage, that they hanged him up for his diligence: for (as it hath beene ſaid of old) *Non eſt bis in bello peccare; In warre it is too much to offend twice.*

After this, it was long ere any thing of importance was done by the Conſuls, till * *Panormus* was beſieged: where, when the *Romans* had ſought in vaine to draw the *Cartha-*

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* If wee may give credit to Antiquities, which *Fazellus*, a diligent writer, hath left us in his hiſtory of *Sicil*: *Panormus*, now called *Palermo*, is one of the firſt cities that hath been built in all *Europe*. For whereas *Thucydides* ſeemes to make it a Colonie of the *Phœnicians*: *Ranzanus*, *in libello de Panormo lib. 6.* affirmes that it was firſt, & long before the time which *Thucydides* ſets down, founded by the *Chaldeans*, & *Damaſcenes*. To proove which, he tels us of two inſcriptions upon marble in the *Hebrew* Character found at *Panormus* in the time of *William* the ſecond, King of *Sicil*, that were then beheld of all the Citizens & other ſtrangers, which being tranſlated into Latine, ſay as followeth: *Vivente Iſaac filio Abrahæ, & regnante in Idumæa, atque in valle Damaſcena, Eſau filio Iſaac; ingens Hebræorum manus, quibus adjuncti ſunt multi Damaſceni, atque Phœnices, profecti in hanc triangularem inſulam, ſedes perpetuas locaverunt in hoc amœniſſimo loco, quem Panormum nominaverunt.* In the other marble are found theſe words: *Non eſt alius Deus præter unum Deum; non eſt alius potens præter eundem Deum, &c. Hujus Turris Præfectus eſt Saphu filius Eliphaz, filii Eſau, fratris Jacob, filii Iſaac, filii Abrahami: & Turri quidem ipſi nomen eſt Baych; ſed Turri huic proxima nomen eſt Pharah.* And this inſcription (ſaith *Fazellus*) was found intire in the Caſtle *Baych*, in the year 1534. Now whether theſe inſcriptions were truely as ancient, as theſe men beleeve they were, I leave every man to his own faith. But that the City was of aged times, it appeares by *Thucydides*, who affirmeth; when the *Greekes* paſt firſt into *Sicil*, that then the *Phœnicians* inhabited *Panormus*: which certaine it is they did in the firſt *Punick* warre; to wit, the *Carthaginians*, who were *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Romans* (*A. Aquilius*, and *C. Cornelius*, commanding this Army) tooke it. And when *Marcellus* beſieged *Syracuſe*, it ſent him in aide 3000. Souldiers. But it was rather confederate, than ſubject to the *Romans*. For *Cicero* againſt *Verres*, names it among the free Cities of *Sicil*. After *Syracuſe* deſtroyed, it became the firſt Citie and Regall ſeate, as well of the *Goths* and *Saracens* in that Iland, as of the Emperours of *Conſtantinople*; of the *Normans*, *French*, and *Arragonians*, which honour it holds to this day, and is much frequented, for the excellent wine which growes about it.

*ginians* into the field; being unable to force that great Citie, becauſe of the ſtrong Gariſon therein beſtowed: they then departed from thence, and tooke certaine In-land Towns, as *Mytiſtratum*, *Enna*, *Camerina*, *Hippana*, and others, betweene *Panormus* and *Meſſana*.

The yeare following, *C. Atilius* the Conſull, who commanded the *Roman* fleet, diſcovered a company of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, ranging the coaſt: &, not ſtaying for his whole number, purſued them with ten of his. But he was well beaten for the haſte he made, & loſt all, ſave the Gallie which tranſported him: wherein himſelfe eſcaped with great labour. But ere all was done, the reſt of *Atilius* his fleet was gotten up: who renewing the fight, recovered from the *Carthaginians* a double number of theirs; by which the victory remaining doubtfull, both challenge it. Now to try at once, which of theſe two Nations ſhould command the Seas, they both prepare all they can. The *Romans* make a fleet of three hundred and thirty Gallies; the *Carthaginians*, of three hundred and fifty, **Triremes*, *Quadriremes*, and *Quinqueremes*.

* The *Quinqueremes* are Gallies, wherein every Oare hath five men to draw it: the *Quadriremes* had foure to an Oare: and the *Triremes*, three. Some have thought, that the *Quinqueremes* had five ranks of Oares, one over another; and the other Gallies (rateably) fewer. But had this beene ſo, they muſt then have had five deckes each over other: which hath ſeldome beene ſeen in ſhips of a thouſand tunns, neither could the third, fourth, & fift ranks, have reached unto the water with the Oares.

The *Romans* reſolve to tranſport the warre into *Africk*, the *Carthaginians*, to arreſt them on the coaſt of *Sicil*. The numbers, with which each of them filled their fleet, was (perhaps) the greateſt that ever fought on the waters. By *Polybius* his eſtimation, there were in the *Roman* Gallies an hundred and forty thouſand men; and in thoſe of *Carthage*, an hundred and fifty thouſand: reckoning one hundred and twenty Souldiers, and three hundred rowers to every Gallie, one with the other. The *Roman* fleet was divided into foure parts, of which the three firſt made the forme of a Wedge or Triangle; the two firſt ſquadrons making the Flancks, and the third ſquadron, the Baſe: the point thereof (wherein were the two Conſuls as Admiralls) looking toward the enemie, and the middle ſpace lying emptie. Their Veſſells of carriage were towed by the third ſquadron. After all came up the fourth, in forme of a *Creſcent*; very well manned, but exceeding thinne: ſo that the hornes of it incloſed all the third ſquadron, together with the corners of the firſt and ſecond. The order of the *Carthaginian* fleet I cannot conceive by relation; but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, I conjecture, that the front of their fleet was thinne, and ſtretched in a great length, much like to that which the *French* call *Combat en haye*, a long front of horſe, and thinne: which forme, ſince the Piſtoll prevailed over the Lance, they have changed. Behinde this firſt outſtretched front, their Battalions were more ſolide: for *Amilcar*, Admirall of the *Carthaginians*, had thus ordered them, of purpoſe, (his Gallies having the ſpeed of the *Romans*) that, when the firſt fleet of the *Romans* haſted to breake through the firſt Gallies, they ſhould all turne taile, and the *Romans* purſuing them (as after a victory) diſorder themſelves, and, for eagerneſſe of taking the Run-awayes, leave their owne three ſquadrons far behinde them. For ſo it muſt needs fall out; ſeeing that the third ſquadron towed their horſe boats, and victuallers; and the fourth had the Reareward of all. According to *Amilcars* direction it ſucceeded. For when the *Romans* had charged, and broken, the thinne front of the *Carthaginian* firſt fleet, which ran away, they forthwith gave after them with all ſpeed poſſible, not ſo much as looking behinde them for the ſecond ſquadron. Hereby the *Romans* were drawne neere unto the body of the *Carthaginian* fleet, led by *Amilcar*, and by him (at the firſt) received a great loſſe, untill their ſecond ſquadron came up, which forced *Amilcar* to betake him to his Oares. *Hanno* alſo, who commanded the right wing of the *Carthaginian* fleet, invaded the *Romane* Reareward, and prevailed againſt them. But *Amilcar* being beaten off, *Marcus Atilius* fell back to their ſuccour, and put the *Carthaginians* to their heeles; as not able to ſuſtain both ſquadrons. The Reare being relieved, the Conſuls came to the aide of their third Battalion, which towed the victuallers, which was alſo in great danger of being beaten by the *Africans*: but the Conſuls, joyning their ſquadrons to it, put the *Carthaginians* on that part alſo to running.

This victory fell unto the *Romanes*, partly by the hardineſſe of their Souldiers; but principally; for that *Amilcar*, being firſt beaten, could never after joyne himſelfe unto any of his other ſquadrons, that remained as yet in a faire likelihood of prevailing, ſo long as they fought upon equall termes, and but ſquadron to ſquadron. But *Amilcar* forſaking the fight, thereby left a full fourth part of the *Romane* fleet uningaged, and ready to give ſuccour to any of the other parts that were oppreſt. So as in concluſion, the *Romanes* got the honour of the day: for they loſt but foure and twenty of theirs;

whereas the *Africans* loſt thirty that were ſunke, and threeſcore and three that were taken.

Now, if *Amilcar*, who had more Gallies than the *Romans*, had alſo divided his fleet into foure ſquadrons, ( beſides thoſe that he ranged in the front to draw on the enemies, and to ingage them ) & that, whileſt he himſelfe fought with one ſquadron that charged him, all the reſt of the enemies fleet had beene at the ſame time entertained, he had prevailed: But the ſecond ſquadron, being free, came to the reſcue of the firſt, by which *Amilcar* was oppreſt: and *Amilcar*, being oppreſt and ſcattered, the Conſuls had good leiſure to relieve both the third and the fourth ſquadron, and got the victory.

*Charles* the fift, among other his Precepts to *Philip* the ſecond his ſonne, where hee adviſeth him concerning Warre againſt the *Turkes*, tells him, that in all battailes between them and the *Chriſtians*, he ſhould never faile to charge the *Janiſars* in the beginning of the fight, & to ingage them at once with the reſt. For (ſaith he) the *Janiſars*, who are alwaies reſerved intire in the Reare of the battaile, and in whom the *Turke* repoſeth his greateſt confidence; come up in a groſſe body, when all the troups on both ſides are disbanded and in confuſion; whereby they carrie the victory before them without reſiſtance. By the ſame order of fight, and reſervation, did the *Romans* alſo prevaile againſt other Nations. For they kept their *Triarii* in ſtore (who were the choice of their Armie) for the up-ſhot and laſt blow. A great and victorious advantage it hath ever beene found, to keepe ſome one or two good troupes to looke on, when all elſe are disbanded and ingaged.

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## §. VIII.

*The Romanes prevaile in Africk.* Atilius *the Conſull propoundeth intolerable conditions of peace to the Carthaginians. He is utterly beaten, and made priſoner.*

NOw the *Romans*, according to their former reſolution, after they had repaired and re-victualled their fleete, ſet ſaile for *Africa*, and arrived at the *Promontory* of *Hercules*, a great Head-land, ſomewhat to the Eaſt of the Port of *Carthage*, & ſome forty leagues from *Heraclea* in *Sicil*, where *Amilcar* himſelfe as yet ſtaid. From this Head-land ( leaving the entrance into *Carthage* ) they coaſted the Eaſt-ſide of the *Promontory*, till they came to *Clypea*, a Towne about fifty *Engliſh* mile from it. There they diſ-embarked, and prepared to beſiege *Clypea*; which, to eaſe them of labour, was yeelded unto them. Now had they a Port of their owne on *Africa* ſide; without which all invaſions are fooliſh. By this time were the *Africans* alſo arrived at their owne *Carthage*, fearing that the *Roman* fleet and army had directed themſelves thither: but being advertiſed that they had taken *Clypea*, they made proviſions of all ſorts, both by Sea and Land, for their defence. The *Romans* ſend to *Rome* for directions, and in the meane while waſte all round about them. The order given from the Senate, was, That one of the Conſuls ſhould remaine with the Army, and that the other ſhould returne, with the fleet into *Italy*. According to this direction, *Manlius* the Conſull is ſent home to *Rome*; whither he carried with him twenty thouſand *African* Captains, with all the *Roman* fleet and Armie; except forty ſhips, fifteene thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, that were left with *Atilius*.

With theſe forces, *Regulus* eaſily wanne ſome Towns and Places that were unwalled, and laid ſiege to others. But he performed no great matter, before he came to *Adis*. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that neere unto the River of *Bagrada*, he encountred with a Serpent of one hundred & twenty foot long, which he ſlue, not without loſſe of many Souldiers, being driven to uſe againſt it ſuch engines of warre, as ſerved properly for the aſſaulting of Towns. At *Adis* he met with the *Carthaginian* Army, whereof the Captains were *Hanno* and *Boſtar*, together with *Amilcar*, who had brought over out of *Sicil* five thouſand foote, and five hundred horſe to ſuccour his Countrie. Theſe (belike) had an intent, rather to wearie him out of *Africa*, by warie protraction of time, than to undergoe the hazzard of a maine fight. They were carefull to hold themſelve free, from neceſſitie of comming to blowes: yet had they a great deſire, to ſave th Towne of *Adis* out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their generall purpoſe, and yet to diſturbe him in the ſiege of *Adis*, they incampe neere unto him, an ſtrongl ſtrongly (as they think) on the top of an hill: but thereby they loſe the ſervices, both of their *Elephants*, & of their horſe-men. This diſadvantage of theirs, *Regulus* diſcovers, & makes uſe of it. He aſſailes them in their ſtrength, which they defend a while, but in fine the *Romans* prevaile, & force them from the place, taking the ſpoile of their campe. Following this their good fortune at the heeles, they proceed to * *Tunis* a City within ſixteene miles of *Carthage*, which they aſſault and take.

* This city was taken from the *Turks* by *Charles* the fift in the yeere 1536. and was one of the three Keyes, which he gave in charge to *Philip* the ſecond his ſon to keep ſafe; to wit, this *Tunis*, the Key of *Africa*: *Fluſhing*, the Key of the *Netherlands*: & *Cadez*, the Key of *Spaine*. But two of theſe *Philip* ſo loſt, that hee never found them again; the third, our *Engliſh* were bold, in the time of the renowned Queene *Elizabeth*, to wring out of his hands: where we ſtaid not to picke any lock, but brake open the dores and having ſifted all, threw it into the fire.

By the loſſe of this battaile at *Adis*, & more eſpecially by the loſſe of *Tunis*, the *Carthaginians* were greatly diſmaied. The *Numidians*, their next Neighbours towards the Weſt, inſult upon their misfortunes; invade, and ſpoile their Territory, and force thoſe that inhabite abroad, to forſake their villages and fields, and to hide themſelves within the walls of *Carthage*. By reaſon hereof, a great famine at hand threatens the Citizens. *Atilius* findes his own advantage, and aſſures himſelfe that the City could not long hold out: yet he feared leſt it might defend it ſelfe, untill his time of Office, that was neere expired, ſhould bee quite run out, whereby the new Conſuls were like to reape the honour of obtaining it. Ambition therefore, that hath no reſpect but to it ſelfe, perſwades him to treat of peace with the *Carthaginians*. But he propounded unto them ſo unworthy and baſe conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly poſſeſſed with feare, became now ſo couragious and diſdainfull, that they reſolved, either to defend their liberty, or die to the laſt man. To ſtrengthen this their reſolution, there arrived at the ſame time a great troupe of *Greeks*, whom they had formerly ſent to entertaine. Among theſe was a very expert Souldier, named *Xantippus*, a *Spartan*: who being informed of what had paſſed, & of the overthrow which the *Carthaginians* received neere unto *Adis*, gave it out publikely, that the ſame was occaſioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit, ran till it came to the Senate; *Xantippus* is ſent for; gives the reaſon of his opinion; and in concluſion, being made Generall of the *African* forces, he puts himſelfe into the field. The Army which he led, conſiſted of no more than twelve thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe, with an hundred Elephants. No greater were the forces wherewith the *Carthaginians* fought for all that they had, Libertie, Lives, Goods, Wives, and Children: which might well make it ſuſpected, that the Armies by Sea, before ſpoken of, were miſe-numbred; the one conſiſting of an hundred & forty thouſand, and the other of an hundred and fifty thouſand: were it not commonly found that they which uſe the ſervice of mercenary Souldiers, are ſtronger abroad, than at their owne doores.

*Xantippus*, taking the field with this Army, marched directly towards the *Romans*; and ranging his troupes upon faire and levell ground, fitteſt both for his Elephants and Horſe, preſented them battaile. The *Romans* wondered much, whence this new courage of their enemies might grow: but confident they were, that it ſhould ſoone bee abated. Their chiefe care was, how to reſiſt the violence of the Elephants. Againſt them they placed the *Velites*, or light-armed Souldiers, as a *forelorne hope*; that theſe might, either with darts and other caſting weapons, drive backe the beaſts upon the enemies, or at leaſt breake their violence, and hinder them from ruſhing freely upon the Legions. To the ſame end, they made their battailes deeper in file, than they had bin accuſtomed to doe. By which meanes, as they were the leſſe ſubject unto the impreſſion of the Elephants; ſo were they ſo much the more expoſed unto the violence of horſe, wherein the Enemie did farre exceede them. The Elephants were placed by *Xantippus*, all in one ranke, before his Armie; which followed them at a reaſonable diſtance: his horſemen, and ſome light-armed foote, of the *Carthaginians Auxiliaries*, were in the wings. The firſt onſet was given by the Elephants, againſt which the *Velites* were ſo unable to make reſiſtance, that they brake into the battalions following, and put them into ſome diſorder. In this caſe, the depth of the *Roman* battaile was helpfull. For when the beaſts had ſpent their force, in piercing through a few of the firſt rankes; the ſquadrons nevertheleſſe perſiſted in their order, without opening. But the *Carthaginian* horſe, having at the firſt encounter, by reaſon of their advantage in number, driven thoſe of *Atilius* out of the field, beganne to charge the *Romane* battalions in flanke, and put them in great diſtreſſe; who being forced to turne face every way, could neither paſſe forward nor yet retire; but had very much adoe to make good the ground whereon they ſtood. In the meane while, ſuch of the *Romans*, as had eſcaped the fury of the Elephants, and left them at their backes, fell upon the *Carthaginian* Army, that met them in very good array. It was no even match. The one were a diſordered Companie, wearied with labour and hurt; the other, freſh, and well prepared, to have dealt with the enemie upon equall termes. Here was therefore a greater ſlaughter with little fight; the *Romanes* haſtily recoyling to the body of their Army, which being ſurrounded with the enemie, and ſpent with travaile, fell all to rout, upon the defeat of theſe troupes, that open the way to a generall overthrow. So the *Carthaginians* obtained a full victory; deſtroying the whole *Romane* Armie, ſave two thouſand, and taking five hundred priſoners, together with *Atilius* the Conſull. Of their owne they loſt no more than eight hundred mercenaries, which were ſlaine, when the fight began, by two thouſand of the *Romanes*: that wheeling about to avoyd the Elephants, bare down all before them, and made way even to the *Carthaginian* trenches. Theſe were the two thouſand that eſcaped, when the whole Armie behinde them was routed. All the reſt were either taken or ſlaine. Hereby fortune made the *Romans* know, that they were no leſſe her vaſſals, than were the *Carthaginians*: how inſolent ſoever they had bin in their propoſition of peace, as if they had purchaſed from her the inheritance of their poſteritie, which ſhee never gave nor ſold to any mortall man. With what joy theſe newes were welcommed, when they came to *Carthage*, we may eaſily conjecture; and what great things the vertue of one man hath often brought to paſſe in the world, there are many examples to prove, no leſſe than this of *Xantippus*: all of them confirming that ſentence of *Eurypides*, *Mens una ſapiens, plurium vincit manus; Many mens hands equall not one wiſe minde.*

After this great ſervice done to the *Carthaginians*, *Xantippus* returned into *Greece*; whether for that he was more envied than honoured, or for what other cauſe, it is unknowne.

The death of *Atilius Regulus* the Conſull, was very memorable. He was ſent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, about the exchange and ranſome of priſoners on both ſides: giving his faith to returne if the buſineſſe were not effected. When he came to *Rome*, and plainly ſaw that his Country ſhould loſe by the bargaine: ſo far was he from urging the Senate unto compaſſion of his own miſerie, that he earneſtly perſwaded to have the priſoners in *Africk* left to their ill deſtinies. This done, he returned to *Carthage*: where for his paines taken, he was rewarded with an horrible death. For this his conſtancie and faith, all Writers highly extoll him. But the *Carthaginians* ſeeme to have judged him an obſtinate and malicious enemie, that neither in his proſperitie would hearken to reaſon, nor yet in his calamity would have the naturall care, to preſerve himſelfe and others, by yeelding to ſuch an office of humanitie, as is common in all warres (not grounded upon deadly hatred) onely in regard of ſome ſmall advantage. Whatſoever the *Carthaginians* thought of him; ſure it is, that his faithfull obſervance of his word given, cannot be too much commended. But that grave ſpeech, which he made in the Senate, againſt the exchange of priſoners, appeares, in all reaſon, to have proceeded from a vaine-glorious forwardneſſe, rather than from any neceſſity of State. For the exchange was made ſoone after his death; wherein the *Romanes* had the worſe bargaine, by ſo much as *Regulus* himſelfe was worth. As for the authority of all Hiſtorians, that magnifie him in this point; we are to conſider, that they lived under the *Roman* Empire: *Philinus*, the *Carthaginian*, perhaps did cenſure it otherwiſe. Yet the death which he ſuffered with extreme torments, could not be more grievous to him than it was diſhonourable to *Carthage*. Neither doe I thinke that the *Carthaginians* could excuſe themſelves herein; otherwiſe than by recrimination: ſaying, That the *Romanes* deſerved to be no better intreated, for as much as it was their ordinary practice to uſe others in the like ſort. Cruelty doth not become more warrantable, but rather more odious, by being cuſtomary. It was the *Roman* faſhion, to whip almoſt to death, and then to behead, the Captaines of their enemies whom they tooke, yea although they were ſuch as had alwayes made faire wars with them. Wherefore it ſeemes not meet, in reaſon, that they ſhould crie out againſt the like tyrannicall inſolency in others, as if it were lawfull onely in themſelves.

The conſideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of *Atilius* his intolerable demands; and of the ſudden valour, whereinto the *Carthaginians* feare was changed by meere deſperation; calls to remembrance, the like inſolencie of others in proſperity, that hath bred the like reſolution in thoſe, to whom all reaſonable grace hath bin denied. In ſuch caſes I never hold it impertinent, to adde unto one, more teſtimonies; approving the true rules, from which our paſſions carry us away.

In the yeare 1378, the *Genowaies* won ſo faſt upon the *Venetians*, as they not onely drave their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their owne fleet within two miles of *Venice* it ſelfe. This bred ſuch an amazement in the Citizens of *Venice*, that they offered unto the *Genowaies* (their State reſerved) whatſoever they would demand. But *Peter Doria*, blown up with many former victories, would harken to no compoſition; ſave the yeelding of their Citie and State to his diſcretion. Hereupon, the *Venetians*, being filled with diſdaine, thruſt out to Sea with all their remaining power, and aſſaile *Doria* with ſuch deſperate furie, that they breake his fleet, kill *Doria* himſelfe, take nineteene of his Gallies, foureſcore boats of *Padoa*, & foure thouſand priſoners, recover *Chiozza*, and all the places taken from them; and following their victory, enter the Port of *Genoa*, enforcing the *Genowaies* baſely to begge peace, to their extreme diſhonour and diſadvantage, being beaten; which, being victorious, they might have commanded, to their greateſt honour and advantage. The like hapned to thie Earle of *Flanders*, in the yeare 1380, when having taken a notable, and withall an over-cruell revenge upon the *Gantois*, hee refuſed mercy to the reſt, who in all humility, ſubmitting themſelves to his obedience, offered their Citie, goods, and eſtates, to bee diſpoſed at his pleaſure. This when hee had unadviſedly refuſed, and was reſolved to extinguiſh them utterly; they iſſue out of their Citie with five thouſand choſen men, and armed with a deſperate reſolution, they charge the Earle, breake his Army, enter *Bruges* (*pell-mell*) with his vanquiſhed followers; and enforce him to hide himſelfe under an heape of ſtraw, in a poore cottage; out of which with great difficulty he eſcaped, and ſaved himſelfe. Such are the fruits of Inſolencie.

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## §. IX.

### *How the affaires of Carthage proſpered after the victory againſt* Atilius: *How the Romans, having loſt their fleet by tempeſt, reſolve to forſake the Seas: The great advantages of a good fleet in warre, betweene Nations divided by the Sea.*

By the reputation of this late victorie, all places that had bin loſt in *Africke*, returne to the obedience of *Carthage*. Onely *Clypea* ſtands out; before which the *Carthaginians* ſit downe, and aſſaile it, but in vaine: For the *Romans*, hearing of the loſſe of *Atilius*, with their forces in *Africke*, and withall, that *Clypea* was beſieged, make ready a groſſe Armie, and tranſport it in a fleet of three hundred and fifty Gallies, commanded by *M. Æmilius*, and *Ser. Fulvius*, their Conſuls. At the *Promontory* of *Mercurie*, two hundred *Carthaginian* Gallies, ſet out of purpoſe, upon the bruit of their comming, encounter them: but greatly to their coſt. For the *Romans* took by force an hundred and foureteene of their fleet, and drew them after them to *Clypea*; where they ſtaid no longer, than to take in their owne men that had bin beſieged: and this done, they made amaine toward *Sicil*, in hope to recover all that the *Carthaginians* held therein. In this haſty voyage they deſpiſe the advice of the Pilots, who pray them to finde harbour in time, for that the ſeaſon threatned ſome violent ſtormes, which ever hapned betweene the riſing of *Orion*, and of the * *Dog-ſtarre*. Now although the Pilots of the *Roman* Fleet had thus fore-warned them of the weather at hand, and certified them withall, that the South coaſt of *Sicil* had no good Ports, wherein to ſave themſelves upon ſuch an accident: yet this victorious Nation was perſwaded, that the winde and ſeas feared them no leſſe, than did the *Africans*; and that they were able to conquer the Elements themſelves. So refuſing to ſtay within ſome Port, as they were adviſed, they would needes put out to Sea; thinking it a matter much helping their reputation, after this victorie againſt the *Carthaginian* fleet, to take a few worthleſſe Townes upon the coaſt. The mercileſſe winds in the meane while overtake them, and neere unto *Camerina*, overturne and thruſt headlong on the rocks, all but foureſcore

* There is no Part of the World, which hath not ſome certaine times of outragious weather beſids their accidental ſtorms. Wee have upon our coaſt a Michaelmas flaw, that ſeldome or never failes: In the weſt *Indies*, in the moneths of *Auguſt* and *September*, thoſe moſt forcible windes, which the *Spaniards* call the *Nortes*, or North windes, are very fearefull: and therefore they that Navigate in thoſe parts, take harbor till thoſe moneths take end. *Charles* the fift being as ill adviſed, in paſsing the Seas towards *Algire*, in the Winter quarter, contrary to the counſaile of *A. Doria*; as he was in like unſeaſonable times to continue his ſiege before *Metz* in *Lorraine*, loſt an hundred and forty ſhips by tempeſt, and fifteene Gallies, with all in effect in them, of men, victuallers, horſes, and munition: a loſſe no leſſe great, than his retrait, both from before the one and the other, was extreme diſhonorable.

of three hundred and forty ſhips: ſo as their former great victory was devoured by the Seas, before the fame thereof recovered *Rome*.

The *Carthaginians*, hearing what had hapned, repaire all their warlike veſſells, hoping once againe to command the Seas: they are alſo as confident of their land-forces ſince the overthrow of *Atilius*. They ſend *Aſdrubal* into *Sicil* with all their old Souldiers, & an hundred and forty Elephants imbarqued in two hundred Gallies. With this Army and fleet he arrives at *Lilybæum*; where hee begins to vexe the *Partiſans* of *Rome*. But adverſity doth not diſcourage the *Romanes*: They build in three moneths (a matter of great note) one hundred & twenty ſhips; with which, & the remainder of their late ſhipwracke, they row to *Panormus*, or *Palerma*, the chiefe City of the *Africans* in *Sicil*, and ſurround it by Land and Water: after a while they take it, and leaving a Garriſon therein, returne to *Rome*.

Very deſirous the *Romans* were to be doing in *Africk*: to which purpoſe they imploied *C. Servilius*, and *C. Sempronius*, their Conſuls. But theſe wrought no wonders. Some ſpoile they made upon the coaſts of *Africa*: but Fortune robbed them of all their gettings. For in their returne, they were firſt ſet upon the ſands, and like to have periſhed, neere unto the leſſer *Syrtes*, where they were faine to heave all over-boord, that ſo they might get off: then, having with much ado doubled the Cape of *Lilybæum*, in their paſſage from *Panormus* towards *Italy*, they loſt an hundred and fifty of their ſhips by foule weather. A greater diſcouragement never Nation had; the god of the wars favoured them no wore, than the god of the waters afflicted them. Of all that *Mars* enricht them with upon the Land, *Neptune* robbed them upon the Seas. For they had now loſt, beſides what they loſt in fight, foure hundred and ſixe Ships and Gallies, with all the munition and Souldiers tranſported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby received, perſwaded them to give over their Navigation, and their fight by Sea, and to ſend onely a Land-army into *Sicil*, under *L. Cæcilius*, and *F. Furius*, their Conſuls. Theſe they tranſported in ſome threeſcore ordinary paſſage boats, by the ſtreights of *Meſſana*, that are not above a mile and a halfe broad from land to land. In like ſort, the overthrow which *Atilius* received in *Africa*, occaſioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them leſſe cholericke againſt the *Carthaginians*, than before; ſo that for two yeares after, they kept the high & wooddie grounds, not daring to fight in the faire and champion Countries. But this late reſolution of forſaking the Seas laſted not long. For it was impoſſible for them to ſuccour thoſe places which they held in *Sicil*, without a Navie, much leſſe to maintaine the warre in *Africa*. For whereas the *Romans* were to ſend forces from *Meſſana* to *Egeſta*, to *Lilybæum*, and to other places in the extreme Weſt parts of *Sicil*, making ſometimes a march of above an hundred and forty *Engliſh* mile by land, which could not be performed with an Army, and the proviſions that follow it, in leſſe than foureteene dayes; the *Carthaginians* would paſſe it with their Gallies, in eight and forty houres.

An old example we have, of that great advantage of tranſporting Armies by water, between *Canutus*, and *Edmond Ironſide*. For *Canutus*, when he had entred the *Thames* with his Navie and Armie, and could not prevaile againſt *London*, ſuddenly imbarqued; and ſailing to the Weſt, landed in *Dorſet ſhire*, ſo drawing *Edmond* & his Army thither. There finding ill entertainement, he againe ſhipt his men, & entred the *Severne*, making *Edmond* to march after him, to the ſuccour of *Worceſter ſhire*, by him greatly ſpoyled. But when he had *Edmond* there, he ſailed back again to *London*: by meanes whereof, he both wearied the King, and ſpoiled where he pleaſed, ere ſuccour could arrive. And this was not the leaſt help, which the *Netherlands* have had againſt the *Spaniards*, in the defence of their liberty, that being Maſters of the Sea, they could paſſe their Army from place to place, unwearied, and entire, with all the Munition and Artillerie belonging unto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies have bin able to doe it. Of this, an inſtance or two. The Count *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, now living, on of the greateſt Captaines, and of the worthieſt Princes, that either the preſent or preceding Ages have brought forth, in the yeere 1590. carried his Army by Sea, with forty Canons, to *Breda*: making countenance either to beſiege *Boiſleduc*, or *Gertreviden Berg*; which the enemie (in prevention) filled with Souldiers, and victualls. But as ſoone as the winde ſerved, hee ſuddenly ſet ſaile, arriving in the mouth of the *Meuze*, turned up the *Rhine*, and thence to *Yſſell*, and ſat downe before *Zutphen*. So before the *Spaniards* could march over-land round about *Holland*, above foureſcore mile, and over many great Rivers, with their Cannon and carriage, *Zutphen* was taken. Againe, when the *Spaniſh* Armie had overcome this weariſome march, and were now far from home, the Prince *Maurice*, making countenance to ſaile up the *Rhine*, changed his courſe in the night; and ſailing down the ſtreame, he was ſet down before *Hulſt* in *Brabant*, ere the *Spaniards* had knowledge what was become of him. So this Town he alſo tooke, before the *Spaniſh* Armie could returne. Laſtly, the *Spaniſh* Army was no ſooner arrived in *Brabant*, than the Prince *Maurice*, well attended by his good fleet, having fortified *Hulſt*, ſet ſaile againe, and preſented himſelfe before *Nymegen* in *Gelders*, a City of notable importance, and maſtred it.

And to ſay the truth; it is impoſſible for any maritime Countrie, not having the coaſts admirably fortified, to defend it ſelfe againſt a powerfull enemy, that is maſter of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that *Spaine* than *England* ſhould be an example. Let it therefore be ſuppoſed, that King *Philip* the ſecond had fully reſolved to hinder Sir *John Norris* in the yeare 1589. from preſenting *Don Antonio*, King of *Portugale*, before the gates of *Lysborne*; and that he would have kept off the *Engliſh*, by power of his land-forces; as being too weake at Sea, through the great overthrow of his mighty *Armado*, by the fleet of Queene *Elizabeth*, in the yeare foregoing. Surely, it had not bin hard for him, to prepare an Army, that ſhould be able to reſiſt our eleven thouſand. But where ſhould this his Army have bin beſtowed? If about *Lysborne*; then would it have beene eaſie unto the *Engliſh*, to take, ranſacke, and burne the Towne of *Groine*, and to waſte the Countrie round about it. For the great and threatning preparations of the Earle of *Altemira*, the Marqueſſe of *Seralba*, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the haſtie leavie of eight thouſand, under the Earle of *Andrada*, ſerve to more effect, than the increaſe of honour to Sir *John Norris*, and his Aſſociates: conſidering, that the *Engliſh* charged theſe, at *Puente de Burgos*, and paſſing the great Bridge, behinde which they lay, that was flanked with ſhot, and barricadoed at the further end, routed them, tooke their campe; tooke their Generalls ſtandard with the Kings Armes, and purſued them over all the Countrie, which they fired. If a Royall Army, and not (as this was) a Companie of private adventurers, had thus begun the warre in *Galicia*; I thinke it would have made the *Spaniards* to quit the guard of *Portugale*, and make haſte to the defence of their St *Jago*, whoſe Temple was not far from the danger. But, had they held their firſt reſolution; as knowing, that Sir *John Norris* his maine intent was, to bring *Don Antonio*, with an Army, into his Kingdom, whither comming ſtrong, he expected to be readily and joyfully welcomed: could they have hindred his landing in *Portugale*? Did not he land and *Penicha*, and march over the Country to *Lysborne*, ſixe dayes journey? Did not he (when all *Don Antonio* his promiſes failed) paſſe along by the River of *Lysborne* to *Caſcaliz*, and there, having won the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and depart? But theſe, though no more than an handfull, yet were they *Engliſhmen*. Let us conſider of the matter it ſelfe; what another Nation might doe, even againſt *England*, in landing an Army, by advantage of a fleet, if we had none. This queſtion, *Whether an invading Army may be reſiſted at their landing upon the coaſt of England, were there no fleet of ours at the Sea to impeach it*; is already handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his obſervations upon *Cæſars* Commentaries, that maintaines the affirmative. This he holds only upon ſuppoſition; *in abſence of our ſhipping*: and comparatively, as that it is a more ſafe and eaſie courſe, to defend all the coaſt of *England*, than to ſuffer any enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the beſt way, to keep our enemy from treading upon our ground; wherein, if we faile, then muſt we ſeeke to make him wiſh, that he had ſtaied at his owne home. In ſuch a caſe, if it ſhould happen, our judgements are to weigh many particular circumſtances, that belong not unto this diſcourſe. But making the queſtion generall, and poſitive, *Whether England, without helpe of her fleet, be able to debarre an enemie from landing*; I hold that it is unable ſo to do: and therefore I thinke it moſt dangerous to make the adventure. For the incouragement of a firſt victory to an enemy, and the diſcouragement of being beaten to the invaded, may draw after it a moſt perillous conſequence.

It is true, that the Marſhall *Monluc*, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complaine, that by his wanting forces, wherewith to have kept the frontier of *Guyenne*, they of the

*Proteſtant* Religion, after the battaile of *Moncontour*, entred that Countrie, & gathered great ſtrength and reliefe thence; for if the King (ſaith he) would have given me but reaſonable meanes, *j'euſſe bien gardé à Monſieur l'Admiral de faire boire ſes Chevaux en la Garonne; I would have kept the Admiral from watering his horſes in the River of Garonne. Monſieur de Langey*, on the contrary ſide, preferres the not fighting upon a frontier with an invading enemy, and commends the delay; which courſe the Conſtable of *France* held againſt the Emperour *Charles*, when he invaded *Provence*. Great difference I know there is, and a diverſe conſideration to be had, betweene ſuch a Countrie as *France* is, ſtrengthened with many fortified places; and this of ours, where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And it was of invaſions upon firme land, that theſe great Captaines ſpake: whoſe entrances cannot bee uncertaine. But our queſtion is, of an Armie to be tranſported over Sea, and to be landed againe in an enemies Country, and the place left to the choice of the Invader. Hereunto I ſay, That ſuch an Army cannot be reſiſted on the coaſt of *England*, without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coaſt of *France*, or any other Countrey: except every Creeke, Port, or ſandy Bay, had a powerfull Army, in each of them, to make oppoſition. For let his whole ſuppoſition be granted; That *Kent* is able to furniſh twelve thouſand foot, and that thoſe twelve thouſand bee layed in the three beſt landing places within that Countrie, to wit, three thouſand at *Margat*, three thouſand at the *Neſſe*, and ſixe thouſand at *Foulkſton*, that is ſomewhat equally diſtant from them both; as alſo that two of theſe troupes (unleſſe ſome other order bee thought more fit) be directed to ſtrengthen the third, when they ſhall ſee the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I ſay, that notwithſtanding this proviſion, if the enemy, ſetting ſaile from the Iſle of *Wight*, in the firſt watch of the night, and towing their long boates at their ſternes, ſhall arrive by dawne of day at the *Neſſe*, and thruſt their Armie on ſhore there; it will be hard for thoſe three thouſand that are at *Margat*, (twenty and foure long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellowes at the *Neſſe*. Nay, how ſhall they at *Foulkſton* be able to doe it, who are neerer by more than halfe the way? ſeeing that the enemie, at his firſt arrivall, will either make his entrance by force, with three or foure hundred ſhot of great Artillery, and quickly put the firſt three thouſand, that were intrenched at the *Neſſe*, to run; or elſe give them ſo much to doe, that they ſhall bee glad to ſend for helpe to *Foulkſton*, and perhaps to *Margat*: whereby thoſe places will be left bare. Now let us ſuppoſe, that all the twelve thouſand *Kentiſh* Souldiers arrive at the *Neſſe*, ere the enemie can be ready to diſ-imbarque his Armie, ſo that hee ſhall finde it unſafe, to land in the face of ſo many, prepared to withſtand him; yet muſt we beleeve, that he will play the beſt of his own game; and (having liberty to go which way he liſt) under covert of the night, ſet ſayle towards the Eaſt, where what ſhall hinder him to take ground, either at *Margat*, the *Downes*, or elſewhere, before they at the *Neſſe* can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more eaſie than to do it. Yea the like may be ſaid of *Waymouth*, *Purbecke*, *Poole*, and of all landing places on the South Coaſt. For there is no man ignorant, that ſhips, without putting themſelves out of breath, will eaſily out-run the Souldiers that coaſt them. *Les Armeés ne volent point en poſte; Armies neither flye, nor run poſt*, ſaith a Marſhall of *France*. And I know it to be true, that a fleete of ſhips may be ſeene at Sunne-ſet, and after it, at the *Liſard*; yet by the next morning they may recover *Portland*, whereas an Armie of foot ſhall not bee able to march it in ſixe dayes. Againe, when thoſe troupes lodged on the Sea-ſhores, ſhall be forced to run from place to place in vaine, after a fleet of Ships; they will at length ſit down in the mid-way, & leave all at adventure. But ſay it were otherwiſe; That the invading enemy will offer to land in ſome ſuch place, where there ſhall be an Army of ours ready to receive him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our trained bands, and the choice of our Commanders and Captains, ſhall be drawn together (as they were at *Tilburie* in the year 1588.) to attend the perſon of the Prince, and for the defence of the Citie of *London*: they that remaine to guard the coaſt, can be of no ſuch force, as to encounter an Armie like unto that, wherewith it was intended that the Prince of *Parma* ſhould have landed in *England*.

The Iſle of *Tercera* hath taught us by experience, what to thinke in ſuch a caſe. There are not many Ilands in the world, better fenced by nature, and ſtrengthened by art: it being every where hard of acceſſe; having no good harbour wherein to ſhelter a Navie of friends, and upon every cove or watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approach of an enemies boat. Yet when *Emanuel de Sylva*, and *Monſieur de Chattes*, that held it to the uſe of *Don Antonio*, with five or ſixe thouſand men, thought to have kept the *Marqueſſe of Santa Cruz*, from ſetting foote on ground therein; the Marqueſſe having ſhewed himſelfe in the Road of *Angra*, did ſet ſaile, ere any was aware of it, and arrived at the *Port des Moles*, farre diſtant from thence; where he wan a Fort, and landed, ere *Monſieur de Chattes*, running thither in vaine, could come to hinder him. The example of *Philip Stroſsie*, ſlaine the yeare before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred *French* priſoners murdered in cold blood, had inſtructed *de Chattes* and his followers, what they might expect at that Marqueſſe his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were ſlow in carrying reliefe to *Port des Moles*. Whether our *Engliſh* would be perſwaded to make ſuch diligent haſte, from *Margat* to the *Neſſe*, and backe againe, it may be doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of *Tercera*; whereof the *French-men* had not meaſured the one halfe when they found themſelves prevented by the more nimble ſhips of *Spaine*.

This may ſuffice to prove, that a ſtrong Army, in a good fleet, which neither foot, nor horſe, is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it liſt, in *England*, *France*, or elſewhere, unleſſe it bee hindred, encountred, and ſhuffled together, by a fleet of equall, or anſwerable ſtrength.

The difficult landing of our *Engliſh*, at *Fayal*, in the year 1597. is alledged againſt this: which example moves me no way to thinke, that a large coaſt may be defended againſt a ſtrong fleet. I landed thoſe *Engliſh* in *Fayal* my ſelfe, & therefore ought to take notice of this inſtance. For whereas I finde an action of mine cited, with omiſſion of my name; I may by a civill interpretation, thinke, that there was no purpoſe to defraud me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that the enterprize was ſuch, or ſo ill managed, as that no honour could be due unto it. There were indeede ſome which were in that voyage, who adviſed me not to undertake it: and I hearkened unto them ſomewhat longer than was requiſite, eſpecially, whileſt they deſired me to reſerve the title of ſuch an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater perſon. But when they began to tell me of difficulty: I gave them to underſtand, the ſame which I now maintaine, that it was more difficult to defend a coaſt, than to invade it. The truth is, that I could have landed my men with more eaſe than I did; yea without finding any reſiſtance, if I would have rowed to another place, yea even there where I landed, if I would have taken more companie to helpe me. But, without fearing any imputation of raſhneſſe, I may ſay, that I had more regard of reputation, in that buſineſſe, than of ſafetie. For I thought it to belong unto the honour of our Prince and Nation, that a few Ilanders ſhould not thinke any advantage great enough, againſt a fleet ſet forth by *Q. Elizabeth*; and further, I was unwilling, that ſome *Low-Countrie* Captaines, and others, not of mine own ſquadron, whoſe aſſiſtance I had refuſed, ſhould pleaſe themſelves with a ſweet conceit (though it would have bin ſhort, when I had landed in ſome other place) *That for want of their helpe I was driven to turne taile*. Therefore I tooke with me none, but men aſſured, Commanders of mine owne ſquadron, with ſome of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, voluntaries, whom I could not refuſe; as, Sir *William Brook*, Sir *William Harvey*, Sir *Arthur Gorges*, Sir *John Skot*, Sir *Thomas Ridgeway*, Sir *Henrie Tinnes*, Sir *Charles Morgan*, Sir *Walter Chute*, *Marcellus Throckmorton*, Captaine *Laurence Kemis*, Captaine *William Morgan*, & others, ſuch as well underſtood themſelves and the enemie: by whoſe helpe, with Gods favour, I made good the enterpriſe I undertooke. As for the *working of the Sea*, *the ſteepneſſe of the Cliffes*, & other troubles, that were not new to us, we overcame them well enough. And theſe (notwithſtanding) made five or ſixe Companies of the enemies, that ſought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall, whereon their Musketiers lay on the Reſt for us, and won the place of them without any great loſſe. This I could have done with leſſe danger, ſo that it ſhould not have ſerved for example of a rule, that failed even in this example: but the reaſons before alledged, (together with other reaſons well knowne to ſome of the Gentlemen above named, though more private, than to be here laid down) made me rather follow the way of bravery, and take the ſhorter courſe; having it ſtill in mine owne power to fall off when I ſhould thinke it meet. It is eaſily ſaid, that *the Enemy was more than a Coward*; (which yet was more than we knew) neither will I magnifie ſuch a ſmall peece of ſervice, by ſeeking to prove him better: whom had I thought equall to mine owne followers, I would otherwiſe have dealt with. But for ſo much as concernes the Propoſition in hand; hee that beheld this, may well remember that the ſame enemy troubled us more in our march towards *Fayal*, than in our taking the ſhore; that he ſought how to ſtop us in place of his advantage, that many of our men were ſlaine or hurt by him, among whom Sir *Arthur Gorges* was ſhot in that march; and that ſuch, as (thinking all danger to be paſt, when we had won good footing) would needs follow us to the Towne, were driven by him, to forſake the pace of a man of war, and betake themſelves to an haſtie trot.

For end of this digreſſion, I hope that this queſtion ſhall never come to triall; his Majeſties many moveable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the *Engliſh* will no leſſe diſdaine, than any Nation under heaven can doe, to be beaten upon their owne ground, or elſewhere by a forraigne enemy; yet to entertaine thoſe that ſhall aſſaile us, with their owne beefe in their bellies, and before they eate of our *Kentiſh* Capons, I take it to be the wiſeſt way. To do which, his Majeſty, after God, will imploy his good ſhips on the Sea, and not truſt to any intrenchment upon the ſhore.

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## §. X.

*How the Romans attempt againe to get the maſterie of the Seas. The victory of* Cæcilius *the Roman Conſull at Panormus: The ſiege of Lilybæum. How a Rhodian Gallie entred Lilybæum at pleaſure, in deſpight of the Roman fleet. That it is a matter of great difficulty to ſtop the paſſage of good ſhips. The Romans, by reaſon of grievous loſſes received, under* Claudius *and* Junius *their Conſuls, abandon the Seas againe.*

WHen, without a ſtrong Navie, the *Romans* found it altogether impoſſible, either to keepe what they had already gotten in *Sicil*, or to enlarge their Dominions in *Africa* or elſewhere, they reſolved once againe, notwithſtanding their late miſadventures, to ſtrengthen their fleet & ſhips of warre. So cauſing fifty new Gallies to be built, & the old to be repaired, they gave them in charge (together with certaine Legions of Souldiers) to the new Conſuls, *C. Atilius*, & *L. Manlius*. On the other ſide, *Aſdrubal* perceiving that the *Romans*, partly by reaſon of the ſhipwracke which they had lately ſuffered, partly by reaſon of the overthrow which they received by *Xantippus* in *Africa*, were leſſe daring than they had bin in the beginning of the war: & withall, that one of the Conſuls was returned into *Italy*, with the one halfe of the Army, & that *Cæcilius*, with only the other halfe, remained at *Panormus*: he removed with the *Carthaginian* forces from *Lilybæum* towards it, hoping to provoke *Cæcilius* to fight. But the Conſull was better adviſed. For when *Aſdrubal* had made his approches ſomewhat neere the Towne, *Cæcilius* cauſed a deepe trench to be cut, a good diſtance without the ditch of the Citie: between which and his trench he left ground ſufficient, to embattaile a Legion of his Souldiers. To theſe he gave order that they ſhould advance themſelves, and paſſe over the new trench, till ſuch time as the *African* Elephants were thruſt upon them. From thoſe beaſts he commanded them to retire, by ſlow degrees, till they had drawn on the Elephants to the brinke of the new trench, which they could by no means paſſe. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a ſtand, they were ſo gawled & beaten, both by thoſe Souldiers that were on the inſide of the trench, & by thoſe that lay in the trench it ſelfe, that being inraged by their many wounds, they brake backe furiouſly upon their owne foot-men, and utterly diſordered them. *Cæcilius* eſpying this advantage, ſallied with all the force he had; and charging the other troups, that ſtood embattailed, he utterly brake them, and put them to their heeles; making a great ſlaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants.

The report of this victory being brought to *Rome*; the whole ſtate, filled with courage, prepared a new fleet of two hundred ſaile, which they ſent into *Sicil*, to give end to that warre, that had now laſted fourteene yeares. With this fleet and Armie the *Romans* reſolve to attempt *Lilybæum*, the only place of importance which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*; and all (indeed) ſave *Drepanum*, that was neere adjoining. They ſet down before it, and poſſeſſe themſelves of all the places of advantage neere unto it, eſpecially of ſuch as command the haven, which had a very difficult entrance. They alſo beat to the ground ſixe Towers of defence; and by forcible engines weaken ſo many other parts of the Citie, as the defendants begin to deſpair. Yet *Himilco*, Commander of the place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man of Warre. All that is broken he repaireth with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious ſallies, and giveth to the *Romans* all the affronts that poſſibly could be made. He hath in Garriſon (beſides the Citizens) ten thouſand Souldiers; among which there are certaine Lievtenants, and other pettie Officers, that conſpire to render and betray the Towne. But the matter is revealed by an *Achæan*, called *Alexon*, who had formerly, in danger of the like treaſon, ſaved *Agrigentum*. *Himilco* uſeth the help of *Alexon*, to aſſure the hired Souldiers, and imployeth *Hannibal* to appeaſe the troupes of the *Gaules*, which did waver, and had ſent their agents to the enemie. All promiſe conſtancie and truth; ſo that the Traitors, being unable to performe what they had undertaken, are faine to live in the *Roman* campe as fugitives, that had wrought no good whereby to deſerve their bread. In the mean while, a ſupply of ten thouſand Souldiers is ſent from *Carthage* to their reliefe, having *Hannibal* the ſon of *Amilcar* for their Conductor: who, in deſpight of all reſiſtance, entred the Port and Citie, to the incredible joy of the beſieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto perſwaded by *Himilco* with hope of great reward) reſolve to ſet upon the *Romans* in their trenches, and either force them to abandon the ſiege, or (at leaſt) to take from them, or ſet on fire, their engines of batterie. The attempt is preſently made, and purſued to the uttermoſt, with great ſlaughter on both ſides. But the *Romans*, being more in number, and having the advantage of the ground, hold ſtill their places, and with extreme difficultie defend their engines.

They of *Carthage* deſire greatly to underſtand the ſtate of things at *Lilybæum*; but know not how to ſend into the Towne. A certaine *Rhodian* undertakes the ſervice; and having received his diſpatch, ſailes with one Gallie to *Æguſa*, a little Iland neere *Lilybæum*. Thence, taking his time, he ſteered directly with the Port; and having a paſſing ſwift Gallie, he paſt through the beſt of the Channel, and recovered the water-gate, ere any of thoſe, which the *Romans* had to guard the Port, could thruſt from the ſhores on either ſide.

The next day, neither attending the covert of the darke night, nor dreading to be boorded by the *Roman* Gallies, who waited his returne, he ſet ſaile, and ſhipped his Oares (his Gallie being exceeding quick of ſteerage, and himſelf expert in all parts of the channell) recovered the Havens mouth, and the Sea, in deſpight of all the purſuit made after him. Then, finding himſelfe out of danger of being incompaſſed by many, he turned againe towards the mouth of the Haven, challenging any one, if any one durſt come forth, to undertake him. This enterpriſe, and the well performing of it, was very remarkable, and much wondred at in thoſe dayes: and yet, where there was no great Artillerie, nor any other weapons of fire, to kill a-farre off, the adventure which this *Rhodian* made was not greatly hazzardous. For in this Age, a valiant and judicious man of war will not fear to paſſe by the beſt appointed Fort of *Europe*, with the helpe of a good Tide, and a leading gale of winde: no, though fortie pieces of great Artillerie open their mouthes againſt him, and threaten to teare him in pieces.

In the beginning of our late Queenes time, when *Denmark* and *Sueden* were at War, our *Eaſt-land* fleet, bound for *Leif-land*, was forbidden by the King of *Denmark* to trade with the ſubjects of his enemies, and he threatned to ſink their ſhips if they came through the ſtreights of *Elſenour*. Notwithſtanding this, our Merchants (having a ſhip of her Majeſties, called the *Minion*, to defend them) made the adventure, and ſuſtaining ſome Vollies of ſhot, kept on their courſe. The King made all the proviſion he could, to ſtop them, or ſink them, at their returne. But the *Minion*, commanded (as I take it) by *William Burrough*, leading the way, did not only paſſe out with little loſſe, but did beat downe, with Artillerie, a great part of the Fort of *Elſenour*; which at that time was not ſo well rampard, as now perhaps it is: and the fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any wound received. Neither was it long ſince, that the Duke of *Parma*, beſieging *Antwerp*, and finding no poſſibilitie to maſter it, otherwiſe than by famine, laid his Cannon on the banke of the River, ſo well to purpoſe, and ſo even with the face of the water, that he thought it impoſſible for the leaſt boat to paſſe by. Yet the Hollanders and Zelanders, not blowne up by any wind of glorie, but comming to finde a good market for their Butter and Cheeſe, even the poore men, attending their profit when all things were extreme deare in *Antwerpe*, paſſed in boates of ten or twelve Tonne, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in deſpight of it; when a ſtrong Weſterly winde, and a Tide of floud favoured them; as alſo with a contrary winde, and an ebbing water, they turned backe againe: ſo as hee was forced, in the end, to build his Stockado overthwart the River, to his marvailous trouble and charge.

The Fort Saint *Philip* terrified not us in the yeere 1596. when we entred the Port of *Caliz*, neither did the Fort at *Puntal*, when we were entred, beate us from our anchoring by it; though it plaid upon us with foure Demi-cannons within point blanque, from ſixe in the morning till twelve at none. The ſiege of *Oſtend*, and of many other places, may be given for proofe, how hard a matter it is to ſtop the paſſage of a good ſhip, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Fort is ſo ſet, as that of *Angra* in *Tercera*, that there is no paſſage along beſide it, or that the ſhips are driven to turne upon a bow-line towards it, wanting all helpe of winde and tide; there, and in ſuch places, is it of great uſe, and fearefull: otherwiſe not.

But to returne to our adventurous *Rhodian*: Hee arrives in ſafety at *Carthage*, and makes them know the eſtate of *Lilybæum*. Others alſo, after this, take upon them to doe the like, and performe it with the ſame ſucceſſe. The *Romans* therefore labour to choak the channell; and, for that purpoſe, fill many Merchants ſhips with great ſtones, and ſinke them therein. The force of the *Tides* cleares it againe in part: but they grounded ſo many of thoſe great bellied boates in the beſt of the entrance, as at laſt it made a manifeſt riſing and heape, like a ragged Iland, in the paſſage. Hereby it came to paſſe, that a *Carthaginian* Gallie, taking her courſe by night, and not ſuſpecting any ſuch impediment, ranne her ſelfe a-ground thereon, and was taken. Now comes the brave *Rhodian*, thinking to enter, as hee had done before: but this *Carthaginian* Gallie, a little before taken, gave him chaſe, and gathered upon him; hee findes what ſhee is, both by her forme and by her ſwiftneſſe: and being not able to runne from her, reſolved to fight with her. But ſhee is too well manned for him, ſo that he is beaten and taken.

*Lilybæum*, after this, is greatly diſtreſſed; the Souldiers being worne with labour and watching. But in this deſpaire there roſe ſo violent a tempeſt, as ſome of the *Romans* woodden Towers, by which they over-topt the walls of *Lilybæum*, were over-turned. A *Greeke* Souldier undertakes to fire thoſe that were fallen, and performes it: for the fire was no ſooner kindled, but being blowne unto by the bellowes of a tempeſt, it increaſed ſo faſt, as it became reſiſtleſſe, and in the end burned all to aſhes, and melted the braſen heads of the battering Rammes. Hereupon, deſpaire and warineſſe hinder the *Romans* from repairing their Engines: ſo that they reſolve, by a long ſiege, to ſtarve the defendants.

Upon relation of what had paſt, a ſupply of tenne thouſand Souldiers is ſent from *Rome*, under *M. Claudius*, the Conſull. Hee arrives at *Meſſana*, and marcheth over land to *Lilybæum*: where having re-inforced the Army, and ſupplied the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the ſurpriſe of *Drepanum*, a City on the other ſide of the Bay of *Lilybæum*. This ſervice the Captaines and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the Conſull embarques his troupes, and arrives on the ſudden in the mouth of the Port. *Adherbal* is Governour of the Towne, a valiant and prudent man of warre, who being ignorant of the new ſupply arrived at *Lilybæum*, was at firſt amazed at their ſudden approach; but having recovered his ſpirits, he perſwades the Souldiers, rather to fight abroad, than to bee encloſed. Herewithall he promiſeth great rewards to ſuch, as by their valour ſhall deſerve them; offering to leade them himſelfe, and to fight in the head of his fleet. Having ſufficiently encouraged his men, he thruſts into the Sea towards the *Romans*. The Conſull, deceived of his expectation, calls backe the foremoſt Gallies, that hee might now marſhall them for defence. Hereupon ſome rowe backward, ſome forward, in great confuſion. *Adherbal* findes and followes his advantage, and forceth the Conſull into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himſelfe, having the land on his backe: hoping thereby to keepe himſelfe from being incompaſſed. But he was thereby, and for want of Sea-roome, ſo ſtreightened, as he could not turne himſelfe any way from his enemies, nor range himſelfe in any order. Therefore when hee found no hope of reſiſtance, keeping the ſhore on his left hand, hee thruſt out of the Bay with thirtie Gallies, beſides his owne, and ſo fled away: all the reſt of his fleet, to the number of ninetie and foure ſhips, were taken or ſunke by the *Carthaginians*. *Adherbal* for this ſervice is greatly honoured at *Carthage*; and *Claudius*, for his indiſcretion and flight, as much diſgraced at *Rome*.

The *Romans*, notwithſtanding this great loſſe, arme threeſcore Gallies, with which they ſend away *L. Junius*, their Conſull, to take charge of their buſineſſe in *Sicil*. *Junius* arrives at *Meſſana*, where he meets with the whole remainder of the *Roman* fleet, thoſe excepted which rode in the Port of *Lilybæum*. One hundred and twentie Gallies he had; and beſides theſe, hee had gotten together almoſt eight hundred ſhips of burthen, which were laden with all neceſſarie proviſions for the Armie. With this great fleet he arrives at *Syracuſe*, where he ſtayes a while; partly to take in corne, partly to wait for ſome, that were too ſlow of ſaile, to keepe company with him along from *Meſſana*. In the meane time he diſpatcheth away towards *Lilybæum* his Quæſtors or Treaſurers; to whom he commits the one halfe of his victuallers, with ſome Gallies for their convoy.

*Adherbal* was not careleſſe after his late victorie: but ſtudied how to uſe it to the beſt advantage. The ſhips and priſoners that he had taken, he ſent to *Carthage*. Of his owne Gallies he delivered thirtie to *Carthalo*, who had threeſcore and ten more under his own charge; and ſent him to trie what good might be done againſt the *Roman* fleet in the Haven of *Lilybæum*. According to this direction, *Carthalo* ſuddenly enters the mouth of that Haven, where he finds the *Romans* more attentive to the keeping in of the beſieged *Carthaginians*, than to the defence of their own againſt another fleet. So he chargeth them, boords, and takes ſome, and fires the reſt. The *Roman* Campe takes alarme, and haſtens to the reſcue. But *Himilco*, Governour of the Town, is not behinde hand; who ſallies out at the ſame time, and putting the *Romans* to great diſtreſſe, gives *Carthalo* good leiſure to goe through with his enterpriſe.

After this exploit, *Carthalo* ran all along the South coaſt of *Sicil*, deviſing how to worke miſchiefe to the enemie; wherein Fortune preſented him with a faire occaſion, which he wiſely managed. He was advertiſed by his Scouts, that they had deſcried, neer at hand, a great fleet, conſiſting of all manner of Veſſels. Theſe were the victuallers, which the Conſull *Junius*, more haſtily than providently, had ſent before him towards *Lilybæum*. *Carthalo* was glad to heare of their comming: for he and his men were full of courage, by reaſon of their late victories. Accounting therefore the great multitude of *Roman* Hulks approaching, to be rather a prey than a fleet likely to make ſtrong oppoſition, he haſtens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The *Romans* had no minde to fight: but were glad to ſeeke ſhelter in an open Roade, full of rocks, under covert of a poore Towne, belonging to their partie; that could helpe to ſave them only from the preſent danger, by lending them engines and other aide, wherewith to beat off the *Carthaginians* that aſſailed them. *Carthalo* therefore, having taken a few of them, lay waiting for the reſt, that could not long ride under thoſe rockes, but would be forced by any great change of winde, either to put out into the deepe, or to ſave their men, how they could, by taking land, with the loſſe of all their ſhipping. Whileſt he was buſied in this care, the Conſull *Junius* drew neare, and was diſcovered. Againſt him *Carthalo* makes out, and findes him altogether unprepared to fight, as being wholly ignorant of that which had hapned. The Conſull had neither meanes to flie, nor abilitie to fight. Therefore he likewiſe ran into a very dangerous Creeke; thinking no danger ſo great as that of the enemie. The *Carthaginian* ſeeing this, betakes himſelfe to a Station betweene the two *Roman* fleets; where he watcheth, to ſee which of them would firſt ſtir, with a reſolution to aſſault that, which ſhould firſt dare to put it ſelfe into the Sea. So as now all the three fleets were on the South coaſt of *Sicil*, betweene the Promontorie of *Pachinus* and *Lilybæum*; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the winde ſtormed at South. The *Carthaginians*, who knew the times of tempeſt, and their ſignes, finding (belike) ſome ſwelling billow (for ſo we doe in the Weſt of *England*, before a Southerly ſtorme) haſted to double the Cape of *Pachinus*, thereby to cover themſelves from the rage at hand. But the *Romans*, who knew better how to fight than how to Navigate, and never found any foule weather in the entrailes of their beaſts, their Soothſayers being all land-prophets, were ſuddenly over-taken with a boiſterous South wind, and all the Gallies forced againſt the rocks, and utterly wrackt.

This calamitie ſo diſcouraged the *Romans*, that they reſolved againe to forſake the Seas, and truſt only to the ſervice of their Legions upon firm ground. But ſuch a reſolution cannot long hold. Either they muſt be ſtrong at ſea, or elſe they muſt not make war in an Iland, againſt thoſe that have a mightier fleet. Yet are they to be excuſed, in regard of the many great calamities which they had ſuffered, through their want of skill. Here I cannot forbeare to commend the patient vertue of the *Spaniards*. We ſeldome or never find, that any Nation hath endured ſo many miſadventures and miſeries, as the *Spaniards* have done, in their *Indian Diſcoveries*. Yet perſiſting in their enterpriſes with an invincible conſtancie, they have annexed to their Kingdome ſo many goodly Provinces, as burie the remembrance of all dangers paſt. Tempeſts and ſhipwracks, famine, overthrows, mutinies, heat & cold, peſtilence, and all maner of diſeaſes both old & new, together with extreme povertie, and want of all things needfull, have bin the enemies wherewith every one of their moſt noble Diſcoverers, at one time or other, hath encountred. Many years have paſſed over ſome of their heads in the ſearch of not ſo many leagues: yea more than one or two have ſpent their labour, their wealth, & their lives, in ſearch of a golden kingdome, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their firſt ſetting forth. All which notwithſtanding, the third, fourth, and fift undertakers, have not bin diſheartned. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with thoſe Treaſuries and Paradiſes which they enjoy; and well they deſerve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertue in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

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## §. XI.

*The Citie of Eryx is ſurpriſed by the Romans, and recovered by* Amilcar, *who ſtoutly holds war with them five years. The Romans having emptied their common treaſurie, build a new fleet at the charges of private men. The great victorie at Sea of* Luctatius *the Conſull; whereby the Carthaginians are forced to crave peace. The conditions of the peace betweene Rome and Carthage.*

THe *Romans* were carefull to ſupplie with all induſtrie, by land, the want of ſtrength at ſea. Therefore they continue the ſiege of *Lilybæum*, and ſeek to make ſure to themſelves all places, whither the enemies ſhips could not bring reliefe. The Conſull *Junius*, to cure the wound of diſhonour, which he had received, bethought him what enterpriſes to undertake. In the end he reſolved to attempt the Mountaine and Citie of *Eryx*, with the Temple of *Venus Erycina*: which was the faireſt and richeſt of all the Iland; and of theſe, by cunning or treaſon, he got poſſeſſion. *Eryx* was commodiouſly ſeated between *Drepanum* and *Panormus*; ſo that it ſeemed a fit place for a Garriſon, that ſhould reſtraine the *Carthaginians* from making roads into the country. Wherefore *Junius* fortified both the top of the Mountain, and the firſt entrance of the paſſage from the bottome, (both of which places were very defenſible) with a good ſtrength of men. But ſhortly after, in the eighteenth yeare of this war, the *Carthaginians* ſent forth *Amilcar*, ſurnamed *Barcas*, Father of the great *Hannibal*, with a fleet and Armie, who ſailing to the coaſts of *Italie*, did throughly repay the ſpoyles which the *Romans* made in *Africa*. For he firſt of all waſted and deſtroyed the Territories of the *Locrines*, and of the *Brutians*, that were dependants of *Rome*. Then entred he into *Sicil*, and finding there no walled Citie in the *Carthaginians* power, that ſerved fitly to infeſt the *Romans*, he occupied a piece of ground of great advantage, and lodged his Armie thereon; to confront as well the *Romans*, that were in *Panormus*, as thoſe that kept about *Eryx*, putting himſelfe between both Armies with admirable reſolution.

The place that *Amilcar* had ſeized upon, was not onely very ſtrong by ſituation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gave him opportunitie to ſcoure all the coaſt of *Italie* with his fleet, waſting all along as far as to *Cuma*. In the Iſle of *Sicil* he held the *Romans* to hard worke: lying neere unto *Panormus*, where in three yeers abode he did many notable acts, though not of much conſequence, for that the enemie could never be drawne to hazzard the main chance. Having wearied himſelfe and the *Romans* long enough about *Panormus*, he undertooke a ſtrange peece of worke at *Eryx*. The *Roman* Garriſons, placed there by *Junius*, on the top, and at the bottome of the Mountaine, were very ſtrongly lodged. Neverthèleſſe *Amilcar* found a way, lying towards the Sea-ſide, by which he conveighed his men into the City of *Eryx*, that was about the middeſt of the aſcent, ere the enemy knew of it. By this it came to paſſe, that the *Romans* which kept the top of the mountaine, were ſtreightly held (as it were) beſieged. And no leſſe was *Amilcar* himſelfe reſtrained, by both of theſe Garriſons, & ſuch as came to relieve them. There he found them paſtime about two years more; hoping ſtill to wearie out thoſe that lay over his head, as they on the contrary did their beſt, to thruſt him out of thoſe quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the *Romans* and of the *Carthaginians*, was bent unto the proſecuting of this buſineſſe at *Eryx*. Wherein it ſeemes true (as *Hannibal*, in *Livie*, ſpake unto *Scipio*) that the affaires of *Carthage* never ſtood in better terms, ſince the beginning of the warre, than now they did. For whereas the *Romans* had utterly forſaken the Seas, partly by reaſon of their great loſſes; partly upon confidence of their land-forces, which they held reſiſtleſſe; *Amilcar*, with a ſmall Armie, had ſo well acquited himſelfe, to the honour of his Country, that by the triall of five yeares warre, the *Carthaginian* Souldier was judged equall, if not ſuperior to the *Roman*. Finally, when all, that might be, had beene deviſed and gone, for the diſlodging of this obſtinate Warriour: no way ſeemed better to the Senate of *Rome*, than once againe to build a fleet; whereby, if the maſtrie of the Sea could once bee gotten, it was likely that *Amilcar*, for lacke of ſupply, ſhould not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extreme difficulty was found. The common treaſurie was exhauſted: and the coſt was not little, that was requiſite unto ſuch an enterpriſe. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden upon private purſes. Divers of the principall Citizens undertooke to build (each at his owne charges) one *Quinquereme*, which example wrought ſo well, that they, whoſe abilitie would not ſerve to doe the like, joyned with ſome others, and laying their mony together, concurred two or three of them, in building of another; with condition to be repaied, when the war was finiſhed. By this voluntary contribution, they made and finiſhed two hundred new *Quinqueremes*: taking for their patterne, that excellent ſwift rowing Gallie which they had gotten from the *Rhodian*, in the Port of *Lilybæum*, as was ſhewed before. The charge of this fleet was committed to *C. Luctatius Catulus*; who paſt with the ſame into *Sicil* the Spring following, and entred the Port of *Drepanum*, indeavouring by all meanes to have forced the Citie. But being advertiſed that the *Carthaginian* fleet was at hand, and being mindefull of the late loſſes which his Predeceſſors had received; he was carefull to put himſelfe in order, againſt their arrivall.

*Liv.Dec.3.l.10.*

*Hanno* was Admiral of the *Carthaginian* fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wiſe in picture, exceedingly formall, and ſkilfull in the art of ſeeming reverend. How his reputation was firſt bred, I doe not finde; but it was up-held by a factious contradiction, or things undertaken by men more worthie than himſelfe. This qualitie procured unto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the ancient ſort, whoſe cold temper is averſe from new enterpriſes, and therewithall an opinion of great foreſight, confirmed by every loſſe received. More particularly, he was gracious among the people, for that he was one of the moſt grievous oppreſſors of their ſubject Provinces; whereby he procured unto the *Carthaginians* much wealth, but therewithall ſuch hatred, as turned it all to their great loſſe. He had ere this beene imployed againſt the *Numidians* and wilde *Africans*, that were more like to Rovers than to Souldiers, in making War. Of thoſe fugitive Nations he learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his owne great diſhonour, and to the great hurt of *Carthage*; which loſt not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counſell, when, having ſhewed himſelf an unworthie Captain, he betook himſelfe to the long Robe. Yet is he much commended in *Roman* Hiſtories, as a temperate man, and one that ſtudied how to preſerve the League betweene *Carthage* and *Rome*. In which regard, how well he deſerved of his owne Countrie, it will appeare hereafter: how beneficiall he was to the *Romans*, it will appeare, both hereafter, and in his preſent voyage; wherein he reduced the *Carthaginians* to a miſerable neceſſitie of accepting, upon hard conditions, that peace which hee thence-forth commended.

*Hanno* had very well furniſhed his Navie, with all needfull proviſions for the Souldiers at *Eryx*: (for dexteritie in making preparation was the beſt of his qualities) but he had neither beene carefull in trayning his Mariners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with ſtout fellowes. He thought, that the fame of a *Carthaginian* fleet was enough, to make the unexpert *Romans* give way: forgetting, that rather the reſiſtleſſe force of tempeſts, than any other ſtrength of oppoſition, had made them to forſake the ſeas. Yet in one thing he had either conceived aright, or elſe was ſent forth well inſtructed. It was his purpoſe, firſt of all to ſaile to *Eryx*, and there to diſcharge his ſhips of their lading: and having thus lightned himſelfe, he meant to take aboord ſome part of the Land-armie, together with *Amilcar* himſelfe, by whoſe helpe hee doubted not, but that he ſhould be able to make his enemie repent of his new adventure to Sea. This was a good courſe, if it could have beene performed. But *Catulus* uſed all poſſible diligence, to prevent the execution of this deſigne: not becauſe he was informed of the enemies purpoſe, but that he knew it to be the beſt for them, & for that he feared no danger ſo greatly, as to encounter with *Amilcar*. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the ſeas went high, when the *Carthaginian* fleet was diſcried; yet he rather choſe to fight with the enemie, that had the winde of him, than to ſuffer his convoy to paſſe along to *Eryx*, upon unlikely hope of better opportunity in the future. All that *Hanno* ſhould have done, *Catulus* had performed. He had carefully exerciſed his men in Rowing; he had lightned his Gallies of all unneceſſarie burthens; and he had taken aboord the choyce men of the *Roman* Land-ſouldiers. The *Carthaginians* therefore, at the firſt encounter were utterly broken and defeated, having fiftie of their Gallies ſtemmed and ſunke, and ſeventy taken, wherein were few leſſe than ten thouſand men, that were all made priſoners: the reſt, by a ſudden change of winde, eſcaping to the Ile of *Hieroneſus*.

The ſtate of *Carthage*, utterly diſcouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to reſolve. Meanes to repaire their fleete in any time there were none left; their beſt men of warre by Sea were conſumed; and *Amilcar*, upon whoſe valour and judgement the honour and ſafety of the Common-weale reſted, was now ſurrounded by his enemies in *Sicil*, where he could not be relieved. In this extremity, they make diſpatch unto *Amilcar* himſelfe, and authorize him to take what courſe ſhould ſeeme beſt unto his excellent wiſedome, leaving all concluſions to his election and ſole counſaile.

*Amilcar*, whom no adverſitie, accompanied with the leaſt hope or poſſibilitie of recoverie, had ever vanquiſhed, looking over every promiſe, true or falſe, that the preſent time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future he was not able) reſolved to make triall, whether his neceſſitie might be compounded upon any reaſonable terms. He therefore ſent to *Luctatius* the Conſull an overture of peace: who conſidering it well, gathered ſo many arguments from the preſent povertie of the *Roman* State, waſted beyond expectation in the former warre, that he willingly hearkened unto it. So, in concluſion, an accord was made, but with proviſion, That it ſhould hold none otherwiſe, than if the Senate and People of *Rome* would ratifie it with their allowance.

The conditions were: Firſt, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould clearely abandon the Iſle of *Sicil*. Secondly, that they ſhould never undertake upon *Hieron* King of *Syracuſe*, nor invade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, that they ſhould ſet at libertie, and ſend back into *Italie*, all the *Romans*, whom they held priſoners, without ranſom. Laſtly, that they ſhould pay unto the *Romans* two thouſand and two hundred talents; which make, as the *French* reckon the talent, thirteen hundred and twentie thouſand crownes: the ſame to be delivered within twenty years next following.

Theſe Articles were ſent to *Rome*, where they were not throughly approved: but ten Commiſſioners were ſent into *Sicil*, to make perfect the agreement. Theſe Commiſſioners added a thouſand talents to the former ſum; and required a ſhorter time of paiment. Further alſo they tooke order, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould not only depart out of *Sicil* it ſelfe, but ſhould alſo with-draw their Companies out of all other Ilands betweene it and *Italie*, renouncing their whole intereſt therein.

Such was the end of the firſt *Punick warre*, that had laſted about twenty four years without intermiſſion; in which time the *Romans* had loſt, by fight or ſhipwrack, about ſeven hundred *Quinqueremes*; and the *Carthaginians* about five hundred: the greatneſs of which loſſes, doth ſerve to prove the greatneſs both of theſe two Cities, and of the War it ſelfe; wherein I hold good the judgement of *Polybius*, That the *Romans*, in generall, did ſhew themſelves the braver Nation; and *Amilcar*, the moſt worthie Captaine.

# CHAP. II.

## *Of divers actions paſsing betweene the firſt and ſecond Punicke Warres.*

### §. I.

### *Of the cruell warre begun betweene the Carthaginians and their owne Mercenaries.*

THe *Romans* having partly by force, and partly by compoſition, thruſt the *Carthaginians* out of *Sicil*, and all the little Ilands thereunto adjacent, gave them rather meanes and leiſure to help themſelves in a following war, than cauſe to hold themſelves contented with the preſent peace. It is an ancient and true rule, *Quòd leges à victoribus dicuntur, accipiuntur a victis; That lawes are given by the Conquerors, and received of the conquered*. But the *Romans* had either forgotten the anſwer that was made unto them, by one of the *Privernates*; or elſe had forgotten to follow it, in this weightie buſineſſe. For when one of *Privernum*, after a rebellion, defending in the Senate the cauſe of his Citie, was demanded by a Senator, *what peace the Romans might hope for, or aſſure themſelves of, if they quitted their preſent advantage over them*; he anſwered in theſe words, *Si bonam dederitis, & fidam & perpetuam; ſi malam, haud diuturnam; If the peace be good and faithfull that you give us, it will be perpetuall; if it be ill, then of little continuance.* To this anſwer the Senate, at that time gave ſuch approbation, that it was ſaid, *Viri & liberi vocem auditam; an credi poſſet, ullum populum, aut hominem deniq; in ea conditione, cujus cum pœniteat, diutius quàm neceſſe ſit manſurum? that it was the ſpeech of a manly, and free man; for who could beleeve, that any people, or indeed any one man, would continue longer in an over-burdened eſtate, than meere neceſſitie did enforce?* Now, if the *Romans* themſelves could make this judgement of thoſe Nations, who had little elſe beſides their manly reſolution, to defend their libertie; ſurely, they groſly flattered themſelves, in preſuming, that the *Carthaginians*, who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferiour unto themſelves, would ſit downe any longer by the loſſe and diſhonour received, than untill they could recover their legs, and the ſtrength which had a while failed them, to take revenge. But occaſion, by whom (while well entertained) not only private men, but Kings and publike States, have more prevailed, than by any proper proweſſe or vertue, with-held the tempeſt from the *Romans* for a time, and turned it moſt fearefully upon *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* themſelves.

For after that the firſt *Punick* war was ended, *Amilcar*, leaving *Eryx*, went to *Lilybæum*, from whence moſt conveniently the Armie might be tranſported into *Africke*: the care of which buſineſſe he committed unto *Geſco*, to whom, as to a man of approved ſufficiencie, he delivered over his charge. *Geſco* had an eſpeciall conſideration of the great ſummes, wherein *Carthage* was indebted unto theſe Mercenaries; and, withall, of the great diſabilitie to make payment. Therefore he thought it the wiſeſt way, to ſend them over (as it were) by handfuls, a few at a time, that ſo the firſt might have their diſpatch, and be gone, ere the ſecond or third Companies arrived. Herein he dealt providently. For it had not been hard to perſwade any ſmall number, lodged within ſo great a Citie as *Carthage*, unto ſome ſuch reaſonable compoſition, as the preſent emptineſſe of the common Treaſurie did require: ſo that the firſt might have beene friendly diſcharged, and a good preſident left unto the ſecond and third, whileſt their diſ-junction had made them unable to recover their whole due by force. But the *Carthaginians* were of a contrarie opinion. They thought to finde, in the whole Armie, ſome that would be contented to gratifie the Publique State, by remitting a great part of their owne due: and hoped, by ſuch an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they detained the firſt and ſecond commers; telling them, that they would make an even reckoning with all together. Thus every day the number increaſed, and many diſorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed; which much diſquieted the Citie, not accuſtomed unto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remove them all to ſome other place, where they might be leſſe troubleſome. This muſt be done by ſome colourable words of perſwaſion: for their number was already ſo great, that it was not ſafe to offend them too far. Wherefore it is deviſed, that they ſhould all attend the comming of their fellowes, at *Sicca*: receiving every one a piece of gold, to beare his charges in the meane while.

This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers began to diſlodge; leaving behinde them their wives, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning ſhortly to fetch away all, when they came back for their pay. But the *Carthaginians* have no fancie to their returning into the Towne; and therefore compell them to truſſe up their fardels, that they might have none occaſion left to make any errands thither. So to *Sicca* they removed, with all their goods; and there lay waiting for newes of their fellowes arrivall, and their owne pay. Buſineſſe they had none to doe, and therefore might eaſily be drawn to mutinie: the whole argument of their diſcourſe inclining them to nothing elſe. Their daily talke was, how rich they ſhould be, when all their money came in; how much would fall to every ſingle ſhare; and for how long time the Citie was behind hand with them in reckoning. They were all growne Arithmeticians; and he was thought a man of worth, that could finde moſt reaſon to increaſe their demands, to the very higheſt, even beyond their due. No part of their long ſervice was forgotten; but the comfortable words and promiſes of their Captaines, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to mind, and ſo many obligations, not to be cancelled, without ſatisfying their expectation by ſome unordinarie largeſſe.

Thus the time paſſeth away, untill the whole armie being arrived, and lodged in *Sicca*, *Hanno* comes thither to cleare the accompt. Now is the day come, wherein they ſhall all be made rich; eſpecially if they can hold together, in maintaining ſtoutly the common cauſe. So think they all; and aſſemble themſelves to heare what good newes this meſſenger had brought: with a full reſolution to help his memorie, in caſe he ſhould happen to forget any part of the many promiſes made to them; all which were to be conſidered in their Donative. *Hanno* begins a very formall Oration, wherein he bewails the povertie of *Carthage*; tels them how great a ſum of money is to be paid unto the *Romans*; reckons up the exceſſive charges whereat the Common-wealth had beene in the late warre; and finally deſires them to hold themſelves contented with part of their pay, and out of the love which they bare unto the Citie, to remit the reſt. Few of them underſtood his diſcourſe: for the *Carthaginian* Armie was compoſed of ſundrie Nations, as *Greekes*, *Africans*, *Gaules*, *Ligurians*, *Spaniards*, and others; all of different languages. Yet they ſtared upon him, & were (as I think) little pleaſed with his very geſture. But when ſuch as conceived the whole tenor of his ſpeech, had informed the reſt what cold comfort he brought; they were all enraged, and fared like mad-men, ſo that nothing would ſerve to appeaſe them.

*Hanno* would faine have aſſwaged their furie, but he knew not how: for he leſſe underſtood their diſſonant lowd noyſes, than they did his Oration. An Armie collected out of ſo many Countries, that have no one language common to all, or to the greater part of them, is neither eaſily ſtirred up to mutinie, nor eaſily pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. The beſt that *Hanno* can doe, is to uſe the helpe of Interpreters and Meſſengers. But theſe Interpreters miſtake his meaning; ſome for want of skill; others of ſet purpoſe; and ſuch as deliver his errands in the worſt ſenſe, are beſt beleeved. Finally, they thinke themſelves much abuſed by the *Carthaginians*, and reſolve to demand their owne in peremptorie termes, at a neerer diſtance. In this mood they leave *Sicca*, and march as farre as *Tunis*, that is within a very little of *Carthage*, and there they incampe.

Now begin the *Carthaginians* to finde their own errour. It is a good rule,

*Curandum inprimis, ne magna injuria fiat*
*Fortibus & miſeris.*

Have ſpeciall care, that valiant povertie
Be not oppreſt with too great injurie.

But this proud Citie, having neglected the rule, hath alſo beene careleſſe in providing to ſecure her ſelfe againſt the inconvenience that might follow. Shee had ſuffered the whole multitude, whereunto ſhe was like to give cauſe of diſcontent, to joyn it ſelfe into one bodie, when the ſeverall troupes might eaſily have bin diſperſed: ſhe hath turned out of her gates the wives, children, and goods of theſe poore men, which had ſhe retained in ſhew of kindneſſe, ſhe might have uſed them as Hoſtages for her own ſafety; and by imploying a miſerable penni-father, in her negotiation with men of War, ſhe hath weakned the reputation of her braveſt Captaines, that might beſt have ſerved to free her from the threatning danger. Yet likely it is, that *Amilcar* had no deſire to be uſed as an inſtrument in defrauding his owne Souldiers of their wages: eſpecially conſidering, that as he beſt could beare witneſſe of their merits, ſo was he not ignorant, that meanes to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had beene willing thereunto. Hereunto may be added a probable conjecture, that *Hanno*, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter enemie to *Amilcar*, had the boldneſſe to impoſe the blame of his owne wretched counſell, upon the liberall promiſes made by the Captaines. *Amilcar* therefore did wiſely, in ſuffering thoſe that maligned him, to have the managing of their owne plot, and to deale the cards which themſelves had ſhuffled. This they continue to do as fooliſhly as they had at firſt begun. They furniſh a market an *Tunis*, for the Souldiers; whom they ſuffer to buy what they liſt, and at what price they liſt. They ſend ever and anon ſome of their Senatours into the Campe; who promiſe to ſatisfie all demands, as farre forth as it ſhould be poſſible. And thus by ſhifting from one extreme to another, they make the Souldiers underſtand, into what feare the Citie was driven; which cannot chooſe but add much inſolencie to the paſſions alreadie ſtirred up.

This ſudden change of weather, and the true cauſe of it, is quickly found by the Army; which thereupon growes wiſe, and finding the ſeaſon fit, labours to make a great harveſt. Money muſt be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many have loſt their horſes in publike ſervice of the State. The State ſhall pay for them. They had lived ſome yeares, by making hard ſhift, without receiving their allowance of victuals from *Carthage*. If they had lived, they wanted not meat; therefore what was this to the *Carthaginians*? Was it not all one, whether the ſhips did bring in proviſion, or their Captaine direct them where to fetch it? But this would not ſerve. They ſaid that they had beene ſometimes driven to buy; and that (ſince they could not remember how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their proviſion during the whole time, and according to the deareſt price that wheat had borne, whileſt the Warre laſted. Such are now the demands of theſe Mutiners; who might eaſily have beene ſatisfied with farre leſſe charges, and far more honour, by receiving their due at the firſt. But now they make no end of craving. For whileſt the *Carthaginians* are perplexed, about this Com-monie; the Souldiers have deviſed many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater ſum of money, without all regard of ſhame. Since therefore no good end could be found of theſe controverſies which daily did multiplie, it was thought convenient, that one of the *Carthaginians*, which had commanded in *Sicil*, ſhould be choſen by the Souldiers, to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Armie condeſcended, and made choice of *Geſco*: partly out of good liking to him, who had ſhewed himſelfe at all times a friendly man to them, and carefull of their good, eſpecially when they were to be tranſported into *Africke*: partly out of a diſlike which they had conceived of *Amilcar*; for that he had not viſited them in all this buſie time. So *Geſco* comes among them; and, to pleaſe them the better, comes not without money: which might give better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the negotiation of *Hanno*. He calls unto him firſt of all the Captains, and then the ſeverall Nations apart; rebuking them gently for that which had paſſed; adviſing them temperately concerning the preſent; and exhorting them to continue their love unto the State, which had long entertained them, and would needs alwaies be mindefull of their good ſervices. After this he began to put hand to his purſe, offering to give them their whole pay in hand; and then after to conſider of other reckonings at a more convenient time. This had bin well accepted, and might have ſerved to bring all to a quiet paſſe, if two ſeditious ring-leaders of the multitude had not ſtood againſt it.

There was in the Campe one *Spendius*, a ſturdie fellow, and audacious, but a ſlave; that in the late war had fled from a *Roman*, whom he ſerved, and therefore ſtood in feare, leſt he ſhould be delivered back to his Maſter; at whoſe hands he could expect no leſſe, than to be whipt and crucified. This wretch could finde no better way to prolong his owne life, than by raiſing ſuch troubles as might ſerve to with-draw men from care of private matters, and make his owne reſtitution impoſſible, were his Maſter never ſo importunate. With *Spendius* there aſſociated himſelfe one *Matho*, an hote-headed man, that had beene ſo forward in ſtirring up the tumult, as he could not chooſe but feare, leſt his owne death ſhould be made an example, to deterre others from the like ſeditious behaviour. This *Matho* deales with his Countrimen the *Africans*; telling them, that they were in far worſe condition, than either the *Gaules*, the *Greekes*, the *Spaniards*, or any forreine mercenaries. For (ſaith he) *Theſe our companions have no more to doe, than to receive their wages, and ſo get them gone: but we that are to ſtay behinde in Africa, ſhall be called to another manner of accompt, when we are left alone; ſo that we ſhall have cauſe to wiſh that we had returned home beggars, rather than loaden with the mony, which (little though it be) ſhall breake our backes. Yee are not ignorant, how tyrannically thoſe our haughty maſters of Carthage doe reigne over us. They thinke it reaſonable, that our lives and goods ſhould be at their diſpoſition; which they have at other times bin accuſtomed to take from us even without apparent cauſe, as it were to declare their ſoveraignty: what will they now doe, ſeeing that we have demeaned our ſelves as freemen, and bin bold to ſet a good face on the matter, demanding our own, as others have done? Yee all doe know, that it were a very ſhame for us, if having bin as forward in every danger of war, as any other men, we ſhould now ſtand quaking like ſlaves, and not dare to open our mouths, when others take libertie to require their due. This notwithſtanding ye may aſſure your ſelves, that we are like to be taught better manners, as ſoone as our fellowes are gone: in regard of whom they are content to ſhadow their indignation with a good, but a forced countenance. Let us therefore be wiſe, and conſider that they hate and feare us: their hatred will ſhew it ſelfe when their feare is once paſt: unleſſe we now take our time, and whilſt we are the ſtronger, enfeeble them ſo greatly, that their hatred ſhal not be able to do us wrong. All their ſtrength conſiſteth in money, wherewithall they have hired others againſt us, and us againſt others. At the preſent they have neither money nor friends. The beſt armie that ever ſerved them, whereof we are no ſmall part, lies at their gates, ready to helpe us if we be men. A better opportunity cannot be expected; for were our ſwords once drawne, all Africk would riſe on our ſide. As for the Carthaginians, whither can they ſend for helpe? The caſe it ſelfe is plain: but we muſt quickly reſolve. Either we muſt prevent the diligence of* Geſco, *by incenſing theſe Gaules and Spaniards, and procuring them to draw blood; or elſe it behoveth us to pleaſe our good Maſters, by joining with them againſt our fellowes, yea by offering to forgive unto them all our wages, if ſo (peradventure) they may be won to forgive us, or not overcruelly to puniſh our faults committed. He is moſt worthily a wretched ſlave, that neither hath care to winne his Maſters love, nor the courage to attempt his owne liberty.*

By ſuch perſwaſions *Matho* winnes the *African* ſouldiers to his owne purpoſe. They are not now ſo greedie of mony, as of quarrell; which he that ſeeketh will not miſſe to find. When *Geſco* therefore offered to pay them their whole ſtipend preſently, but referred their other demands, for horſes and victuals, to ſome other more convenient time; they breake into great outrage, and ſay, that they will have all, even all at once, and that out of hand. In this tumult, the whole Armie flocke together about *Matho* and *Spendius*; whoſe diligence is not wanting to add more fuell to the fire alreadie blazing. *Matho* and *Spendius* are the only men to whom the Souldiers will hearken: if any other ſtand up to make a ſpeech, a ſhowre of ſtones, flying about his eares, puts him to ſilence, that he ſhall never afterwards ſpeake word more. Neither ſtay they to conſider what it is that any man would ſay: enough hath beene ſaid alreadie by thoſe good ſpokeſmen; ſo that no other word (though perhaps to the ſame purpoſe) can be heard, ſave only *Throw, throw.*

Now the rebellion begins to take forme. *Matho* and *Spendius* are choſen Captains; who, followed by a deſperate crue of Ruffians, will ſuffer no man to make his owne peace, but purſue their owne ends, under faire pretence of the common cauſe. All which notwithſtanding, *Geſco* is not wanting to the good of his Countrie, but adventures himſelfe upon their furie. One while he deales with the Captaines, and other principall men; taking them by the hand, and giving gentle words: another while he workes with the ſeverall Nations; putting them all in hope of their own hearts deſire, if any reaſon would content them. None of them are ſo ſullen as the *Africans*: indeed none of them had ſo good cauſe. They require him peremptorily to give them their owne, and not to feed them with words. The truth is, that they are not ſo covetous as they ſeeme: but will be more glad of an ill anſwer, than of a good payment. This is more than *Geſco* knowes: he ſees not that *Matho* hath any more than bare words to beſtow upon them. Wherefore, as rebuking their inconſiderate heat, he tels them, That they may doe well, if they ſtand in want of money, to ſeeke it of their Captaine *Matho*. This is enough. Shall he both defraud them and deride them? They ſtay no longer, but lay violent hands upon the treaſure that he had brought; yea upon him alſo, and all that are with him: as intending to take this in part of payment, and, for the reſt, to take another courſe. *Matho* and *Spendius* are glad of this. It had little pleaſed them to ſee their fellowes begin to grow calme, by his faire language: wherefore they caſt into bonds both him, and all the *Carthaginians* that they can finde; that ſo the Armie may be freed from danger of *good admonition*, which they call Treaſon. After this followes open war. *Matho* ſolicites all *Africk*, and his Embaſſadors are every where well entertained. Neither is it needfull to uſe perſwaſion: the very fame of this rebellion ſufficeth to draw the whole countrie into it. Now muſt the *Carthaginians* be plagued for thoſe oppreſſions, with which they have plagued others. It is true that adverſitie hath never beene untold of her errours: and as ſhe is ever aſſured to heare her owne, ſo commonly with her owne ſhe undergoes thoſe of other men. The *Africans* finding the *Carthaginians* hang under the wheele, tell them boldly, that their Impoſitions were mercileſſe; that they took from them the one halfe of their corne; that they doubled their tributes in all things elſe; and that they inflicted upon their vaſſals the greateſt puniſhment for the leaſt offences. Theſe cruelties the *Carthaginians* themſelves have forgotten: but the people, that have ſuffered ſo much, retain all in perfect memorie. Wherefore not only ſuch as can beare Armes are readie to doe ſervice in this great Commotion; but the very women bring forth their Jewels, and other ornaments, offering all to ſale for the maintenance of ſo juſt a quarrell. By this great forwardneſſe, and liberall contribution, *Matho* and *Spendius* are ſupplied with a ſtrong aide of threeſcore and ten thouſand *Africans*: and are moreover furniſhed with money, not onely to ſatisfie the preſent appetite of their men; but ſufficient to continue the war begun, though it ſhould be of long endurance.

## §. II.

### *Divers obſervations upon this war with the Mercenaries.*

## †. I.

### *Of Tyrannie, and how Tyrants are faine to uſe the helpe of Mercenaries.*

HEre let us reſt a while, as in a convenient place, whence we may take a proſpect of the ſubject, over which we travell. Behold a tyrannicall Citie, perſecuted by her owne Mercenaries with a deadly war. It is a common thing, as being almoſt neceſſarie, that a tyrannie ſhould be upheld by mercenarie forces: it is common that Mercenaries ſhould be falſe: and it is common that all warre made againſt Tyrants, ſhould be exceeding full of hate and crueltie. Yet we ſeldome heare, that ever the ruine of a tyrannie is procured or ſought by thoſe that were hired to maintaine the power of it: and ſeldome or never doe we reade of any war that hath been proſecuted with ſuch inexpiable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which we properly call Tyrannie, is, *A violent form of government, not reſpecting the good of the ſubject, but only the pleaſure of the Commander.* I purpoſely forbear to ſay, that it is the unjuſt rule of one over many: for very truely doth *Cleon* in *Thucydides* tell the *Athenians*; that their dominion over their ſubjects, was none other, than a meere tyrannie; though it were ſo, that they themſelves were a great Citie, and a popular eſtate. Neither is it peradventure greatly needfull, that I ſhould call this forme of commanding, *violent*: ſince it may well and eaſily be conceived, that no man willingly performs obedience to one regardleſſe of his life and welfare; unleſſe himſelfe be either a mad man, or (which is little better) wholly poſſeſſed with ſome extreme paſſion of love. The practice of tyrannie, is not alwaies of a like extremitie: for ſome Lords are more gentle than others, to their very ſlaves; and he that is moſt cruell to ſome, is milde enough towards others, though it be but for his owne advantage. Neverthelesse, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers diſcretion cannot extend it ſelfe, unto notice of the difference which might be found between the worth of ſeverall men; it is commonly ſeene, that the taſte of ſweetneſſe, drawne out of oppreſſion, hath ſo good a relliſh, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not ſuffer it to be reſtrained with any limits of reſpect. Why ſhould he ſeek out bounds to preſcribe unto his deſires, who cannot endure the face of one ſo honeſt, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation? It is much that he hath gotten by extorting from ſome few: by ſparing none, he ſhould have riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deale from every one: but every one could have ſpared more. He hath wrung all their purſes, & now he hath enough: but (as Covetouſneſſe is never ſatisfied) he thinkes that all this is too little for a ſtock, though it were indeed a good yearly In-come. Therefore he deviſeth new tricks of robbery, and is not better pleaſed with the gains, than with the Art of getting. He is hated for this, and he knowes it well: but he thinkes by crueltie to change hatred into feare. So he makes it his exerciſe, to torment and murder all whom he ſuſpecteth: in which courſe, if he ſuſpect none unjuſtly, he may be ſaid to deale craftily; but if Innocencie be not ſafe, how can all this make any Conſpirator to ſtand in feare, ſince the Traitor is no worſe rewarded, than the quiet man? Wherefore he can think upon none other ſecuritie, than to diſ-arm all his Subjects; to fortifie himſelfe within ſome ſtrong place; and, for defence of his Perſon and State, to hire as many luſtie Souldiers as ſhal be thought ſufficient. Theſe muſt not be of his owne Countrie: for if not every one, yet ſome one or other may chance to have a feeling of the publike miſerie. This conſidered, he allures unto him a deſperate rabble of ſtrangers, the moſt unhoneſt that can be found; ſuch as have neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be careful to ſupport him, by whoſe only favour they are maintained. Now leſt any of theſe, either by deteſtation of his wickedneſſe, or (which in wicked men is moſt likely) by promiſe of greater reward than he doth give, ſhould be drawn to turn his ſword againſt the Tyrant himſelfe: they ſhall all be permitted to doe as he doth; to rob, to raviſh, to murder, and to ſatisfie their owne appetites, in moſt outrageous maner; being thought ſo much the more aſſured to their Maſter, by how much the more he ſees them grow hateful to all men elſe. Conſidering in what age, and in what language I write; I muſt be faine to ſay, that theſe are not dreams: though ſome *Engliſhman* perhaps that were unacquainted with Hiſtorie, lighting upon this leafe, might ſuppoſe this diſcourſe to be but little better. This is to ſhew, both how tyrannie growes to ſtand in need of mercenarie Souldiers, and how thoſe Mercenaries are, by mutuall obligation, firmly aſſured unto the Tyrant.

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## †. II.

### *That the Tyrannie of a Citie over her Subjects is worſe, than the tyrannie of one man: and that a tyrannicall Citie muſt likewiſe uſe mercenarie Souldiers.*

NOw concerning the tyranny wherewith a Citie or State oppreſſeth her ſubjects; it may appear ſome waies to be more moderate, than that of one man: but in many things it is more intolerable. A Citie is jealous of her Dominion; but not (as is one man) fearfull of her life: the leſſe need hath ſhe therefore to ſecure her ſelfe by crueltie. A Citie is not luxurious in conſuming her treaſures, and therefore needs the leſſe to plucke from her ſubjects. If warre, or any other great occaſion, drive her to neceſſitie of taking from her Subjects more than ordinarie ſummes of money; the ſame neceſſitie makes either the contribution eaſie, or the taking excuſable. Indeed no wrongs are ſo grievous & hatefull, as thoſe that are inſolent. *Remember* (ſaith *Caligula* the Emperor to his Grand-mother *Antonia*) *that I may doe what I liſt, and to whom I liſt:* theſe words were accounted horrible, though he did her no harme. And *Juvenal* reckons it, as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruel *Roman* Dame upon her ſlaves, that whileſt ſhe was whipping them, ſhe painted her face, talked with her Goſſips, and uſed all ſignes of neglecting what thoſe wretches felt. Now ſeeing that the greateſt grievances wherewith a domineering State offendeth her Subjects, are free from all ſenſe of indignitie: likely it is, that they will not extremely hate her, although deſire of libertie make them wearie of her Empire. In theſe reſpects it is not needfull, that ſhe ſhould keep a Guard of licentious cut-throats, and maintaine them in all villany, as a *Dionyſius* or *Agathocles* muſt doe: her owne Citizens are able to terrefie, and to hold perforce in obedience, all male-contents. Theſe things, conſidered alone by themſelves, may ſerve to prove, That a Citie is ſcarce able to deſerve the name of a Tyranneſſe, in the proper ſignification.

All this notwithſtanding, it ſhall appeare, that the miſeries, wherewith a Tyrant loadeth his people, are not ſo heavie, as the burdens impoſed by a cruell Citie. Not without ſome appearance of truth, it may be ſaid, that Luſt, and many other private paſſions, are no way incident to a Citie or Corporation. But to make this good, we ſhall have need to uſe the helpe of ſuch diſtinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not *Rome* laſcivious, when *Cato* was faine to riſe and leave the Theater, to the end, that the reverend regard of his gravity might not hinder the people, from calling for a ſhew of naked Courtiſans, that were to be brought upon the open ſtage? By common practice, and generall approved cuſtome, we are to cenſure the quality of a whole State; not by the private vertue or vice of any one man, nor by metaphyſicall abſtraction of *the univerſall* from *the ſingular*; or of *the Corporation*, from *thoſe of whom it is compounded*. I ſay therefore, (as I have ſaid elſewhere) That it were better to live under one pernicious Tyrant, than under many thouſands. The reaſons proving this, are too many to ſet downe, but few may ſuffice. The deſires of one man, how inordinate ſoever, if they cannot be ſatisfied, yet they may be wearied; he is not able to ſearch all corners; his humour may be found, and ſoothed; age or good advice, yea, or ſome unexpected accident may reforme him; all which failing, yet is there hope, that his ſucceſſour may prove better.

Many Tyrants have beene changed into worthy Kings: and many have ill uſed their ill-gotten Dominion, which, becomming hereditary to their poſterity, hath grown into the moſt excellent forme of Government, even a lawfull Monarchy. But they that live under a tyrannicall Citie, have no ſuch hope: their Miſtreſſe is immortall, and will not ſlacken the reines, untill they be pulled out of her hands, and her owne mouth receive the bridle of a more mightier Chariotter. This is wofull: yet their preſent ſufferings make them leſſe mindefull of the future. New flies, and hungry ones, fall upon the ſame ſore, out of which others had already ſucked their fill. A new Governour comes yearely among them, attended by all his poore kindred and friends, who meane not to returne home empty to their hives, without a good lading of waxe and hony. Theſe flie into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with every mans wealth, or whatſoever elſe, in all the Province, is worthy to be deſired. They know all a mans enemies, and all his fears: becomming themſelves, within a little ſpace, the enemies that he feareth moſt. To grow into acquaintance with theſe maſterfull gueſts, in hope to win their friendſhip, were an endleſſe labour, (yet it muſt be undergone) and ſuch as every one hath not means to goe about: but were this effected, what availeth it? The love of one Governour is purchaſed with gifts: the Succeſſor of this man, he is more loving than could be wiſhed, in reſpect of a faire Wife or Daughter: then comes the third, perhaps of the contrary faction at home, a bitter enemy to both his fore-goers, who ſeekes the ruine of all that have beene inward with them. So the miſeries of this tyranny are not ſimple, but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of civill warre. The *Romans* had a Law *De Repetundis*, or, *Of Recoverie*, againſt extorting Magiſtrates: yet we finde, that it ſerved not wholly to reſtraine their Provinciall Governours; who preſuming on the favour of their owne Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold, in their Provinces, to worke all theſe enormities rehearſed; though ſomewhat the more ſparingly, for feare of judgement. If the ſubjects of *Rome* groaned under ſuch oppreſſions, what muſt we think of thoſe that were Vaſſals unto *Carthage*? The *Romans* impoſed no burthenſome tributes; they loved not to heare, that their Empire was grievous; they condemned many noble Citizens for having beene ill Governours. At *Carthage* all went quite contrarie: the rapines newly deviſed by one Magiſtrate, ſerved as Preſidents to inſtruct another; every man reſolved to doe the like, when it ſhould fall to his turne; and he was held a notable Stateſman, whoſe robberies had beene ſuch, as might affoord a good ſhare to the common treaſure. Particular examples of this *Carthaginian* practice are not extant: the government of *Verres* the *Roman* in *Sicil*, that is lively ſet out by *Tullie*, may ſerve to informe us, what was the demeanour of theſe *Punick* Rulers, who ſtood in feare of no ſuch condemnation, as *Verres* under-went. By proſecuting this diſcourſe, I might inferre a more generall Propoſition; That a Citie cannot governe her ſubject Provinces ſo mildely as a King: but it is enough to have ſhewed, That the tyranny of a Citie is far more intolerable, than that of any one moſt wicked man.

Sutable to the crueltie of ſuch Lords, is the hatred of their ſubjects: and againe, ſutable to the hatred of the ſubjects, is the jealouſie of their Lords. Hence it followed, that, in wars abroad, the *Carthaginians* durſt uſe the ſervice of *African* ſouldiers; in *Africk* it ſelfe they had rather be beholding to others, that were farther fetcht. For the ſame purpoſe did *Hannibal*, in the ſecond *Punick war*, ſhift his Mercenaries out of their own countries; *Ut Afri in Hiſpania, Hiſpani in Africa, melior procul ab domo futurus uterq; miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati ſtipendia facerent; That the Africans might ſerve in Spain, the Spaniards in Africk, being each of them like to prove the better Souldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were obliged by mutuall pledges*. It is diſputable, I confeſſe, whether theſe *African* and *Spaniſh* hirelings, could properly be termed *Mercenaries*: for they were ſubject unto *Carthage*, & carried into the field, not only by reward, but by dutie. Yet ſeeing their dutie was no better than enforced, and that it was not any love to the State, but meer deſire of gain, that made them fight; I will not nicely ſtand upon propriety of a word, but hold them, as *Polybius* alſo doth, no better than Mercenaries.

c.3.l.1.

### †. III.

#### *The dangers growing from the uſe of mercenarie Souldiers, and forrain Auxiliaries.*

THe extreme danger, growing from the imploiment of ſuch Souldiers, is well obſerved by *Machiavel:* who ſheweth, that they are more terrible to thoſe whom they ſerve, than to thoſe againſt whom they ſerve. They are ſeditious, unfaithful, diſobedient, devourers, and deſtroyers of all places and Countries, whereinto they are drawne; as being held by no other bond, than their own commoditie. Yea, that which is moſt fearfull among ſuch hirelings, is, that they have often, and in time of greateſt extremity, not only refuſed to fight, in their defence, who have entertained them, but revolted unto the contrarie part; to the utter ruine of thoſe Princes and States that have truſted them. Theſe Mercenaries (ſaith *Machiavel*) which filled all *Italie* when *Charls* the eight of *France* did paſſe the *Alpes*, were the cauſe that the ſaid *French* King won the Realm of *Naples* with his Buckler without a Sword. Notable was the example of *Sforza*, the Father of *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by Queen *Joane* of *Naples*, abandoned her ſervice on the ſudden, and forced her to put her ſelf into the hands of the king of *Aragon*. Like unto his father was *Francis Sforza*, the firſt of that race, Duke of *Millan*; who being entertained by the *Millanois*, forced them to become his ſlaves, even with the very ſame armie which themſelvs had levied for their own defence. But *Lodowick Sforza*, the ſon of this *Francis*, by the juſt judgement of God, was made a memorable example unto poſterity, in loſing his whole eſtate by the trechery of ſuch faithleſ Mercenaries, as his own father had bin. For, having waged an armie of *Switzers*, and committed his Dutchie, together with his perſon, into their hands, he was by them delivere up unto his enemie the *French* King, by whom he was incloſed in the Caſtle of *Loche* unto his dying day.

The like inconvenience is found, in uſing the helpe of forreigne Auxiliaries. We ſee, that when the Emperor of *Conſtantinople* had hired ten thouſand *Turks* againſt hi neighbour Princes; he could never, either by perſwaſion or force, ſet them againe ove the ſea upon *Aſia* ſide; which gave beginning to the Chriſtian ſervitude, that ſoon afte follow followed. *Alexander*, the ſon of *Caſſander*, ſought aide of the great *Demetrius*: but *Demetrius*, being entred into his Kingdome, ſlue the ſame *Alexander*, who had invited him, and made himſelfe King of *Macedon*. *Syracon* the *Turke* was called into *Egypt* by *Sanar* the Soldan, againſt his Oppoſite: but this *Turke* did ſettle himſelfe ſo ſurely in *Egypt*, that *Saladine* his ſucceſſor became Lord thereof; & of all the *holy Land*, ſoon after. What need we look about for examples of this kind? Every Kingdome, in effect, can furniſh us. The *Britaines* drew the *Saxons* into this our Countrie; and *Mac Murrough* drew the *Engliſh* into *Ireland*; but the one and the other ſoone became Lords of thoſe two kingdomes.

Againſt all this may be alledged, the good ſucceſſe of the united Provinces of the *Netherlands*, uſing none other than ſuch kinde of Souldiers, in their late warre. Indeed theſe *Low-countries* have many goodly and ſtrong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthie, induſtrious, and valiant in their kinde. They are ſtout Sea-men, and therein is their excellencie; neither are they bad at the defence of a place well fortified: but in open field they have ſeldome bin able to ſtand againſt the *Spaniard*. Neceſſity therefore compelled them to ſeeke helpe abroad: and the like neceſſity made them forbeare to arme any great numbers of their owne. For, with money raiſed by their Trade, they maintained the Warre: and therefore could ill ſpare unto the Pike and Musket, thoſe hands, that were of more uſe in helping to fill the common purſe. Yet what of this? they ſped well. Surely they ſped as ill as might be, whilſt they had none other than mercenarie Souldiers. Many fruitleſſe attempts, made by the Prince of *Orenge*, can witneſſe it: and that brave Commander Count *Lodowicke* of *Naſſau*, felt, to his griefe, in his retrait from *Grœningham*; when, in the very inſtant that required their ſervice in fight, his Mercenaries cried out aloud for money, and ſo ranne away. This was not the onely time, when the hired Souldiers of the States, have either ſought to hide their cowardize under a ſhew of greedineſſe; or at leaſt, by meere covetouſneſſe, have ruined in one houre the labour of many moneths. I will not ſtand to prove this by many examples: for they themſelves will not deny it. Neither would I touch the honour of *Monſieur* the Duke of *Anjou*, brother to the *French* King; ſave that it is folly to conceale what all the world knowes. He that would lay open the danger of forraine Auxiliaries, needeth no better patterne. It is commonly found, that ſuch Aiders make themſelves Lords over thoſe, to whom they lend their ſuccour: but where ſhall we meet with ſuch another as this *Monſieur*, who, for his protection promiſed, being rewarded with the Lordſhip of the Countrie, made it his firſt worke, to thruſt by violence a galling yoake upon the peoples necke? Well, he lived to repent it, with griefe enough. Even whileſt he was counterfeiting unto thoſe about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginarie ſorrow for the poore Burghers of *Antwerpe*, as verily beleeving the Towne to be ſurpriſed and wonne; the death of the Count S. *Aignan*, who fell over the wall, and the Cannon of the Citie, diſcharged againſt his owne troupes, informed him better what had hapned; ſhewing, that they were his own *French* who ſtood in need of pittry. Then was his feigned paſſion changed into a very bitter anguiſh of minde, wherein, ſmiting his breaſt, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, *Helas, mon Dieu, que veux tu faire de moy? Alas, my God, what wilt thou doe with me?* So the affaires of the *Netherlands* will not ſerve to prove, that there is little danger in uſing mercenarie Souldiers, or the helpe of forraine Auxiliaries. This notwithſtanding, they were obedient unto neceſſitie, and ſought helpe of the *Engliſh*, *Scots*, and *French*: wherein they did wiſely, and proſpered. For when there was in *France* a King, partaker with them in the ſame danger; when the Queen of *England* refuſed to accept the Soveraignty of their Country, which they offered, yet being provoked by the *Spaniard* their enemie, purſued him with continuall war; when the heir of *England* reigned in *Scotland*, a King too juſt and wiſe (though not ingaged in any quarrell) either to make profit of his Neighbours miſeries, or to help thoſe that had attempted the conqueſt of his owne inheritance: then might the *Netherlanders* very ſafely repoſe confidence in the forces of theſe their Neighbour-countries. The Souldiers that came unto them from hence, were (to omit any other commendations) not onely regardfull of the pay that they ſhould receive, but well affected unto the cauſe that they tooke in hand: or, if any were cold in his devotion, unto the ſide whereon he fought, yet was he kept in order, by remembrance of his owne home, where the *Engliſh* would have rewarded him with death, if that his faith had beene corrupted by the *Spaniard*. They were therfore truſted with the cuſtodie of Cities;they were held as friends,and patrons;the neceſſitie of the poorer ſort was relieved,before the pay-day came,with *lendings*, and other helpes, as well as the abilitie of the States could permit. When three ſuch Princes,reigning at one time,ſhall agree ſo well,to maintain againſt the power of a fourth,injurious(or at leaſt ſo ſeeming)to them all, a Neighbour-Country of the ſame religion,and to which they all are lovingly affected:then may ſuch a countrie be ſecure of her Auxiliaries,and quietly intend her Trade,or other buſineſſe, in hope of like ſucceſſe. But theſe circumſtances meet ſo ſeldome, as it may well hold true in generall: *That mercenary and forrain auxiliary forces are no leſſe dangerous,than the enemy againſt whom they are entertained.*

### †. IIII.

*That the moderate government of the Romans gave them aſſurance to uſe the ſervice of their owne ſubjects in their wars. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyrannie, which hindreth the uſe and benefit of the like moderation.*

HEre it may be demanded, whether alſo the *Romans* were not compelled to uſe ſervice of other ſouldiers in their many great wars, but performed all by their own Citizens? for if it were their maner to arm their own ſubjects, how hapned it,that they feared no rebellion? if ſtrangers,how then could they avoid the inconveniences above rehearſed? The anſwer is, That their Armies were compounded uſually of their own Citizens,and of the *Latines* in equall number: to which they added,as occaſion required,ſome companies of *Campanes,Hetrurians,Samnites*, or other of their ſubjects,as were either intereſſed in the quarrell,or might beſt be truſted. They had, about theſe times, (though ſeldome they did imploy ſo many ) ten *Roman* Legions; a good ſtrength, if all other helpe had bin wanting; which ſerved to keepe in good order their ſubjects,that were alwayes fewer in the armie than themſelves. As for the *Latines*,if conſanguinitie were not a ſufficient obligation, yet many priviledges and immunities, which they injoied,made them aſſured unto the State of *Rome*:under which they lived almoſt at libertie,as being bound to little elſe,than to ſerve it in war. It is true,that a yoke,how eaſie ſoever,ſeems troubleſom to the neck that hath bin accuſtomed to freedom. Therfore many people of *Italie* have taken occaſion of ſeverall advantages, to deliver themſelves from the *Roman* ſubjection. But ſtill they have bin reclaimed by war, the Authors of rebellion have ſharply bin puniſhed,and the people by degrees have obtained ſuch liberty, as made them eſteem none otherwiſe of *Rome*,than as the common citie of all *Italy*. Yea, in proceſſe of time it was granted unto many Cities, and thoſe far off removed, even to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*,where Saint *Paul* was born, That all the Burgeſſes ſhould be free of *Rome* it ſelfe. This favour was conferred abſolutely upon ſome;upon ſome,with reſtraint of giving voyce in election of Magiſtrates,or with other ſuch limitation as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added,that it was their maner,after a great conqueſt,to releaſe unto their new ſubjects halfe of their tribute which they had bin wont to pay to their former Lords,which was a ready way to bring the multitude into good liking of their preſent condition; when the review of harder times paſt,ſhould rather teach them to feare a relapſe,than to hope for better in the future,by ſeeking innovation. Neither would it be forgotten,as a ſpeciall note of the *Romans* good government, That when ſome,for thei
Liv.Dec.1.l.3. well-deſerving,have had the offer to be made Citizens of *Rome*, they have refuſed it,and held themſelves better contented with their owne preſent eſtate. Wherefore it is no marvell, that *Petellia*, a Citie of the *Brutians* in *Italie*,choſe rather to endure all extre-
Liv.ibid. mitie of war, than, upon any condition, to forſake the *Romans*; even when the *Roman* themſelves had confeſſed,that they were unable to helpe theſe their ſubjects, and there fore willed them to looke to their owne good,as having bin faithfull to the utmoſt. Suc love purchaſed theſe mild Governors, without impairing their Majeſty thereby. Th ſum of all is;they had,of their own,a ſtrong Armie; they doubled it by adjoyning ther unto the *Latines*; and they further increaſed it,as need required,with other help of the own ſubjects: all,or the moſt of their followers,accounting the proſperitie of *Rome* to b the common good.

The moderate uſe of ſoveraigne power being ſo effectuall, in aſſuring the peo

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unto their Lords, and conſequently, in the eſtabliſhment or inlargement of Dominion: it may ſeeme ſtrange, that the practice of tyranny, whoſe effects are contrary, hath been ſo common in all ages. The like, I know, may be ſaid of all Vice and Irregularity, whatſoever. For it is leſſe difficult, (whoſoever thinke otherwiſe) and more ſafe, to keepe the way of Juſtice and Honeſtie, than to turne aſide from it; yet commonly our paſſions doe lead us into by-paths. But where Luſt, Anger, Feare, or any the like Affection, ſeduceth our reaſon; the ſame unruly appetite, either bringeth with it an excuſe, or, at leaſt-wiſe, taketh away all cauſe of wonder. In tyrannie it is not ſo: for as much as we can hardly deſcry the paſſion, that is of force to inſinuate it ſelfe into the whole tenour of a Government. It muſt be confeſſed, that lawleſſe deſires have bred many Tyrants: yet ſo, that theſe deſires have ſeldome bin hereditary, or long-laſting; but have ended commonly with the Tyrants life, ſometimes before his death; by which meanes the government hath bin reduced to a better forme. In ſuch caſes, the ſaying of *Ariſtotle* holds, *That tyrannies are of a ſhort continuance*. But this doth not ſatisfie the queſtion in hand. Why did the *Carthaginians* exerciſe Tyranny? Why did the *Athenians*? Why have many other Cities done the like? If in reſpect of their generall good; how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill courſe for the ſafety of the Weale publique? If they were led hereunto by any affection; what was that affection wherein ſo many thouſand Citizens, divided and ſubdivided within themſelves by factions, did all concurre, notwithſtanding the much diverſity of temper, and the vehemencie of private hatred among them? Doubtleſſe, we muſt be faine to ſay, That Tyrannie is, by it ſelfe, a Vice diſtinct from others. A Man, we know, is *Animal politicum*, apt even by Nature, to command, or to obey; every one in his proper degree. Other deſires of Mankinde, are common likewiſe unto brute beaſts; and ſome of them, to bodies wanting ſenſe: but the deſire of rule belongeth unto the nobler part of reaſon; whereunto is alſo anſwerable an aptneſſe to yeeld obedience. Now as hunger and thirſt are given by nature not only to Man and Beaſt, but unto all ſorts of Vegetables, for the ſuſtentation of their life: as Feare, Anger, Luſt, and other affections are likewiſe naturall, in convenient meaſure, both unto Mankinde, and to all creatures that have ſenſe, for the ſhunning or repelling of harme, and ſeeking after that which is requiſite: even ſo is this deſire of ruling or obeying, ingraffed by Nature in the race of Man, and in Man onely as a reaſonable creature, for the ordering of his life, in a civill forme of Juſtice. All theſe in-bred qualities are good and uſefull. Nevertheleſſe, Hunger and Thirſt are the Parents of Gluttony and Drunkenneſſe, which, in reproach, are called beaſtly, by an unproper terme: ſince they grow from appetites, found in leſſe worthy creatures than beaſts, and are yet not ſo common in beaſts, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of ſuch other Paſſions as deſcend no lower than unto brute beaſts, are held leſſe vile; and perhaps not without good reaſon: yet are they more horrible, and puniſhed more grievouſly, by ſharper Lawes, as being in generall more pernicious. But, as no corruption is worſe, than of that which is beſt; there is not any Paſſion, that nouriſheth a vice more hurtfull unto Mankinde, than that which iſſueth from the moſt noble root, even the depraved Affection of ruling. Hence ariſe thoſe two great miſchiefes, of which hath beene an old queſtion in diſpute, whether be the worſe; That all things, or That nothing ſhould be lawfull. Of theſe, a dull ſpirit, and over-loaden by fortune, with power, whereof it is not capable, occaſioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrary diſtemper, whoſe vehemency the bounds of Reaſon cannot limit. Under the extremity of either, no Country is able to ſubſiſt: yet the defective dulneſſe, that permitteth any thing, will alſo permit the execution of Law, to which meere neceſſity doth enforce the ordinary Magiſtrate; whereas Tyranny is more active, and pleaſeth it ſelfe in the exceſſe, with a falſe colour of juſtice. Examples of ſtupidity, and unaptneſſe to rule, re not very frequent, though ſuch natures are every where to be found: for this quality roubles not it ſelfe in ſeeking Empire; or if by ſome errour of fortune, it encounter herewithall, (as when *Claudius*, hiding himſelfe in a corner, found the Empire of *Rome*) ome friend, or elſe a wiſe, is not wanting to ſupply the defect, which alſo cruelty oth helpe to ſhadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing unknowne, is without a name. yrannie is more bold, and feareth not to be knowne, but would be reputed honou-ble: for it is *proſperum & fœlix ſcelus*, *a fortunate miſchiefe*, as long as it can ſub-t. *There is no reward or honour* (ſaith *Peter Charron*) *aſſigned unto thoſe, that know*

Ariſt.pol l.5.c.12.

*how to increaſe, or preſerve humane nature: all honours, greatneſſe, riches, dignities, Empires, triumphs, trophees, are appointed for thoſe, that know how to afflict, trouble, or deſtroy it.* *Cæſar* and *Alexander*, have un-made and ſlaine, each of them, more than a million of men: but they made none, nor left none behinde them. Such is the errour of Mans judgement in valuing things according to the common opinion. But the true name of Tyranny, when it growes to ripeneſſe, is none other than *Feritie:* the ſame that *Ariſtotle* ſaith to be worſe than any vice. It exceedeth indeed all other vices, iſſuing from the paſſions incident both to Man and Beaſt; no leſſe than Perjurie, Murder, Treaſon, and the like horrible crimes, exceed in villanie, the faults of Gluttony & Drunkenneſſe, that grow from more ignoble appetites. Hereof *Sciron*, *Procruſtes*, and *Pityocamptes*, that uſed their bodily force to the deſtruction of Mankinde, are not better examples, than *Phalaris*, *Dionyſius*, and *Agathocles*, whoſe miſchievous heads were aſſiſted by the hands of deteſtable Ruffians. The ſame barbarous deſire of Lordſhip, tranſported thoſe old examples of *Feritie*, and theſe latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of reaſon: neither of them knew the uſe of Rule, nor the difference betweene Freemen and ſlaves.

Gen.1.28.

Gen.9.2.

*Ariſt.Pol.l.1.c.3.*

The rule of the husband over the wife, and of parents over their children, is naturall, and appointed by God himſelfe; ſo that it is alwayes, and ſimply, allowable and good. The former of theſe, is as the dominion of Reaſon over Appetite; the latter is the whole authoritie, which one Freeman can have over another. The rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father over his whole country: which he that knowes what the power of a Father is, or ought to be, knowes to be enough. But there is a greater, and more Maſterly rule, which God gave unto *Adam*, when he ſaid; *Have dominion over the fiſh of the Sea, and over the fowle of the aire, and every living thing that moveth upon the earth:* which alſo he continueth unto *Noah* and his children, ſaying, *The feare of you, and the dread of you, ſhall be upon every beaſt of the earth, and upon every fowle of the aire, upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fiſhes of the Sea: into your hands are they delivered.* He who gave this dominion unto Man, did give alſo an aptitude to uſe it. The execution of this power hath ſince extended it ſelfe, over a very great part of Mankinde. There are indeed no ſmall numbers of men, whoſe diſabilitie to governe themſelves, proves them, according unto *Ariſtotles* doctrine, to be naturally ſlaves.

Exod.21.21.
Num.30 40.

Gen.9.25.
Gen.12.16.

Epiſt.to Phile. verſe 14.

1 Cor.7.20.21.

Yet finde I not in Scripture any warrant to oppreſſe men with bondage: unleſſe the lawfulneſſe thereof be ſufficiently intimated, where it is ſaid, That a man ſhall not be puniſhed for the death of a ſervant, whom he hath ſlaine by correction, if the ſervant live a day or two, becauſe *he is his money*: or elſe by the captivity of the *Midianitiſh* girls, which were made bond-ſlaves, and the Sanctuary had a part of them for the *Lords tribute*. Doubtleſſe the cuſtome hath beene very ancient: for *Noah* laid this curſe upon *Canaan*, that he ſhould be *a ſervant of ſervants*; and *Abraham* had of *Pharaoh*, among other gifts, *men-ſervants and maid-ſervants*, which were none other than ſlaves. Chriſtian Religion is ſaid to have abrogated this old kinde of ſervilitie: but ſurely they are deceived that think ſo. Saint *Paul* deſired the liberty of *Oneſimus*, whom he had won unto Chriſt: yet wrote for this unto *Philemon* by way of requeſt, craving it as a benefit, not urging it as a dutie. Agreeable hereto is the direction, which the ſame Saint *Paul* giveth unto ſervants: *Let every man abide in the ſame calling wherin he was called: art thou called, being a ſervant? care not for it, but if thou maiſt be made free, uſe it rather.* It is true, that Chriſtian religion hath procured liberty unto many; not onely in regard of pietie, but for that the Chriſtian Maſters ſtood in fear of being diſcovered by their ſlaves, unto the perſecuters of religion. *Mahomet* likewiſe, by giving libertie to his followers, drew many unto his impietie: but whether he forbade it, as unlawfull, unto his ſectators, to hold one another of them in bondage, I cannot tel; ſave that by the practice of the *Turks* and *Moores*, it ſeemes he did not. In *England* we had many bond-ſervants, untill the time of our laſt civill wars; and I think that the Lawes concerning Villenage are ſtill in force, of which the lateſt are the ſharpeſt. And now, ſince ſlaves were made free, which were of great uſe and ſervice, there are growne up a rabble of Rogues, Cutpurſes, and other the like trades; ſlaves in Nature, though not in Law.

But whether this kinde of dominion be lawfull, or not; *Ariſtotle* hath well proved that it is naturall. And certainly, we finde not ſuch a latitude of difference in any creature, as in the nature of man; wherein (to omit the infinite diſtance in eſtate of the elect & reprobate) the wiſeſt excell the moſt fooliſh, by far greater degree, than the moſt fooliſh of men doth ſurpaſſe the wiſeſt of beaſts. Therefore when Commiſeration hath given way to Reaſon, we ſhall finde, that Nature is the ground even of Maſterly power, and of ſervile obedience, which is thereto correſpondent. But it may be truely ſaid, that ſome countries have ſubſiſted long without the uſe of any ſervilitie; as alſo it is true, that ſome countries have not the uſe of any tame cattell. Indeed the affections which uphold civill rule, are (though more noble) not ſo ſimply needfull, unto the ſuſtentation either of our kinde, as are Luſt, and the like; or of every one, as are hunger and thirſt; which notwithſtanding are the loweſt in degree. But where moſt vile and ſervile diſpoſitions have liberty to ſhew themſelves begging in the ſtreets, there may we more juſtly wonder, how the dangerous toile of ſea-faring men can finde enough to undertake them, than how the ſwarme of idle vagabonds ſhould increaſe, by acceſſe of thoſe, that are weary of their own more painfull condition. This may ſuffice to prove, that in Mankinde there is found, ingraffed even by Nature, a deſire of abſolute dominion: whereunto the generall cuſtome of Nations doth ſubſcribe; together with the pleaſure which moſt men take in flatterers, that are the baſeſt of ſlaves.

This being ſo, we finde no cauſe to marvell, how Tyranny hath been ſo rife in all ages, and practiſed, not only in the ſingle rule of ſome vicious Prince, but ever by conſent of whole Cities and Eſtates: ſince other vices have likewiſe gotten head, and borne a generall ſway, notwithſtanding that the way of vertue be more honourable, and commodious. Few there are that have uſed well the inferiour Paſſions: how then can we expect, that the moſt noble affections ſhould not be diſordered? in the government of wife and children, ſome are utterly careleſſe, and corrupt all by their dull connivencie: others, by maſterly rigour, hold their owne bloud under condition of ſlavery. To bee a good Governour is a rare commendation: and to preferre the Weal publike above all reſpects whatſoever, is the Vertue juſtly termed *Heroicall*. Of this Vertue many ages affoord not many examples. *Hector* is named by *Ariſtotle* as one of them; and deſervedly, if this praiſe be due to extraordinary height of fortitude, uſed in defence of a mans owne Country. But if we conſider, that a love of the generall good cannot be perfect, without reference unto *the fountaine of all goodneſſe*: we ſhall finde, that no morall vertue, how great ſoever, can, by it ſelfe, deſerve the commendation of *more than Vertue*, as the *Heroicall* doth. Wherefore we muſt ſearch the Scriptues, for patternes hereof; ſuch as *David*, *Joſaphat*, and *Joſias* were. Of Chriſtian Kings, if there were many ſuch, the world would ſoone be happy. It is not my purpoſe to wrong the worth of any, by denying the praiſe where it is due, or by preferring a leſſe excellent. But he that can finde a King religious, and zealous in Gods cauſe, without enforcement, either of adverſitie, or of ſome regard of ſtate; a procurer of the generall peace and quiet; who not only uſeth his authority, but addes the travell of his eloquence, in admoniſhing his Judges to doe juſtice; by the vigorous influence of whoſe Government, civilitie is infuſed, even into thoſe places, that have been the dens of ſavage Robbers and Cut-throats; one that hath quite aboliſhed a ſlaviſh *Brehon* Law, by which a whole Nation of his ſubjects were held in bondage; and one, whoſe higher vertue and wiſedome doth make the praiſe not only of Nobility and other ornaments, but of abſtinence from the bloud, the wives, and the goods of thoſe that are under his power, together with a world of chiefe commendations belonging unto ſome good Princes, to appeare leſſe regardable: he, I ſay, that can find ſuch a King, findeth an example, worthy to adde unto vertue an honourable title, if it were formerly wanting. Under ſuch a King, it is likely, by Gods bleſſing, that a Land ſhall flouriſh, with increaſe of Trade, in Countries before unknowne; that Civility and Religion ſhall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen Countries; and that the happineſſe of his ſubjects, ſhall cauſe the Nations farre off removed, to wiſh him their Soveraigne. I need not adde hereunto, that all the actions of ſuch a King, even his bodily exerciſes, doe partake of vertue; ſince all things tending to the preſervation of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares, (who fixing his contemplation upon God, ſeeketh how to imitate the unſpeakeable goodneſſe, rather than the inacceſſible majeſtie, with both of which himſelfe is indued, as farre as humane nature is capable) doe alſo belong to the furtherance of that common good, which he procureth. Leſt any man ſhould think mee tranſported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the bounds of reaſon; I adde hereunto, that ſuch a King is nevertheleſſe a man, muſt dye, and may erre: yet wiſdome and fame ſhall ſet him free, from *error*, and from *death*, both with and without the help of time. One thing I may not omit, as a ſingular benefit (though there be many other beſides) redounding unto this King, as the fruit of his goodneſſe. The people that live under a pleaſant yoke, are not onely loving to their Soveraigne Lord, but free of courage, and no greater in muſter of men, than of ſtout fighters, if need require: whereas on the contrary, he that ruleth as over ſlaves, ſhall be attended in time of neceſſity, by ſlaviſh minds, neither loving his perſon, nor regarding his or their own honour. Cowards may be furious, and ſlaves outragious, for a time: but among ſpirits that have once yeelded unto ſlavery, univerſally it is found true, that *Homer* ſaith, *God bereaveth a man of halfe his vertue, that day when he caſteth him into bondage*.

*Hom. Odyſ. l 17.*

Of theſe things, I might perhaps more ſeaſonably have ſpoken, in the generall diſcourſe of Government: but where ſo lively an example of the calamity following a tyrannicall rule, and the uſe of Mercenaries, thereupon depending, did offer it ſelfe, as is this preſent buſineſſe of the *Carthaginians*; I thought that the note would be more effectuall, than being barely delivered, as out of a common place.

## §. III.

*How the war againſt the Mercenaries was diverſly managed by* Hanno *and* Amilcar, *with variable ſucceſſe. The bloudy counſels of the Mercenaries; and their finall deſtruction.*

BEing now to returne unto thoſe Mercenaries, from whom I have thus farre digreſſed, I cannot readily finde, by what name henceforth I ſhould call them. They are no longer in pay with the *Carthaginians*; neither care they to pretend, that they ſeeke their wages already due; ſo that they are neither Mercenaries, nor Mutiners. Had they all been ſubjects unto *Carthage*, then might they juſtly have been termed Rebels: but *Spendius*, and others, that were the principall part of them, ought none allegiance to that State, which they endevoured to ſubvert. Wherefore I will borrow the name of their late occupation, and ſtill call them Mercenaries, as *Polybius* alſo doth.

Theſe, uſing the advantage of their preſent ſtrength, beſieged * *Utica* and *Hippagreta*, Cities of great importance, as being ſeated upon the weſtern Haven of *Carthage*, where it is divided by a neck of land; *Hippagreta* ſtanding inwards upon the great Lake, *Utica* further out upon the Sea. Neither was the Campe at *Tunis* abandoned, which lay fitly to hinder the *Carthaginians* from paſſing up into the countrie: for *Matho* and *Spendius* wanted not men to follow the war in all parts at once.

* *Utica* is ſeated in the great bay that enters towards *Carthage*, not far within the Promontory of *Apollo*. At this time it is called *Porto Ferina*, or *Biſerta*, & by the *Africans* themſelves, *Garel Melba*. *Niger* ſaith, that the town it ſelfe is ruined, and the place wheron it ſtood, now called *Mazachares*. It was very ancient, and built before *Carthage*, ſaith *Silius*. As it flouriſhed before *Carthage* was ſet up, ſo did it after *Carthage* was throwne down by the *Romans* in the third *Punicke* warre. Famous it was by the death of *Cato* the younger, who held it againſt *Cæſar*. *Victor* that worthy Divine, was Biſhop thereof in the time of *Genſeric* the *Arrian*, who lived all the time of that Tyrant, and hath written the ſtory of his cruelties.

How the *Carthaginians* were amazed with this unexpected perill, any man may conceive. But the buſineſſe it ſelfe awakes them haſtily. They are hardly preſt on all ſides; and therefore travelled their brains to the uttermoſt, how to ſhake off theſe furious dogs from their ſhoulders, who, ſometimes by night, ſometimes by day, came unto the very walls of their Citie. In this exigent, *Hanno* was made their Generall: who failed not in his accuſtomed diligence of making all good preparation: but had gotten together whatſoever was needfull, as well to relieve a Town beſieged, as to batter and aſſaile any place defended againſt him. With theſe proviſions, and with an hundred Elephants, he came to *Utica*, ſo ſuddenly, that the enemies, as men ſurpriſed, forſook their Trenches, and retired themſelves unto a riſing piece of woody ground, where they might be ſafe againſt the violence of his beaſts. *Hanno*, thinking that he had to doe with *Numidians*, whoſe cuſtome was, after any loſſe, to flie two or three whole daies journy off; preſently entred the Town; to ſhew himſelfe after this his victory. But theſe good fellowes, againſt whom he was to war, had learned of *Amilcar*, to retire and to fight again, many times in one day, as need required. Therefore as ſoon as they perceived, that he knew not how to uſe a victory; they aſſailed their own Camp, and with great ſlaughter, drave the *Carthaginians* out of it, forcing them to hide themſelves within *Utica*; and got poſſeſſion of all the ſtore that *Hanno* had brought for the reliefe of the Towne. This ba beginning *Hanno* followed with ſutable indiſcretion: loſing the benefit of many faire opportunities, and ſuffering the enemies to take poſſeſſion of all the entrance from *Carthage* to the firm land.

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The *Carthaginians* perceiving this, were exceedingly troubled, and did therefore let fall their ſhete-anchor; ſending to the field their great Captaine *Amilcar*, whom they furniſhed with ten thouſand foot of ſupply, and ſeventy Elephants. *Amilcar* had worke enough to doe, before he ſhould be able to meet with the enemy upon equall ground. For, beſides other places of advantage that the Mercenaries had occupied, *Hanno* had ſuffered them to win the onely bridge, by which the River *Macra*, or *Bagradas*, was paſſable unto theſe, that were to travell into the Continent. This River had not many foords, nor thoſe eaſie for a ſingle man to get over: but upon them all was kept ſuch guard, as gave to *Amilcar* little hope of prevailing in ſeeking way by force. As for the Bridge it ſelfe, *Matho* and his followers were there lodged: and had there built a town, wherein to lye commodiouſly, intentive only to the cuſtody thereof. But *Amilcar* had obſerved, that the very mouth of *Bagradas* uſed to be ſometimes cloyed with ſand and gravell, that was driven in by certaine cuſtomary winds, and could not be driven out againe, by force of that ſlow river, till the wind failing, or changing, ſuffered the weight of the waters, to diſ-burden their channell. Hereof he made uſe; and taking his opportunitie, paſſed the River, contrary to all expectation, either of the enemy, or of his owne Citizens.

There was no need to bid *Spendius* looke about him, when once it was heard, that *Amilcar* was come over *Bagradas*: all the Mercenaries were troubled with the newes; knowing that they were no longer to deale with the improvident gravity of *Hanno*, but with an able ſpirit, even with their owne Maſter in the Art of Warre, whom they admired, though they hated him. But this feare was ſoone changed into preſumption; when more than fifteen thouſand of their owne ſociety, were come from *Utica*, and other ten thouſand from the guard of the Bridge. Their Armie was farre greater, than that of *Amilcar*; and they were, in their owne judgement, the better men; upon which confidence, they reſolved to charge him on all ſides, and beat him downe, in deſpight of his worth and reputation. With this reſolution they attended upon him, watching for ſome advantage, and ſtill exhorting one another to play the men, and give the onſet. Eſpecially they that followed him in the Reare, had a great minde to begin the fight; whereunto their promptneſſe was ſuch, as tooke from them their former circumſpection. *Amilcar* held his way towards the Bridge, keeping himſelfe on plaine grounds, that were fitteſt for the ſervice of his Elephants, which he placed in front of his Armie. Neither made he ſhew of any deſire to fight, but ſuffered the raſhneſſe of his enemies to increaſe, till it ſhould breake into ſome diſorder. At length perceiving, that with more boldneſſe than good heed, they followed him ſo neare, as would be little for their good, if he ſhould turne upon them, he haſtened his march, even to ſuch a pace, as made a ſhew little differing from plaine flight. The Mercenaries preſently fell upon his ſkirts; beleeving, that for feare of them he was ready to run away. But whileſt they confuſedly, as in ſudden opinion of victory, were driven at the heeles of thoſe that had the Reare; *Amilcar* wheeled about, and met them in the face, charging them hotly, but in very good order, ſo that, amazed with the apprehenſion of unexpected danger, they fled without making any reſiſtance. In this overthrow there were ſixe thouſand of the Mercenaries ſlaine, and about two thouſand taken, the reſt fled, ſome to the Campe at *Utica*, others to the town at the Bridge; whither *Amilcar* followed them ſo faſt, that he wan the place eaſily; the enemies being thence alſo fled unto *Tunes*, as not having recollected their ſpirits to make it good.

The fame of this victory, together with the diligence of *Amilcar* in purſuing it, cauſed many Towns revolted, partly by feare, partly by force, to return to their former obedience. Yet was not *Matho* wanting to himſelfe in this dangerous time. He ſent about *Numidia* and *Africk*, for new ſupplies; admoniſhing the people, now or never, to doe their beſt, for the recovery of their freedome; he perſwaded *Spendius*, and *Autaritus*, that was a Captaine of the *Gaules*, to wait upon *Amilcar*, and alwayes to keepe the higher grounds, or at leaſt, the foot of ſome hill, where they might be ſafe from the Elephants; and he himſelfe continued to preſſe the Town of *Hippagreta* with an hard ſiege. It was neceſſary for *Amilcar*, in paſſing from place to place, as his buſineſſe required, to take ſuch wayes as there were: for all the Country lay not levell. Therefore *Spendius*, who ſtill coaſted him, had once gotten a notable advantage of ground; the *Carthaginians* lying in a plaine, ſurrounded with hills, that were occupied by the Mercenaries, with their

*Numidian* and *African* ſuccours. In this difficultie, the fame of *Amilcar* his perſonall worth did greatly benefit his Countrie. For *Naravaſus*, a young gentleman commanding over the *Numidians*, was glad of this occaſion, ſerving to get the acquaintance and love of ſo brave a man, which he much deſired: and therefore came unto *Amilcar*, ſignifying his good affection to him, with offer to doe him all ſervice. *Amilcar* joyfully entertained this friend, promiſed unto him his own daughter in marriage; and ſo wan from the enemies two thouſand horſe, that following *Naravaſus* turned unto the *Carthaginians* ſide. With this helpe he gave battell unto *Spendius*: wherein the *Numidian* laboured to approve his own valour to his new friend. So the victory was great: for there were ſlaine ten thouſand of *Spendius* his fellowes, and foure thouſand taken priſoners; but *Spendius* himſelfe, with *Autarius* the *Gaule*, eſcaped to doe more miſchiefe. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his priſoners: pardoning all offences paſt, and diſmiſſing as many as were unwilling to become his followers; yet with condition, that they ſhould never more beare armes againſt the *Carthaginians*; threatning to take ſharpe revenge upon all that ſhould breake this Covenant.

This humanitie was vehemently ſuſpected by *Matho*, *Spendius*, and *Autarius*, as tending to win from them the hearts of their Souldiers. Wherefore they reſolved to take ſuch order, that not a man among them ſhould dare to truſt in the good nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any ſafety whileſt *Carthage* was able to doe him hurt. They counterfeited letters of advertiſement, wherein was contained, that ſome of their company, reſpective only of their private benefit, and careleſſe of the generall good, had a purpoſe to betray them all unto the *Carthaginians*, with whom they held intelligence; and that it was needfull to look well unto *Geſco*, and his companions, whom theſe traitors had a purpoſe to inlarge. Upon this Theme *Spendius* makes an oration to the Souldiers, exhorting them to fidelity; and ſhewing with many words, that the ſeeming humanity of *Amilcar*, toward ſome, was none other than a baite, wherewith to intrap them all at once together; as alſo telling them what a dangerous enemy *Geſco* would prove, if he might eſcape their hands. While he is yet in the midſt of his tale, were letters come to the ſame purpoſe. Then ſteps forth *Autarius*, and ſpeakes his minde plainly: ſaying, that it were the beſt, yea, the onely way, for the common ſafetie, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with *Carthage*; that if ſome were deviſing to make their owne peace, it would goe hard with thoſe that had a care of the war; that it were better to make an end of *Geſco* his life, than to trouble themſelves with looking to his cuſtody; that by ſuch a courſe every one ſhould be ingaged in the preſent Action, as having none other hope left, than in victory alone; finally, that ſuch as would ſpeak here-againſt, were worthy to be reputed Traitors. This *Autarius* was in great credit with the Souldiers, and could ſpeak ſundry languages, in ſuch ſort, that he was underſtood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that *Geſco*, and all the other priſoners, ſhould forthwith by put to horrible death, by torments. Neverthéleſſe there were ſome, that for love of *Geſco* ſought to alter his intended cruelty; but they were forthwith ſtoned to death, as a Document unto others: and ſo the Decree was put in execution. Neither were they therewithall contented, but further ordained, that all *Carthaginian* priſoners which they tooke, ſhould be ſerved in like ſort: and that the ſubjects or friends of *Carthage*, ſhould loſe their hands, and ſo be ſent home: which rule they obſerved ever afterwards.

Of this cruelty I need ſay no more, than that it was moſt execrable feritie. As for the counſell of uſing it, it was like unto the counſell of *Achitophel*; *All Iſrael ſhall heare, that thou art abhorred of thy father; then ſhall the hands of all that are with thee be ſtrong*. Such are the fruits of deſperation. He that is paſt all hope of pardon, is afraid of his owne fellowes, if they be more innocent; and to avoid the puniſhment of leſſe offences, committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the revengefull ſpirits of thoſe that have been wronged, are breeders of this deſperation: to which may be added ſome deficiencie of Lawes, in diſtinguiſhing the puniſhments of malefactors, according to the decree of their ſeverall crimes. A coward thinkes all proviſion too little for his owne ſecuritie. *If Phocas be a coward* (ſaid the Emperour *Mauritius*) *then* *he murderous*. To be ſtedfaſt and ſure, in taking revenge, is thought a point of honour and a defenſative againſt new injuries. But wrongfully: for it is oppoſite to the rule o Chriſtianitie; and ſuch a quality diſcovered, makes them deadly enemies, who other wi wiſe would have repented, and ſought to make amends, for the wrong done in paſſion. This was it which wrought ſo much woe to the *Carthaginians*; teaching *Matho*, and his *Africans*, to ſuſpect even their gentleneſſe, as the introduction to extreme rigour. Like unto the errors of Princes and Governors, are the errors of Lawes. Where one and the ſame puniſhment is awarded unto the leſſe offence, and unto the greater, he that hath adventured to rob a man, is eaſily tempted to kill him, for his own ſecuritie.

Againſt theſe inconveniences, Mercie and ſeveritie, uſed with due reſpect, are the beſt remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For as long as theſe his own ſouldiers were any way likely to be reclaimed by gentle courſes, his humanity was ready to invite them. But when they were tranſported with beaſtly outrage, beyond all regard of honeſty and ſhame, he rewarded their villanie with anſwerable vengeance, caſting them unto wild beaſts to be devoured.

Untill this time *Hanno*, with the Armie under his command, had kept himſelfe apart from *Amilcar*, and done little as may ſeem, for that nothing is remembred of him ſince his late loſſes. Neither was *Amilcar* ſorry to want his help; as being able to doe better without him. But when the war grew to ſuch extremity, as threatned utter ruine to the one or the other ſide: then was *Hanno* ſent for, and came to *Amilcar*, with whom he joyned his forces. By this acceſſe of ſtrength *Amilcar* was not enabled to doe more than in former times; rather he could now perform nothing: ſuch was the hatred between him and his unworthie Colleague. The Towns of *Utica* and *Hippagreta*, that had ſtood alwayes firm on the *Carthaginians* partie, did now revolt unto the enemie, murdering all the Souldiers that they had in Garriſon, and caſting their bodies forth, without ſuffering them to be buried. The proviſions brought by ſea, for maintenance of the Armie, were loſt in foule weather; and *Carthage* it ſelfe ſtood in danger of being beſieged, about which *Matho* and *Spendius* conſulted, whilſt one of the *Carthaginian* Generals did (as it were) bind the others hands.

It hath in all Ages been uſed as the ſafeſt courſe, to ſend forth, in great Expeditions, two Generals of one Armie. This was the common practice of thoſe two mighty Cities *Athens* and *Rome*, which other States and Princes have often imitated; perſwading themſelves, that great Armies are not ſo well conducted by one, as by two: who out of emulation to excell each other, will uſe the greater diligence. They have alſo joyned two chiefe Commanders in equall commiſſion, upon this further conſideration; the better to reſtraine the ambition of any one, that ſhould be truſted with ſo great a ſtrength. For hereof all Common-weals have been jealous, having been taught by their examples that have made themſelves Tyrants over thoſe Cities and States that have imployed them. In this point the *Venetians* have bin ſo circumſpect, as they have, for the moſt part, truſted ſtrangers, and not their own, in all the wars which they have made. It is true, that the equall authority of two commanding in chiefe, ſerveth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning upon the Prince or State that hath given them truſt: but in managing the war it ſelfe, it is commonly the cauſe of ill ſucceſſe. In wars made near unto *Rome* it ſelfe, when two good friends were Conſuls, or ſuch two at leaſt, as concurred in one deſire of *Triumph*, which honour (the greateſt of any that *Rome* could give) was to be obtained by that one years ſervice; it is no marvell, though each of the Conſuls did his beſt, and referred all his thoughts unto none other end than victory. Yet in all dangerous caſes, when the Conſuls proceeded otherwiſe than was deſired, one Dictator was appointed, whoſe power was neither hindred by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeed the manner, to ſend forth both the Conſuls to one war; but each went whither his lot called him, to his owne Province; unleſſe one buſineſſe ſeemed to require them both, and they alſo ſeemed fit to be joyned in the adminiſtration. Now although it was ſo, that the *Romans* did many times prevaile with their joynt Generals: yet was this never or ſeldom, without as much concord, as any other vertue of the Commanders. For their modeſty hath often been ſuch, that the leſſe able Captaine, though of equall authoritie, hath willingly ſubmitted himſelfe to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithſtanding, they have many times, by ordaining two Commanders of one Armie, received great and moſt dangerous overthrowes; whereof in the ſecond *Punick* warre we ſhall finde examples. On the contrary ſide, in their warres moſt remote, that were alwayes managed by one, they ſeldome failed to win exceeding honour, as hereafter ſhall appeare. Now of thoſe ten Generals, which ſerved the *Athenians* at the Battell of *Marathon*, it may truely be ſaid, that had not their temper beene better, than the judgement of the people that ſent them forth, and had not they ſubmitted themſelves to the conduction of *Miltiades*; their affaires had found the ſame ſucceſſe which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* together in *Sicil*: the one being ſo over-warie, and the other ſo haſtie, as all came to nought that they undertook: whereas *Cimon* alone, as alſo *Ariſtides*, and others, having ſole charge of all, did their Countrie and Common-weale moſt remarkable ſervice. For it is hard to finde two great Captaines of equall diſcretion and valour; but that the one hath more of fury than of judgement, and ſo the contrary, by which the beſt occaſions are as often over-ſlipt, as at other times many actions are unſeaſonably undertaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of *Condé* was ſlain after the Battell of *Jarnac*, (which Prince, together with the Admiral *Chaſtillan*, had the conduct of the *Proteſtant* Armie) the *Proteſtants* did greatly bewaile the loſſe of the ſaid Prince, in reſpect of his Religion, perſon, and birth; yet comforting themſelves, they thought it rather an advancement, than an hinderance to their affaires. For ſo much did the valour of the one out-reach the adviſedneſſe of the other, as whatſoever the Admirall intended to win by attending the advantage, the Prince adventured to loſe, by being over-confident in his own courage.

But we need no better example, than of the *Carthaginians* in this preſent buſineſſe: who, though they were ſtill ſicke of their ill grounded love to *Hanno*, and were unwilling to diſgrace him; yet ſeeing that all ran towards ruine, through the diſcord of the Generals, committed the deciſion of their controverſies, unto the Armie that ſerved under them. The judgement of the Armie was, that *Hanno* ſhould depart the Camp: which he did, and *Hannibal* was ſent in his ſtead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*, and that was enough.

After this, the affaires of *Carthage* began to proſper ſomwhat better. *Matho* and *Spendius* had brought their Armie neere unto the Citie; and lay before it, as in a ſiege. They might well be bold to hope and adventure much; having in their Campe above fifty thouſand, beſides thoſe that lay abroad in Garriſons. Neverthleſſe, the Citie was too ſtrong for them to win by aſſault: and the entrance of victuals they could not hinder, if any ſhould be ſent in by friends from abroad.

*Hieron*, King of *Syracuſe*, though during the warres in *Sicil* he aſſiſted the *Romans*, and ſtill continued in their alliance, yet now ſent ſuccours to the *Carthaginians*: fearing their fall, and conſequently his owne; becauſe if no other State gave the *Romans* ſomewhat to trouble their diſgeſtion, the Principalitie of *Syracuſe* would ſoon be devoured by them. The *Romans* alſo gave them ſome ſlender aſſiſtance, and, for the preſent, refuſed good offers made unto them by the Mercenaries. This they did, to ſhew a kind of noble diſpoſition; which was indeed but counterfeit, as the ſequell manifeſtly proved.

Whileſt *Matho* and his followers were buſily preſſing the Citie, *Amilcar* was as diligent in waiting at their backes, and cutting off all that came to their ſupply: ſo that finding themſelves more ſtreightly beſieged by him, than *Carthage* was by them, they purpoſed to deſiſt from their vaine attempt, and try ſome other courſe. Hereupon they iſſue into the field: when *Spendius*, and one *Zarcas* an *African* Captaine aſſiſting the rebellion, take upon them to finde *Amilcar* worke; leaving *Matho* in *Tunis*, to negotiate with their friends, and take a generall care of the buſineſſe. The Elephants of *Carthage*, and horſe of *Naravaſus*, made *Spendius* fearefull to deſcend into the Plaines. Wherefore he betooke himſelfe to his former method of warre, keeping the mountaines and rough grounds, or occupying the ſtreighteſt paſſages, wherein the deſperate courage of his men might ſhew it ſelf, with little diſadvantage. But *Amilcar* had more skill in this Art, than could be matched by the labour of *Spendius*. He drew the enemy to many skirmiſhes; in all which the ſucceſſe was ſuch, as added courage to his owne men, and abated the ſtrength and ſpirit of the Rebels. Thus he continued, provoking them night and day: ſtill intrapping ſome of them, and ſometimes giving them the overthrow in plaine battell: untill at length he got them into a ſtreight, whence ere they ſhould get out, he meant to take of them a good account. Their judgement was enough to perceive their owne diſadvantage; and therefore they had the leſſe ſtomacke to fight; but a waiting for helpe from *Tunis*. *Amilcar* prudently foreſeeing, that neceſſity might teach them to dare impoſſibilities, uſed the benefit of their preſent feare, & ſhut them cloſe up with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miſerably for ſuccour, that came not: and having ſpent all their victualls, were ſo pinched with hunger, that they fed upon the bodies of their priſoners. This they ſuffred patiently, as knowing that they had not deſerved any favour from *Carthage*: and hoping, that their friends at *Tunis* would not be unmindfull of them. But when they were driven to ſuch extremity, that they were faine to devoure their own companions, and yet ſaw none appearance or likelihood of reliefe: their obſtinacie was broken, and they threatned their Captains with what they deſerved, unleſſe they would goe forth to *Amilcar*, and ſeeke ſuch peace as might be gotten. So *Spendius*, *Zarxas*, and *Autaritus*, fell to conſultation, wherein it was reſolved to obey the multitude, and yeeld themſelves, if it were ſo required, unto the death, rather than periſh by the hands of their owne Companions. Hereupon they ſend to crave parlie, which is granted; and theſe three come forth to talke with *Amilcar* in perſon. What they could ſay unto him, it is hard to conjecture: yet by the conditions which *Amilcar* granted, it ſeemes that they tooke the blame upon themſelves, and craved pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould chooſe, out of the whole number of theſe enemies, any ten whom they pleaſed, to remaine at their diſcretion; and that the reſt ſhould all be diſmiſſed, each in his ſhirt, or in one ſingle coate. When the peace was thus concluded; *Amilcar* told theſe Ringleaders, that he choſe them preſently, as part of the ten, & ſo commanded to lay hands on them: the reſt he forthwith went to fetch with his whole Army in order. The Rebells, who knew not that peace was concluded upon ſo gentle articles, thought themſelves betrayed: and therefore amazedly ran to armes. But they wanted Captaines to order them; and the ſame aſtoniſhment, that made them breake the Covenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gave unto *Amilcar* both colour of juſtice, in accompliſhing revenge, and eaſe in doing the execution. They were all ſlaine: being forty thouſand, or more, in number.

This was a famous exploit: and the newes thereof exceeding welcome to *Carthage*; and terrible to the revolted Cities of *Africk*. Henceforward *Amilcar*, with his *Naravaſus*, and *Hannibal*, carried the warre from Towne to Towne, and found all places ready to yeeld: *Utica* and *Hippagreta* onely ſtanding out, upon feare of deſerved vengeance; & *Tunis*, being held by *Matho*, with the remainder of his Army. It was thought fit to begin with *Tunis*, wherein lay the chiefe ſtrength of the enemie. Comming before this Towne, they brought forth *Spendius*, with his fellowes, in view of the defendants, and crucified them under the walls; to terrefie thoſe of his old companions, that were ſtill in armes. With this rigour the ſiege began; as if ſpeedy victory had been aſſured. *Hannibal* quartered on that part of *Tunis*, which lay towards *Carthage*; *Amilcar* on the oppoſite ſide: too far aſunder to helpe one another in ſudden accidents; and therefore it behooved each to be the more circumſpect.

*Matho* from the wals beheld his owne deſtiny, in the miſery of his companion, and knew not how to avoide it otherwiſe than by a caſt at dice with fortune. So hee brake out upon that part of the *Carthaginian* Army, that lay ſecure, as if all danger were paſt, under the command of *Hannibal*: and with ſo great and unexpected fury he ſallied, that after an exceeding ſlaughter, he tooke *Hannibal* priſoner; on whom, and thirty the moſt noble of the *Carthaginian* priſoners, he preſently revenged the death of *Spendius* by the ſame torture. Of this *Amilcar* knew nothing, till it was too late; neither had he ſtrength enough remaining, after this great loſſe, to continue the ſiege; but was faine to breake it up, and remove unto the mouth of the River *Bagradas*, where he incamped.

The terrour was no leſſe within *Carthage*, upon the fame of this loſſe, than had beene the joy of the late great victory. All that could beare armes, were ſent into the field, under *Hanno*; whom, it ſeemes, they thought the moſt able of their Captaines ſurviving the late accidents of Warre. If there were any Law among them forbidding the imployment of one ſole Generall neere unto their Citie (for they are knowne to have truſted one man abroad) the time did not permit, in this haſty exigent, to deviſe about repealing it. But thirty principall men are choſen by the Senate, to bring *Hanno* to *Amilcars* camp, and by all good perſwaſions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day. It neerly touched *Amilcar* in his honour, that the careleſneſſe of *Hannibal* ſeemed to be imputed unto him, by ſending his enemy to moderate his proceedings. Neverthe-leſſe after many conferences, the authority of the Senators prevailed; *Amilcar* & *Hanno* were made friends; and thenceforth, whileſt this warre laſted, *Hanno* tooke warning by *Hannibals* calamities, to follow good directions, though afterwards he returned to his old and deadly hatred.

In the meane ſeaſon *Matho* was come abroad, as meaning to uſe the reputation of his late ſucceſſe, whileſt it gave ſome life unto his buſineſſe. He had reaſon to doe as he did: but he wanted skill to deale with *Amilcar*. The skirmiſhes, and light exerciſes of warre, wherein *Amilcar* trained his *Carthaginians*, did ſo farre abate the ſtrength, and withall diminiſh the credit of *Matho*; that he reſolved to try the fortune of one battaile: wherein either his owne deſire ſhould be accompliſhed, or his cares ended. To this concluſion the *Carthaginians* were no leſſe prone, than *Matho*: as being weary of theſe long troubles, and inſupportable expences; confident in the valour of their owne men, which had approved it ſelfe in many trials; and well aſſured of *Amilcar* his great worth, whereunto the enemie hath not what to oppoſe. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making proviſion: inviting their friends to helpe; and drawing forth into the field, all that lay in Garriſon.

The iſſue of this battaile might have beene foretold, without helpe of witchcraft. *Matho*, and his followers, had nothing whereon to preſume, ſave their daring ſpirits, which had bin well cooled by the many late skirmiſhes, wherein they had learned how to run away. The *Carthaginians* had reaſon to dare, as having been often victorious: and in all points elſe they had the better of their enemies; eſpecially (which is worth all the reſt) they had ſuch a Commander, as was not eaſily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely that the deſire of liberty ſhould worke ſo much, in men accuſtomed to ſervitude; as the honour of their State would, in citizens, whoſe future & preſent good lay all at once ingaged in that adventure. So the *Carthaginians* wan a great victory, wherein moſt of the *Africans* their enemies were ſlain; the reſt fled into a Town, which was not to be defended, & therefore they all yeelded; and *Matho* himſelfe was taken alive. Immediatly upon this victory, all the *Africans* that had rebelled, made ſubmiſſion to their old maſters: *Utica* onely, and *Hippagreta* ſtood out, as knowing how little they deſerved of favour. But they were ſoone forced, to take what conditions beſt pleaſed the victours. *Matho* and his fellowes were led to *Carthage* in triumph; where they ſuffered all torments that could be deviſed, in recompence of the miſchiefes which they had wrought in this war. The warre had laſted three yeares, and about foure moneths, when it came to this good end: which the *Carthaginians*, whoſe ſubjects did not love them, ſhould with leſſe expence, by contenting their Mercenaries, have prevented in the beginning.

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## §. IIII.

### *How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled: and were afterwards driven out by the Ilanders. The faithleſſe dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia, contrary to the peace.*

WHileſt *Matho* and *Spendius* were making terrible combuſtion in *Africke*; other Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*: where murdering *Boſtar* the Governour, & other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, & hold that Iland to their own uſe. Againſt theſe, one *Hanno* was ſent with a ſmall Army (ſuch as could bee ſpared in that buſie time) conſiſting likewiſe of Mercenaries, levied on the ſudden. But theſe companions that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their ſafety, & preſent profit, to joyne themſelves with thoſe that were already revolted, than to indanger themſelves by battaile, for the good of that common-weale, of which they had no care; began to enter into practice with the *Sardinian* Rebells; offering to runne one courſe of fortune with them in their enterpriſe. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith was ſuſpected. Wherefore, to take away all jealouſie and diſtruſt, they reſolved to hang up their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath beene in all Ages, with thoſe that have undertaken the quarrel of an unjuſt warre, to enjoyne the performance of ſome notorious and villainous act to thoſe that come in to them as ſeconds, with offer to partake, and to aſſiſt the impious purpoſes which they have in hand. It is indeede the beſt pawne, that deſperate men can deliver to each other, to performe ſome ſuch actions, as are equally unpardonable to all.

By ſuch a kinde of cruelty did the ungratefull *Mantinæans* murder a Garriſon of *Achaians*, ſent unto them for their defence againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, by *Aratus*; who, when he had formerly poſſeſt himſelfe of their Citie, by right of warre, did not onely ſpare the ſacke and ſpoile thereof, but gave them equall freedome, with the reſt of the Cities united. Theſe *Revolts* are alſo common in our Court wars; where, in the conqueſts of new fortunes, and making of new parties, and factions, without the depreſſion or deſtruction of old friends, we cannot be received and truſted by old enemies, *Ce ſont les coups de vieille eſcrime. Theſe*, (ſay the *French*) *be the blowes of the old art of fencing*.

Theſe Mercenaries in *Sardinia* were no whit leſſe violent in their purpoſe, than were *Spendius*, and his aſſociates: only they wanted a *Matho* among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Province. The Ilanders were no leſſe glad, than the ſouldiers, that the *Carthaginians* were expelled the Countrie: but they could not agree about the profit of the victory. The *Sardinians* thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the ſouldiers for their paines taken. Contrariwiſe, the ſouldiers were of opinion, that the title of the *Carthaginians* to that Ile, was devolved unto themſelves, by right of conqueſt. The ſame quarrell would (in likelihood) have riſen, between *Spendius* with this Mercenaries, & their *African* friends; if the common deſire of both had once taken effect: unleſſe the riches of *Carthage* had ſerved to content them all. But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuable reward, than poſſeſſion and rule of the Countrie; the matter was not eaſily taken up. So they fell to blowes; which how they were delt, I know not; but finally, the Mercenaries were driven out, and compelled to ſave themſelves in *Italy*. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had invited the *Romans* into it; with as good right, as the *Mamertines* had called them into *Sicil*. Yet this offer was refuſed, upon reaſons that follow.

Some *Italian* Merchants had relieved *Matho* and *Spendius* with corne: of whom the *Carthaginians* tooke almoſt five hundred, and held them in priſon. Hereof was made a great complaint: ſo that the *Romans* ſent Embaſſadours to *Carthage*, requiring ſatisfaction. It was no time for the *Carthaginians* to diſpute: they quietly yeelded to releaſe them all. This was ſo kindely taken, that they forbad all their Merchants, to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admoniſhing them to carry all proviſions to *Carthage*. And upon the ſame reaſon, did they forbeare to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept the Citie of *Utica*, offering it ſelfe unto their ſubjection. This might have ſerved, as a notable example of the *Roman* faith, to all poſterity: had not the iſſue proved, that it was meere regard of greater profit, which kept them ſo temperate, no longer than the hope laſted of thriving better thereby, than they ſhould have done by open breach of faith. The whole eſtate of *Carthage* depended at that time, upon the vertue of *Amilcar*: who, had hee bin overthrowne by *Spendius* or *Matho*, in one maine battaile, that mighty City muſt either have fallen into the barbarous hands of mercileſſe villaines, or have humbled her ſelfe under protection of the *Romans*, with whom ſhe had lately ſtriven for ſuperiority. That extreme neceſſity, whereinto *Matho* reduced the City, by the fortune of one ſallie made out of *Tunis*, is enough to prove, that *Carthage* was not farre from ſuch a miſerable choice. Wherefore it was not unwiſely done of the *Romans*, to make ſuch demonſtration of kindneſſe, and honourable dealing, as might invite a rich, but ſinking ſhip, to runne her ſelfe aground upon their ſhore. But when all was well ended in *Africke*, and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recovery of *Sardinia*: then did Ambition put off her goodly vizour. The *Romans* perceiving that *Carthage*, beyond their hope, had recovered her feet againe; began to ſtrike at her head. They entertained the proffer of thoſe Mercenaries, that were fled out of *Sardinia*; and they denounced warre againſt this enfeebled and impoveriſhed City, under a ſhameleſſe pretence, *that the preparations made for* Sardinia, *were made indeede againſt Rome it ſelfe*. The *Carthaginians* knew themſelves unable to reſiſt; and therefore yeelded to the *Romans* demand; renouncing unto them all their right in *Sardinia*. But this was not enough. They would have twelve hundred talents, in recompence belike (for I ſee not what reaſon they could alledge ) of the great feare which they had endured, of an invaſion from *Carthage*. It is indeede plaine, that they impudently ſought occaſion of warre. But neceſſity taught the *Carthaginians* patience; and the mony was payed, how hardly ſoever it was raiſed. From this time forward, let not *Rome* complain of the *Punick* faith, in breach of Covenants: ſhe her ſelfe hath broken the peace already, which *Amilcar* pupoſeth to make her dearly repent; but what *Amilcar* lives not to performe, ſhall be accompliſhed by *Hannibal* his renowned ſonne.

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## §. V.

### *How the affaires of Carthage went betweene the African Rebellion, and the ſecond Punicke Warre.*

THe injurious dealing of the *Romans*, expreſſing their deſire to picke a quarrell; ſerved to inſtruct the *Carthaginians* in a neceſſarie leſſon; That either they muſt make themſelves the ſtronger, or elſe reſolve to be obedient unto thoſe that were more mighty. In a City long accuſtomed to rule, the braver determination eaſily tooke place: and the beſt meanes were thought upon, for the increaſe of puiſſance and Empire. The ſtrength, and the jealouſie of the *Romans*, forbad all attempts upon the Mediterran Seas; but the riches of *Spaine*, that lay upon the *Ocean*, were unknown to *Rome*: wherefore that Province might ſerve, both to exerciſe the *Carthaginians* in war, and to repaire their decayed forces, with all needfull ſupplies. Of the *Spaniſh* Expedition, the charge and ſoveraigne truſt was commited unto *Amilcar*: upon whom his Countrey did wholly repoſe it ſelfe; in hope to recover ſtrength by his means, that had ſaved it from ruine.

*Hanno*, with ſome other envious men that were of his faction, tooke little pleaſure in the generall love and honour, which daily increaſed towards *Amilcar* and his friends. Yet could they not denie him to be the moſt worthy of command in all the City: onely they commended peace and quietneſſe; adviſing men to beware of provoking the *Romans*, in whoſe amity they ſaid, that the felicity of *Carthage* did conſiſt. By ſuch diſcourſes, harſh to the eares of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Common-weale; they got none other reputation, than of ſingularity: which the ignorant ſort ſuſpected to be wiſedome.

But the glory of *Amilcar* was continually upheld & enlarged, by many notable ſervices that he did, to the ſingular benefit of his Country. He paſſed the ſtreights of *Hercules*, (now called the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*) and landed on the weſtern coaſts of *Spaine*; in which Country, during nine yeeres that he lived there, he ſubjected unto the State of *Carthage* the better part of all thoſe Provinces. But finally, in a battaile that he fought with a Nation in *Portugale*, called the *Vettones*, ( defending himſelfe a long time with an admirable reſolution ) he was invironed and ſlaine: carrying with him to the grave the ſame great honour and fame, by which in many ſignall victories, he had acquired the name of a ſecond *Mars*.

After the death of *Amilcar*, *Aſdrubal* his ſon in law was made Generall of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spaine*. This was a good man of warre; but farre better in practice and cunning than in deeds of armes. By his notable dexteritie in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of *Carthage*: adding ſo many ſubjects and confederates thereunto, that the *Romans* began to grow jealous againe of this haſtie increaſe. He built a goodly Citie, upon a commodious Haven, in the Kingdome of *Granado*, oppoſite to that of *Oran* in *Africa*, & gave it the name of *New Carthage*, which to this day it neerely retaineth, being called now * *Carthagena*. With this ſucceſſe of the *Carthaginians* in *Spaine*, the *Romans* were not a little troubled; but began to accuſe their own negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken ſo much paines to beate them out of the Ile of *Sicil*, as ſuſpecting their neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbring themſelves in a warre of farre leſſe importance, (whereof I ſhall ſpeake anon) given them leiſure, without interruption, to recover upon their owne Continent, a Dominion by far exceeding, both in the bodies of men and in revenue, that which the *Romans* had taken from them. But how to helpe this, at the preſent they knew not; for they daily expected to be invaded by the *Gaules*, their ancient enemies, and neereſt neighbours to the Weſt. But he needeth little helpe of force, that knoweth himſelfe to be feared: it is enough if he requeſt,

* The *Spaniards* have ſince built a Citie of the ſame name in the Weſt Indies: which being peopled by them in the yeere 1532. was ſackt by the *Engliſh* in the yeere 1585.

requeſt, ſince his requeſt ſhall have the vertue of a command.

Yet were the *Romans* utterly deſtitute of all good colour, that might helpe them to intermeddle in *Spaine*. The *Spaniards* were then unacquainted with *Rome*, whereof (in probability) they ſcarce had heard the name: ſo that there were no *Mamertines*, nor other ſuch Rebells, to call in *Roman* ſuccours. But in the enterpriſe of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had learned an impudent pretence, that might alſo ſerve their turne in *Spaine*. For though it were apparent, that the *Spaniſh* affaires had no relation to the peace between theſe two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Aſdrubal* had any purpoſe, to extend his victories unto the gates of *Rome*, or to any of the *Roman* frontiers: yet (as if ſome ſuch matter had bin ſuſpected) they ſent unto him, requiring that he ſhould forbeare to proceede any further, than to the River of *Iberus*. In addreſſing their meſſengers, rather to *Aſdrubal*, than to the City of *Carthage*; they ſeeme to have hoped, that howſoever the generalitie of the *Carthaginians* had ſweetly ſwallowed many bitter pilles, to avoide all occaſion of warre with *Rome*, yet the bravery of one man might prove more faſtidious, and preſenting the injurie, returne ſuch anſwer, as would intangle his whole Countrie in the quarrell, that they ſo much deſired; and might embrace at leiſure, when once they had found apparent cauſe. But *Aſdrubal* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of diſlike at all: and whereas they would have this inſolent covenant inſerted into the Articles of peace; he tooke upon him to doe it, of his own power, with ſuch appearance of conformity to their will, that they went their wayes contented, and ſought no further.

If it had been ſo, that the State of *Carthage*, thereunto preſſed by the *Romans*, for feare of preſent warre, had ratified this new compoſition made by *Aſdrubal*; yet ſhould it not have ſtood bound in honour, to obſerve the ſame carefully, unleſſe an oath had alſo bin extorted, to make all ſure. But ſince all paſſed quietly, under the bare authority of *Aſdrubal*, this Capitulation was none other in effect than a ſecond breach of peace; whereof the *Romans* might be accuſed more juſtly, than they could accuſe the *Carthaginians* of perjurie, (as they after did) for refuſing to ſtand to it.

By this Treaty with *Aſdrubal*, the *Romans* wan ſome reputation in *Spaine*. For when it was once conceived by the *Spaniards*, that the Citie which would needes be miſtreſſe over them, ſtood in feare her ſelfe, of receiving blowes from a ſtouter Dame; there were ſoone found ſome, that by offering themſelves to the protection of *Rome*, became (as they thought) fellow-ſervants with *Carthage*. But the *Carthaginians* will ſhortly teach them another leſſon. The *Saguntines*, a people on the South-ſide of *Iberus*, entred into confederacie with the *Romans*, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawfull unto the *Romans*, to admit the *Saguntines*, or any other people (neither ſubject, nor open enemy in war to the *Carthaginians*) into their ſociety: & unlawfull it was unto the *Carthaginians*, to uſe violence towards any that ſhould thus once become confederate with *Rome*. Nevertheleſſe, if we conſider the late agreement made with *Aſdrubal*, we ſhall finde that the *Romans* could have none other honeſt color of requiring it, than an implicit covenant of making the River *Iberus* a bound, over which they themſelves would not paſſe, in any Diſcovery or Conqueſt by them intended to be made upon *Spain*: in which regard, they might have ſome honeſt pretence to require the like of the *Carthaginians*; though *Rome* as yet had no foot, on the one ſide of *Iberus*, whereas *Carthage*, on the other ſide of that River, held almoſt all the Countrie. Howſoever it were, this indignity was not ſo eaſily digeſted, as former injuries had beene. For it was a matter of ill conſequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the *Carthaginian*, ſhould behold *Saguntum* reſting ſecurely among them, upon confidence of help from a more mighty Citie. Wherefore either in this reſpect, or for that the ſenſe is moſt feeling of the lateſt injuries, or rather for that now the *Carthaginians* were of power to doe themſelves right: war againſt *Saguntum* was generally thought upon, let the *Romans* take it how they liſt. In ſuch termes were the *Carthaginians*, when *Aſdrubal* died, after he had commanded in *Spaine* eight yeares: (being ſlaine by a ſlave, whoſe maſter he had put to death) and the Great *Hannibal*, ſonne of the Great *Amilcar*, was choſen Generall in his ſtead.

## §. VI.

### *The eſtate of Greece from the death of* Pyrrhus, *to the reigne of* Philip *the ſonne of* Demetrius *in Macedon.*

IN the long terme of the firſt *Punick* war; and the vacation following, betweene it & the ſecond; the eſtate of *Greece*, after the death of *Pyrrhus*, was grown ſomewhat like unto that, wherein *Philip* of *Macedon* had found it; though farre weaker, as in an after-ſpring. The whole Country had recovered by degrees, a forme of liberty: the petty tyrannies (bred of thoſe inferiour Captaines, which in the times of generall combuſtion, had ſeiſed each upon ſuch townes as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated, & reformed; and ſome States were riſen to ſuch greatneſſe, as not only ſerved to defend themſelves, but to give protection to others. This converſion to the better, proceeded from the like diſſentions and tumults in *Macedon*, as had bin in *Greece*, when *Philip* firſt began to encroach upon it. For after many quarrels & great wars, about the Kingdome of *Macedon*, between *Antigonus* the elder, *Caſſander*, *Demetrius*, *Lyſimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Pyrrhus*, & the *Gaules*: *Antigonus*, the ſonne of *Demetrius*, finally got and held it, reigning ſixe and thirty yeares; yet ſo, that he was divers times thence expelled, not only by the *Gaules*, & by *Pyrrhus*, as hath bin already ſhewed, but by *Alexander* the ſon of *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, from whoſe father he had hardly won it. This happened unto him, by the revolt of his ſouldiers, even at ſuch time, as having overthrowne with great ſlaughter an Army of the *Gaules*, hee was converting his forces againſt the *Athenians*, whom he compelled to receive his Garriſons. But his young ſonne *Demetrius* raiſed an Army, wherewith he chaſed *Alexander*, not only out of *Macedon*, but out of his own *Epirus*, and reſtored his father to the Kingdome.

By the help of this young Prince *Demetrius* (though in another kind) *Antigonus* got into his poſſeſſion the Citadell of *Corinth*; which was juſtly termed *the fetter of Greece*. The Citadell called *Acrocorinthus*, ſtood upon a ſteepe rockie hill on the North ſide of the towne, and was by nature and art ſo ſtrong, that it ſeemed impregnable. It commanded the town; which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Iſthmus*, that running between the *Ægean* and *Ionique* Seas, joyneth *Peloponneſus* to the maine of *Greece*. Wherefore he that held poſſeſſion of this Caſtle, was able to cut off all paſſage by land, from one halfe of *Greece* unto the other; beſides the commodity of the two Seas, upon both of which, this rich and goodly City had commodious havens. *Alexander*, the ſon of *Polyſperchon*; and after his death, *Crateſipolis* his wife, had gotten *Corinth* in the great ſhuffling of Provinces and Townes, that was made betweene *Alexanders* Princes. Afterwards it paſſed from hand to hand, untill it came, I know not how, to one *Alexander*; of whom I finde nothing elſe, than that he was thought to be poiſoned by this *Antigonus*, who deceived his wife *Nicæa* thereof, and got it from her by a tricke. The device was this. *Antigonus* ſent his yong *Demetrius* to *Corinth*, willing him to court *Nicæa*, and ſeeke her marriage. The fooliſh old widow perceived not how unfit a match ſhe was for the yong Prince, but entertained the fancie of marriage; wherto the old King was even as ready, to conſent as was his ſonne to deſire, and came thither in perſon to ſolemnize it. Hereupon all *Corinth* was filled with ſacrifices, feaſts, plaies, and all ſorts of games: in the middeſt of which, *Antigonus* watched his time, and got into the Caſtle, beguiling the poore Lady, whoſe jealouſie had bin exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchaſe he was ſo glad, that he could not containe himſelfe within the gravity beſeeming his old age. But as he had ſtollen it; ſo was it againe ſtollen from him: neither lived he to revenge the loſſe of it, being already ſpent with age.

*Demetrius*, the ſon of this *Antigonus*, ſucceeding unto his father, reigned ten yeeres. He made greater proofe of his vertue before he was King, than after. The *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and *Achæans*, held him continually buſied in war; wherein his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About theſe times the power of the *Macedonians* began to decay: and the *Græcians* to caſt off their yoke.

*Philip*, the only ſon of *Demetrius*, was a young child when his father died; and therefore *Antigonus*, his uncle, had the charge of the Kingdome, during the minority of the

Prince;but he aſſumed the name and power of a King,though he reſpected *Philip* as his own ſonne, to whom hee left the Crowne at his death; This *Antigonus* was called the *Tutor*, in regard of his protectorſhip; and was alſo called *Doſon*,that is a much as, *Will-give*,becauſe he was ſlow in his liberality.Hee repreſſed the *Dardanians* & *Theſſalians*, which moleſted his Kingdome, in the beginning of his reigne. Upon confidence of this good ſervice,he took ſtate upon him, as one that rather were King in his own right,than onely a Protector. Hereupon the people fell to mutinie; but were ſoone appeaſed by faire words, and a ſeeming unwillingneſſe of his to meddle any more with the Government. The *Achaians* tooke from him the city of *Athens*,ſoon after *Demetrius* his death; and likely they were to have wrought him out of all, or moſt that he held in *Greece*,if their own eſtate had not bin endangered by a neerer enemy.But civill diſſention,which had overthrown the power of *Greece*, when it flouriſhed moſt; overthrew it eaſily now againe, when it had ſcarcely recovered ſtrength after a long ſickneſſe; and gave to this *Antigonus* no leſſe authority therein,than *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, got by the like advantage.

Theſe *Achaians* from ſmall beginnings, had increaſed in ſhort time to great ſtrength and fame: ſo that they grew the moſt redoubted Nation of all the *Greeks*. By the equality of their Lawes, and by their clemencie (notwithſtanding that they were a long time held under by the *Macedonians* and *Spartans*)they did not only draw all others by their love and alliance, but induced, through their example, the reſt of the Cities of *Peloponneſus*,to be governed by one Law,and to uſe one and the ſame ſort of weights,meaſure, and mony.

*Aratus*,the *Sicyonian*, was the firſt that united them againe; and gave them courage, after that they had bin by the *Macedonian* Captains divided into many Principalities.In elder times they were governed by Kings,as moſt of the great Cities of *Greece* were; to which kinde of rule they firſt ſubjected themſelves,after the deſcent of the *Heraclidæ*; when *Tiſamenus* the ſon of *Oreſtes* poſſeſt the Territory of *Achaia*. In this eſtate they continued to the time of *Gyges*; after whom, when his ſons ſought to change the Legall government of their Predeceſſors into Tyrannie, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as ſeeming moſt equall. This forme of Common-weale had continuance, with ſome ſmall changes according to the diverſity of times, till the reigne of *Philip* and *Alexander* Kings of *Macedon*:who tempeſt-like overturned all things in that part of the world. For thoſe twelve Cities, called *the Cities of Alliance*,whereof *Helice*, and *Bura* or *Olenus*,the Sea had eaten up a little before the Battaile of *Leuctres*; were, by diſturbance of the *Macedonians*, divided from each other, and trained into a war, no leſſe fooliſh than cruell, among themſelves. But in the one hundred and foure and twentieth *Olympiad*, in which, or neere it, *Ptolomy* the ſon of *Lagus*,*Lyſimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, left the world; two of ten remaining Cities and people, namely, the *Patrenſes* and the *Dimæi*, united themſelves, and laid the foundation of that generall accord, and re-union, which after followed. For having been, ſome of them *Partiſans* with ſundrie *Macedonian* Captaines, and others having bin governed by petty Kings; they began to faſten themſelves in a ſtrong league of amitie, partly, in the *Olympiad* before ſpoken of,and partly,at ſuch time as *Pyrrhus* made his firſt voyage into *Italy*. Now after the uniting of the *Patrenſes* and *Dimæi*, to whom alſo the Cities of *Titræa*, and *Phara*, joyned themſelves; *Ægira* chaſed out her Garriſons: and the *Burians*, killing their Kings, entred with the *Ceraunians* into the ſame Confederacie. Theſe Cities, for twenty and five yeares, uſed the ſame forme of Government with the *Achaians*, who by a Senatory and two Prætors, ordered all things in their Common-weale; and ſoone after,by one Prætor, or Commander: of which, *Marcus Carynenſis* was the firſt, and *Aratus* the ſecond.

This *Aratus* was a noble young Gentleman of *Sicyon*, who living at *Argos* in exile, whileſt his Countrie was oppreſſed by Tyrants, found meanes, through the helpe of other baniſhed men, to enter their own Citie by night, with ladders; whence they chaſed the Tyrant, and reſtored the people to liberty. This was in the time of *Antigonus Gonatas* King of *Macedon*,a Prince more buſie in watching what to get among the *Greeks*, than wiſe in looking to his owne. For feare of *Antigonus*, the *Sicyonians* enter into the *Achaian* league: which though at that time it received more increaſe by their acceſſion than it added ſtrength to them; yet the benefit of this conjunction ſerved well enough againſt *Antigonus*, whoſe ſubtilty was ſomewhat greater than his valour. As the induſtry and counſaile of *Aratus* delivered his Country from bondage, and fortified it by the *Achaian* league; ſo further, by his great liberality, with the exceeding great coſt of 150. talents, he pacified the inexplicable controverſies, between the baniſhed *Sicyonians*, which returned with him, & the other Citizens that had poſſeſſion of theſe mens Lands; as alſo with the ſame money he drew many others to aſſiſt him in thoſe enterpriſes following, that redounded to the ſingular good of all *Achaia*. The mony he obtained of *Ptolomy Evergetes* King of *Egypt*; who partly had a deſire to hold ſome ſtrong & ſure friendſhip in *Greece*, partly was delighted with the converſation of *Aratus* himſelfe, that made a dangerous voyage to him into *Egypt*, and fed his pleaſure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious peeces, wherein the workemen of *Sicyon* excelled.

The firſt of *Aratus* his great attempts, was the ſurprize of the *Acrocorinthus* or Citadell of *Corinth*; which he wanne by night, being thereinto guided by ſome theeves that he had hired for the purpoſe, who living in the place, had practiſed to rob *Antigonus* his treaſurie, paſſing in and out by a ſecret path among the rockes. Yet was he faine to fight for it, ere he could get it: though indeed *Antigonus* his ſouldiers were rather overcome by their owne feare, than by any force of the aſſailants; as miſtruſting leſt the *Achaians* were more in number, than in truth they were, and having loſt the advantages of the place already, upon which they had preſumed, before they were aware of any enemie.

In theſe kinde of night-ſervices, ambuſhments, ſurpriſes, & practices, *Aratus* was verie cunning, adventurous, and valiant: in open field, and plaine battaile, he was as timorous. By this ſtrange mixture of cowardize and courage, he miniſtred argument of diſputation, to Philoſophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was eſteemed, and in ſome caſes approved) might looke pale and tremble, when he began battaile; and whether the vertue of Fortitude were diverſified, by the ſundry natures of men, & in a manner confined unto ſeverall ſorts of action. In reſolving which doubts it may be ſaid; that all vertue is perfected in men by exerciſe, wherein they are trained by occaſion: though a naturall inclination ſtandeth in need of little practice; whereas the defect hereof muſt be ſupplied with much inſtruction, uſe, good ſucceſſe, and other helpe, yet hardly ſhall grow abſolute in generall. Such was *Aratus* in matter of Warre. In ſincere affection to his Countrie he was unreproveable, and ſo acknowledged: as his following actions will truely teſtifie.

When *Acrocorinthus* was taken, and joyned unto the Common-wealth of *Achaia*, the *Megarians* revolted ſoone after from *Antigonus*, and entred into the ſame Corporation. So did the *Trœzenians*, and the *Epid[illegible]urians*: whereby this new erected State grew ſo powerfull, that it adventured to take *Athens*, from the *Macedonians*; & *Argos* & *Megalopolis*, from tyrants that held them. The enterpriſe upon the *Athenians* was of none effect. For though *Aratas* waſted the Ile of *Salamis*, to ſhew his ſtrength, and ſent home the *Athenian* priſoners, without ranſome, to allure the City by ſhew of love; yet the *Athenians* ſtirred neither againſt him, nor for him, as being now growne honeſt ſlaves to the *Macedonians*. Upon *Argos* the adventure was carried more ſtrongly. The *Achaians* came ſometimes to the gates of the Citie, but the people ſtirred not: once they entred it, and might have wonne it, if the Citizens would have lent any helpe to the recoverie of their owne freedome; ſundry times, and with divers events, they fought with the Tyrants, (who roſe up one after another in *Argos*) in open field, and ſlue one of them in battaile; but all ſufficed not: untill at length *Ariſtomachus* the Tyrant was ſo terrefied, perſwaded, and hired, by *Aratus*, that he conſented to reſigne his Eſtate. The like did *Xenon* the Tyrant of *Hermione*, and *Cleonymus*, that had oppreſſed the *Phliaſians*.

Whileſt this buſineſſe with the *Argives* was on foot, *Lyſidias* the Tyrant of *Megalopolis*, was ſo well handled by *Aratus*, that, without compulſion, he gave liberty to his Citie, and annexed it to the Councell of *Achaia*: whereby he got ſuch credit, that he was choſen Generall of their forces (which was a yearely Office, and might not be held two yeeres together by one man:) every ſecond yeare, for a certaine while, he and *Aratus* ſucceeded one another by turnes. But thoſe late Tyrants, and new Citizens, *Lyſidias* and *Ariſtomachus*, were carried with private paſſion from care of the generall good; in which courſes they oppoſed *Aratus*, to the great hurt of *Achaia*, as ſhall appeare in due time.

The *Achæans* having obtained ſo much puiſſance & reputation, that *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt* was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of honour) Generall of their forces by Sea & Land; made open War upon *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus Gonatas*, for the liberty of *Athens*. It is ſtrange and worthy of noting, That when *Aratus* in this quarrell had loſt a battaile, the *Athenians* wore Garlands, in ſigne of joy, to flatter their good Lords the *Macedonians*, that had won the victory. Such were now the *Athenians* become; in whom the rule was verified, that holds true in generall of the multitude, *Aut humiliter ſervit, aut ſuperbè dominatur; It is either baſe in ſervice, or inſolent in command*. Nevertheleſſe when *Demetrius* was dead, *Aratus* performed that by money, which he could not by force; and corrupting the Captaine of the *Macedonian* Garriſon, purchaſed liberty to the *Athenians*, who thenceforth held good correſpondence with the *Achæans*, loving them, and ſpeaking well of them, which was all that they could doe: but into their Corporation they entred not, ſcorning it belike, in regard of their owne out-worne glory.

Now as the Common-wealth of *Achaia* daily increaſed within *Peloponneſus*, by juſtice and honeſtie; ſo did the *Ætolians*, in the utter part of *Greece*, yea and within *Peloponneſus* it ſelfe, waxe very powerfull, by ſturdineſſe of body, and rude courage in fight, without help of any other vertue. They had ſtoutly defended themſelves againſt *Antipater* and *Craterus*; partly by daring to do & ſuffer much, partly by the naturall ſtrength and faſtneſſe of their Country; but eſpecially by the benefit of the time, which called away theſe famous Captaines to other buſineſſe, as hath bin related. They had moleſted *Caſſander*, in favour of *Antigonus*, & were themſelves as much plagued by him, & by the *Acarnanians*, a little, but a ſtout Nation, that tooke his part. Afterwards they had to do with *Demetrius*, the ſon of the firſt *Antigonus*, & more or leſſe with all the Kings of *Macedon* ſucceeding him. They likewiſe held often War with the *Acarnanians*, *Athamanians*, *Epirots*, and many Cities in *Peloponneſus*: ſo that they were hardned with perpetuall travaile; ſeldome putting off their Armour. But their hardineſſe ill deſerved the name of valour, ſeeing they had no regard of honeſty or friendſhip, meaſuring all things by their own inſolent wills, and thinking all people baſe-minded, that were not as fierce and outragious as themſelves.

Theſe *Ætolians* had lately made great ſpoiles in *Peloponneſus*, and occupied a good part of the Countrey. They had invaded the friends of the *Achæans*; taken and ſacked *Pallene*; where although they were ſoundly beaten by *Aratus*, yet their deſire of gaine made them make a new voyage thither, as to a Country wherein ſomewhat was to bee gotten. But they were forced to looke another way, by *Demetrius* the ſonne of *Antigonus Gonatas*: who preſſed them ſo hardly, that they were driven to ſeeke helpe of the *Achæans*; which they obtained. The warre which the *Achæans* made upon *Demetrius*, without *Peloponneſus*, in *Attica*, though it tended to expelling the *Macedons* out of *Greece*, yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly unto the *Ætolians*, at whoſe inſtance it was ſet on foot: for therby were the *Macedonian* forces diverted from them. Neither was this good turne unacknowledged; though very baſely the *Ætolians*, giving thanks in words, deviſed how to requite the benefit with ſome great miſchiefe. They ſaw that the *Achæans* were deſirous to bring all *Peloponneſus* into their Alliance & Corporation: of which intent, the *Lacedæmonians* were very jealous. Wherefore theſe *Ætolians* laboured earneſtly, to ſet the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans* together by the eares: hoping that if this might come to paſſe, they themſelves ſhould be called in to helpe (it skilled not on what ſide) & ſo get no ſmall ſhare, both in bootie & Territory. Neither did they forbeare to communicate this their device unto *Antigonus*; offering to make him partaker of their gaine, whom they knew to bee offended with the many loſſes, that this Kingdom had ſuſtained by the *Achæans*. Of this plot *Aratus* was aware: who therefore determined to ſuffer many indignities, rather than to give the *Lacedæmonians* cauſe to take Armes. But this reſolution was taken ſomwhat too late; & not altogether in his own power to hold. He had bin medling with the *Arcadians*, that were dependants of *Lacedæmon*: and thereby had provoked the *Lacedæmonians* to looke about them; ſeeing that all *Peloponneſus*, excepting themſelves, the *Eleans*, and a few *Arcadians* their friends (who alſo were attempted) was already become *Achæan*.

The City of *Sparta* was in ill caſe about theſe times; & ſubject to the injuries of any ſtronger neighbour. *Pyrrhus* had greatly weakned it; The *Ætolians* entring *Laconia* with an Armie, had carried away fifty thouſand ſlaves; and, which was worſe, their diſcipline was corrupted, Avarice & Luxury reigned among them, the poore was oppreſſed by the rich, and the generoſity of ſpirit, that had ſometime bin their generall vertue, was hardly now to be found among the beſt of them. There were left in *Sparta* no more than ſeven hundred naturall Citizens; of whom not above one hundred had Lands: all the reſt were needie people, and deſirous of innovation. Hereupon followed inteſtine ſedition; which endangered the City moſt of all. *Agis* a good King, who ſought to reforme the diſorders of the State, exhorted the people to a ſtrict obſervation of *Lycurgus* his lawes. To which purpoſe he cauſed them to paſſe an Act, for the aboliſhing of all debts, and equall diviſion of Lands. All the younger, and poorer ſort were glad of this: but the rich men oppoſed it. Theſe had recourſe unto *Leonidas* the other King, (for in *Sparta* were two Kings) who tooke their part: being himſelfe a diſſolute man, as one trained up in the Court of *Syria*, whence alſo he had his wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the Citie, and a new King choſen in his ſtead. But *Agis* his friends & Counſailors in this enterpriſe, abuſed his good meaning to their owne private commodity. They were haſty to take away all debts, and cancell all bonds, for they themſelves were deeply indebted: but the diviſion of lands they afterwards hindred, becauſe their owne poſſeſſions were great. Hence aroſe a tumult in *Sparta*, which theſe men increaſed by their foule oppreſſion of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine, *Leonidas* was brought home, and reſtored to his Kingdome, and the two adverſe Kings driven to take Sanctuarie; out of which, *Cleombrotus*, the late-made King, was diſmiſſed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawn into priſon, and there by his enemies condemned and ſtrangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grand-mother. The like to this was never known in *Sparta*: and (which is the more odious) this cruelty proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magiſtrates that ſhould have given Patronage to the lawes, uſing their power, and more power than to them belonged, againſt a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the City, as the law required.

The death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens; and ſerved to eſtabliſh the impotent rule of a few tyrannicall oppreſſors. In which caſe *Aratus* might well hope to adjoine *Lacedæmon* to the *Achæans* Common-wealth: though it were great injuſtice to take ſuch advantages, and attempt by force, that which would have redounded to the generall good of *Peloponneſus*, and to the benefit of *Sparta* it ſelfe, if it could have bin wrought by perſwaſion.

But, the ſame man who redreſſed the diſorders of *Sparta*, and revenged the death of *Agis*, did alſo requite the injuſt attempts of the *Achæans*, even in their own kinde: obtruding upon them by force an union of all *Peloponneſus*, though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedæmonians* and their King, ſhould have bin the principall; not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* having thus cauſed *Agis* to be ſlaine, tooke his wife that was very rich and beautifull, and gave her in marriage (perforce) to his owne ſon *Cleomenes*. This young Prince fell greatly enamoured on his wife, and ſought to win her affection, as well as he had her perſon. Hee diſcourſed much with her about the purpoſe of her former husband *Agis*, and by pittying his misfortune, began to entertaine a deſire of accompliſhing that, wherein *Agis* had failed. So comming himſelfe to be King, whileſt hee was very young, he gladly embraced all occaſions of Warre: for that he hoped by ſtrong hand to effect that, which *Agis* by proceeding formally, in ſo corrupt an eſtate of the City, had attempted to his own ruine. Therefore when the *Ephori* gave him in charge, to take and fortifie *Athenæum*, a Temple on the marches of *Laconia*, to which both they and the *Megalopolitans* pretented title; he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but ſought to take by ſurprize *Tegea* & *Orchomenus*, Cities then confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*: wherin, his intelligence failing, he loſt the labor of a painful nights travel, & diſcovered his enmity to *Sparta*; of which *Cleomenes* was nothing ſorrie. By theſe degrees the war began. In the entrance whereto *Aratus* had diſcovered the *Ætolian* practice, and therefore would have ſtaied the quarrell from proceeding too far. But *Lyſiadas* and *Ariſtomachus* would needs fight, and he could doe none other than be ruled by them; eſpecially ſeeing *Cleomenes* was ſo urgent. *Ariſtomachus* was at that time Generall of the *Achæans*, (He and *Lyſiadas* being of great account, ſince they had abandoned their tyrannie) who ſent unto *Aratus*, lying then in *Athens*, and required his aſſiſtance in a journie to be made into *Laconia*. No diſſwaſions of *Aratus* would ſerve therefore he came in perſon, and tooke part of a buſineſſe, little pleaſing him in the preſent, and leſſe in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durſt not fight; but oppoſed himſelfe againſt *Ariſtomachus*, who deſired to give battaile. Yet had the *Achæans* twenty thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe, in their Army: whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than five thouſand in all. This gave reputation to the *Lacedæmonian*, and raiſed an ill report upon *Aratus*; which *Lyſiadas* helped to make worſe, by accuſing his cowardize. Nevertheleſſe the *Achæans* would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but choſe him their Generall the yeare following, againſt *Lyſiadas* his accuſer that ſued for the place. Being Generall himſelfe, it behooved him to confute, with deeds, the ſlanderous words of *Lyſiadas*. Therefore he purpoſed to ſet upon the *Eleans*: but was met withall on the way, neere unto the Mount *Lycæus*, by *Cleomenes*; who vanquiſhed him in a great battaile, and drave him to hide himſelfe all night for feare, ſo that he was thought to have bin ſlaine. This miſadventure *Aratus* recompenced by a tricke of his owne more naturall occupation: performing with his broken Army, that which could hardly have bin expected, had he bin victorious. For whileſt there was no ſuſpicion of any great matter that he could undertake; he ſuddenly wrought with ſome of the *Mantinæans*, who did let him into their city. Theſe *Mantinæans*, (whom he had thus brought to his purpoſe) had once before joyned themſelves with the *Achaians*; but ſhortly upon feare, or ſome other paſſion, they gave themſelves to the *Ætolians*; and from the *Ætolians*, preſently after this victory, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediatly they were thus won. For this their levity they were not puniſhed, but freely admitted now again into the *Achæan* ſociety. As this good ſucceſſe repaired the credit of *Aratus*; ſo another battaile almoſt ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountred neere unto *Megalopolis*; where the *Achæans* had ſomewhat the better at the firſt, but their Generall durſt not follow his advantage. Thereupon *Lyſiadas*, of whom we ſpake before, grew ſomewhat impatient with anger; & taking with him all the horſe, brake upon the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he routed at the beginning, but purſuing them too far into places of hard paſſage, he was ſlaine by them, and his followers driven backe upon their own Companions; in ſuch ſort, that finally all the Army was diſordered and put to flight. This was a great loſſe, and incenſed the *Achæans* againſt *Aratus*: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refuſed to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of thoſe Mercenaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* tooke patiently, & followed the warre nevertheleſſe; wherein though *Cleomenes* wanne ſome Townes, and *Aratus* got the better in one ſmall fight, yet little of importance was done; the *Achæans* being wearie, and the *Spartan* King intentive to another buſineſſe.

*Cleomenes* having ledde into the field all that were like to hinder his purpoſe, and tired them with painfull journies, forſooke the *Achæan* warre on a ſudden, and came unexpected home to *Sparta*, where he ſlue the *Ephori*, and reſtored by force the ancient diſcipline of *Lycurgus*. Then gave he an account of his doings: and ſhewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had incroched upon the power of Kings, & many diſorders had grown in the Citie; hee juſtified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equall diviſion of the Lands, reducing all to the firſt inſtitution. He alſo ſupplied the defect of Citizens, by chooſing new, out of ſuch as were friends to the State, and valiant men: ſo that henceforth his Country might not altogether ſtand in need of Mercenarie helpe, as it lately had done, to ſave it ſelfe from the *Ætolians*, *Illyrians*, and ſuch other enemies. All this was diſpatched in great haſte; the *Spartans* well ſatisfied; and *Cleomenes* himſelfe ready in the field, ere his enemies could take any advantage of theſe his domeſticall troubles.

The *Achæans* hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long ere *Cleomenes* durſt iſſue forth of the City, for feare of ſome rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had waſted all the Country of *Megalopolis*; had ranged over all *Arcadia* at his pleaſure; and was admitted into *Mantinæa*; and ready to take other places, even of *Achaia*. Theſe newes diſpleaſed them not a little: but they muſt patiently endure to heare worſe. For when *Cleomenes* had ſhaken off the power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his authority, he proceeded more roundly in his worke, being better obeyed and by better men. His *Lacedæmonians* reſumed their ancient courage; and he himſelfe had the heart to demand the Principality of *Greece*. He did not therefore henceforth contend about the poſſeſſion of a few Townes: but adventured to winne or loſe all.

all, The *Ætolians*, in favour of his attempt, declared themſelves on his ſide: and whereas he had gotten *Mantinæa*, *Tegea*, and other places, to which they had ſome title, they willingly renounced all their intereſt unto him.

*Aratus* did apprehend the danger of his Country, and ſaw that *Antigonus*, with the *Ætolians*, or perhaps without them, would ſhortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begunne. Therefore he deviſed how to provide againſt the worſt, and either to repaire all, or (if it could not be) to ſave all from utter ruine. The office of Generall, when it was next put upon him, he refuſed; fearing to be ſo far preſt, as to hazzard in one battaile all the force of his Country, to which as he had never any affection, nor perchance courage, ſo was his maner of warfare otherwiſe. For he commonly attempted by ſurpriſe, & defended upon the advantage of place, after the maner of the *Iriſh*, and of all other Nations, over-charged with numbers of men. Yet did hee not forſake the care of the Weale-publique, though in aiming at the generall good, it ſeemes that private paſſion drew him into an ill courſe. He ſaw, that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazzard of battaile; that *Mantinæa* had not onely opened her gates unto *Cleomenes*, but ſlaine the *Achæan* Garriſon that lay therein; that other Townes had yeelded unto him, without compulſion; and that *Ariſtomachus*, once Tyrant of *Argos*, and ſince Generall of the *Achæans*, was now revolted unto the enemie, following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Ptolomy* was too farre off to helpe; and the neerneſſe of *Antigonus* was very dangerous; yet might be uſefull, if this King would (as *Polybius* ſaith) like others, bee friend or enemie, as ſhould beſt agree with his owne profit. To make triall hereof, *Aratus* practiſed with ſome of *Megalopolis*, whom he found apt unto his purpoſe; and inſtructed them how to deale both with *Antigonus*, and the *Achæans*.

The City of *Megalopolis* had beene well affected to the *Macedonians*, ever ſince the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it unto him by ſome eſpeciall benefits. At this time it lay neereſt unto the danger; was very faithfull, and therefore deſerved ſuccour; yet could not well be releeved by the *Achæans*, with their owne proper ſtrength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embaſſadours ſhould be ſent unto the generall Councell of *Achaia*, requeſting leave and good allowance, to trie the favour of *Antigonus* in their neceſſitie. This was granted, for lacke of what elſe to anſwer: and the ſame Embaſſadours diſpatched away to *Antigonus*. They did their owne errand briefly; telling him of the good will and reſpect which their City had of long time borne unto him and his Predeceſſors; of their preſent need; and how it would agree with his honour to give them aide. But when they delivered the more generall matter, wherein *Aratus* had given them inſtruction; ſhewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Ætolians*, might redound to his owne great loſſe or danger, if the one and the other were not in time prevented; how *Aratus* himſelfe did ſtand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Achæans* under the Patronage of *Macedon*: then beganne *Antigonus* to lend a more attentive eare to their diſcourſe. He embraced the motion: and to give it the more life, he wrote unto the *Megalopolitans*, that his helpe ſhould not be wanting, ſo farre forth, as it might ſtand with the *Achæans* good liking. Particularly he commended himſelfe, by theſe Meſſengers to *Aratus*; aſſuring them, that he thought himſelfe highly bound to this honourable man, whoſe former actions he now perceived, not to have beene grounded upon any hatred to the *Macedonians*, but onely upon a juſt and worthy love to his owne Nation. With this anſwer they returned to *Megalopolis*: & are preſently ſent away to the Councell of *Achaia*; there to make ſome ſpeedy concluſion, as the neceſſity of the time required. The *Achæans* were glad to heare, that *Antigonus* was ſo inclinable to their deſire; & therefore were ready to entertaine his favour, with all good correſpondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gave his conſent; and praiſed the wiſedome of his Countrimen, that ſo well diſcerned the beſt and likelieſt meanes of their common ſafety: adding nevertheleſſe, that it were not amiſſe, firſt of all to try their owne ability; which if it failed, then ſhould they do well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus he ſhewed himſelfe moderate, in that which himſelfe of all others did moſt wiſh: to the end, that he might not afterward ſuſtaine the common reprehenſion, if any thing fell out amiſſe; ſince it might appeare, that he had not beene Author of this Decree, but onely followed, and that leiſurably, the generall conſent.

Nevertheleſſe,in true eſtimation, this fineneſſe of *Aratus* might have bin uſed, with his greater commendation,in a contrary courſe. For it had bin more honourable to make an end of the war, by yeelding unto *Cleomenes* that power which they gave unto *Antigonus*: ſince thereby he ſhould both have freed his country from all further trouble; and withall,ſhould have reſtored unto the univerſall ſtate of *Greece*,that honourable condition,whereof the *Macedonians* had bereft it. But it is commonly found, (which is great pittie) that Vertue,having riſen to honour by degrees,and confirmed it ſelfe,(as it were) in the ſeat of Principality, by length of time, and ſucceſſe of many actions,can ill endure the haſtie growth of any others reputation, wherewith it ſees it ſelfe likely to be overtopped. Other cauſe to deſpiſe the *Lacedæmonians* there was none, than that they lately had bin in dangerous caſe:neither could any reaſon be found,why *Aratus* ſhould preferre *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*,than that he had ſtood in doubt of the one,when he thought himſelfe more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was juſtly plagued, when he ſaw his own honours reverſed by the inſolent *Macedonians*; and in ſtead of living as a companion with *Cleomenes*, that was deſcended of a long race of Kings,the poſterity of *Hercules*,was faine to doe ſacrifice unto *Antigonus*, as unto a god, and was finally poyſoned by *Philip*,whoſe Nobilitie was but of five deſcents, and whom perhaps hee might have ſeene his fellowes, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the *Macedonians*,the love of *Ptolomie* was loſt: who forthwith tooke part with *Cleomenes*,though he did not ſupply him with ſuch liberality,as he had uſed to the *Achæans*; being warned, as may ſeeme,by their example, to be more wary both in truſting and diſburſing. *Cleomenes* himſelfe, whileſt this buſineſſe with *Antigonus* was a-foot, paſſed through *Arcadia* with an Armie, and laboured by all meanes to draw the *Achæans* to battell. At the Citie of *Dymes* in *Achaia* were aſſembled all the remaining forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded to make triall,whether perhaps they might amend their eſtate,without ſeeking helpe of the *Macedonian*. Thither went *Cleomenes*,& there fought with them; where he had ſo great a victory,that the enemy was no longer able to keepe the open field. The calamity was ſuch, that *Aratus* himſelfe durſt not take upon him to be their Generall, when his turne came in the next election. Wherefore the *Achæans* were compelled to ſue for peace;which was granted upon this eaſie condition: That they ſhould not arrogate unto themſelves the command of *Peloponneſus*,but ſuffer the *Lacedæmonians* (as in former ages) to be their Leaders in war. Hereunto if they would condeſcend,he promiſed unto them,that he would preſently reſtore all places taken from them, and all his priſoners ranſom-free:alſo that they ſhould enjoy their own Lawes and Liberties without moleſtation.This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleaſing to the *Achæans*;who deſired him to come to the Citie of *Lerna*,where a Parliament ſhould be held, for the concluſion of the War.

Now ſeemed the affaires of *Greece* likely to be ſettled in better order, than they had ever bin ſince the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* Wars, yea, or ſince the *Perſian* invaſion: when God,who had otherwiſe diſpoſed of theſe matters,hindred all,with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* dranke in great heat, and thereupon fell extreme ſicke, and ſo could not be preſent at *Lerna*, but cauſed the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Nevertheleſſe he ſent home the chiefe of his priſoners,to ſhew that he meant none other than good faith. By this faire dealing he confirmed the *Achæans* in their deſire of his friendſhip: who aſſembled againe at *Argos*,there to eſtabliſh the League. But *Aratus* was violently bent againſt it; and ſought by great words, and terrible threats,to make his Countrimen afraid of reſolving. When all would not ſerve turne, he betooke himſelfe to his cunning; and ſent word to *Cleomenes*,that he ſhould doe well to leave his Armie behinde him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiving hoſtages for ſafetie of his perſon. *Cleomenes* was already far on his way, when he met with this advertiſement; and tooke it in ill part, that he ſhould be thus deluded. For it had bin an eaſie matter, to have told him ſo much at the firſt, and not have made him come ſo far with an Army, which afterwards he muſt diſmiſſe. Yet that which chiefly ſeemes to have troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners;who ſought therby,either to make him wait without the gates, and deale only with themſelves and their Meſſengers, or if he would adventure himſelfe into the Citie, then to deprive him of all Royall ſhew, that might breed reſpect of him in the multitude. This was that indeed which *Aratus* feared,& for which he ſought to hinder his comming thither in perſon; leſt the people, hearing the promiſes of *Cleomenes* ratified by his owne mouth, ſhould preſently be wonne with his gentle words, and finiſh the bargaine without more adoe. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote unto the whole Councell, bitterly complaining againſt theſe juggling tricks: and *Aratus* was not farre behind with him, in as bitter an Oration. So betweene feare of the one, and reverence of the other, the Aſſembly knew not how to proceed, but abruptly brake up, leaving all, as it were, to fortune. *Cleomenes* tooke his advantage of their preſent weakeneſſe, and renewed the Warre. Many Cities yeelded unto him willingly; many he forced; and partly by force, partly by terrour, he wan *Argos*, which never King of *Sparta* before him could doe. In this caſe *Aratus* ſent his owne ſonne to *Antigonus*, intreating him to deferre no time, but come preſently to relieve the diſtreſſed *Achæans*. *Antigonus* gave good words as could be wiſhed: ſaving that he utterly refuſed to doe any thing, unleſſe he might firſt have *Acrocorinthus* put into his hands. This demand was ſomewhat like unto that of the Hunter, who promiſed to helpe the Horſe againſt his enemy the Stagge: but with condition, that the horſe ſhould ſuffer himſelfe to be ſaddled and bridled. *Aratus* was herewithall contented, but wanted all honeſt colour to doe it: ſeeing the *Corinthians* had no way deſerved to be thus given away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occaſion was found; for that the *Corinthians*, perceiving what hee intended, were minded to arreſt him. So he withdrew himſelfe out of their Citie, and ſent word to *Antigonus*, that their Caſtle ſhould be ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other ſide ranne to *Cleomenes*; who loſt no time, but made haſte with them to *Corinth*, where he ſought how to get poſſeſſion of their Caſtle, or at leaſt to ſave it from *Antigonus*, by ſurrounding it within Trenches, that none might iſſue nor enter without his leave. Whileſt this was doing, he tooke ſpeciall order, that *Aratus* his houſe and goods, within the Towne, ſhould be kept for the Owner; to whom he ſent Meſſenger after Meſſenger, deſiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the barbarous *Macedonians*, and *Illyrians*, to *Peloponneſus*; promiſing, that if he would hearken to theſe perſwaſions, then would he give him double the ſame penſion, which he had been wont to receive of King *Ptolomie*. As for the Caſtle of *Corinth*, which was the gate of *Peloponneſus*, and without which none could hold aſſured ſoveraigntie of the Countrey; he deſired that it might not be committed unto his own diſpoſition, but be joyntly kept by the *Lasedæmonians* and *Achæans*. All this entreaty ſerved to no purpoſe. For *Aratus*, rejecting utterly the motion, ſent his owne ſonne as an Hoſtage to *Antigonus*; and laboured with the *Achæans*, to put *Acrocorinthus* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* underſtood, he ſeiſed upon the goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and waſted all the Countrey of *Sicyon*, whereof this his Adverſary was native.

*Antigonus* in the meane time drew neere to the *Iſthmus*; having paſſed with his Army through *Eubœa*, becauſe the *Ætolians* held the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ* againſt him. This they did, either in favour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatneſſe, whereunto the *Macedonians* might attaine by the good ſucceſſe of this journy. At his comming thither he found the *Lacædemonians* ready to forbid his entrance: and that with ſufficient ſtrength; yet with no purpoſe to hazzard battell, but rather to weary him thence with hunger, againſt which he came not well provided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force; but he was not able ſo to doe: hee ſecretly got into the *Corinthian* Haven; but was violently driven out againe, with great loſſe of men; finally, he reſolved to turne aſide, and ſeeke a paſſage over the gulſe of *Corinth*, to *Sicyon*, or ſome other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not eaſily made.

In this perplexity, newes from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*, and no leſſe troubled his enemies. The *Achæans* were gotten into that Citie; and the Garriſon which *Cleomenes* had left therein, though it was not driven out of the Cittadel, yet was hardly diſtreſſed, and ſtood in need of preſent helpe. *Argos* had alwayes beene enemy to *Sparta*, and well affected to the Kings of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* took it, he forbare to chace out thoſe whom he moſt ſuſpected; partly at the entreaty of friends, and partly, for that they all made ſhew to be glad of his proſperity. They were glad indeed of *Cleomenes* his victories, both in *Argos* and elſewhere, as many as hoped that h would cauſe all debtors to be diſcharged from their creditors; as he had lately done i *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta*, was agreeable to the *Spartan* inſtitution: in other places, where it would have been tyrannicall, he did it not. Thereupo

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ſuch as were diſappointed of their unjuſt hopes, began to turne good Common-wealths men; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, becauſe hee would not doe the like abroad. So they tooke their time, invited the *Achæans*, aſſailed his Garriſon, cut in peeces the reſcue that he ſent, and compelled him at length to forſake the defence of *Corinth*, and looke unto the enemies that were behind his back. For when he underſtood by continuall meſſages, that his men which held the Cittadell at *Argos* were almoſt loſt: he began to feare leſt his labour in guarding the entry ſhould grow frivolous; the *Achæans* in the meane while ſpoyling all that lay within. Therefore he forſooke his cuſtody of the *Iſthmus*, and made all haſte towards *Argos*: which if he could ſave, he meant to truſt fortune with the reſt. And ſo farre he prevailed at his comming to *Argos*, that both *Argives* and *Achæans* were glad to houſe themſelves, leaving him Maſter of the ſtreets: when the horſemen of *Antigonus* were diſcovered afarre off, haſting to relieve the Citizens; and *Antigonus* himſelfe (to whom *Corinth* was yeelded, as ſoone as the *Spartan* had turned his backe) following apace with the body of his Armie. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to doe, than to make a ſafe retrait. This hee did, and got him home into *Laconia*: loſing in ſhort ſpace all, or moſt of that which he had bin long in getting.

*Antigonus* having ſhewed himſelfe at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, went into *Arcadia*; where he wan ſuch Caſtles as were held for *Cleomenes*, and reſtored them to the old Poſſeſſors. This done, he tooke his way to *Ægium*, where was held a Parliament by the *Achæans*; to whom he declared the cauſe of his comming, and ſpake brave words, that filled them with hope. The *Achæans* were not behinde with him; but made him Captaine-Generall over them and their Confederates: and further entred into covenant with him, That they would not deale with any Prince or State, either by writing or Embaſſadour, without his conſent. All this while, and ſomewhat longer, *Aratus* was the only man, that ſeemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to *Sicyon* his owne Towne, (for Winter was come on) where he not only feaſted him as a great Prince, but ſuffered more than humane honours, as ſacrifices and the like, to be done unto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sicyonians*, was followed by the reſt of *Achaia*: which had made (forſooth) a very wiſe bargaine, if in ſtead of *Cleomenes*, that would have bin a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this God was poore, and wanting wherewith to pay his *Macedonians*, impoſed the burthen upon the *Achæans*. This was hardly taken; yet worſe muſt be endured in hope of better. Neither was *Aratus* himſelfe over-carefully reſpected; when the ſtatues of thoſe Tyrants, which he had throwne downe in *Argos*, were againe erected by *Antigonus*; or when the ſtatues, which he had erected, of thoſe that had taken *Acrocorinthus* with him, were all throwne downe by the ſame King, and one onely left unto himſelfe at his earneſt intreaty. It might therefore appeare, that this God was alſo ſpightfull. Neverthelesse in taking revenge upon thoſe that offended him, *Aratus* did ſatisfie his own paſſion by the aide of theſe *Macedonians*. For with extreme torments he did put *Ariſtomachus* to death, who had bin once Tyrant of *Argos*; afterwards Generall of the *Achæans*, and from them revolting unto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like ſort handled he (though not as yet) the *Mantinæans*, for their ingratitude and cruelty ſhewed to the *Achæans*. For he ſlue all the principall Citizens, and ſold the reſt, men, women, and children, all for bondſlaves: dividing the ſpoyle; two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Achæans*. The Towne it ſelfe was given by *Antigonus* to the *Argives*; who peopled it with a Colony of their own; and *Aratus* having charge of this buſineſſe, cauſed it to be new-named *Antigonia*. Surely of this cruelty there can be no better excuſe, than even the flattery which *Aratus* was driven to uſe to *Antigonus*: foraſmuch as it was a token of ſervility, whereinto they had urged and brought him; whom he, as in revenge thereof, did thus requite. But leaving to ſpeake of this change, which the comming in of the *Macedonian* wrought in the Civill ſtate of the *Achæans*; let us returne unto his war againſt the *Lacedæmonian*.

The next Summer *Antigonus* wan *Tegea*, *Mantinæa*, *Orchomenus*, *Heræa*, & *Telphuſſa*: *Mantinæa* he diſpeopled, as was ſaid before; in *Orchomenus* he placed a Garriſon of his *Macedonians*; the reſt he reſtored to the *Achæans*, with whom he wintred at *Ægium*, where they held a Parliament. Once only *Cleomenes* had met him this yeare; and that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where he lay ready to defend his owne Territory. The

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reaſon why he ſtirred no further, nor followed *Antigonus* to *Mantinæa*, & to thoſe other Townes that he wan, was this: He had few Souldiers, and had not money enough to wage more. *Ptolomie* the *Egyptian* promiſed much, but would performe nothing, unleſſe he might have *Cleomenes* his own Mother, and his children in pledge. Theſe were ſent into *Egypt*, yet the aide came not. For *Ptolomie* was ſlow; as dealing in the buſineſſe of *Greece*, rather for his mindes ſake, than upon any apprehenſion of neceſſity. *Cleomenes* therefore provided for himſelfe, as well as his own ability would ſerve. He manumiſed all the *Heilotes*, which were the *Lacedæmonian* ſlaves: taking mony for their liberty, and arming two thouſand of them after the *Macedonian* faſhion. Having thus increaſed his forces, he came on the ſudden to *Megalopolis*; that lay ſecure, as having defended it ſelfe in more dangerous times, and having now *Antigonus* neere at hand in *Ægium*. The towne he wan: but after he was entred, all that were fit to beare Armes roſe haſtily againſt him; and though they could not drive him out, yet ſaved the multitude, to whom they gave a Port free for their eſcape. He ſent after the Citizens, offering their Towne and goods to them againe, if they would be of his party. But they bravely refuſed his offer: wherefore he ſacked and ruined it, carrying with him to *Sparta* a great bootie that he found therein. Theſe newes aſtoniſhed the *Achæans* at *Ægium*: who thereupon brake up their Parliament. *Antigonus* ſent haſtily for his *Macedonians*, out of their wintering places: but they were ſo long in comming, that *Cleomenes* was ſafely gone home. Therefore he returned them back to their lodgings, and went himſelfe to *Argos*, there to paſſe the reſt of his unluckie winter, ſomewhat further from the eyes of the grieved *Achæans*. When he had laine a while at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* was at the gates, with no great number of men, yet with more than *Antigonus* had then about him. The *Argives* perceiving that their Country would be ſpoyled, if *Antigonus* did not iſſue into the field, were very earneſt with him to goe forth and fight. But he was wiſer than to be moved with their clamors; and ſuffered them to ſee their villages burnt; to bid him reſigne his Office of Protector unto ſome that were more valiant; and to ſatisfie their paſſions with fooliſh words; rather than he would be overcome in fight, and thereby loſe more honour than could eaſily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his deſire, in weakning the reputation of his enemie: though he thereby added neither followers, nor other ſtrength unto *Lacedæmon*.

Afterwards, when the ſeaſon was more fit for war, *Antigonus* gathered together all his troups; meaning to requite theſe bravadoes of his enemie, with the conqueſt of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes*, on the other ſide, laboured to keepe the war from his owne gates; and therefore entred upon the Country of *Argos*, where he made ſuch havock, as drew *Antigonus* thither, from his intended invaſion of *Laconia*. Many great affronts the *Macedonian* was faine to endure, in coaſting of the *Spartan* King; that ranging over the Country of the *Argives*, *Phliaſians*, and *Orchomenians*, drave a Garriſon of his out of *Oligyrtis*; and did ſacrifice, as it were, before his face, in the ſuburbs of *Argos*, without the Temple of *Juno*, that was ſhut up; ſending unto him in ſcorne, to borrow the keyes. Theſe were light things; yet ſerved to diſ-hearten the *Achæan* ſide, and to fill the enemie with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore he concluded to lay apart all other regard of things abroad, and to put all to hazzard; by ſetting up his reſt, without any more delay, upon *Sparta* it ſelfe. He had in his Army eight and twenty thouſand foot, and twelve hundred horſe, collected out of ſundry Nations, as *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, *Gaules*, *Epirots*, *Bœotians*, *Acarnanians*, and others; together with the *Achæans*, and their friends of *Peloponneſus*. *Cleomenes* had of all ſorts twenty thouſand, with which he lay at *Selaſia*: fortifying ſlightly the other paſſages into *Laconia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to ſeeke entrance. *Antigonus*, comming unto *Selaſia*, found his enemie ſo ſtrongly incamped, upon and between the hils of *Eva* and *Olympus*, that he was conſtrained to ſpend much time there, before he could advance any one foot: neither lay it in his power to come haſtily to blowes, which he greatly deſired, without the hazzard of his whole Armie, in aſſailing their well-defenced Camp. But at length (as it happens, when men are wearie both of their hopes and feares) both Kings being reſolved to make an end one way or other; *Antigonus* attempted with hi *Illyrians*, to force that part which lay on the hill *Eva*. But his *Illyrians* were ſo ill ſecon ded by the *Achæan* foot, that the *Spartan* horſe, and light-armed foot, incamped in th ſtreight valley betweene thoſe hills, iſſuing forth, fell upon their skirts, and not onel

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diſordered them, but were like to have endangered all the reſt. If *Cleomenes* himſelfe had ſtood in that part of the battell, hee would have made great uſe of ſuch a faire beginning. But *Euclydas*, his brother, a more valiant than ſkilfull Souldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this advantage, nor tooke ſuch benefit as the ground afforded, whereon he lay. *Philopœmen* the *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis*, who afterwards proved a famous Captaine, ſerved then on horſe, as a private young man, among the *Achæans*. Hee ſeeing that all was like to goe to rout, if their *Illyrians* were driven to fall backe upon the Armie following them; perſwaded the Captaines of the *Achæan* horſe, to breake upon the *Spartan* Mercenaries. But they would not: partly deſpiſing his youth and want of charge; partly, for that *Antigonus* had given order, that they ſhould keepe their places, untill they received a ſigne from him, which was not as yet. *Philopœmen* perceiving them to be more orderly than well adviſed, intreated ſome of his own Countrimen to follow him, gave a charge on the *Spartans*, and forced them, not only to leave the *Illyrians*, but ſeek how to ſave themſelves. Being ſo far advanced, he found the place which the *Illyrians* had attempted, like enough to be won, through the unſkilfulneſſe of him that held it. Wherefore he allighted, and perſwaded the men at Armes his Companions to doe the like: the folly of *Euclydas* being manifeſt, who kept the top of the hill, and ſtirred not to hinder thoſe that aſcended, but waited for them in a Plaine, where they might fight upon even termes. So he recovered the Hill top; where though he was ſore hurt, yet he made good the place that he had gotten, untill the whole Armie came up to him; by which the *Lacedæmonians* were beaten from it, with great ſlaughter of them in their deſcent. This overthrow, and death of *Euclydas*, made *Cleomenes* loſe the day: who fighting bravely on the other ſide, upon *Olympus*, againſt *Antigonus* himſelfe, was like to have beene ſurrounded and loſt, if he had not withdrawne himſelfe with an extraordinary ſpeed. In this battell ended the glory of *Lacedæmon*, which, as a light ready to goe out, had with a great, but not long blaze, ſhined more brightly of late, than in many ages paſt.

*Cleomenes* fled unto *Sparta*; where he had no deſire to ſtay, finding onely two hundred left, of ſixe thouſand *Spartans* that he had led unto this battell, and moſt of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So he perſwaded his people to yeeld themſelves unto *Antigonus*; and promiſing to doe all that ſhould at any time lye in his owne power, for their good, he haſted away to the Sea-ſide (where he had ſhipping long before provided againſt all that might happen) and imbarqued himſelfe for *Egypt*. He was lovingly entertained by *Ptolomie Euergetes*; who undertooke to reſtore him to his Kingdome, and (perhaps) meant no leſſe, as being much delighted with his gallant behaviour, and qualities. In the meane ſeaſon, he had a penſion allowed him, of foure and twenty Talents, yearely. But this *Ptolomie* died; and his ſon *Ptolomie Philopater* ſucceeded him: a vicious young Prince, wholly governed by lewd Women, and baſe Men, unmindefull of all vertue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore *Cleomenes* was deſirous to returne into *Greece*, whither the troubles in *Peloponneſus* did ſeeme to invite him; *Ptolomie* and his Minions, would neither give him aide; nor yet dared to diſmiſſe him (as he deſired) to trie his own friends in *Greece*, becauſe he was too well acquainted with the weakeneſſe of *Egypt*: nor well knew how to detaine him againſt his will. At length they deviſed matter againſt him, and made him priſoner. The laſt act of him was, that with thirty of his Countrimen, he undertooke a deſperate enterprize: breaking out of the priſon, and provoking the *Alexandrians* to rebell and ſeeke their liberty. In which attempt he ſlew ſome enemies of his that he met; and having walked up and down the ſtreets without reſiſtance (no man offering to take his part, or which is very ſtrange, to fight againſt him on the Kings behalfe) hee, and his Companions, agreed together to be miniſters of their own death. Upon his dead body *Ptolomie* was bold to ſhew his indignation: and ſlue his Mother and Children, that had beene ſent thither as Hoſtages, together with the wives of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending upon the old Queene. Such was the end of *Cleomenes*, a generous Prince, but Son of *Leonidas*, who had cauſed *Agis*, with his Mother and Grand-mother, to come to ſuch a bloudy end, as now befell his owne Wife, Son, and Grandchildren.

After the victory at *Sellaſia*, *Antigonus* without reſiſtance entred *Sparta*: whereinto never the force of any Enemy, before him, could make way. He kindely intreated the Citizens, and left them to their own lawes and Government: tarrying there no longer than two or three dayes; after which he haſtened out of *Peloponneſus*, and never returned. The cauſe of his ſpeedy departure was, an advertiſement that he received out of *Macedon*; how the *Illyrians* over-ran, and deſtroyed the Countrie. Had theſe newes come a little ſooner, or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the fight, a few dayes longer, or at leaſt-wiſe tarried a few dayes after the fight, in *Sparta*; the Kingdome of *Lacedæmon* would have ſtood, and perhaps have extended it ſelf over all *Greece*. But God had otherwiſe determined.

*Antigonus* fought a great battell with the *Illyrians*, and overcame them. Yet therein he caught his bane: not by any wound, but by over-ſtraining his voyce; wherewith he brake a veine that bled inwardly, and in ſhort ſpace finiſhed his life, who was troubled before with a conſumption of the lungs. His Kingdome deſcended unto *Philip*, the ſon of *Demetrius*, being then a boy: as alſo about the ſame time it was, that *Antiochus*, ſurnamed (I know not why) *the Great*; and *Ptolomy Philopater*, began to reign in *Aſia*, and *Egypt*; Boyes all. Of theſe, *Ptolomie*, though old enough to love Harlots, when he firſt was king, yet continued a Boy all the ſeventeen years of his reign. The unripe age of *Philip* & *Antiochus*, bred ſuch inteſtine inconvenience to their Kingdomes, as is uſuall in the minority of Princes: but their elder years brought them acquainted with the *Romans*; upon which occaſion, when it comes, we ſhall more ſeaſonably ſpeak of them, and of their kingdoms, more at large.

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## §. VII.

### *How the Illyrians infeſted the coaſt of Greece, and how they were ſubdued by the Romans.*

WHilſt things thus paſſed in *Greece*, and whilſt the *Carthaginians* were buſie in their conqueſt of *Spain*; the *Romans* had found themſelves work among the *Sardinians* and *Corſicans*, that were eaſily ſubdued at firſt, & eaſily vanquiſhed again, when they rebelled. They made alſo war with the *Illyrians*, wherein they got much honour with little pain. With the *Gaules* they had much adoe, that laſted not long; being rather, as *Livie* ſaith, a tumult than a war. So that by all theſe light exerciſes their valour was hardly kept from ruſt. How they got the Ilands in the *Mediterran* Sea, it hath bin ſhewed before: of their dealings with the *Illyrians* and *Gaules*, it is not meet to be utterly ſilent.

Liv. lib. 21.

The *Illyrians* inhabited the Country now called *Slavonia*; a troubleſome Nation, impatient of reſt, and continually making war for gaine, without either regard of friend or foe. They were invited by *Demetrius*, king of *Macedon*, to help the *Mydionians* his friends, that were beſieged by the *Ætolians*; for that they refuſed to be of their ſociety. Before the *Illyrians* ſuccours came, the *Mydionians* were ſo far ſpent, that the *Ætolians* contended about the booty: the old Prætor, or chiefe Magiſtrate of their Nation, who was going out of his office, claiming to have the honour of the victory, and the diviſion of the ſpoyle to be referred unto him; for that he had in a manner brought the ſiege to an end, and won the towne: others, that were in hope to be choſen into the Office, contradicting this, and deſiring that old orders might be kept. It was a prettie ſtrife, and ſomwhat like to that of the *French* in later ages, who thought upon dividing the prey, before they had won the victories, which anon they loſt, at *Poitiers* and *Agincourt*. The *Ætolians* wiſely compounded the difference, ordering it thus; That the old, and the new Prætor ſhould be joyntly intitled in the victory, and have equal authority in diſtribution of the gettings. But the *Illyrians* finiſhed the ſtrife much more elegantly, and after another faſhion. They arrived, and landed ere any was aware of them; they fell upon the *Ætolians*; and though good reſiſtance was made, yet got the victory, partly by force of their multitude, partly by the help of the *Mydionians*, that were not idle in their own buſines, but ſtoutly ſallied out of the town. Many of the *Ætolians* were ſlain, more were taken, their camp and all their baggage was loſt: the *Illyrians* took the ſpoyle, and went their way; the *Mydionians* erected a Trophie, inſcribing the names both of their old and new Magiſtrate (for they alſo choſe new Officers at the ſame time) as the *Ætolians* had directed them by example.

The ſucceſſe of this voyage highly pleaſed *Agron* King of the *Illyrians*: not only in regard of the mony,wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his aſſiſtance; or of the booty that was gotten;but for that having vanquiſhed the ſtouteſt of the *Greeks*,he found it not uneaſie to inrich himſelfe by ſetting upon the leſſe warlike. For joy of this he feaſted, and dranke ſo immoderately, that he fell into a *Pleuriſie*, which in few dayes ended his life. His Kingdome,together with his great hopes,he left unto *Teuta* his wife.

*Teuta* gave her people free liberty to rob all ſorts at Sea, making no difference between friend and foe; as if ſhe had beene ſole Miſtreſſe of the ſalt Waters. She armed a fleet,and ſent it into *Greece*; willing her Captaines to make warre where they found advantage,without any further reſpect. Theſe fell with the weſtern coaſt of *Peloponneſus*; where they invaded the *Eleans*, and *Meſſenians*. Afterwards they returned along by *Epirus*, and ſtayed at the Citie of *Phœnice*, to take in victuals and other neceſſaries. There lay in *Phœnice* eight hundred *Gaules*, that having bin Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray, firſt *Agrigentum*, then *Eryx*, to the *Romans*; but failing to doe either,they neverthe leſſe revolted, and were for their miſdeeds diſarmed and ſent to ſea by the *Romans*,yet entertained by theſe *Epirots*, and truſted to lye in Garriſon within their Towne. The *Gaules* were ſoone growne acquainted with the *Illyrians*, to whom they betrayed *Phœnice*; which deſerved none other, in truſting them. All *Epirus* was preſently in armes, and haſtned to drive out theſe unwelcome gueſts. But whileſt the *Epirots* lay before the Towne, there came newes into their Campe, of another *Illyrian* Armie,that was marching thitherward by Land, under one *Scerdilaidas*, whom Queene *Teuta* had ſent to help his fellowes. Upon this advertiſement, a part of them is ſent away towards *Antigonia*,to make good that Town,and the ſtreights adjoyning,by which theſe new commers muſt enter into their Countrey; another part of them remaines at *Phœnice*,to continue the ſiege. Neither the one nor the other ſped well in their buſineſs. For *Scerdilaidas* found meanes to joyne with his fellowes; and they that were beſieged within *Phœnice*,ſallied out of the town, and gave ſuch an overthrow to the *Epirots*, as made them deſpaire of ſaving their Country, without great and ſpeedy help from abroad. Wherefore Embaſſadors were ſent to the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*: craving their help,with very pitifull terms of intreaty. They obtained their ſuit; neither was it long, before an Army,ſent by theſe two Nations, was ready in *Epirus*,to preſent battell unto *Scerdilaidas*. But *Scerdilaidas* was called home by letters from *Teuta* the Queene, that ſignified a rebellion of ſome *Illyrians* againſt her: ſo that he had no mind to put his forces to hazzard,but offered compoſition,which was accepted. The agreement was, That the *Epirots* might ranſome their Towne, and all their people that were priſoners; and that the *Illyrians* ſhould quietly depart with all their booty and ſlaves. Having made this profitable and honourable bargain,the *Illyrians* returned into their own country by land, ſending their booty away by Sea.

At their comming home,they found no ſuch great trouble,as that which they brought, or had occaſioned in this voyage. For, in fulfilling the commandement of their Queene, they had taken many *Italian* Merchants, whileſt they lay at *Phœnice*; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints,made unto the *Roman* Senate, were ſo frequent, that Embaſſadours were ſent to require of *Teuta*, that ſhe ſhould abſtaine from doing ſuch injuries. Theſe Embaſſadours found her very jolly; both for the riches which her fleet had brought in; and for that ſhe had,in ſhort ſpace, tamed her Rebels, and brought all to good order,ſave only the Town *Iſſa*, which her forces held ſtreightly beſieged. Swelling with this proſperity,ſhe could hardly afford a good look to the *Romans*, that found fault with her doings; and calling them by a true name, *Pyracy*, required amends. Yet when their ſpeech was ended, ſhe vouchſafed to tell them, That injury in publike ſhee would doe them none: as for private matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the maner of Kings to forbid their ſubjects to get commodity,how they beſt could by Sea. But (ſaid the younger of the two Embaſſadours) we *Romans* have a maner, and a very laudable one,to take revenge in publike,of thoſe private wrongs that are born out by publike authority: therefore we ſhall teach you, God willing, to reforme your kingly maners,and learn better of us. Theſe words the Queen took ſo impatiently, that no revenge could ſatisfie her, but the death of him that had ſpoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common Law of Nations,ſhe cauſed him to be ſlain: as if that had bin the way to ſet her heart at reſt; which was indeed the mean to diſquiet and afflict it ever after.

The *Romans*, provoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by Sea, conſiſting of two hundred ſaile, commanded by *C. Fulvius*; the other by Land, led by *A. Poſthumus*. They trouble not themſelves any more with requiring ſatisfaction: for this injurie is of ſuch nature, as muſt be requited with mortall war. It is indeed contrary to all humane Law, to uſe violence towards Embaſſadours: the reaſon and ground whereof, ſeemes to be this; that ſince without mediation, there would never be an end of warre and deſtruction, therefore it was equally received by all Nations, as a leſſon taught by Nature, that Embaſſadours ſhould paſſe freely, and in ſafety, between enemies. Nevertheleſſe, as I take it, this generall Law is not without limitation. For if any King or State lay hold upon Embaſſadours ſent by their enemies, not unto themſelves, but unto ſome third, whom they ſhould draw into the quarrell; then it is as lawfull to uſe violence to thoſe Embaſſadors (thus employed to make the war more terrible) as it is to kill the men of war, & ſubjects of an enemy. And ſo might the *Athenians* have anſwered it, when they ſlew the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſadours, that were ſent to *Xerxes*, to draw him into a war upon the *Athenians*. Neither are thoſe Embaſſadours, which practiſe againſt the perſon of that Prince, in whoſe Countries they reſide, warranted by any law whatſoever. For whereas the true office of an Embaſſadour reſiding, is the maintenance of amitie; if it be not lawfull for one Prince to practiſe againſt the life of another, much leſſe may an Embaſſadour doe it without incuring juſtly the ſame danger of puniſhment, with other Traitors; in which caſe, his place gives him no priviledge at all. But we will leave this diſpute to the *Civilians*; and go on with the revenge, taken by the *Romans*, for the ſlaughter of their Embaſſadour *Coruncanus*.

The *Illyrian* Queen was ſecure of the *Romans*, as if they would not dare to ſtir againſt her. She was indeed in an errour, that hath undone many of all ſorts, greater and leſſe than ſhe, both before and ſince: *Having more regard unto fame, than unto the ſubſtance of things*. The *Greeks* were at that time more famous than the *Romans*; the *Ætolians* and *Epirots* had the name of the moſt warlike people in *Greece*; theſe had ſhe eaſily vanquiſhed, and therefore thought, that with the *Romans* ſhe ſhould be little troubled. Had ſhe conſidered, that her whole Army, which wrought ſuch wonders in *Greece*, was not much greater than of ten thouſand men; and that nevertheleſſe, it prevailed as much by oddes of number, as by valour, or skill in armes; ſhee would have continued to uſe her advantage againſt thoſe that were of more fame than ſtrength, with ſuch good caution, that ſhe ſhould not have needed to oppoſe her late-gotten reputation, againſt thoſe that were more mighty than her ſelfe. But ſhe was a woman, and did what ſhe liſted. She ſent forth a greater fleet than before, under *Demetrius* of *Pharos*; with the like ample commiſſion to take all that could be gotten. This fleet divided it ſelfe, and one part of it fell with [a] *Dyrrachium*, the other with *Corcyra*. *Dyrrachium* was almoſt ſurpriſed by the *Illyrians*; yet was it reſcued by the ſtout Citizens. In [b] *Corcyra* the *Illyrians* landed, waſted the Iſle, and beſieged the Towne. Hereupon the *Ætolians* and *Achæans* were called in to helpe; who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea: loſing, beſides others of leſſe note, *Marcus Carynenſis*, the firſt Prætor of *Achaia*, whom *Aratus* ſucceeded. The Towne of *Corcyra*, diſmayed with this overthrow, opened the gates unto *Demetrius Pharius*, who tooke poſſeſſion of it with an *Illyrian* Garriſon: ſending the reſt of his forces to beſiege *Dyrrachium*. In the meane ſeaſon, *Teuta* was angry with her Captain *Demetrius*: I know not why; but ſo, as he reſolved to trie any other courſe, rather than to truſt her.

a *Dyrrachium*, ſomtime called *Epidamus*, and now *Durazzo*, ſeated upon the *Adriatick* ſea, betweene the Ilands of *Pharos* and *Corcyra*.

b *Corcyra*, an Iland of the *Adriatick* ſea, not far from *Durazzo*, called now *Corſu*, and in the poſſeſſion of the *Venetians*.

The *Romans* were even ready to put to Sea, though uncertaine which way to take, when advertiſement was brought to *C. Fulvius* the Conſull, of *Demetrius* his feare and diſcontent. Likely it was that ſuch an occaſion might greatly helpe to advance the buſineſſe in hand. Wherefore the conſull ſailed thither; where he found the Towne of *Corcyra* ſo well prepared to his hand by *Demetrius*, that it not only received him willingly, but delivered into his power the *Illyrian* Garriſon, and ſubmitted it ſelf unto the *Roman* protection.

After this good beginning, the Conſull ſailed along the coaſt to [c] *Apollonia*; accompanied with *Demetrius*, whom he uſed thenceforth as his counſellor and guide. To *Apollonia* came alſo *Poſthumus*, the other Conſull, with the Land-Armie, numbred at twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. Thence they haſten towards *Dyrrachium*, which the *Illyrians* had beſieged; but upon newes of the *Roman* armie they diſperſe themſelves.

c *Appollonia*, a City neer *Dyrrachium*, or *Durazzo*, upon the Sea-coaſt. *Pinetus* cals it *Siſſopolis*.

From thence the *Romans* enter *Illyria*, and take *Parthenia*; beat the *Illyrians* by ſea, take twenty of their ſhips, and enforce the Queen *Teuta* to forſake the coaſt, and to cover her ſelfe in *Riſon*, far within the Land. In the end, part of the *Romans* haſte them homeward, and leave the beſt places of *Illyria* in the hands of *Demetrius*; another part ſtaies behind, and proſecutes the war, in ſuch ſort, that *Teuta* was forced to beg peace; which ſhe obtained upon miſerable conditions; to wit, That ſhe ſhould quit the better part of *Illyria*, and pay tribute for the reſt; and from thenceforth never ſend any of her ſhips of war towards the coaſts of *Greece*, beyond the Iland of *Liſſa*: except it were ſome one or two veſſels, unarmed, and by way of Trade.

After this *Illyrian* war, the *Romans* ſent Embaſſadours into divers parts of *Greece*, ſignifying their love to the country, and how, for good will thereunto, they had made war with good ſucceſſe upon *Teuta*, and her people. They hoped, belike, that ſome diſtreſſed Cities would take this occaſion, to deſire their patronage: which if it hapned, they were wiſe enough to play their own games. But no ſuch matter fell out. The Embaſſadours were only rewarded with thanks; and a decree made at *Corinth*, That the *Romans* thenceforth might be partakers of the *Iſthmian* paſtimes. This was an idle courteſie, but well meant by the vain *Greeks*, & therefore well taken by the *Romans*: who by this *Illyrian* expedition got nothing in *Greece*, ſave a little acquaintance, that ſhall be more hereafter.

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## §. VIII.

### *Of the war between the Romans and Gaules, ſomewhat before the comming of* Hannibal *into Italie.*

THe *Gaules* that dwelt in *Lombardie*, were the next, againſt whom the *Romans* tooke Armes. Theſe were a populous Nation, and often moleſted *Rome*; ſometimes with their own forces, and ſometimes with the aſſiſtance of thoſe that inhabited *France*. Once their fortune was good, when they tooke *Rome*, and burnt it: though the iſſue of that war proved not anſwerable to the beginning, if we may give credit unto *Roman* Hiſtorians. In following times their ſucceſſe was variable, and commonly bad. Many overthrowes they received; and if they got any victory, it yeelded them no profit, but was ſoone extorted out of their hands. They were indeed more fierce than well adviſed: lightly ſtirred up to war, and lightly giving over. At the firſt brunt, they were ſaid to be more than men; but when that was paſt, leſſe than women. The *Romans* were acquainted with their temper, by long experience, and knew how to handle them: yet gave alwayes carefull heed to their approach, were it onely bruited. For the danger of them was ſudden, and uncertaine; by reaſon of their neighbourhood and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts upon *Rome* were called wars, but *tumultus Gallici*, *tumults of the Gaules*: and rightly. For they gave many alarms to *Italie*, and uſed to riſe with great Armies: but after a few dayes march, and ſometimes before their ſetting forth, any ſmall occaſion ſerved to diſperſe them. Having received an overthrow, they would reſt ten or twelve yeares, ſometimes twenty or thirty: till they were ſtirred up again, by younger heads, unacquainted with the danger. Whileſt they reſted, the ſtate of *Rome*, that againſt theſe made only defenſive war, had leiſure to grow, by ſetting upon others. Herein God provided well for that Monarchie, which he intended to raiſe: that the *Gaules* never fell upon *Italie* with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous war. Had they attempted to conquer it, whileſt *Pyrrhus* was travelling in the ſame enterpriſe; or in either of the two former *Punicke* wars: it may be doubted what would have become of this imperious Citie. But it ſeems that the *Gauls* had no better intelligence in the affairs of *Italie*, than ſtrangers had in *Gaule*. At leaſt, they knew not how to uſe their times: and were therefore like to ſmart, whenſoever the enemies, whom they had much provoked, and little hurt, ſhould finde leiſure to viſit them at their own home: which was now after the firſt *Punicke* Warre. Once before this, the *Romans* had been bold, to ſet upon the *Gaules* in their own Country: and that was three yeares before the comming of *Pyrrhus* into *Italie*. At that time the *Senones*, a Tribe of the *Gaules*, invading *Hetruria*, and beſieging *Arretium*, had won a great battell, and ſlaine *L. Cæcilius*, with the moſt of his Armie. *Mannius Curius* the new Conſull, ſent Embaſſadours to them, to treat about ranſome of priſoners. But theſe

Embaſſadors they ſlue. Therfore when fortune turned to the better, the *Romans* followed it ſo well, that they expelled theſe *Senones* out of their Country, and ſent a colonie of their own to inhabit it. This cauſed the [a] *Boji*, another people of *Gaule*, to feare the like meaſure: who thereupon tooke armes, and drew the *Hetrurians* to their ſide. But the *Romans* overthrew them in two great battels; and thereby made them ſue for peace, which laſted untill the end of this *Illyrian* war.

[a] There were divers nations of the *Boji*, as in *Pannonia*, *Illyria*, *Germany*, in *Bourbonois*, in *France*, and in *Aquitane*; but theſe *Boji* were of *French* race, and dwelt at this time about the mouth of the river *Po*.

It vexed the *Gaules* to ſee a *Roman* colony planted in their Country; who had bin accuſtomed to enlarge their bounds, by driving out their neighbours perforce. Wherefore they laboured with the *Tranſalpines* (ſo the *Romans* called thoſe in *France*, as lying from them beyond the *Alpes*, though to us they were neerer; like as they called *Ciſalpines*, or *by-hither the Alpes*, thoſe who dwelt between them and the Mountaines) to draw them to their party: reaſonably preſuming, that as their diſ-junction had cauſed their loſſe, ſo their union might recompence it, with large amends. But the buſineſſe was ſo fooliſhly carried, that the *Ciſalpines* and *Tranſalpines* fell together by the ears, putting the *Romans* only to *a tumult*, without further trouble of war. Soone after, they were urged by a greater indignity, to go more ſubſtantially to work. For *C. Flaminius*, a popular man in *Rome*, propoſed a Decree, which was ratified by the people; That, beſides one Colony already planted in the territory of the *Senones*, as many more ſhould be carried thither, as would ſerve to people the whole Country between *Ancona* and *Ariminum*: exterminating utterly thoſe *Gaules*. Such an offer, were it made in *England*, concerning either *Virginia*, or *Guiana* it ſelf, would not over-joy the Multitude. But the commonalty of *Rome* took this in ſo good part, notwithſtanding all danger joyned with the benefit, that *Flaminius* had ever after their good will.

This dreadfull Preſident extremely diſpleaſed the *Boji*; who being neighbours to *Ariminum*, feared the like diſplantation. And becauſe the reſt of the *Gaules* had reaſon to reſolve, that themſelves alſo ſhould be rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the *Inſubrians*, which inhabited the Dutchy of *Milan*, joyned with the *Boji*, & upon a common purſe entertained the *Geſſates*, nations about *Rhodanus*, wageable as the *Switzers* in theſe times. The *Geſſates* having received a great impreſt, come to the field under the conduct of their Kings *Concolitanus* and *Aneroeſtus*: who with the *Boji* and *Inſubrians*, compound an Armie of fifty thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe, and thoſe of the beſt men, and beſt appointed, that ever invaded the *Roman* Territorie; to whom the *Senogalli*, that had bin beaten out of their poſſeſſions, gave a great increaſe of ſtrength. On the contrary ſide, the *Venetians*, and the [b] *Cenomanni*, adhered to the *Romans*: as better beleeving in their proſperitie and riſing fortune. For feare of whoſe incurſions therefore, the *Gaules* were forced to leave a good part of their Armie, on the frontier of *Milan*: with the reſt of their forces they entred into *Tuſcane*. The *Romans* hearing of this danger, ſend *Æmilius* to *Rimine*, to ſtop their paſſage; and in the place of *C. Atilius* their other Conſul, who then was in *Sardinia*, they imploy one of their Prætors, for the defence of *Tuſcane*.

[b] *Cenomanni* are the people about *Bergamo*, on the North ſide of the river *Po* in *Italy*. There were alſo of theſe *Cenomanni* in *France*, and inhabited the Countrie of *Main*.

Being at this time greatly troubled with the conſideration of this powerfull Armie, which the *Gaules* had aſſembled, they cauſed a view to be taken, as well of all their own forces, as of thoſe of their Allies: who were no leſſe willing than themſelves, to oppoſe the incurſions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cauſe, that their owne deſtruction could not be prevented otherwiſe, than by the good fortune of *Rome*. The numbers, found in this Muſter, deſerve to be recorded: becauſe they ſet out the power of the *Romans* in thoſe dayes. With the Conſuls they ſent forth to the war foure Legions of their owne: every Legion conſiſting of five thouſand two hundred foot, and three hundred horſe; and of their Allies, thirty thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe. There were alſo appointed for ſupplies (if any miſadventure came to theſe) of the *Sabines* and *Hetrurians* fifty thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe, which Armie was to be lodged in the border of *Hetruria*. Of the *Umbri* and *Sarſinates*, which inhabited the *Apenines*, there were twenty thouſand; and of the *Venetians* and *Cenomans*, other twenty thouſand: which latter Armies were directed to invade the *Boji*, that forcing them to defend their own Territories, the generall Armie of the *Gaules* ſhould be thereby greatly diminiſhed. There were beſides theſe, to be ready againſt all uncertaine chances of warre, thirtie thouſand foot, and fifteene hundred horſe, garriſon'd in *Rome* it ſelfe, of their own people; and of their Allies, thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. Over and above theſe great troupes; in the Roll of the *Latines*, that was ſent unto the Senate, there were numbred foureſcore thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe; in that of the *Samnites*, ſeventie thouſand foot, and of horſe ſeven thouſand; in that of the [g] *Japyges* & *Meſſapyges*, fifty thouſand foot, and ſixteene thouſand horſe; the *Lucans* ſent a liſt of thirtie thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe; the [h] *Marſi*, [i] *Marrucini*, [k] *Ferentani*, and the *Veſtini*, of twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. The *Romans* had alſo two Legions in *Sicil*, and about *Tarentum*, containing eight thouſand foure hundred foot, and foure hundred horſe. So as of the *Romans* and *Campans* joyntly, reckoning men armed, and fit to beare armes, there were regiſtred two hundred and fifty thouſand foot; and of horſe three and twenty thouſand: of which, reckoning the *Romans* apart, there were an hundred and fifty thouſand foot, and about ſixe thouſand horſe. Caſting up the whole forces of all the Provinces in *Italie*, both of the *Romans* and their confederates, it amounted to ſeven hundred thouſand foot, and ſeventy thouſand horſe. But the number is ſome what miſ-caſt by *Polybius*; not with a purpoſe to enrich himſelfe by the dead payes: for where he reckons nine hundred horſe too many, hee fals ſhort nine thouſand two hundred of the foot.

How great ſoever this Muſter was, it ſeemes to have been like unto that, which *Lodowick Sforza* made, when *Lewis* the twelfth invaded *Milan*: at what time, the better to encourage himſelfe, and his ſubjects, he tooke a Roll of all perſons able to beare armes, within the Dutchie, though indeed he were never able to bring a tenth part of them into the field. Certaine it is, that the battels of *Trebia*, *Thraſymene*, and *Cannæ*, did not conſume any ſuch proportion, as was anſwerable to this large accompt. Yet were the *Romans* faine to arme their ſlaves,, even for want of other Souldiers, after their overthrow at *Cannæ*. Wherefore the marvell is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were little terrefied, with report of ſuch a multitude. For all heads are not fit for Helmets: though the *Roman* Citizens were, in generall, as good fighting men, as elſewhere might be found.

Notwithſtanding all theſe counter-preparations, the *Gaules* keepe on their way: and entring into *Tuſcane*, deſtroy, and put to fire and ſword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards *Rome*; hoping to find the *Romans* rather in deliberation, than in the field. But their intelligence failes them. For the *Roman* Army, ſent into *Tuſcane*, having taken ſome other way than they did, & finding that it had miſſed of them, came againe faſt after them, to arreſt them in their journy. Hereof when they heard the rumor, fearing to be charged on their backes, they turned head: and in the ſame evening diſcovered the *Roman* Army, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparent neceſſity, that fight they muſt. Wherefore they helped themſelves with a ſtratagem: that ſhewed no great fineneſſe of wit, but ſuch as well beſeemed thoſe that had none other occupation than war; and ſtood them in good ſtead at the preſent. In the dead of the night, they cauſe their foot to march away, but not far, leaving their horſe in guard; to whom they give order, to come off at the firſt light of day, with ſuch a ſpeed, as might rather argue a running away, than a retrait; as if they had not dared to abide battell. The *Romans*, interpreting this their haſty departure as the *Gaules* deſired they ſhould, follow them in diſorder. The *Gaules* returne, charge them, and kill ſixe thouſand upon the place; the reſt take a piece of ground of advantage, and defend themſelves, till *L. Æmilius*, being at *Ariminum*, comes to their ſuccour. Upon the comming of the Conſull, the *Gaules* conſult, whether they ſhould give the *Romans* battell, or forbeare. In which diſpute, *Aneroeſtus*, one of their Kings, perſwades them, rather to return into their own Countries; where, after they had diſpoſed of the great ſpoiles and riches which they had gotten, they ſhould then renew the war, being without carriage, peſter, or other impediment. This advice they all embrace; for, ſeeing they that were Mercenaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the ſpoyles of their enemies, they thought it wiſedome, to hazzard neither it, nor themſelves, any further.

This indeed had beene a good reſolution, if they had taken it, before the enemie had beene in ſight. But as well in the warres of theſe later ages, as in former times, it hath ever beene found extreme dangerous, to make a retrait in the Head of an Enemies Army. For although they that retire, doe often turne head; yet in alwayes going on from the purſuing enemy, they finde, within a few miles, either ſtreight, hedge, ditch, or place of diſadvantage, which they are inforced to paſſe in diſorder. In ſuch caſes, the Souldier

knowes

[g] *Japyges* and *Meſſapyges* ſeem to be one Nation; who are alſo called *Salentines*, *Peucecians*, *Apulians*, and *Calabrians*. The Country is now *Apulia*, containing the Northermoſt headland of *Calabria*.

[h] A people of the kingdom of *Naples*.

[i] *Ptolomie* cals them a people of *Italie*.

[k] A people of *Campania*, called to this day *Ferentines*, ſaith *Leander*.

knowes it, as well as the Captaine, that he which forſakes the field, perceives, and feares ſome advantage of the Enemies. Feare, which is the betrayer of thoſe ſuccours that reaſon offereth, when it hath once poſſeſt the heart of man, it caſteth thence both courage and underſtanding. They that make the retrait, are alwayes in feare to be abandoned; they that lead the way, feare to be ingaged: and ſo the hindmoſt treads on his heels that is foremoſt, and conſequently, all dis-band, run, and periſh, if thoſe that favour the retrait be not held to it by men of great courage. The miſerable overthrow that the *French* received in *Naples*, in the yeare 1503. upon a retrait made by the *Marques* of *Sal*, doth teſtifie no leſſe. For although a great troupe of *French* horſe ſuſtained the purſuing Enemy a long time, and gave the foot leiſure to trot away; yet being retarded by often turnings, the *Spaniſh* foot overtooke, and defeated them utterly. During the wars between the *Imperials* and the *French*, *Boiſi* and *Mont* were loſt at *Brignolles*, who in a bravery would needs ſee the Enemy, before they left the field. So was *Stroſi* overthrowne by the *Marques* of *Marignan*, becauſe he could not be perſwaded to diſlodge the night before the *Marques* his arrivall. Therefore did the *French* King *Francis* the firſt wiſely: when without reſpect of *point of honour*, he diſlodged from before *Landerſey*, by night; as many other, the moſt adviſed Captaines, (not finding themſelves in caſe to give battell) have done. *Je ne trouve point* (ſaith the Marſhall *Monluc) au fait des armes choſe ſi difficile, qu' une retraitte; I finde nothing in the art of war ſo difficult, as to make a ſafe retrait.* A ſure rule it is, that there is leſſe diſhonour to diſlodge in the darke, than to be beaten in the light: And hereof M. *de la Noüe* gives this judgement of a dayes retrait; made in *France*, preſently before the battell at *Moncountour*. For (ſaith he) ſtaying upon our reputation, in ſhew, *not to diſlodge by night*; we loſt our reputation indeed, by diſlodging by day: whereby we were forced to fight upon our diſadvantage, and to our ruine. And yet did that worthy Gentleman *Count Lodowick* of *Naſſau*, brother to the late famous *Prince of Orange*, make the retrait at *Moncountour* with ſo great reſolution, as he ſaved the one half of the *Proteſtant* Army, then broken and diſbanded; of which my ſelfe was an eye-witneſſe, and was one of them that had cauſe to thanke him for it.

Now the *Gaules*, embracing the ſafe advice (as they take it) of one of their Kings, turn their backs to the enemy, and their faces homeward. *Æmilius* followes them, as neer as he can, without ingaging himſelfe, attending his advantage. In the mean while, *C. Atilius* the other Conſull, with the Legions of *Sardinia*, lands at *Piſa*; ſo as the *Gaules*, incloſed betweene two Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally ſtrengthen their Rear and Front. To ſuſtaine *Æmilius*, they appoint the *Geſſates*, and the *Milanois*; in the Front they range the *Piemontois*, and the reſt of the *Gaules* inhabiting upon the River of *Po*. The manner of the fight *Polybius* deſcribeth at large: which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the *Gaules* fell; and ſo did *Atilius* the Conſull: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the *Gaules*, *Concolitanus* and *Aneroeſtus*; with forty thouſand of their Vaſſals.

After this fatall overthrow, the *Gaules* loſt courage; and, ere long, all that they held in *Italie*. For they were invaded the yeare following this overthrow, by the new Conſuls, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. The *Romans* knew well how to uſe their victory: they gave not ten, twentie, or thirtie yeares time to the *Gaules*, to repaire their forces, as the *Gaules* had done to them. Theſe new Conſuls beat the *Boji*; but by reaſon of the great raines that fell, and the great peſtilence that reigned, they were compelled for that preſent to ſurceaſe. In the ſecond yeare, *Furius* and *Flaminius* invade the *Milanois*; and prevaile very far, being ſtrongly aſſiſted by the *Cenomanni* and the *Venetians*. Neverthel eſſe theſe Conſuls were revoked out of their Province, by the Senate of *Rome*, and compelled to reſigne their Office: becauſe the *Augures*, or *Soothſayers*, had found, that ſome token or other of the Birds (in which, and all ſorts of their divination, the *Romans* were extremely ſuperſtitious) had not onely foreſhewed little good, when they were choſen, but had alſo nullified the election. *C. Flaminius*, receiving letters of this revocation from the Senate, and being otherwiſe advertiſed of the contents, was not haſtie to open them: but firſt gave battell unto the enemies, vanquiſhed them, and ſpoyled their Country; then peruſed the letters; and returning home obtained a triumph, ſore againſt the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yet bare him out, for that he ſided in faction with the Commonaltie, though a man of great Nobilitie.

This was that *Flaminius*, who had propounded the Decree, for dividing the Country of the *Senones* among the people of *Rome*. He was the firſt, or one of the firſt, that underſtanding the Majeſty of *Rome* to be indeed wholly in the people, and no otherwiſe in the Senate, than by away of Delegacie, or grand Commiſſion; did not ſtand highly upon his birth and degree, but courted the multitude, and taught them to know and uſe their power, over himſelfe and his fellow-Senators, in reforming their diſorders. For this, the Commons highly eſteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the ſurer ſide, and found imitators, that roſe by the ſame art, which in proceſſe of time, grew the onely or chiefe way to preferment.

*Flaminius* and his Colleague, being depoſed, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, & *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, were choſen Conſuls, for the reſt of that yeer. The *Gaules* about this time deſired peace; & were like to have obtained it: though the new Conſuls were againſt it, as fearing to want work. But when thirty thouſand of the *Geſſates*, following their King *Britomarus*, were come over the *Alpes*, & joyned with the *Inſubrians*: all other diſcourſe, than of preſent warre, was at an end. So the Conſuls haſted into their Province, where they beſieged *Acerræ*, a town not farre from *Novaro* (ſo far had the *Romans* pierced already) in the Duchy of *Milan*. To divert them from this ſiege, *Britomarus* ſat down before *Claſtidium*, a towne in the ſame Tract, with great part of his forces: leaving the reſt, with the *Inſubrians*, to attend upon the Conſuls at *Acerræ*, and to looke to the defence of *Milan*. But this would not ſuffice, to make the *Romans* breake up their ſiege. *Marcellus*, taking with him the greateſt part of the horſe, and ſixe hundred foot lightly armed, thought to deale well enough with thoſe at *Claſtidium*. *Britomarus* heard of the Conſuls comming, and met him upon the way: ſo ſuddenly, that the *Romans* had no leiſure to reſt themſelves after their journy, but were compelled inſtantly to fight: Herein *Britomarus* had done well, if he had not forthwith, in a raſh bravery, loſt his game at a caſt. He had advantage enough in number, both of horſe and foot: but he thought ſo well of his owne perſonall valour, that he rode out ſingle before his Army, provoking any one to fight with him. *Marcellus* was no leſſe daring, than the barbarous King: whether more wiſe in this action, I will not diſpute; he was more fortunate, and that ſufficed to commend him. He ſlue and diſarmed *Britomarus*, in preſence of both Armies: whereby his owne men tooke ſuch courage, and his enemies were ſo diſmaied, that without much trouble of fight the *Romans* obtained a great victory.

This was the third and laſt time, that ever any *Roman* Generall ſlue the Generall of the enemies, with his owne hand. To this kinde of victory, belonged a peculiar triumph; whereof only *Romulus*, *Coſſus*, and this *Marcellus*, had the honour: yet I dare ſay, that the two *Scipio's*, and divers of the *Roman* Captaines, eſpecially *Cæſar*, were better men of warre than any of theſe three; though they never offered up to *Jupiter*, *Opima ſpolia*; *The Armour of a Generall ſlaine by themſelves, when they were Generals*, nor perhaps affected ſo to doe.

After this victory, *Acerræ* was yeelded to the *Romans*; & *Milan* ſoone after: with all that belonged to the *Ciſalpines*, or *Gaules*, that dwelt in *Lumbardie*. Thus was that valiant and mighty Nation, that had ſo many yeers vexed the State of *Rome*, and in former times taken the Citie it ſelfe, brought to nothing in a ſhort time; their pleaſant and fertile Territory poſſeſt by the *Romans*; and the remainder of their Nation, inhabiting *Italy*, ſo many as would not ſubject their necks to the *Roman* yoke, either forced to abandon their Countries, or to hide themſelves in the cold and barren Mountaines, like Outlawes and Theeves. And thus did the *Romans* ſpend the three and twenty yeeres, following the peace made with *Carthage*. In part of which time, they were at ſuch leiſure, that they cloſed up the Temple of *Janus*: which they never did before, (it ſtanding alwayes open, when they had any war) ſave once, in the reigne of *Numa*; nor in long time after, untill the reigne of *Auguſtus*. But this their preſent happineſſe was not to laſt long: a dangerous warre, and perhaps the greateſt that had ever been, was to come unto their gates; which being well ended, they might boldly undertake, to extend their Monarchie as far as their ambition could reach.

# CHAP. III.

## *Of the ſecond Punick Warre.*

### §. I.

*The warres of* Hannibal *in Spaine. Quarrels betweene the Romans and Carthaginians.* Hannibal *beſiegeth and taketh Saguntum, whileſt the Romans are buſied with the Illyrians. Warre proclaimed betweene Rome and Carthage.*

HANNIBAL, the ſonne of *Amilcar*, was about ſixe and twenty yeers old, when he was choſen Generall of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spaine*. He was elected by the Armie, as ſoone as *Aſdrubal* was dead: & the election was ratified by the State of *Carthage*; wherewith *Hanno* & his Complices were nothing pleaſed. This was now the third of the *Barchine* family (ſo called of *Amilcar*, whoſe ſurname was *Barcas*) that had command in chiefe, over the men of warre. Which honour would perhaps have beene leſſe envied, by theſe domeſticall enemies; if the Allies and Friends of the *Barchine* houſe, had not alſo borne the whole ſway in government, and beene the onely men regarded, both by the Senate and the people. This generall good will, as it was firſt purchaſed by the moſt worthy deſerts of *Amilcar*, in ſaving his Country from imminent ruine, inlarging the Dominion thereof, and inriching it with treaſures and great revenues; ſo was it retained, by the ſame good arts, among his friends and followers. *Hanno* therefore, and his Partiſans, being neither able to taxe the vertue of their enemies, that was unreproveable; nor to performe the like ſervices unto the Common-weale; had nothing left, whereby to value themſelves, excepting the generall reprehenſion of Warre, and cautelous advice of not provoking the *Romans*. This they ſeaſoned other-whiles with detraction; ſaying, that the *Barchine* faction went about to oppreſſe the liberty of the City. But their malicious words were unregarded; and if it were factious, to beare ill will to *Rome*, then were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no leſſe *Barchine*, than *Hannibal* himſelfe. For it was long ſince apparent, that the oath of the *Romans*, to the articles of peace, afforded no ſecurity to *Carthage*, were ſhe never ſo quiet, and officious; unleſſe ſhe would yeeld to become their Subject. Since therefore the peace was like to hold no longer, than untill the *Romans* could finde ſome good advantage, to renew the warre: it was rather deſired by the *Carthaginians*, that whileſt their owne ſtate was in good caſe, the warre ſhould begin; than that in ſome unhappy time of famine or peſtilence, or after ſome great loſſe of Army or Fleet, they ſhould be driven to yeeld unto the impudent demands of their enemies; and to give away baſely their lands and treaſures, as they had lately done; or miſerably fight, upon termes of diſadvantage.

This diſpoſition of his countrimen, *Hannibal* well underſtood. Neither was he ignorant (for his father, and other friends, had long time deviſed of this buſineſſe) that in making war with the *Romans*, it was no ſmall advantage to get the ſtart of them. If once he could bring an Arme into *Italy*, without moleſtation; there was good hope, that he ſhould finde friends and aſſiſtance, even of thoſe people, that helped to increaſe the *Roman* armies in forreigne wars. But this could never be effected, if the matter were openly diſputed at *Carthage*. For it was to be doubted, that the *Carthaginians*, how glad ſoever they would be, to heare that he had ſet the war on foot, would nevertheleſſe be ſlow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterpriſes, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which if it ſhould happen; then were the *Romans* like to be made acquainted, not onely with the generalities of his purpoſe, but with ſuch particulars as muſt be diſcourſed of, in procuring allowance to his deſigne. This might ſuffice to diſorder the whole Project. Wherefore, he reſolved to lay ſiege unto *Saguntum*, which might ſeeme not greatly to concerne the *Romans*, and would highly pleaſe the *Carthaginians*, that had freſh in minde the indignity of that *Spaniſh* Townes alliance with their halfe friends. So ſhould he aſſaie both the patience of his enemies, and the diſpoſition of his owne Citizens.

Having thus concluded, he neverthelesſe went faire and orderly to worke: and beginning with thoſe that lay next in his way, approaching unto *Saguntum* by degrees. This he did (ſaith *Livie*) to give ſome colour to his proceedings: as if he had not principally intended the warre againſt *Saguntum*, but had beene drawne thither by courſe of buſineſſe. Yet reaſon teacheth plainly, that without regard of ſuch formalities, it was needfull to finiſh the conqueſt of the reſt, before he did any thing that ſhould provoke the Romans. Firſt therefore hee entred upon the Territory of the * *Olcades*; and having beſieged *Althæa* (*Livie* calleth it *Carteia*) their chiefe Citie, he became, in a few dayes, Maſter not onely thereof, but of all the other Townes of their Countrie. This Nation which he firſt undertooke, being ſubdued, and the winter at hand, he reſted his Army in new *Carthage*, or *Carthagena*; and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the ſpoiles he had gotten in his late Conqueſt.

In the Spring following, he purſued the warre againſt the [a] *Vaccæi*: and without any great difficulty, wan firſt *Salmantica*, now called *Salamanca*; and after it, [b] *Arbucala*, by aſſault: though not without a long ſiege, and great difficulty. But in his returne, he was put to the height, both of his courage, and of his Martiall judgement. For all ſuch of the *Vaccæi*, as were able to beare armes, being made deſperate, by the ſpoile of their country, with thoſe of *Salamanca*, and of the *Olcades*, that had eſcaped in the late overthrow, joyning themſelves with the *Toletans*; compounded an Army of an hundred thouſand able men: and ſtayed *Hannibal* on the bankes of the River *Tagus*, which runneth to the Sea by *Lisborne* in *Portugale*. Theſe foure Nations, having had experience of *Hannibals* invincible courage, and that he never ſaw enemy, upon whom he durſt not give charge; were throughly reſolved, that his naturall valour would at this time no leſſe neglect the cold adviſe of diſcretion, than at other times it had ſeemed to doe, when the like great occaſion perſwaded him to uſe it. But he that makes himſelfe a body of Cryſtall, that all men may looke through him, and diſcerne all the parts of his diſpoſition; makes himſelfe (withall) an Aſſe: and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or drive him. Wiſe men, though they have ſingle hearts in all that is juſt & vertuous; yet they are like Coffers with double bottomes: which when others looke into, being opened, they ſee not all that they hold, on the ſudden, and at once. It is true, that this ſubtile *Carthaginian*, when he ſerved under *Aſdrubal*, was, of all the men of marke in the Armie, the moſt adventurous. But that which may beſeeme a Captaine, or inferiour Commander, doth not alwaies become a Chiefe; though it hath ſometime ſucceeded well with ſuch great ones, as have beene found more fortunate, than wiſe. At this time, our great Man of warre knew as well how to diſſemble his courage, as at other times to make it good. For he with-drew himſelfe from the River-ſide, as if fearefull to foord it; thereby to draw over that great multitude, from their bankes of advantage. The *Spaniards*, apprehending this in ſuch ſort, as *Hannibal* deſired that they ſhould; thruſt themſelves in furie and diſorder, into the ſwift ſtreame, with a purpoſe to charge the *Carthaginians*, abandoning (as they thought for feare) the defences one the contrary ſide. But when *Hannibal* ſaw them in their way, and well neare over; hee turned backe his Elephants to entertaine them at their landing: and thruſt his Horſe-men, both above and beneath them, into the River. Theſe carrying a kinde of *Lance de Gay*, ſharpe at both ends, which they held in the middeſt of the ſtaffe; had ſuch an advantage over the foot, that were in the River, under their ſtrokes, clattered together, and unable to move or ſhift their bodies, as on firme ground: that they ſlue all thoſe, (in a manner) without reſiſtance, which were already entred into the water; and purſued the reſt, that fled like men amazed, with ſo great a ſlaughter, as from that day forward, there was not any *Spaniard*, on that ſide the River of *Iberus*, (the *Saguntines* excepted) that had the daring to lift up their hands againſt the *Carthaginians*.

The *Saguntines*, perceiving the danger towards them; cried before they were hurt. They ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, and bemoaned themſelves, as likely to ſuffer that, which afterwards they ſuffered indeed; onely becauſe of their alliance and friendſhip with this honourable City, which the *Carthaginians* hated. This tale moved the Senate, but much more a report, that *Saguntum* was already beſieged. Hereupon ſome cry out, that Warre ſhould be proclaimed by Land and Sea; as alſo that the two Conſuls ſhould be ſent with Armies, the one into *Spaine*, the other into *Africk*. But others went

* A people (ſaith *Stephanus*) neere the River of *Ebro*. But in the old deſcription of *Spaine*, in *Ortelius*, they are found neere *Tagus*, and by *Suidas*, not far from New *Carthage*.

[a] A people of *Caſtile* the old.

[b] *Arbucala*, or *Albricala*, an in land City of the *Vaccæi* in *Aragon*.

more *Roman*-like to worke, and carried it. So it was onely concluded; that Embaſſadours ſhould be ſent into *Spaine*, to view the ſtate of their confederates: which were indeed none other, than the *Saguntines*. For if *Hannibal* intended warre againſt *Rome*, it was likely, that he would give them, ere it were long, a more plauſible occaſion to take armes againſt him: if he had no ſuch purpoſe, yet would it be in their power, to determine what they liſted themſelves, upon the report of theſe Embaſſadours; and this their gravity, in being not too raſh at firſt, would ſerve to countenance their following Decree. Of theſe Embaſſadours *Livie* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before *Saguntum*, but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to *Carthage*, where alſo they were not regarded, nor heard. But *Polybius* an Hiſtorian of ſincerity leſſe queſtionable, tells, that they found him at *Carthagena*, & had conference with him, though ſuch as left them doubtfull. This is more agreeable to the reſt of *Hannibal* his whole courſe. And ſurely we might wonder, why the *Carthaginians* ſhould afterwards admit a more peremptory Embaſſage (as *Livie* confeſſeth) & fall to diſputation about the covenants of peace; if they had rejected that which was ſent upon none other pretence, than prevention of warre.

Whileſt the Embaſſadours paſſed to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared not onely his forces, but ſome *Romane* pretences, againſt *Saguntum*. He found out *Mamertines*, or people that ſhould doe as the *Mamertines* in *Sicil* had done for the *Romans*; and implore his helpe againſt the *Saguntines*. Theſe were the *Turdetani*, a Nation adjoyning to *Saguntum*, & having many quarrels with them: (as happens commonly among Neighbours) of which, *Hannibal* himſelfe had hatched ſome. Finding therefore ſuch an occaſion, whatſoever it was, as made him able to ſay, that the *Saguntines* had firſt provoked him, ere he medled with them; he made no more adoe, but ſat down with his whole power before their Towne. He was now more ſecure, than he had formerly beene, of his owne Citizens: for that they had not entertained the *Roman* Embaſſadors, with any trembling reverence, as of late yeeres they had been wont. Nevertheleſſe, he was glad of any handſome colour, to ſhadow his actions, not onely becauſe the war, which he ſo much deſired, was not proclaimed; but that he might not be checked in his courſe, as an open enemy, before he could ſet foot in *Italy*. The *Romans* had the like, though contrary deſire. They were glad of the quarrell: as hoping, that *Carthage*, with all thereto belonging, ſhould thereby in ſhort ſpace become their owne. Yet were they not haſty to threaten, before they were ready to ſtrike; but meant to temporize, untill they had an Army in readineſſe to be ſent into *Spaine*, where they thought to make *Saguntum*, the ſeate of the Warre.

In the meane while, *Demetrius Pharius*, whom the *Romans* had made King over a great part of *Illyria*, rebelled againſt them: either for that he found himſelfe over-ſtreightly tyed up by them, with hard conditions, or rather becauſe he was of an unthankefull diſpoſition. The commotion of the *Gaules*, and afterward, the fame of the *Carthaginian* warre, emboldened him to deſpiſe his Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to have defended and aided, in all perils, even with the hazzard of his whole eſtate, which he had received of their gift. But he was a Traitor to his own Queene; and therefore dealt according to his kinde, with thoſe that had rewarded him for being ſuch. Firſt, he built ſhips, & ſpoiled the Iles of *Greece*; againſt the covenants to which he was bound. Then he adventured further, and ſeiſed upon ſome places, that the *Romans* kept in their owne hands. If he had begun ſooner, or rather if he had ſtayed ſomewhat longer, he might have ſpedde better. For the buſineſſe with the *Gaules*, was ended; with *Hannibal*, not throughly begun, when hee declared himſelfe, by his doings, an enemy, and was vanquiſhed. The *Roman* Conſul, *Æmilius*, was ſent againſt him: who in ſeven dayes wan the ſtrong towne of *Dimalum*; and thereby brought ſuch terrour upon the Country round about, that Embaſſadours were ſent from all places, to yeeld themſelves, without putting him to further paines. Onely the City of *Pharus*, in which *Demetrius* lay, prepared to reſiſt: which he might have done long, if the hot-headed Rebell had not beene too fooliſh. *Æmilius* landed a great part of his Army, in the Iſle of *Pharus*, by night; and beſtowed them in covert, preſenting himſelfe the next morning, with twenty ſhips before the towne, and offering to force the Haven. *Demetrius* with all his power iſſued out againſt the Conſul, & was ſoone intercluded from the town, by thoſe that lay in ambuſh. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths to a creeke, where he had ſhipping ready for him, and imbarqued himſelfe: leaving all his eſtate unto them, of whoſe liberality he firſt had it.

This buſineſſe, though it were ſoone diſpatched, yet prevented it not the ſiege of *Saguntum*; before which *Hannibal* ſate downe, ere *Æmilius* was landed in *Illyria*. In the beginning of the ſiege, the *Carthaginians* were much diſcouraged, by reaſon of the brave ſallies made by the *Saguntines*; in one of which, their Generall received a dangerous wound in the thigh, that cauſed him to lie many dayes unable to move. Nevertheleſſe he was not unmindfull of his worke in the meane while; but gave order to raiſe certaine moveable Towers, that might equall thoſe which were built on the wals of the City; and to prepare to batter the curtaines, and make a breach. Theſe being finiſhed and applied, had ſoone wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of divers Towers, and a great length of wall; whereat an hot aſſault was given: but it was ſo well ſuſtained by the *Saguntines*, as the *Carthaginians* were not onely beaten from the breach, and out of ſome ground within the Towne, which upon the firſt fury they had won; but they were purſued even to their owne trenches and campe. Nevertheleſſe the *Carthaginian* Army, wherein were about an hundred and fifty thouſand men, did ſo wearie the towneſmen with continuall travaile, that at length it got within the wals; and was onely hindred from taking full poſſeſſion of the City, by ſome counter-works of the *Saguntines*, that were alſo ready to be won. In this extremity, there was one *Alcon* a *Saguntine*, that conveyed himſelfe out of the towne, to treat with *Hannibal* for ſome accord. But the conditions which the *Carthaginian* offered, were ſo ſevere, and without all compaſſe of honour, as *Alcon* durſt not returne to propound them to his countrimen. For *Hannibal* demanded all that they had; gold, ſilver, plate, and other riches within the Citie: yea, the City it ſelfe to be abandoned by the Citizens; promiſing, that he would aſſigne ſome other place for their habitation: not allowing them, to carry out with them any other thing, wherewith to ſuſtaine themſelves, than the cloaths on their backes; or other armes, to defend them, than their nailes and teeth. Yet might they farre better have ſubmitted themſelves unto this miſerable appointment, (ſeeing thereby they might have injoyed their lives, and ſaved the honour of their wives and daughters) than to have reſted at the diſcretion of the Conquerour, as ſoone after they did: by whom their wives and daughters were defloured before their own faces; and all put to ſword, that were above fourteen yeeres of age. For it was a poore comfort, which a great number of them tooke; when not daring to fight, and ſell their bloud at the deareſt rate, they ſhut themſelves up like moſt wretched creatures in their own houſes, and therein burnt themſelves with all that they had: ſo dying unrevenged. The treaſures found in *Saguntum*, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept, therewith to pay his Army: the ſlaves, and other bootie, he divided among his Souldiers, reſerving ſome things of choice, wherewith to preſent his friends at *Carthage*, and to animate them unto the Warre.

Theſe tidings exceedingly vexed the *Romans*, who had good cauſe to be angry at their own ſlowneſſe, in forbearing to ſend helpe unto the *Saguntines*, that held out eight moneths, looking ſtill for ſuccour, but in vaine. Wherefore they determined to repaire their honour, by taking ſharpe revenge. To this end they ſent Embaſſadours againe to *Carthage*; demanding onely, *Whether it were by generall conſent and allowance of the Carthaginians, that* Hannibal *had made warre upon* Saguntum: which if they granted (as it ſeemed they would) then to give them defiance. Hereunto anſwere was made, in the Senate of *Carthage*, to this effect; That this their ſecond Embaſſage, howſoever qualified with milde words, was indeed more inſolent than the former. For in that, they onely required juſtice againſt *Hannibal*; but in this, the very State and Commonwealth of *Carthage*, was urged to plead guilty, or not guilty. But (ſaid the *Carthaginian* ſpeaker) whether the Generall of our Army in *Spaine*, in beſieging *Saguntum*, have onely followed his owne counſaile; or whether he did it, by direction from us: it is not the queſtion which the *Romans* ought to aſke us. That which is indeed worthy examination or diſpute, is; *Whether it were lawfull or unlawfull, for* Hannibal *to doe as he hath done*. For it belongs to us, to call our own Commanders in queſtion, and to puniſh them according to their faults & errors; to you, to challenge us, if we have done any thing contrary to our late League and contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with *Luctatius* the Conſull, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the *Saguntines* were more *Roman*-like to worke, and carried it. So it was onely concluded; that Embaſſadours ſhould be ſent into *Spaine*, to view the ſtate of their confederates: which were indeed none other, than the *Saguntines*. For if *Hannibal* intended warre againſt *Rome*, it was likely, that he would give them, ere it were long, a more plauſible occaſion to take armes againſt him: if he had no ſuch purpoſe, yet would it be in their power, to determine what they liſted themſelves, upon the report of theſe Embaſſadours; and this their gravity, in being not too raſh at firſt, would ſerve to countenance their following Decree. Of theſe Embaſſadours *Livie* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before *Saguntum*, but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to *Carthage*, where alſo they were not regarded, nor heard. But *Polybius* an Hiſtorian of ſincerity leſſe queſtionable, tells, that they found him at *Carthagena*, & had conference with him, though ſuch as left them doubtfull. This is more agreeable to the reſt of *Hannibal* his whole courſe. And ſurely we might wonder, why the *Carthaginians* ſhould afterwards admit a more peremptory Embaſſage (as *Livie* confeſſeth) & fall to diſputation about the covenants of peace; if they had rejected that which was ſent upon none other pretence, than prevention of warre.

Whileſt the Embaſſadours paſſed to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared not onely his forces, but ſome *Romane* pretences, againſt *Saguntum*. He found out *Mamertines*, or people that ſhould doe as the *Mamertines* in *Sicil* had done for the *Romans*; and implore his helpe againſt the *Saguntines*. Theſe were the *Turdetani*, a Nation adjoyning to *Saguntum*, & having many quarrels with them: (as happens commonly among Neighbours) of which, *Hannibal* himſelfe had hatched ſome. Finding therefore ſuch an occaſion, whatſoever it was, as made him able to ſay, that the *Saguntines* had firſt provoked him, ere he meddled with them; he made no more adoe, but ſat down with his whole power before their Towne. He was now more ſecure, than he had formerly beene, of his owne Citizens: for that they had not entertained the *Roman* Embaſſadors, with any trembling reverence, as of late yeeres they had been wont. Nevertheleſſe, he was glad of any handſome colour, to ſhadow his actions, not onely becauſe the war, which he ſo much deſired, was not proclaimed; but that he might not be checked in his courſe, as an open enemy, before he could ſet foot in *Italy*. The *Romans* had the like, though contrary deſire. They were glad of the quarrell: as hoping, that *Carthage*, with all thereto belongin ſhould thereby in ſhort ſpace become their owne. Yet were they not haſty to threate before they were ready to ſtrike; but meant to temporize, untill they had an Army readineſſe to be ſent into *Spaine*, where they thought to make *Saguntum*, the ſeate of th Warre.

In the meane while, *Demetrius Pharius*, whom the *Romans* had made King over a great part of *Illyria*, rebelled againſt them: either for that he found himſelfe over-ſtreightly tyed up by them, with hard conditions, or rather becauſe he was of an unthankefull diſpoſition. The commotion of the *Gaules*, and afterward, the fame of the *Carthaginian* warre, emboldened him to deſpiſe his Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to have defended and aided, in all perils, even with the hazzard of his whole eſtate, which he had received of their gift. But he was a Traitor to his own Queene; and therefore dealt according to his kinde, with thoſe that had rewarded him for being ſuch. Firſt, he built ſhips, & ſpoiled the Iles of *Greece*; againſt the covenants to which he was bound. Then he adventured further, and ſeiſed upon ſome places, that the *Romans* kept in their owne hands. If he had begun ſooner, or rather if he had ſtayed ſomewhat longer, he might have ſpedde better. For the buſineſſe with the *Gaules*, was ended; with *Hannibal*, not throughly begun, when hee declared himſelfe, by his doings, an enemy, and was vanquiſhed. The *Roman* Conſul, *Æmilius*, was ſent againſt him: who in ſeven dayes wan the ſtrong towne of *Dimalum*; and thereby brought ſuch terrour upon the Country round about, that Embaſſadours were ſent from all places, to yeeld themſelves, without putting him to further paines. Onely the City of *Pharus*, in which *Demetrius* lay, prepared to reſiſt: which he might have done long, if the hot-headed Rebell had not beene too fooliſh. *Æmilius* landed a great part of his Army, in the Iſle of *Pharus*, by night; and beſtowed them in covert, preſenting himſelfe the next morning, with twenty ſhips before the towne, and offering to force the Haven. *Demetrius* with all his powe iſſued out againſt the Conſul, & was ſoone intercluded from the town, by thoſe that lay in ambuſh. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths to a creeke, where he had ſhippin ready for him, and imbarqued himſelfe: leaving all his eſtate unto them, of whoſe liberality he firſt had it.

This buſineſſe, though it were ſoone diſpatched, yet prevented it not the ſiege of *Saguntum*; before which *Hannibal* ſate downe, ere *Æmilius* was landed in *Illyria*. In the beginning of the ſiege, the *Carthaginians* were much diſcouraged, by reaſon of the brave ſallies made by the *Saguntines*; in one of which, their Generall received a dangerous wound in the thigh, that cauſed him to lie many dayes unable to move. Neverthelesſe he was not unmindfull of his worke in the meane while; but gave order to raiſe certaine moveable Towers, that might equall thoſe which were built on the wals of the City; and to prepare to batter the curtaines, and make a breach. Theſe being finiſhed and applied, had ſoone wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of divers Towers, and a great length of wall; whereat an hot aſſault was given: but it was ſo well ſuſtained by the *Saguntines*, as the *Carthaginians* were not onely beaten from the breach, and out of ſome ground within the Towne, which upon the firſt fury they had won; but they were purſued even to their owne trenches and campe. Neverthelesſe the *Carthaginian* Army, wherein were about an hundred and fifty thouſand men, did ſo wearie the towneſmen with continuall travaile, that at length it got within the wals; and was onely hindred from taking full poſſeſſion of the City, by ſome counter-works of the *Saguntines*, that were alſo ready to be won. In this extremity, there was one *Alcon* a *Saguntine*, that conveyed himſelfe out of the towne, to treat with *Hannibal* for ſome accord. But the conditions which the *Carthaginian* offered, were ſo ſevere, and without all compaſſe of honour, as *Alcon* durſt not returne to propound them to his countrimen. For *Hannibal* demanded all that they had; gold, ſilver, plate, and other riches within the Citie: yea, the City it ſelfe to be abandoned by the Citizens; promiſing, that he would aſſigne ſome other place for their habitation: not allowing them, to carry out with them any other thing, wherewith to ſuſtaine themſelves, than the cloaths on their backes; or other armes, to defend them, than their nailes and teeth. Yet might they ſure better have ſubmitted themſelves unto this miſerable appointment, (ſeeing [illegible] might have injoyed their lives, and ſaved the honour of their wives and [illegible] to have reſted at the diſcretion of the Conquerour, as ſoone after they [illegible]eir wives and daughters were defloured before their own faces; and all [illegible]t were above fourteen yeeres of age. For it was a poore comfort, [illegible]ber of them tooke; when not daring to fight, and ſell their bloud at [illegible]hey ſhut themſelves up like moſt wretched creatures in their own houſes [illegible] burnt themſelves with all that they had: ſo dying unrevenged. The [illegible] found in *Saguntum*, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept, therewith to pay his Army: the ſlaves, and other bootie, he divided among his Souldiers, reſerving ſome things of choice, wherewith to preſent his friends at *Carthage*, and to animate them unto the Warre.

Theſe tidings exceedingly vexed the *Romans*, who had good cauſe to be angry at their own ſlowneſſe, in forbearing to ſend helpe unto the *Saguntines*, that held out eight moneths, looking ſtill for ſuccour, but in vaine. Wherefore they determined to repaire their honour, by taking ſharpe revenge. To this end they ſent Embaſſadours againe to *Carthage*: demanding onely, *Whether it were by generall conſent and allowance of the Carthaginians, that* Hannibal *had made warre upon* Saguntum: which if they granted (as it ſeemed they would) then to give them defiance. Hereunto anſwere was made, in the Senate of *Carthage*, to this effect; That this their ſecond Embaſſage, howſoever qualified with milde words, was indeed more inſolent than the former. For in that, they onely required juſtice againſt *Hannibal*; but in this, the very State and Commonwealth of *Carthage*, was urged to plead guilty, or not guilty. But (ſaid the *Carthaginian* ſpeaker) whether the Generall of our Army in *Spaine*, in beſieging *Saguntum*, have onely followed his owne counſaile; or whether he did it, by direction from us: it is not the queſtion which the *Romans* ought to aske us. That which is indeed worthy examination or diſpute, is; *Whether it were lawfull or unlawfull, for* Hannibal *to doe as he hath done.* For it belongs to us, to call our own Commanders in queſtion, and to puniſh them according to their faults & errors; to you, to challenge us, if we have done any thing contrary to our late League and contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with *Luctatius* the Conſull, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the *Saguntines* were not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no diſpute. As touching the laſt agreement, between you and *Aſdrubal*, wherein you will ſay, that the *Saguntines* were comprehended by name; it is you that have taught us how to anſwer that particular. For whatſoever you found in the Treaty between us and *Luctatius*, to your owne diſadvantage, you caſt it upon your Conſuls preſumption; as promiſing thoſe things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and People of *Rome*. If then it be lawfull for the *Romans*, to diſavow the actions of their Conſuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctuall and preciſe warrant; the ſame liberty may wee alſo aſſume, and hold our ſelves no way bound in honour, to performe thoſe bargaines, which *Aſdrubal* hath made for us, without our commandement and conſent.

This was an impertinent anſwer, and little better than a meere cavill. For *Luctatius* the Conſul, in his Treaty of peace with the *Carthaginians*, had expreſly referred the allowance thereof to the people of *Rome*. It had beene therefore much better, to have dealt plainly; and to have alledged, That after this League was made, and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the *Romans*, in robbing the *Carthaginians* of the Iſle of *Sardinia*, and withall of twelve hundred talents: which perjurie the State of *Carthage*, being now growne able, would revenge with open War. As for the *Saguntines*, it little skilled that the *Romans* had admitted them into confederacie, and forthwith inſerted their names into the Treaty of peace with *Aſdrubal*: ſeeing that the Treaty with *Aſdrubal*, and all other buſineſſe betweene *Rome* and *Carthage*, following the violence and breach of peace, in taking away *Sardinia*, were no better than *Roman* injuries, as implying this commination, *Doe whatſoever we require, elſe will we make Warre, without regard of our oath, which we have already broken.*

But this the *Carthaginians* did not alledge, forgetting, in heat of contention (as *Polybius* takes it) the beſt of their Plea. Yet ſince *Livie* himſelf doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of *Sardinia* from the *Carthaginians*, did inflame the ſpirit of *Amilcar* with deſire of revenge: wee may reaſonably thinke, that the mention of this injurie was omitted, not ſo much upon forgetfulneſſe, as for that it was not thought convenient, by ripping up ſuch ancient matter of quarrell, to ſhew that the war, now towards, had long beene thought upon, and like to be made with extraordinary force, in other maner than heretofore. In concluſion, the *Carthaginian* Senate moved the *Roman* Embaſſadors, to deliver unto them in plaine termes the purpoſes of thoſe that ſent them, and the worſt of that, which they had long determined againſt them: as for the *Saguntines*, and the confining of their Armies within *Iberus*; thoſe were but their pretences. Whereupon *Q. Fabius* gathering up the skirt of his Gowne, as if ſomewhat had beene laid in the hollow thereof, made this ſhort reply: I have here (quoth he) in my Gowne skirt both Peace and War: make you (my Maſters of the Senate) election of theſe two, which of them you like beſt, and purpoſe to imbrace. Hereat all cried out at once; Even which of them you your ſelfe have a fancy to offer us. Marry then (quoth *Fabius*) take the War, and ſhare it among you. Which all the aſſembly willingly accepted.

This was plaine dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had reſolved to make Warre, it was meerely frivolous. For all theſe diſputes of breach of peace, have ever bin maintained by the partie unwilling, or unable to ſuſtaine the Warre. The ruſty ſword, and the emptie purſe, doe alwaies plead performance of covenants. There have been few Kings or States in the World, that have otherwiſe underſtood the obligation of a Treaty, than with the condition of their owne advantage: and commonly (ſeeing peace betweene ambitious Princes and States, is but a kinde of breathing) the beſt adviſed have rather begun with the ſword, than with the trumpet. So dealt the *Arragonois* with the *French* in *Naples*; *Henry* the ſecond of *France*, with the Imperials, when he wrote to *Briſac*, to ſurpriſe as many places as he could, ere the War brake out; *Don John* with the Netherlands, and *Philip* the ſecond of *Spaine*, with the *Engliſh*, when in the great *Imbarge* he tooke all our ſhips and goods in his Ports.

But *Hannibal*, beſides the preſent ſtrength of *Carthage*, and the common feeling of injuries received from theſe enemies, had another private and hereditary deſire, that violently carried him againſt the *Romans*. His father *Amilcar*, at what time he did ſacrifice, being ready to take his journy into *Spaine*, had ſolemnly bound him by oath, to purſue them with immortall hatred, and to worke them all poſſible miſchiefe, as ſoone as he ſhould be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine yeeres old, when his father cauſed him to lay his hand upon the Altar, and make this vow: ſo that it was no marvel, if the impreſſion were ſtrong in him.

That it is inhumane, to bequeath hatred in this ſort, as it were by Legacy, it cannot be denied. Yet for mine owne part, I doe not much doubt, but that ſome of thoſe Kings, with whom we are now in peace, have received the like charge from their Predeceſſors, that as ſoone as their coffers ſhall be full, they ſhall declare themſelves enemies to the people of *England*.

### §. II.

### Hannibal *takes order for the defence of Spaine, and Africke. His journey into Italy.*

WArre being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* reſolved not to put up his ſword, which he had drawne againſt the *Saguntines*, untill he had therewith opened his paſſage unto the gates of *Rome*. So began the ſecond Punicke Warre; ſecond to none, that ever the Senate and people of *Rome* ſuſtained. *Hannibal* wintred at *Carthagena*; where he licenſed his *Spaniſh* Souldiers to viſit their friends, and refreſh themſelves againſt the Spring. In the meane while he gave inſtructions to his brother *Aſdrubal*, for the government of *Spaine* in his abſence. He alſo tooke order, to ſend a great many troups of *Spaniards* into *Africke*, to equall the number of *Africans* formerly drawne thence into *Spaine*; to the end, that ſo the one Nation might remaine as pledges and gages for the other. Of the *Spaniards*, he tranſported into *Africk* thirteene thouſand; eight hundred and fifty foot, and twelve hundred horſe; alſo eight hundred ſlingers of the * *Baleares*. Beſides theſe he ſelected foure thouſand foot, all young men, and of qualitie, out of the beſt Cities of *Spaine*; which he appointed to be garriſond in *Carthage* it ſelfe, not ſo much in regard of their forces, as that they might ſerve for hoſtages: for among thoſe foure thouſand, the beſt of the *Spaniſh* Citizens, and thoſe that ſwayed moſt in their ſeverall States, had their Sonnes or Kinſmen. He alſo left with his brother, to guard the coaſt and Ports, fifty and ſeven Gallies; whereof thirty ſeven were preſently armed, and appointed for the warre. Of *Africans* and other Nations, ſtrangers, he left with him above twelve thouſand foote, and two thouſand horſe, beſides one and twenty Elephants.

* *Majorca*, & *Minorca*.

Having in this ſort taken order for the defence of *Spaine* & *Africk*; he ſent Diſcoverers before him, to view the Paſſages of the *Pyrenæan* Mountaines, and of the *Alpes*. He alſo ſent Embaſſadors to the Mountainers of the *Pyrenes*, and to the *Gaules*, to obtain a quiet paſſage: that he might bring his Army entire into *Italy*, and not be compelled to diminiſh his forces, by any Warre in the way, till he came to encounter the *Romans*. His Embaſſadours and Diſcoverers being returned with good ſatisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, he paſt over the River of *Iberus*, with an Army conſiſting of fourescore and ten thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe. All thoſe parts of *Spaine*, into which he had not entred before, he now ſubdued: and appointed *Hanno* (not that old enemie of his houſe, who ſate ſtill at *Carthage*) to govern *Spaine* on the Eaſt ſide of *Iberus*; to whom he left an Army of ten thouſand foot, and one thouſand horſe. Being arrived at the borders of *Spaine*, ſome of his *Spaniſh* Souldiers returned home, without asking leave: which that others might not alſo doe, or attempt, he courteouſly diſmiſſed many more, that ſeemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to paſſe, that the journey ſeemed the leſſe tedious unto thoſe that accompanied him, as being not enforced by compulſion. With the reſt of his Army, conſiſting now but of fifty thouſand foot, and nine thouſand horſe, he paſt the *Pyrenes*, & entred into *Gaule*. He found the *Gaules* that bordered upon *Spaine*, ready in Armes, to forbid his entrance into their Country: but won them, with gentle ſpeech, and rich preſents that hee beſtowed upon their Leaders, to favour his Expedition. So without any moleſtation, he came to be the banke of *Rhodanus*; where dwelt, on each ſide of the River, a people called *Volcæ*. Theſe were unacquainted with the cauſe of his comming; and therefore ſought to keepe him from paſſing over the water. But he was greatly aſſiſted by ſome of thoſe *Gaules*, that inhabited on the Weſt ſide of *Rhodanus*, to wit, by thoſe of *Vivaretz* and *Lyonnois*. For although many of them had tranſported themſelves & their goods, into the Country of *Dauphine*, thinking to defend the further banke againſt him : yet ſuch as remained, being very deſirous to free their country of ſo many ill gueſts, were better pleaſed to have their Country-men well beaten, which had abandoned them, than to have their owne ſtore of corne and cattell waſted, by the long ſtay of ſo great an Army, as lay upon them. For which reaſon, they helped him to make boates; informed him of another more eaſie paſſage, higher up the River: and lent him guides. When the Veſſels for tranſportion of his Army were in readineſſe; he ſent *Hanno*, the ſon of *Bomilcar*, up the River: himſelfe in the meane while making countenance to enter the Foord below. The end of this labour, was: that *Hanno* charging the *Gaules* unawares upon their owne ſide, and *Hannibal*, at the ſame time, paſſing the River in their faces, the further banke was won, though with ſome difficulty; and the enemies diſperſed. Yet was he greatly troubled in conveying over his Elephants; who marvellouſly feared the water. He was therefore driven to make raffes of trees, and cover them with earth and Turfe; whereof he faſtened one to each banke, that might ſerve as a bridge, to and from another of the ſame ſort, but looſe, upon which the beaſts were towed over.

Having paſt this firſt brunt, and over-come both the rage of the River, and of thoſe that defend it, he was viſited by the Princes of the *Gaules Ciſalpines*, that inhabited *Piemont* and *Milan*, who lately had revolted from the *Romans*. Theſe informed him of the paſſages of the *Alpes*; that they were not ſo difficult, as common report made them; and from theſe he received guides, with many other encouragements. All which notwithſtanding, he found himſelfe extremely incombred by the *Savoyans*; and loſt, both of his carriages, and of this *Carthaginians*, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he ſhould. For he was twice mainely aſſailed by them, before he could recover the plaine Countries on the other ſide. And whereas this journey over the Mountaines coſt him fifteene dayes travaile, he was every day, more or leſſe, not onely charged by thoſe Mountainers, but withall extremely beaten with grievous weather and ſnow: it being the beginning of Winter, when hee began, and over-came this paſſage. But the faire and fertile Plaines, which were now ready to receive them; with the aſſiſtance and conduct of the *Ciſalpine Gaules*, who by their proper forces had ſo often invaded the *Roman* Territory: gave them great comfort and encouragement to goe on: having nothing elſe of difficulty remaining, but that which from the beginning they made accompt to over-come, by their proper valour and reſolution; namely, the *Roman* Armies, and reſiſtance.

## §. III.

### *How the Romans in vaine ſolicited the Spaniards and Gaules to take their part. The rebellion of the Ciſalpine Gaules againſt the Romans.*

THe Countries of *Spaine* and *Gaule*, through which the *Cathaginians* marched thus farre, had beene ſolicited before, by the ſame *Roman* Embaſſadours, who had denounced the warre at *Carthage*. Theſe, as they were inſtructed by the Senate, tooke *Spaine* in their way homeward from *Carthage*, with a purpoſe to draw into the *Roman* Alliance, as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at leaſt to diſſwade them from contracting any friendſhip with the *Carthaginians*. The firſt which they attempted, were the *Volcians*, a people in *Spaine*; from whom, in open aſſembly, they received by one that ſpake for the reſt, this uncomfortable anſwer: With what face (ſaith he) can ye *Romans* perſwade us to value your Alliance, or to prefer it before the friendſhip of the *Carthaginans*; ſeeing we are taught by the example of the *Saguntines*, to be more wiſe than ſo? For they, relying on your faith and promiſed aſſiſtance, have beene utterly rooted out, & deſtroyed by the *Carthaginians*; whom they might elſe have held their aſſured friends, and good neighbours, as wee, and other the people of *Spaine* have found them. Ye may therefore be gone, with this reſolution from us, That for our parts (and ſo I thinke, I may anſwer for the reſt of our Country-men) the *Romans* henceforth are not to expect any kindneſſe at our hands; who are reſolved, never to make account of their protection, nor amity. From the *Volcians*, the Embaſſadors tooke their way towards the *Gaules*; uſing their beſt arguments to perſwade them not to ſuffer the *Carthaginians* to paſſe into *Italy*, through their Territory: and withall greatly glorifying themſelves, their ſtrength, and large Dominion. But the *Gaules* laught them to ſcorne, and had hardly the patience, to heare them ſpeake. For ſhall we (ſaid one of their Princes) by reſiſting *Hannibals* paſſage into *Italy*, entertaine a war which is not meant to be made againſt us? Shall we hold the warre among our ſelves, and in our owne Territory, by force, which marcheth with a ſpeedy pace from us, towards our ancient enemies? Have the *Romans* deſerved ſo well of us, & the *Carthaginians* ſo ill, that we ſhould ſet fire on our owne houſes, to ſave theirs from burning? No, wee know it well, that the *Romans* have already forced ſome Nations of ours, out of their proper Territory and inheritance; and conſtrained others, as free as themſelves, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the *Carthaginians*, our enemies; who have no way as yet offended us, nor wee them.

With this unpleaſing anſwer the Embaſſadours returned home: carrying no good newes, of friends likely to helpe them; but rather ſome aſſurance from the people of *Maſſilia*, which were confederates with *Rome*, that the *Gaules* were determined to take part with their enemie. Of this inclination, the *Ciſalpine Gaules* gave haſtie proofe. For when the newes was brought into *Italy*, that the *Carthaginians* had paſſed *Iberus*, and were on the way towards *Rome*; this alone ſufficed to ſtirre up the *Boii*, and *Inſubrians*, againſt the *Romans*. Theſe people were lately offended at the plantation of new *Roman* Colonies, at *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, within their Territories. Relying therefore upon the *Carthaginian* ſuccour, which they ſuppoſed to be now at hand; they laid aſide all regard of thoſe hoſtages, which they had given to the *Romans*, and fell upon the new Colonies. The Townes it ſeemes they could not winne; for *Hannibal* ſhortly after failed to get them. But they forced the *Roman* Commiſſioners, (who belike were abroad in the Countrie) to flie to *Modena*: where they beſieged them. The ſiege of *Modena* had continued ſome ſmall time; when the *Gaules*, having little skill in aſſaulting Cities, waxed wearie, & ſeemed deſirous to have peace, and to come to ſome good accord with the *Romans*. This they did of purpoſe, to draw on ſome meeting; that they might therein lay hand upon the *Roman* Deputies, thereby to redeeme their Hoſtages, in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wiſh. For the *Romans* ſent out Embaſſadours to treat with them, and to conclude a peace; whom they detained. *Manlius* the Prætor, who lay in theſe quarters with an Army, hearing this outrage; marched in all haſte to the reliefe of the beſieged. But the *Gaules*, having laid a ſtrong ambuſh in a wood joyning to the way, fell upon the Prætor ſo opportunely, as hee was utterly overthrowne, and all his followers left dead in the place, a few excepted, that recovered, by faſt running, a little village, but defenſible; upon the River of *Po*. When this was heard at Rome, *C. Atilius*, another of the Prætors, was haſtily ſent, to relieve the beſieged, with a Legion, and five thouſand of the *Roman* aſſociates: which forces were taken out of the Conſuls Army, and ſupplied by a new levie.

As the *Gaules* were too raſh and haſtie: ſo were the *Romans* too ſlow, and indeed too ill-adviſed, in the beginning of this warre. They were not perſwaded, that *Carthage*, which had almoſt ſervilely endured ſo many indignities, in time of the late peace; would be ſo brave and couragious on the ſudden, as to attempt the conqueſt of *Italie* it ſelfe. Wherefore they appointed one of their Conſuls, to make warre in *Spaine*, the other in *Africke*: reſting ſecure of all danger at home. *Titus Sempronius* tooke his way toward *Africke*, with an hundred and ſixty *Quinqueremes*, or Gallies of five to an oare, which preparation may ſeem to threaten even the Citie of *Carthage*, to which it ſhall not come neere. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the other Conſul, made all poſſible haſte, by the way of *Genoa*, into *Provence*; and uſed ſuch diligence, having the winde alſo favourable, as in five daies he recovered *Maſſilia*. There he was advertiſed, of *Hannibal* his having paſſed the River of *Rhodanus*, whom he thought to have found buſie yet a while in *Spaine*. *Hannibal* had alſo newes of the Conſuls arrivall: whereof he was neither glad, nor ſorry, as not meaning to have to doe with him. Each of them ſent forth Scouts, to diſcover the others number and doings: *Hannibal*, about five hundred *Numidians*; *Scipio*, three hundred of his better appointed *Roman* horſe. Theſe met and fought, and the *Numidians* were beaten: yet could not the *Romans* greatly bragge, having ſlaine onely two hundred, and loſt of their owne, one hundred and forty. But when *Scipio* drew neere, to have met with the *Carthaginians*; he found, that they were gone three dayes before; and that (as he then found aſſuredly true) with an intent to looke upon the wals of *Rome*.

This interrupted his intended voyage into *Spaine*. Neuertheleſſe hee ſent away thither his brother *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, with the greateſt part of his fleet and Army, to trie what might be done againſt *Aſdrubal* & the other *Carthaginian* Lievtenants in that Country. He himſelfe, taking with him a few choice bands, returned by Sea to *Piſa*; and ſo paſſing through *Tuſcane* into *Lombardie*, drew together the broken troups of *Manlius* & *Atilius* that lately had bin beaten by the *Gaules*: with which forces he made head againſt the enemie, thinking to finde him over-laboured, with travaile of his painefull journey.

## §. IV.

### Scipio *the Romane Conſul overcome by* Hannibal *at Ticinum. Both of the Romane Conſuls beaten by* Hannibal, *in a great battell at Trebia.*

FIve Moneths *Hannibal* had ſpent in his tedious journey from *Carthagena*; what great muſter he could make, when he had paſſed the *Alpes*, it is not eaſily found. Some reckon his foote at an hundred thouſand, and his horſe at twenty thouſand; others report them to have beene onely twenty thouſand foot, and ſixe hundred horſe. *Hannibal* himſelfe, in his Monument which he raiſed, in the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, agreeth with the latter ſumme. Yet the *Gaules*, *Ligurians*, and others that joyned with him, are likely to have mightily increaſed his Army, in ſhort ſpace. But when hee marched Eaſtward from the bankes of *Rhodanus*, he had with him eight and thirty thouſand foot, & eight thouſand horſe; of which, all ſave thoſe remembred by himſelfe in the Inſcription of his Altar in *Juno's* Temple, are like to have periſhed, by diſeaſes, enemies, Rivers, and Mountaines; which miſchiefes had devoured, each, their ſeverall ſhares.

Having newly paſſed the *Alpes*, and ſcarce refreſhed his wearied Army in the Countrie of *Piemont*; hee ſought to win the friendſhip of the [a] *Taurini*, who lay next in his way. But the *Taurini* held warre at that time with the *Inſubrians*, which were his good friends; and refuſed (perhaps for the ſame cauſe) his amity. Wherefore he aſſaulted their Towne; and wanne it by force in three daies. Their ſpoile ſerved well to hearten his Army; and their calamity, to terrefie the Neighbour places. So the *Gaules*, without more adoe, fell unto his ſide: many for feare, many alſo for good-will, according to their former inclination. This diſpoſition ranne through the whole Country: which joyned, or was all in readineſſe to joyne with the *Carthaginians*; when the newes of *Scipio* the Conſul his arrivall, made ſome to be more adviſed, than the reſt. The name of the *Romans* was terrible in thoſe quarters; what was in the *Carthaginians*, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the *Roman* Conſul was already gotten through the moſt defenſible paſſages, ere any ſpeech had beene heard of his approach: many ſate ſtill for very feare, who elſe would faine have concluded a League with theſe new-come friends; and ſome, for greater feare, offered their ſervice againſt the *Carthaginians*, whom neuertheleſſe they had wiſhed well to ſpeed.

[a] Theſe dwelt about *Turine*, a goodly City, now ſubject unto the Duke of *Savoy*: which from them took the name of *Auguſta Taurinorum*.

This wavering affection of the Province, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals haſten to the triall of a battaile. Their meeting was a *Ticinum*, now called *Pavia*; where each of them wondred at the others expedition: *Hannibal* thinking it ſtrange that the Conſul, whom he had left behinde him on the other ſide of the *Alpes*, could meet him in the face, before he had well warmed himſelfe in the Plaines; *Scipio* admiring the ſtrange adventure of paſſing thoſe Mountaines, and the great ſpirit of his Enemie. Neither were the Senate at *Rome* little amazed at *Hannibals* ſucceſſe, and ſudden arrivall. Wherefore they diſpatched a Meſſenger in all haſte unto *Sempronius*, the other Conſul, that was then in *Sicilia*, giving him to underſtand hereof: & letting him further know, that whereas he had bin directed to make the warre in *Africa*, it was now their pleaſure that he ſhould forbeare to proſecute any ſuch attempt, but that he ſhould return the Army under his charge, with all poſſible ſpeed, to ſave *Italy* it ſelfe. According to this order, *Sempronius* ſent off his Fleet from *Lilybæum*; with direction to land the Army at *Ariminum*, a Port Towne not farre from *Ravenna*: quite another way from *Carthage*, whither he was making haſte. In the meane while, *Scipio* & *Hannibal* were come ſo neere, that fight they muſt, ere they could part aſunder. Hereupon, both of them prepared the mindes of their Souldiers, by the beſt arguments they had: unto which *Hannibal* added the Rhetoricke of a preſent example, that hee ſhewed upon certain priſoner priſoners of the *Savoyans*, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpoſe, into *Italy*. For theſe, having beene no leſſe miſerably fettered and chained, than ſparingly fed; and withall ſo often ſcourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their deſire, than to bee delivered from their miſeries by any kinde of preſent death, were brought into the middle of the Army: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with ſome other of his Companions, till the one of them were ſlaine, with condition, being the Victor, to receive his liberty, and ſome ſmall reward. This was no ſooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did *Hannibal* cauſe lots to be caſt, which of them ſhould enter the Liſt, with ſuch weapons, as the Chieftaines of the *Gaules* were wont to uſe in ſingle combats. Every one of theſe unhappy men wiſhed, that his owne lot might ſpeed; whereby it ſhould at leaſt bee his good fortune, to end his miſeries by death, if not to get a reward by victory. That couple, whoſe good hap it was to be choſen, fought reſolvedly: as rather deſiring, than fearing death; and having none other hope, than in vanquiſhing. Thus were ſome few couples matched, it skilled not how equally: for all theſe poore creatures were willing, upon whatſoever uneven termes, to ridde themſelves out of ſlaverie. The ſame affection that was in theſe Combatants, and in their fellowes which beheld them, wrought alſo upon the *Carthaginians*, for whom the ſpectacle was ordained. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by winning the victory had gotten his liberty, together with an horſe and armour: but even him alſo, who being ſlaine in fight, had eſcaped that miſerable condition, unto which his Companions were returned. Their Generall perceiving what impreſſion this dumbe ſhew had wrought in them, began to admoniſh them of their owne condition, ſpeaking to this effect: That hee had laid before them an example of their owne eſtates: ſeeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to runne the ſame fortune, that theſe ſlaves had done; all to live victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which theſe priſoners eſteemed farre more grievous) to live in a perpetuall ſlaverie: That none of them all, in whom was common ſenſe, could promiſe to himſelfe any hope of life by flight; ſince the Mountaines, the Rivers, the great diſtance from their owne Countries, and the purſuit of mercileſſe Enemies, muſt needs retrench all ſuch impotent imaginations. He therefore prayed them to remember, that they, who had even now praiſed the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquiſhed, would make it their owne caſe; ſeeing that there was never any in the world, appointed with ſuch a reſolution, that had ever bin broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contrary, hee told them that the *Romans*, who were to fight upon their owne ſoile, & in view of their owne Townes; who knew as many wayes to ſave themſelves by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withall, could no way entertaine ſuch a reſolution as theirs: ſeeing the ſame neceſſity, (to which nothing ſeemes impoſſible) did no way preſſe them, or conſtraine them. In this ſort did *Hannibal*, with one ſubſtantiall argument, *That there was no meane betweene victory and Death*, encourage his Companions. For, (ſaith a great Captaine of *France*) *La commodité de la retraitte advance la fuite*; *The commodity of a retrait, doth greatly advance a flat running away.*

*Scipio* on the other ſide, after that he had given order for the laying of a bridge over the River of *Ticinus*, did not neglect to uſe the beſt arguments and reaſons he could, to encourage the Army he led: putting them in minde of the great conqueſts and victories of their Anceſtors; againſt how many Nations they had prevailed; and over how many Princes, their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Army commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of *Carthaginians*, whom in their late warre they had ſo often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he praied them withall to conſider, that at this time it was not onely ſo diminiſhed in numbers, as it rather ſeemed a troupe of Brigants and Theeves, than an Army likely to encounter the *Romans*, but ſo weather-beaten, and ſtarved, as neither the men, nor horſes, had ſtrength or courage to ſuſtaine the firſt charge that ſhould be given upon them. Nay (ſaid he) yee your ſelves may make judgement what daring they have now remaining, after ſo many travailes and miſeries; ſeeing when they were in their beſt ſtrength, after they had paſt the *Roane*, their horſe-men were not onely beaten by ours, and driven back to the very Trenches of their Camp, but *Hannibal* himſelfe, fearing our approach, ranne head-long towards the *Alpes*: thinking it a leſſe diſhonour, to die there by froſt, famine, and precipitation, than by the ſharpe ſwords of the *Romans*, which had ſo often cut downe his people, both in *Africa*, and in *Sicil*. It was not long after this, ere the two Generals met: each being far advanced before the groſſe of his Army, with his Horſe; and the *Roman* having alſo with him ſome light-armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemies countenance. When they diſcovered the approach one of the other; *Scipio* ſent before him his horſemen of the *Gaules*, to begin the fight, and beſtowing his Darters in the voide ground betweene their troupes, to aſſiſt them: himſelfe with his *Roman* men at armes, followed ſoftly in good order. The *Gaules* (whether deſirous to trie the metall of the *Carthaginians*, or hoping thereby to get favour of the *Romans*) behaved themſelves couragiouſly, and were as couragiouſly oppoſed. Yet their foot that ſhould have aided them, ſhranke at the firſt brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without caſting a Dart; for feare of being troden downe by the enemies horſe. This notwithſtanding, the *Gaules* maintained the fight, and did more hurt than they received; as preſuming that they were well backt. Neither was the Conſull unmindfull to relieve them: their hardineſſe deſerving his aide; and the haſtie flight of thoſe that ſhould have ſtood by them, admoniſhing him that it was needfull. Wherefore he adventured himſelfe ſo farre, that he received a dangerous wound; and had beene left in the place, if his ſonne (afterward ſurnamed *Africanus*) had not brought him off: though others give the honour of this reſcue to a *Ligurian* ſlave. Whileſt the *Romans* were buſied in helping their Conſull; an unexpected ſtorme came driving at their backes, and made them looke about how to helpe themſelves. *Hannibal* had appointed his *Numidian* light-horſe, to give upon the *Romans* in flanke, and to compaſſe them about, whileſt hee with his men at Armes ſuſtained their charge, and met them in the face. The *Numidians* performed this very well: cutting in pieces the ſcattered foot, that ranne away at the firſt encounter; and then falling on the backs of thoſe, whoſe lookes were faſtened upon *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. By this impreſſion, the *Romans* were ſhuffled together, and routed: ſo that they all betooke them to their ſpeed, and left unto their enemies the honour of the day.

When *Scipio* ſaw his horſemen thus beaten, and the reſt of his Army thereby greatly diſcouraged; he thought it a point of Wiſedome, having loſt ſo many of his Fleet upon the firſt puffe of the winde, to take Port with the reſt, before the extremeſt of the tempeſt overtooke him. For he ſaw by the lowring morning what manner of day it was like to prove. Therefore his battaile of foot being yet unbroken, he in a manner ſtole the retrait; and recovered the bridge over *Ticinus*, which he had formerly built. But notwithſtanding all the haſte that he made, he left ſixe hundred of his Reare behinde him: who were the laſt that ſhould have paſſed, and ſtaid to breake the bridge. Herein he followed this rule of a good man of war, *Si certamen quandoque dubium videatur, tacitam miles arripiat fugam: fuga enim aliquando laudanda:* which muſt be underſtood in this ſort: *If a Generall of an Army, by ſome unproſperous beginnings doubt the ſucceſſe; or finde his Army fearefull or wavering, it is more profitable to ſteale a ſafe retrait, than to abide the uncertaine event of battaile.*

It was two daies after, ere *Hannibal* could paſſe the River; *Scipio* the whileſt refreſhing his men, and eaſing himſelfe of his wound in *Placentia*. But as ſoone as *Hannibal* preſented his Army before the Towne, offering battaile to the *Romans*, who durſt not accept it, nor iſſue forth of their Campe; the *Gaules*, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for feare, gathered out of his feare, courage to forſake him. They thought that now the long-deſired time was come, in which better Chieftaines and Souldiers, than *Aneroeſtus*, *Britomarus*, & *Geſſates*, were come to helpe them: if they had the hearts to helpe themſelves. Wherefore the ſame night they fell upon the *Roman* Campe; wounded and ſlue many; eſpecially of thoſe guards that kept watch at the gate; with whoſe heads in their hands, they fled over to the *Carthaginians*, & preſented their ſervice. *Hannibal* received them exceeding courteouſly, and diſmiſt them to their owne places: as men likely to bee of more uſe to him, in perſwading the reſt of their Nation to become his Confederates, than in any other ſervice at the preſent.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Conſull ſtole a retrait, as he had done before; but not with the like eaſe and ſecurity. *Hannibal* had a good eye upon him, and ere he could get farre, ſent the *Numidians* after him: following himſelfe with all his Army. That night the Romans had received a great blow, if the *Numidians*, greedy of ſpoile, had not ſtaid to ranſacke their campe; & thereby given time to all, ſave ſome few in Reare, that were ſlaine or taken, to paſſe the River of *Trebia*, and ſave themſelves.

*Scipio,*

being both unable to travell by reaſon of his wound, and withall, finding it expedient to attend the comming of his fellow-Conſul; incampes himſelfe ſtrongly upon the bankes of *Trebia*. Neceſſitie required that he ſhould ſo doe; yet this diminiſhed his reputation. For every day more and more of the *Gaules* fell to the *Carthaginian* ſide; among whom came in the *Boji*, that brought with them the *Roman* Commiſſioners, which they had taken in the late Inſurrection. They had hitherto kept them as pledges, to redeeme their own hoſtages: but now they deliver them up to *Hannibal*, as tokens and pledges of their affections towards him; by whoſe help they conceived better hope of recovering their owne men and lands. In the meane while, *Hannibal*, being in great ſcarcity of victuals, attempted the taking of *Claſtidium*, a Towne wherein the *Romans* had laid up all their ſtore and munition. But there needed no force; a *Brunduſian*, whom the *Romans* had truſted with keeping it, ſold it for a little money.

The newes of theſe diſaſters, brought to *Rome*, filled the Senate and People, rather with a deſire of haſty revenge, than any great ſorrow for their loſſe received; ſeeing that in a manner, all their foot, wherein their ſtrength and hope conſiſted, were as yet entire. They therefore haſted away *Sempronius*, that was newly arrived, towards *Ariminum*, where the Armie, by him ſent out of *Sicil*, awaited his comming. Hee therefore haſted thither; and from thence he marched ſpeedily towards his Colleague: who attended him upon the bankes of *Trebia*. Both the Armies being joyned in one, the Conſuls deviſed about that which remained to be done: *Sempronius* receiving from *Scipio* the relation of what had paſſed ſince *Hannibals* arrivall; the fortune of the late fight; and by what error or miſadventure the *Romans* were therein foiled: which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the revolt and treaſon of the *Gaules*.

*Sempronius*, having received from *Scipio* the ſtate of the affaires in thoſe parts; ſought by all meanes to trie his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* were recovered of his wounds, that thereby he might purchaſe to himſelfe the ſole glory of the victory, which he had already, in his imagination, certainely obtained. Hee alſo feared the election of the new Conſuls: his owne time being well-neere expired. But *Scipio* perſwaded the contrarie; objecting the unskilfulneſſe of the new-come ſouldiers: and withall, gave him good reaſon, to aſſure him that the *Gaules*, naturally unconſtant, were upon termes of abandoning the party of the *Carthaginians*; thoſe of them inhabiting between the rivers of *Trebia* and *Po*, being already revolted. *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio*: but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haſte to find out the diſhonour which he might otherwiſe eaſily have avoided. This reſolution of *Sempronius* was exceeding pleaſing to *Hannibal*: who feared nothing ſo much as delay and loſſe of time. For the ſtrength of his Armie, conſiſting in ſtrangers, to wit, in *Spaniards* and *Gaules*; he no leſſe feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatience of the other: who being farre from their owne home, had many paſſions moving them to turne their faces towards it. To further the deſire of *Sempronius*, it fell out ſo, that about the ſame time, the *Gaules*, inhabiting neere unto *Trebia*, complained of injuries done by the *Carthaginians*. They did not ſupply *Hannibal* with neceſſaries, as he ſuppoſed that they might have done; although he daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their ſakes, and to ſet them at libertie, he had undertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his words, he was bold to be his owne Carver; and took from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hereupon they flie to the *Romans* for helpe: and, to make their tale the better, ſay that this wrong is done them, becauſe they refuſed to joyne with *Hannibal*. *Scipio* cared not much for this: he ſuſpected their falſhood, and was aſſured of their mutability. But *Sempronius* affirmed, that it ſtood with the honour of *Rome*, to preſerve their Confederates from ſuffering injurie: and that hereby might be won the friendſhip of all the *Gaules*. Therefore he ſent out a thouſand horſe: which comming unlooked for upon *Hannibal* his forragers, and finding them heavie loaden, cut many of them in pieces, and chaced the reſt even into their own campe. This indignitie made the *Carthaginians* ſallie out againſt them: who cauſed them to retire faſter than they came. *Sempronius* was ready to back his owne men; and repelled the enemies. *Hannibal* did the like. So that at length, all the *Roman* Armie was drawne forth; and a battell ready to bee fought, if the *Carthaginian* had not refuſed it.

This victory (for ſo the Conſull would have it called) made the *Romans* in generall deſirous to trie the maine chance in open field: all the perſwaſions of *Scipio* to the contrarie notwithſtanding. Of this diſpoſition *Hannibal* was advertiſed by the *Gauls*, his ſpies, that were in the *Roman* Campe. Therefore he bethought himſelfe how to help forward the victorie, by adding ſome ſtratagem to his forces: he found in the hollow of a water-courſe, over-growne with high reed, a fit trench to cover an ambuſh. Therein he caſt his brother *Mago* with a thouſand choyce horſe, and as many foot. The reſt of his Armie, after they had well warmed, and well fed themſelves in their campe, he led into the field, and marched towards the Conſul. Early in the morning, he had ſent over *Trebia* ſome companies of *Numidian* light-horſe, to brave the enemie, and draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his faſt. *Sempronius* was ready to take any opportuity to fight: and therefore not onely iſſued out of his Campe, but foorded the River of *Trebia*, in a moſt cold and miſerable day; his foot being wet almoſt to the arme-holes: which, together with the want of food, did ſo enfeeble and cool their courages: as they wanted force to handle the armes they bare. Strong they were in foot, as well of their owne Nation, as of the *Latines:* having of the one ſixteene, of the other twenty thouſand. The maſſe of theſe they ranged in a groſſe Battalion, guarded on the flanks with three thouſand horſe; thruſting their light-armed, and Darters, in looſe troups in the head of the reſt, in the nature of a Vantguard. The *Carthaginian* numbers of foot were in a manner equall to their enemies; in horſe they had by far the better, both in number and goodneſſe. When therefore the *Roman* horſe, ranged on the flanks of their foot, were broken by the *Numidians*; when their foot were charged both in front and flanke, by the *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, and Elephants; when finally the whole Armie was unawares preſt in the Reare, by *Mago* and his two thouſand, that roſe out of their place of ambuſh; then fell the *Romans*, by heaps, under the enemies ſwords: and being beaten down, as well fighting in diſorder, as flying towards the River, by the horſemen that purſued them, there eſcaped no more of ſix and thirty thouſand, than ten thouſand of all ſorts, Horſe and Foot.

Three great errours *Sempronius* committed, of which every one deſerved to be recompenced with the loſſe that followed. The firſt was, that he fought with *Hannibal* in a Champaine, being by far inferiour in horſe, and withall, thereby ſubject to the *African* Elephants, which in incloſed or un-even grounds and wood-lands, would have bin of no uſe. His ſecond error was, that he made no diſcoverie of the place upon which he fought; whereby he was groſſely over-reacht, and inſnared, by the ambuſh which *Hannibal* had laid for him. The third was, that he drencht his footmen with empty ſtomacks, in the River of *Trebia*, even in a moſt cold and froſtie day, whereby, in effect, they loſt the uſe of their limbs. For, as one ſaith well, *There is nothing more inconvenient and perillous, than to preſent an armie tyred with travell, to an enemy freſh and fed; ſince where the ſtrength of body faileth, the generoſitie of minde is but as an unprofitable vapour.*

The broken remainder of the *Roman* Armie, was collected by *Scipio*, who got therewith into *Placentia*; ſtealing away the ſame night, which was exceeding rainy, from the *Carthaginians*, who either perceived him not, becauſe of the ſhowres; or would not perceive him, becauſe they were over-wearied. *Sempronius* eſcaped with extreme danger, flying through the Countrie that was over-run by the enemies horſe. He was attended by more, than were requiſite in a ſecret flight; yet by fewer, than could have made reſiſtance, if the enemy had met with him. Nevertheleſſe he got away, and came to *Rome*, where he did his office in chooſing new Conſuls for the yeere following: and then returned into his Province, with a freſh ſupply againſt *Hannibal*.

## §. V.

### *The departure of* Hannibal *from the Ciſalpine Gaules into Hetruria.* Flaminius *the Roman Conſul ſlaine, and his Armie deſtroyed by the Carthaginians, at the Lake of Thraſymene.*

THe Winter growing on apace, was very ſharpe, and unfit for ſervice: to the great contentment of the *Romans*, who, being not able to keepe the field, lay warme in *Placentia*, and *Cremona*. Yet *Hannibal* did not ſuffer them to reſt very quiet; but vexed them with continuall Alarmes: aſſayling divers places, and taking ſome; beating the *Gaules* their adherents, and winning the *Lygurians* to his partie, who preſented him, in token of their faithfull love, with two *Roman* Queſtors, or

Treaſurers, two Colonels, and five Gentlemen, the Sons of Senators, which they had intercepted. Theſe, and in generall all ſuch priſoners as he had of the *Romans*, he held in ſtreight places, loaden with irons, and miſerably fed: thoſe of their followers hee not onely well intreated, but ſent them to their Countries without ranſome; with this proteſtation, That he therefore undertooke the Warre in *Italie*, to free them from the oppreſſion of the *Romans*. By theſe meanes hee hoped, and not in vaine, to draw many of them to his partie and aſſiſtance. But the *Gaules* were not capable of ſuch perſwaſions. They ſtood in feare, leſt he ſhould make their Countrie the ſeat of War, and perhaps take it from them. They were alſo more grieved than reaſon willed them, at his feeding upon them, and waſting their territorie. Wherefore ſome of them conſpired againſt his life; others admoniſhed him of the danger: and theſe that gave him the advice, were ready ſoon after to practiſe againſt him; but were in like ſort detected. He was therefore glad to uſe Perwigs of haire, and falſe beards of divers colours, to the end, that he might not be deſcried, nor knowne, to thoſe that ſhould undertake to make him away. Faine he would have paſſed the *Appenines*, upon the firſt appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarry among the *Gaules*, till he had ſeene more ſwallowes than one. At length, when the yeare was ſomewhat better opened, he reſolved to take his leave of theſe giddie companions, & bring the war neerer to the gates of *Rome*. So away he went, having his Armie greatly increaſed with *Ligurians* and *Gaules*; more ſerviceable friends abroad, than in their own Countrie. That the paſſage of the *Appenine* Mountaines was troubleſome, I hold it needleſſe to make any doubt. Yet ſince the *Roman* Armies found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell upon *Hannibal*, when he was travelling through and over them, ought in reaſon to be imputed rather to the extremity of Winter, that makes all wayes foule, than to any intolerable difficultie in that journey. Neverthleſſe, to avoide the length of way, together with the reſiſtance and fortifications, which may not improbably be thought to have beene erected upon the ordinary paſſages towards *Rome*: he choſe at this time, though it were with much trouble, to travell through the Fennes and rotten grounds of *Tuſcane*. In thoſe Mariſhes and bogges, he loſt all his Elephants, ſave one, together with the uſe of one of his eyes; by the moyſtneſſe of the ayre, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading through deepe mire and water. In briefe, after hee had with much adoe recovered the firme and fertile Plaines; he lodged about *Arretium*; where he ſomewhat refreſhed his wearied followers, and heard newes of the *Roman* Conſuls.

*C. Flaminius*, and *Cn. Servilius* had of late bin choſen Conſuls for this year: *Servilius* a tractable man, and wholly governed by advice of the Senate; *Flaminius* an hot-headed popular Orator; who having once been robbed (as he thought) of his Conſulſhip, by a device of the Senators, was afraid to be ſerved ſo againe, unleſſe he quickly finiſhed the war. This jealous Conſul thought it not beſt for him to be at *Rome*, when he entred into his Office, leſt his adverſaries, by faining ſome religious impediment, ſhould detaine him within the Citie, or find other buſineſſe for him at home, to diſappoint him of the honour that he hoped to get in the war. Wherefore he departed ſecretly out of the Town; and meant to take poſſeſſion of his Office, when the day came, at *Ariminum*. The Fathers (ſo the Senators were called) highly diſpleaſed with this, revoked him by Embaſſadors: but he neglected their injunction; and haſting to meet with the *Carthaginians*, took his way to *Arretium*, where he ſhortly found them.

The fierie diſpoſition of this Conſul, promiſed unto *Hannibal* great aſſurance of victorie. Therefore he provoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the *Roman*: hoping thereby to draw him unto fight, ere *Servilius* came with the reſt of the Armie. All the Countrie between *Feſulæ* and *Arretium* he put to fire and ſword, even under the Conſuls noſe; which was enough to make him ſtirre, that would not have ſitten ſtill, though *Hannibal* had been quiet. It is true that a great Captaine of *France* hath ſaid; *Pays gaſté n'eſt pas perdu; A waſted Countrie is not thereby loſt.* But by this waſte of the Countrie, *Flaminius* thought his owne honour to bee much impaired; and therefore advanced towards the Enemie. Many adviſed him (which had indeed been beſt) to have patience a while, and ſtay for his Colleague. But of this hee could not abide to heare: ſaying, that hee came not to defend *Arretium*, whileſt the *Carthaginians* went burning downe all *Italie* before them, to the gates of *Rome*. Therefore he tooke horſe, and commanded the Armie to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Enſignes ſtucke ſo faſt in the ground, as it could not be plucked up by the Enſigne-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or falſe, *Tully* makes a jeaſt; ſaying, That the cowardly knave did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) having hardly pitched it into the earth. Neither was the anſwer of *Flaminius* (if it were true) diſagreeable hereto: for he commanded, that it ſhould be digged up, if feare had made the hands too weake to lift it: asking withall, whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this their jealouſie, both he and the Senate that did give him cauſe, are likely to repent.

All the Territorie of *Cortona*, as far as to the Lake of *Thraſymene*, was on a light fire; which whileſt the Conſull thought to quench with his enemies bloud, he purſued *Hannibal* ſo unadviſedly, that he fell with his whole Armie into an ambuſh cunningly layd for him, betweene the Mountaines of *Cortona* and the Lake. There was he charged unawares, on all ſides, (ſave onely where that great Lake of *Peruſia* permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to flye from them) knowing not which way to turne, or make reſiſtance. So was he ſlaine in the place, accompanied with fifteene thouſand dead carkaſſes of his Countrimen. About ſixe thouſand of his men, that had the Vantguard, tooke courage, as for the moſt part it happens, out of deſperation; and breaking through the enemies, that ſtood in their way, recovered the tops of the Mountaines. If theſe had returned, and given charge upon the *Carthaginians* backs, it was thought that they might have greatly amended, if not wholly altered, the fortune of the day. But that violence of their feare, which, kindled by neceſſity, had wrought the effects of hardineſſe, was well aſſwaged, when they ceaſed to deſpaire of ſaving their lives by flight. They ſtood ſtill, in a cold ſweat, upon the Hill-top, hearing under them a terrible noiſe, but not any way diſcovering how things went, becauſe of the great fogge that held all that morning. When it grew toward noone the ayre was cleered, and they might plainely diſcerne the lamentable ſlaughter of their fellowes. But they ſtayd not to lament it: for it was high time, they thought, to be gone ere they were deſcried and attached by the enemies horſe. This they ſhould have thought upon ſooner, ſince they had no minde to returne unto the fight. For deſcried they were, and *Maharbal* ſent after them; who over-tooke them by night in a Village, which he ſurrounded with his horſe: and ſo they yeelded the next day, rendring up their armes, upon his promiſe of their lives and liberties.

This accord *Hannibal* refuſed to confirme; ſaying, That it was made by *Maharbal* without ſufficient warrant, as wanting his authority to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his owne honour) what it was to keepe no faith: and fitted them with a trick of their owne. For if it were lawfull unto the *Romans*, to alter covenants, or adde unto them what they liſted; if the *Carthaginians* muſt be faine to pay certaine hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, beſides their firſt bargaine; as alſo to renounce their intereſt in *Sardinia*, and be limited in their *Spaniſh* Conqueſts, according to the good pleaſure of the *Romans*, whoſe preſent advantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded peace: then can *Hannibal* be as a *Roman*, as themſelves; and make them know, that perfidiouſneſſe gaineth no more in proſperitie, than it loſeth in the change of fortune. Fifteene thouſand *Italian* priſoners, or thereabout, he had in his hands: of which, all that were not *Romans*, he ſet free without ranſome; proteſting, as he had done before, that it was for their ſakes, and to free them and others from the *Roman* tyrannie, that he had undertaken this war. But the *Romans* hee kept in ſtreight priſon, and in fetters, making them learne to eat hard meat. This was a good way to breed in the people of *Italie*, if not a love of *Carthage*, yet a contempt of *Rome*: as if this war had not concerned the generall ſafetie, but onely the preſerving of her owne necke from the yoke of ſlaverie, which her over-ſtrong enemies would thruſt upon her in revenge of her oppreſſions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by ſucceſſe of many ages, is not loſt in one or two battels. Wherefore more is to be done, ere the *Carthaginians* can get any *Italian* Partiſans.

Preſently after the battell of *Thraſymene*, *C. Centronius*, with foure thouſand *Roman* horſe, drew neere unto the Campe of *Hannibal*. He was ſent from *Ariminum* by *Servilius* the other Conſul, to increaſe the ſtrength of *Flaminius*: but, comming too late, he increaſed only the miſadventure. *Maharbal* was employed by *Hannibal*, to intercept this companie; who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great overthrow, charged them, and brake them: and killing almoſt halfe of them, drave the reſt unto an high piece of ground, whence they came downe, and ſimply yeelded to mercie the next day. *Servilius* himſelfe was in the meane while skirmiſhing with the *Gaules*; againſt whom he had wrought no matter of importance, when the newes was brought him of his Colleagues overthrow and death in *Hetruria*; that made him haſten backe to the defence of *Rome*.

In theſe paſſages, it is eaſie to diſcerne the fruits of popular jealouſie, which perſwaded the *Romans* to the yearely change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certaine it is, that all men are farre better taught by their owne errours, than by the examples of their foregoers. *Flaminius* had heard, in what a trap *Sempronius* had beene taken up but the yeare before, by this ſubtle *Carthaginian*; yet ſuffered hee himſelfe to be caught ſoone after in the ſame manner. Hee had alſo belike forgotten, how *Sempronius*, fearing to be prevented by a new Conſul, and ambitious of the ſole honour of beating *Hannibal* in battell, without helpe of his companion *Scipio*, had beene rewarded with ſhame and loſſe: elſe would he not, contrarie to all good advice, have beene ſo haſtie to fight, before the arrivall of *Servilius*. If *Sempronius* had been continued in his charge, it is probable that he would have taken his companion with him the ſecond time, and have ſearched all ſuſpected places, proper to have ſhadowed an ambuſh: both which this new Conſul *Flaminius* neglected. We may boldly avow it, that by being continued in his government of *France* ten years, *Cæſar* brought that mighty Nation, together with the *Helvetians* and many of the *Germans*, under the *Roman* yoke; into which parts had there beene every yeare a new Lievtenant ſent, they would hardly, if ever, have beene ſubdued. For it is more than the beſt wit in the World can doe, to informe it ſelfe, within one yeares compaſſe, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions of the Places, Rivers, and of all good helpes, whereby to proſecute a war to the beſt effect. Our Princes have commonly left their Deputies in *Ireland* three years; whence, by reaſon of the ſhortneſſe of that their time, many of them have returned as wiſe as they went out; others have profited more, and yet when they began but to know the firſt rudiments of War, and government, fitting the Country, they have bin called home, & new Apprentices ſent in their places, to the great prejudice both of this and that Eſtate. But it hath ever beene the courſe of the World rather to follow old errours than to examine them: and of Princes and Governours, to uphold their ſlothfull ignorance, by the old examples and policie of other ages and people; though neither likeneſſe of time, of occaſion, or of any other circumſtance, have perſwaded the imitation.

## §. VI.

*How* Q. Fabius *the Roman Dictator, ſought to conſume the force of* Hannibal, *by lingring War.* Minutius *the Maſter of the Horſe, honoured and advanced by the People, for bold and ſucceſſefull attempting; adventures raſhly upon* Hannibal, *and is like to periſh with his Armie, but reſcued by* Fabius.

GReatly were the *Romans* amazed at this their ill ſucceſſe, and at the danger apparent; which threatned them in more terrible manner, than ever did war, ſince *Rome* it ſelfe was taken. They were good Souldiers; and ſo little accuſtomed to receive an overthrow, that when *Pyrrhus* had beaten them, once and againe, in open field, all *Italy* was ſtrangely affected with his ſucceſſe, and held him in admiration, as one that could worke wonders. But *Pyrrhus* his quarrell was not grounded upon hate: hee only ſought honour, and fought (as it were) upon a braverie: demeaning himſelfe like a courteous enemie. This *Carthaginian* deteſted the whole *Roman* name; againſt which he burned with deſire of revenge. *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, and *Thraſymene*, witneſſed his purpoſe, & his abilitie. Which to withſtand, they fled unto a remedie that had long bin out of uſe, and created a Dictator. The Dictators power was greater than the Conſuls, and ſcarcely ſubject unto controll of the whole Citie. Wherefore this Officer was ſeldome choſen, but upon ſome extremitie, and for no longer time than ſixe moneths. Hee was to be named by one of the Conſuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were ſo, that the Conſul (if he ſtood upon his prerogative) might name whom he pleaſed. At this time the one Conſul being dead,and the other too farre off, the People tooke upon them, as having ſupreme authoritie,to give the Dignity by their election, to *Q.Fabius Maximus*; the beſt reputed man of war in the Citie. *Novum factum novum conſilium expetit. Contrarie windes, contrarie courſes. Q.Fabius* choſe *M.Minutius Rufus* Maſter of the horſe: which Officer was cuſtomarily as the Dictators Lievtenant; though this *Minutius* grew afterwards famous,by taking more upon him.

The firſt act of *Fabius*,was the reformation of ſomwhat amiſſe in matter of Religion: a good beginning,and commendable; had the Religion beene alſo good. But if it were true (as *Livie* reports it) that the Bookes of *Sybil* were conſulted, and gave direction in this buſineſſe of devotion; then muſt we beleeve,that thoſe books of *Sybil*,preſerved in *Rome*,were dictated by an evill ſpirit. For it was ordained, that ſome Vow, made in the beginning of this warre to *Mars*,ſhould be made anew,and amplified; as having not bin rightly made before: alſo that great playes ſhould be vowed unto *Jupiter*,and a Temple to *Venus*; with ſuch other trumperie. This vehemencie of ſuperſtition,proceeds alwaies from vehemencie of feare. And ſurely this was a time, when *Rome* was exceedingly diſtempered with paſſion: whereof that memorable accident, of two women that ſuddenly died, when they ſaw their ſons returne alive from *Thraſymene*, may ſerve to beare witneſſe; though it be more properly an example of motherly love. The walls and towers of the Citie were now repaired and fortified; the bridges upon Rivers were broken downe; and all care taken for defence of *Rome* it ſelfe. In this tumult,when the Dictator was newly ſet forth againſt *Hannibal*;word was brought that the *Carthaginian* fleet had intercepted all the ſupply,that was going to *Cn.Scipio* in *Spaine*. Againſt theſe *Carthaginians*, *Fabius* commanded *Servilius* the Conſul to put to Sea; and taking up all the ſhips about *Rome* and *Oſtia*, to purſue them: whileſt he, with the Legions, attended upon *Hannibal*. Foure Legions he had levied in haſte: and from *Ariminum* he received the army,which *Servilius* the Conſul had conducted thither.

*Liv.lib.22.*

With theſe forth-with he followed apace after *Hannibal*; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what advantage the *Numidian* horſe had over the *Romans*,he alwayes lodged himſelfe on high grounds, and of hard acceſſe. *Hannibal* in the meane while, purſuing his victorie, had ranged over all the Countrie, and uſed all manner of cruelty towards the inhabitants; eſpecially to thoſe of the *Roman* Nation, of whom he did put to the ſword,all that were able to bear arms. Paſſing by *Spoletum* and *Ancona*,he incamped upon the *Adriatick* ſhores; refreſhed his diſeaſed, and over-travelled Companies,armed his *Africans* after the manner of the *Romans*, and made his diſpatches for *Carthage*; preſenting his friends, which were in effect all the Citizens, with part of the ſpoiles that he had gotten. Having refreſhed his army, fed his horſes,cured his wounded Souldiers,and(as *Polybius* hath it)healed his horſe heels of the ſcratches,by waſhing their paſternes in old wine: he followed the coaſt of the *Adriatick* Sea towards *Apulia*, a Northerne Province of the Kingdome of *Naples*; ſpoiling the *Marrucini*,and all other Nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he over-ran, he had not taken any one Citie: onely he had aſſaied *Spoletum*, a Colonie of the *Romans*; and finding it well defended,preſently gave it over. The malice of a great Armie is broken, and the force of it ſpent in a great ſiege. This the *Proteſtant* Armie found true at *Poictiers*, a little before the battel of *Moncountour*;and their victorious enemies, anon after, at S. *Jean d' Angely*. But *Hannibal* was more wiſe. He would not engage himſelfe in any ſuch enterpriſe, as ſhould detaine him,and give the *Romans* leave to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation: knowing, that when once he was abſolute Maſter of the field,it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their gates, without expecting any engine of battery. To this end he preſented *Fabius* with battell,as ſoon as he ſaw him; and provoked him with all manner of bravadoes. But *Fabius* would not bite. He well knew the differences between ſouldiers bred up,ever ſince they were Boyes, in war and in bloud,trained and hardened in *Spain*,made proud and adventurous by many victories there,and of late by ſome notable acts againſt the *Romans*; and ſuch, as had no oftner ſeen the enemy, than bin vanquiſhed by him. Therefore he attended the *Carthaginian* ſo neer,as he kept him from ſtragling too far; & preſerved the countrie from utter ſpoile. He inured his men by little and little,& made them acquainted with dangers by degrees; and he brought them firſt to looke on the Lyon afarre off, that in the end he might ſit on his taile.

Now *Minutius* had a contrary diſpoſition, and was as fiery as *Flaminius*; taxing *Fabius* with cowardize and feare. But all ſtirred not this well-adviſed Commander. For wiſe men are no more moved with ſuch noiſe, than with winde bruiſed out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indiſcretion and danger, than to purſue misfortune: it waſteth it ſelfe ſooner by ſufferance, than by oppoſition. It is the invading Army that deſires battell: and this of *Hannibal*, was both the invading and victorious. *Fabius* therefore ſuffered *Hannibal* to croſſe the *Appenines*, and to fall upon the moſt rich and pleaſant Territorie of *Campania*; neither could he by any arguments be perſwaded, to adventure the *Roman* Armie in battell: but being far too weake in horſe, he alwayes kept the Hils and faſt grounds. When *Hannibal* ſaw he could by no meanes draw this wary Dictator to fight, that the Winter came on, and that the Towns ſtood firm for the *Romans*; whoſe Legions were in ſight, though afarre off; he reſolved to reſt his Army, that was loaden with ſpoyle, in ſome plentifull and aſſured place, till the following ſpring. But ere this can be done, he muſt paſſe along by the Dictators campe, that hung over his head upon the hils of *Callicula*, and *Caſilinum*: for other way there was none, by which he might iſſue out of that goodly garden-countrie, which he had already waſted, into places more abundant of proviſion for his wintering. It was by meere errour of his guide, that he firſt entred within theſe ſtreights. For he would have bin directed unto *Caſſinum*, whence he might both aſſay the faire Citie of *Capua*, which had made him friendly promiſes under hand, and hinder the *Romans* from comming neere it to prevent him. But his guide miſunderſtood the *Carthaginian* pronunciation, and conducted him awry another way, from *Caſſinum* to *Caſilinum*, whence *Fabius* hoped that he ſhould not eaſily eſcape. Now began the wiſedome of *Fabius* to grow into credit; as if he had taken the *Carthaginians* in a trap, and won the victory without blowes. But *Hannibal* reformed this opinion, and freed himſelfe, by a ſleight invention, yet ſerving the turne as well as a better. In driving the country, he had gotten about two thouſand Kine, whoſe hornes he dreſſed with dry faggots, and ſetting fire to them in the darke night, cauſed them to be driven up the hils. The ſpectacle was ſtrange, and therefore terrible; eſpecially to thoſe that knew it to be a worke of a terrible enemy. What it ſhould meane, *Fabius* could not tell; but thought it a device to circumvent him, and therefore kept within his Trenches. They that kept the hill-tops were horribly afraid, when ſome of theſe fiery Monſters were gotten beyond them; and ran therefore haſtily away, thinking that the enemies were behind their backs; and fell among the light-armed *Carthaginians*, that were no leſſe afraid of them. So *Hannibal*, with his whole Army, recovered ſure ground without moleſtation: where he ſtaid till the next morning, and then brought off his light footmen, with ſome ſlaughter of the *Romans*, that began to hold them in skirmiſh. After this, *Hannibal* made ſemblance of taking his journey towards *Rome*: and the Dictator coaſted him in the wonted maner; keeping ſtill on high grounds, betweene him and the Citie, whileſt the *Carthaginian* waſted all the Plaines. The *Carthaginian* tooke *Geryon*, an old ruinous Town in *Apulia*, forſaken by the Inhabitants, which hee turned into Barnes and Store-houſes for winter, and incamped under the broken wall. Other matter of importance hee did none: but the time paſſed idly, till the Dictator was called away to *Rome*, about ſome buſineſſe of Religion, and left the Armie in charge with *Minutius* the Maſter of the horſe.

*Minutius* was glad of this good occaſion to ſhew his owne ſufficiency. He was fully perſwaded, that his *Romans*, in plaine field, would be too hard for the *Africans* and *Spaniards*: by whom if they had beene foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by ſubtilty and ambuſh, which he thought himſelfe wiſe enough to prevent. All the Armie was of his opinion; and that ſo earneſtly, as he was preferred, by judgement of the Souldiers, in worthineſſe to command, before the cold and warie *Fabius*. In this jollity of conceit, he determined to fight. Yet had he beene peremptorily forbidden ſo to doe, by the Dictator; the breach of whoſe command was extreme perill of death. But the honour of the victory, which he held undoubtedly his owne; and the love of the Armie, and the friends that hee had at home bearing office in *Rome*, were enough to ſave him from the Dictators rods and axes, tooke he the matter never ſo hainouſly. *Hannibal* on the other ſide was no leſſe glad, that he ſhould play with a more adventurous gameſter. Therefore he drew neer, & to provoke the *Romans*, ſent forth a third part of his Armie to waſte the Countrie. This was boldly done, ſeeing that *Minutius* incamped hard by him: but it ſeemes, that he now deſpiſed thoſe whom he had ſo often vanquiſhed. There was a piece of high ground betweene the two Campes; which becauſe it would be commodious to him that could occupie it, the *Carthaginians* ſeized upon by night with two thouſand of their light-armed. But *Minutius*, by plain force, wan it from them the next day; and intrenching himſelfe thereupon, became their neerer neighbour.

The maine buſineſſe of *Hannibal* at this time was, to provide abundantly, not only for his men, but for his horſes, which he knew to be the chiefe of his ſtrength; that hee might keepe them in good heart againſt the next Summer: if beſides this he could give the *Romans* another blow, it would increaſe his reputation, incourage his owne men, terrefie his enemies, and give him leave to forrage the Country at will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many dayes iſſue forth of his Campe, the *Carthaginian* ſent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in harveſt. This advantage *Minutius* wiſely eſpied, and tooke. For he led forth his Armie, and ſetting it in order, preſented battell to *Hannibal*, that was not in caſe to accept it, even at his owne Trenches. His horſes, and all his light Armature, divided into many companies, he ſent abroad againſt the forragers; who being diſperſed over all the fields, and loaden with bootie, could make no reſiſtance. This angred *Hannibal*, that was not able to helpe them; but worſe did it anger him, when the *Romans* took heart to aſſaile his Trenches. They perceived that it was meere weakeneſſe, which held him within his Campe, and therefore were bold to deſpiſe his great name, that could not reſiſt their preſent ſtrength. But in the heat of the buſineſſe, *Aſdrubal* came from *Geryon* with foure thouſand men, being informed of the danger, by thoſe that had eſcaped the *Roman* horſe. This imboldned *Hannibal* to iſſue forth againſt the *Romans*; to whom nevertheleſſe he did not ſuch hurt, as he had received.

For this piece of ſervice *Minutius* was highly eſteemed by the Armie, and more highly by the people at *Rome*, to whom he ſent the newes, with ſomewhat greater boaſt than truth. It ſeemed no ſmall matter, that the *Roman* Armie had recovered ſpirit, ſo farre forth that it dared to ſet upon *Hannibal* in his own camp; and that in ſo doing, it came off with the better. Every man therefore praiſed the Maſter of the horſe, that had wrought this great alteration; and conſequently, they grew as far out of liking with *Fabius*, and his timorous proceedings, thinking that he had not done any thing wiſely, in all his Dictatorſhip: ſaving that he choſe ſuch a worthy Lievtenant; whereas indeed in no other thing he had ſo greatly erred. But the Dictator was not ſo joyfull of a little good lucke, as angry with the breach of diſcipline; and fearefull of greater danger, thereon likely to enſue. He ſaid that he knew his owne place, and what was to be done; that he would teach the Maſter of the horſe to doe ſo likewiſe; and make him give account of what he had done, if he were Dictator: ſpeaking it openly, That good ſucceſſe, iſſuing from bad counſell, was more to be feared, than calamitie; for as much as the one bred a fooliſh confidence, the other taught men to be warie. Againſt theſe ſermons every one cried out, eſpecially *Metellus*, a Tribune of the people: which Office warranted him to ſpeake, and doe what he liſt, without feare of the Dictator. Is it not enough (ſaid hee) that this our onely Man, choſen to be Generall, and Lord of the Towne, in our greateſt neceſſitie, hath done no manner of good, but ſuffered all *Italie* to be waſted before his eyes, to the utter ſhame of our State; unleſſe he alſo hinder others, from doing better than himſelfe can, or dares? It were good to conſider what he meanes by this. Into the place of *C. Flaminius* he hath not choſen any new Conſull all this while; *Servilius* is ſent away to Sea, I know not why; *Hannibal* and he, have as it were taken Truce; *Hannibal* ſparing the Dictators grounds: (for *Hannibal* had indeed forborne to ſpoyle ſome grounds of *Fabius*, that ſo he might bring him into envie and ſuſpition) and the Dictator giving him leave to ſpoyle all others, without impeachment. Surely his drift is even this: he would have the war to laſt long, that he himſelfe might be long in Office, and have the ſole Government both of our Citie and Armies. But this muſt not be ſo. It were better, that the Commonalty of *Rome*, which gave him this authority, ſhould againe take it from him, and conferre it upon one more worthy. But leſt, in moving the people hereto, I ſhould ſeeme to doe him injurie; thus farre forth I will regard his honour: I will onely propound, That the Maſter of the Horſe may be joyned in equall authority with the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor leſſe neceſſary, than was the election of this Dictator, by the People.

Though all men, even the Senators, were ill perſwaded of the courſe which *Fabius* had taken againſt *Hannibal*, as being neither plauſible, nor ſeeming beneficiall at the preſent; yet was there none ſo injurious, as to thinke that his generall intent, and care of the Weale publique, was leſſe than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was the maner, in paſſing of any act, that ſome man of credit and authority, beſides the propounder, ſhould ſtand up, and formally deliver his approbation; not one of the principall Citizens was found ſo impudent, as to offer that open diſgrace, both unto a worthy Perſonage, and (therewithall) unto that dignity, whoſe great power had freed the State at ſeverall times, from the greateſt dangers. Onely *C. Terentius Varro*, who the yeere before had beene Prætor, was glad of ſuch an opportunity, to winne the favour of the Multitude. This fellow was the ſonne of a Butcher, afterwards became a Shop-keeper; and being of a contentious ſpirit, grew, by often brabbling, to take upon him as a Pleader, dealing in poore mens cauſes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and roſe by degrees, being advanced by thoſe, who in hatred of the Nobility favoured his very baſeneſſe. And now he thought the time was come, for him to give a hard puſh at the Conſulſhip; by doing that, which none of the great men, fearing or favouring one another, either durſt or would. So he made an hot invective, not only againſt *Fabius*, but againſt all the Nobility; ſaying, That it grieved them to ſee the people doe well, and take upon them what belonged unto them, in matter of Governement; That they ſought to humble the Commons by povertie, and to impoveriſh them by Warre; eſpecially by warre at their owne doores, which would ſoone conſume every poore mans living, and finde him other worke to thinke upon, than matter of State. Therefore he bade them to be wiſe; and ſince they had found one (this worthy Maſter of the Horſe) that was better affected unto them and his Countrey, to reward him according to his good deſerts; and give him authority, according as was propounded by the Tribune, that ſo he might be encouraged and enabled to proceed as hee had begun. So the Act paſſed.

Before this buſie day of contention, *Fabius* had diſpatched the election of a new Conſull, which was *M. Atilius Regulus*, in the roome of *C. Flaminius*: and, having finiſhed all requiſite buſineſſe, went out of Towne, perceiving well, that he ſhould not be able to withſtand the multitude, in hindering the decree. The newes of *Minutius* his advancement, was at the campe as ſoone as *Fabius*: ſo that his old Lievtenant, and new Colleague, began to treat with him as a Companion; asking him at the firſt, in what ſort hee thought it beſt to divide their authority: whether that one, one day; and the other, the next; or each of them ſucceſſively, for ſome longer time, ſhould command in chiefe. *Fabius* briefly told him, That it was the pleaſure of the Citizens, to make the Maſter of the horſe equall to the Dictator, but that he ſhould never be his ſuperiour: Hee would therefore divide the Legions with him, by lot, according to the cuſtome. *Minutius* was not herewith greatly pleaſed; for that with halfe of the Armie he could not worke ſuch wonders as otherwiſe he hoped to accompliſh. Nevertheleſſe he meant to doe his beſt, and ſo taking his part of the Armie, incamped about a mile and a halfe from the Dictator. Needfull it was (though *Livie* ſeemes to taxe him for it) that he ſhould ſo doe. For where two ſeverall Commanders are not ſubordinate one unto another, nor joyned in Commiſſion, but have each intire and abſolute charge of his owne followers, there are the forces (though belonging to one Prince or State) not one, but two diſtinct Armies: in which regard, one Campe ſhall not hold them both, without great inconvenience. *Polybius* neither findes fault with this diſtinction, nor yet reports, that *Fabius* was unwilling to command in chiefe ſucceſſively (as the two Conſuls uſed) with *Minutius*, by turnes. He ſaith that *Minutius* was very refractary; and ſo proud of his advancement, that continually he oppoſed the Dictator: who thereupon referred it to his choyce, either to divide the forces betweene them, as is ſaid before, or elſe to have command over all by courſe. This is likely to be true. For Natures impatient of ſubjection, when once they have broken looſe from the rigour of authority, love nothing more, than to conteſt with it: as if herein conſiſted the proofe and aſſurance of their libertie.

It behoved the Maſter of the horſe, to make good the opinion which had thus advanced him. Therefore he was no leſſe carefull of getting occaſion to fight, than was *Fabius* of avoiding the neceſſity. That which *Minutius* and *Hannibal* equally deſired, could not long be wanting. The country lying between them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambuſh, as could be wiſhed: for that the ſides of a naked valley adjoyning, had many & ſpacious caves; able, ſome one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In theſe lurking places *Hannibal* beſtowed five hundred horſe, and five thouſand foot; thruſting them ſo cloſe together, that they could not be diſcovered. But leſt by any miſadventure they ſhould be found out, and buried in their holes; he made offer betimes in the morning, to ſeize upon a piece of ground that lay on the other hand: whereby he drew the eyes and 10 the thoughts of the *Romans*, from their more needfull care, to buſineſſe little concerning them. Like unto this was the occaſion, which not long before had provoked *Minutius* to adventure upon the *Carthaginians*. Hoping therefore to increaſe his honour, in like ſort as he got it; he ſent firſt his light armature, then his horſe, and at length (ſeeing that *Hannibal* ſeconded his owne troupes with freſh companies) he followed in perſon with the Legions. He was ſoon caught, and ſo hotly charged on all ſides, that he knew neither how to make reſiſtance, nor any ſafe retrait. In this dangerous caſe, whileſt the *Romans* defended themſelves, loſing many, and thoſe of their beſt men: *Fabius* drew neer, in very good order, to relieve them. For this old Captain, perceiving afar off, into what extremity his new Colleague had raſhly throwne himſelfe and his followers, did the office of a good 2 Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Country, than the diſgrace which he had wrongfully ſuſtained, ſought rather to approve himſelfe by haſting to doe good, than by ſuffering his enemy to feele the reward of doing ill. Upon *Fabius* his approach, *Hannibal* retired: fearing to be well wetted with a ſhowr, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung ſo long on the Hill-tops. *Minutius* forthwith ſubmitted himſelfe to *Fabius*; by whoſe benefit he confeſſed his life to have bin ſaved. So from this time forwards the war proceeded coldly, as the Dictator would have it; both whileſt his Office laſted, which was not long, and likewiſe afterwards, when he delivered up his charge unto the Conſuls, that followed his inſtructions.

*Servilius* the Conſul had purſued in vaine a *Carthaginian* fleet, to which he came never within kenning. He ran along all the coaſt of *Italie*; tooke hoſtages of the *Sardinians* and *Corſicans*; paſſed over into *Africk*; and there negligently falling to ſpoyle the country, was ſhamefully beaten aboord his ſhips, with the loſſe of a thouſand men. Weighing anchor therefore in all haſte, he returned home by *Sicil*; and (being ſo required by the Dictators letters) repaired to the campe, with his fellow-Conſul, where they took charge of the Armie.

## §. VII.

*The Roman people, deſirous to finiſh the warre quickly, chooſe a raſh and unworthy Conſul. Great forces levied againſt* Hannibal. Hannibal *taketh the Romans proviſions in the Caſtle of Cannæ. The new Conſuls ſet forth againſt* Hannibal.

With little pleaſure did they of the poorer ſort in *Rome* heare the great commendations that were given to *Fabius* by the principall Citizens. He had indeed preſerved them from receiving a great overthrow; but he had neither finiſhed the war, nor done any thing in appearance thereto tending. Rather it might ſeeme, that the reputation of this his one worthy act, was likely to countenance the ſlow proceedings, or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worſe) of thoſe that followed him, in protracting the worke to a great length. Elſe, what meant the Conſuls to ſit idle the whole winter, contrary to all former cuſtome; ſince it was never heard before, that any *Roman* Generall had willingly ſuffered the time of his command to run away without any performance: as if it were honourable to doe juſt nothing? Thus they ſuſpected they knew not what; and were ready every man to diſcharge the griefe and anger of his owne private loſſe, upon the ill adminiſtration of the publike.

This affection of the people, was very helpfull to *C. Terentius Varro*, in his ſuit for the Conſulſhip. It behoved him to ſtrike, whileſt the Iron was hot: his owne worth being little or none, and his credit over-weake, to make way into that high Dignity. But the

Comminaltie were then in ſuch a mood, as abundantly ſupplied all his defects. Whereinto helpe, he had a kinſman, *Bibius Herennius*, then Tribune of the People; who ſpared not to uſe the liberty of his place, in ſaying what he liſted, without all regard of truth, or modeſtie. This bold Orator ſtucke not to affirme, that *Hannibal* was drawne into *Italie*, and ſuffered therein to range at his pleaſure, by the Noblemen; That *Minutius* indeed with his two Legions, was likely to have beene overthrowne, and was reſcued by *Fabius* with the other two: but, had all been joyned together, what they might have done, it was apparent, by the victorie of *Minutius*, when he commanded over all as Maſter of the horſe; That without a *Plebeian* Conſull, the warre would never bee brought to an end; That ſuch of the *Plebeians* as had long ſince beene advanced to honour by the people, were growne as proud as the old Nobilitie, and contemned the meaner ſort, ever ſince themſelves were freed from contempt of the more mightie; That therefore it was needfull to chooſe a Conſul, who ſhould be altogether a *Plebeian*, a meere new man, one that could boaſt of nothing but the Peoples love, nor could wiſh more, than to keepe it, by well deſerving of them. By ſuch perſwaſions the Multitude was won, to be wholly for *Terentius*: to the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure to ſee a man raiſed for none other vertue, than his detracting from their honour; and therefore oppoſed him with all their might. To hinder the deſire of the People, it fell out, or at leaſt was alledged, that neither of the two preſent Conſuls could well be ſpared from attending upon *Hannibal*, to hold the Election. Wherefore a Dictator was named for that purpoſe; and hee againe depoſed: either (as was pretended) for ſome religious impediment, or becauſe the Fathers deſired an *Inter-regnum*, wherein they might better hope to prevaile in choice of the new Conſuls. This *Inter-regnum* tooke name and being in *Rome*, at the death of *Romulus*; and was in uſe at the death of other Kings. The order of it was this. All the Fathers, or Senators, who at the firſt were an hundred, parted themſelves into *Tens*, or *Decuries*; and governed ſucceſſively, by the ſpace of five dayes, one *Decurie* after another in order: yet ſo, that the *Lictors*, or *Virgers*, carrying the *Faſces*, or bundles of rods and axes, waited onely upon the chiefe of them with theſe Enſignes of power. This cuſtome was retained in times of the Conſuls; and put in uſe, when by death, or any caſualty, there wanted ordinary Magiſtrates of the old yeare, to ſubſtitute new for the yeare following. The advantage of the Fathers herein was, that if the Election were not like to goe as they would have it, there needed no more, than to ſlip five dayes, and then was all to begin anew: by which interruption, the heat of the Multitude was commonly well aſſwaged. Upon ſuch change of thoſe, that were Preſidents of the election; it was alſo lawfull unto new Petitioners, to ſue for the Magiſtracies that lay void: which otherwiſe was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they ſhould publikely declare themſelves to ſeeke thoſe offices. But no device would ſerve againſt the generall favour borne unto *Terentius*. One *Inter-regnum* paſſed over, and the malice of the Fathers, againſt the vertue (as it was beleeved) of this meane, but worthy man, ſeemed ſo manifeſt, that when the People had urged the buſineſſe to diſpatch, onely *Terentius* was choſen Conſull: in whoſe hand it was left, to hold the election of his Colleague. Hereupon all the former Petitioners gave over. For whereas men of ordinary marke had ſtood for the place before, it was now thought meet, that, both to ſupply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this unexpert, and hot-headed man, one of great ſufficiencie, and reputation, ſhould be joyned with him, as both Companion and oppoſite. So *L. Æmilius Paulus*, he who few yeares ſince had overcome the *Illyrians*, and chaſed *Demetrius Pharius* out of his Kingdome, was urged by the Nobility to ſtand for the place; which he eaſily obtained, having no Competitor. It was not the deſire of this honourable man, to trouble himſelfe any more in ſuch great buſineſſe of the Common-wealth. For, notwithſtanding his late good ſervice, He, and *M. Livius* that had beene his companion in Office, were afterwards injuriouſly vexed by the People, and called unto judgement: wherein *Livius* was condemned, and *Æmilius* hardly eſcaped. But of this injuſtice they ſhall put the *Romans* well in minde each of them in his ſecond Conſulſhip, wherein they ſhall honourably approve their worth; the one of them nobly dying, in the moſt grievous loſſe; the other bravely winning, in the moſt happy victorie that ever befell that Common-wealth.

These new Conſuls, *Varro* and *Paulus*, omitted no part of their diligence in preparing for the warre: wherein though *Varro* made the greater noiſe, by telling what wonders he would worke, and that he would aske no more, than once to have a ſight of *Hannibal*, whom he promiſed to vanquiſh the very firſt day: yet the providence and care of *Paulus* travelled more earneſtly toward the accompliſhment of that, whereof his fellow vainly boaſted. He wrote unto the two old Conſuls *Servilius* and *Atilius*, deſiring them to abſtaine from hazzard of the maine chance; but neverthelesſe, to plie the *Carthaginians* with daily skirmiſh, and weaken them by degrees: that when hee and his Colleague ſhould take the field, with the great Armie which they were now levying, they might finde the foure old Legions well accuſtomed to the enemie, and the enemie well weakened to their hands. He was alſo very ſtrict in his Muſters; wherein the whole Senate aſſiſted him ſo carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refute the ſlanders, with which *Terentius* and his Adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raiſed, it is uncertaine. Fourescore thouſand foot, at the leaſt, and ſixe thouſand horſe, they were ſtrong in the field, when the day came, which *Varro* had ſo greatly deſired, of looking upon *Hannibal*.

*Hiero*, the old King of *Syracuſe*, as he had relieved the *Carthaginians*, when they were diſtreſſed by their owne Mercenaries; ſo did he now ſend help to *Rome*, a thouſand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantitie of Wheat, Barlie, and other proviſions: fearing nothing more, than that one of theſe two mightie Cities ſhould deſtroy the other, whereby his owne eſtate would fall to ruine, that ſtood upright, by having them ſomewhat evenly ballanced. He gave them alſo counſell, to ſend forces into *Africa*; if (perhaps) by that meanes they might divert the warre from home. His gifts, and good advice were lovingly accepted; and inſtructions were given to *Titus Octacilius* the Prætor, which was to goe into *Sicil*, that he ſhould accordingly paſſe over into *Africke*, if hee found it expedient.

The great Levies, which the *Romans* made at this time, doe much more ſerve to declare their puiſſance, than any, though larger accompt by Poll, of ſuch as were not eaſily drawne into the field, and fitted for ſervice. For, beſides theſe Armies of the Conſuls, and that which went into *Sicil*, twentie five thouſand, with *L. Poſthumius Albinus*, another of the Prætors, went againſt the *Gaules*, to reclaime that Province, which the paſſage of *Hannibal* through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their preſent ſtrength, might well embolden them to doe as they did. They ſent Embaſſadors to *Philip*, the ſon of *Demetrius*, King of *Macedon*, requiring him to deliver into their hands *Demetrius Pharius*: who, having been their ſubject, and rebell, was fled into his Kingdome. They alſo ſent to the *Illyrians*, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payment was already paſt. What anſwer they receivd, it is not knowne: only this is known, that *Demetrius Pharius* was not ſent unto them; and that *Philip* henceforth began to have an eye upon them, little to their good. As for the *Illyrian* money, by the ſhifts that they were driven ſoon after to make, it will appeare, that the one halfe of it (how little ſoever) would have bin welcome to *Rome*, and accepted, without any cavill about forfeiture for *non-paiment* of the whole.

Whilſt the Citie was buſied in theſe cares, the old Conſuls lay as neere unto *Hannibal* as poſſibly they could, without incurring the neceſſity of a battell. Many skirmiſhes they had with him; wherein their ſucceſſe, for the moſt part, was rather good than great. Yet one miſchance not onely blemiſhed the honour of their other ſervices, bu was indeed the occaſion to draw on the miſerie following. *Hannibal*, for the moſt par of that time, made his abode at *Geryon*; where lay all his ſtore for the Winter. The *Romans*, to be neere him, lodged about *Cannuſium*; and, that they might not be driven to turne aſide for all neceſſaries, to the loſſe of good opportunities, they beſtowed much o their proviſions in the Caſtle of *Cannæ*: for the towne was razed the yeere before. Thi place *Hannibal* wan, and thereby not onely furniſhed himſelfe, but compelled his ene mies to want many needfull things, unleſſe they would be troubled with farre carriage Beſides this, and more to his advantage, he enabled himſelfe to abide in that open Cou trie, fit for the ſervice of his horſe, longer than the *Romans*, having ſo many mouthe to feed, could well endure to tarry; without offering battell, which hee moſt deſire Of this miſhap when *Servilius* had informed the Senate, letting them underſtand, ho this Peece, taken by *Hannibal*, would ſerve him to command no ſmall part of the Cou trie adjacent; it then ſeemed needfull, even unto the Fathers themſelves, to adventure battell with the *Carthaginian*, rather than ſuffer him thus to take roote in the grou of *Italy*. Nevertheleſſe, anſwer was returned unto *Servilius*, that he ſhould have patience yet awhile: for that the Conſuls would ſhortly be there, with a power ſufficient to doe as need required.

When all things were ready in the City, and the ſeaſon of the yeere commodious to take the field, the two Conſuls, with their Army, ſet forth againſt *Hannibal*. This was alwaies done with great ſolemnity: eſpecially, whenſoever they went forth to warre againſt any noble or redoubted Enemy. For Sacrifices, and ſolemne Vowes, were made unto *Jupiter*, and the reſt of their gods, for good ſucceſſe and victory: which being performed, the Generals in warlike attire, with an honorable traine of the principall men, (not onely ſuch as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the warre, as Voluntaries, for love, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home,) were accompanied on their way, and diſmiſſed with friendly leave-taking, and good wiſhes. At this time, all the Fathers, and the whole Nobility, waited upon *Æmilius Paulus*, as the onely Man, whom they thought either worthy of this honour, or likely to doe his countrie remarkeable ſervice. *Terentius* his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens; a troupe no leſſe in greatneſſe, than the other was in dignity. At the parting, *Fabius* the late Dictator, is ſaid to have exhorted the Conſull *Paulus*, with many grave words, to ſhew his magnanimity, not onely in dealing with the *Cathaginians*, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outragious follie of his fellow-Conſull. The anſwer of *Paulus*, was, That he meant not againe to runne into danger of condemnation by offending the multitude; that he would doe his beſt for his Countrie: but if he ſaw his beſt were likely to be ill taken, he would thinke it leſſe raſhneſſe to adventure upon the Enemies ſword, than upon the malice of his owne Citizens.

## §. VIII.

### *Diſſention betweene the two Roman Conſuls. Whether it be likely, that* Hannibal *was upon point of flying out of Italy, when the Romans preſſed him to fight. The great battaile of Cannæ.*

THeſe new Generals, arriving at the Campe, diſmiſſed *M. Atilius*, one of the laſt yeeres Conſuls, requeſting it becauſe of his age and weakneſſe: *Servilius* they retained with them, as their Aſſiſtant. The firſt thing that *Æmilius* thought neceſſary, was, to hearten his Souldiers with good words; who out of their bad ſucceſſe hitherto, had gathered more cauſe of feare, than of courage. He willed them to conſider, not onely now, their victories in times paſt againſt the *Carthaginians*, and other more warlike Nations than were the *Carthaginians*, but even their owne great numbers: which were no leſſe than all that *Rome* at the preſent was able to ſet forth. Hee told them in what danger their Country ſtood; how the ſtate and ſafety thereof reſted upon their hands; uſing ſome ſuch other common matter of perſwaſion. But the moſt effectuall part of his Oration, was, That *Hannibal* with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one victory by plaine force and valour: but that onely by deceit and ambuſh he had ſtolne the honor, which he had gotten at *Trebia* & *Thraſymene*. Herewithall he taxed the inconſiderate raſhneſſe of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; of whom the one ſaw not his enemies, untill hee was ſurrounded by them; the other ſcarce ſaw them, when they ſtruck off his head, by reaſon of the thick miſt, through the darkneſſe whereof he went groping (as it were blinde-fold) into their ſnares. Finally, declaring what advantages they had againſt the Enemie; and how deſtitute the Enemie was of thoſe helpes, by which he had hitherto prevailed againſt them; he exhorted them to play the men, and doe their beſt. They were eaſily perſwaded: for the contemplation of their owne multitude, and confidence of the *Roman* vertue in matter of Armes, gave them cauſe to thinke, that under a Captaine ſo well experienced, and every way ſufficient, as *Æmilius* was knowne to bee, they ſhould eaſily prevaile againſt the *Carthaginians*, that came ſhort of them in all things elſe, ſave craft; which would not alwayes thrive. But in one thing they miſtooke the meaning of their Generall. It was his deſire that they ſhould have heart to fight; not that they ſhould loſe the patience of awaiting a convenient ſeaſon. But they, having pre-conceived a victory, thought all delayes to bee impediments: and thereby ſought to robbe themſelves of their beſt helpe; which was, good conduct. They remembred what talke they had heard at *Rome*: and were themſelves affected with the vulgar deſire, of ending the warre quickly; wherein ſince *Æmilius* had acknowledged, that the advantage was theirs, why did he make them forbeare to uſe it? Thus thought the common Souldier: and thus alſo thought the Conſull *Terentius*; who was no leſſe popular in the Campe, than hee had beene in the City. Expectation is alwayes tedious; and never more, than when the Event is of moſt importance. All men longed, both at *Rome*, and in the Army, to bee freed from the doubtfull paſſions of Hope and Feare: therefore *Terentius*, who haſtened their deſire to effect, was likely to win more thankes, than ſhould his Colleague, though greater in performance.

Thus while the *Romans* thinke themſelves to have the better of their Enemies, they fall into an inconvenience, than which few are more dangerous; *Diſſenſion* of their chiefe Commanders. *Varro* would fight: *Æmilius* would ſo too, but ſaid that it was not yet time; why? becauſe the enemy muſt ſhortly diſlodge, and remove hence, into places leſſe fit for his horſe. But ſhall the *Romans* wait, till *Hannibal*, having eaten up his laſt yeeres proviſions, returne into *Campania* to gather a ſecond Harveſt? This would (ſaid *Varro*) ſavour too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haſte (ſaid *Paulus*) doth ſavour no leſſe of *C. Flaminius*. Their deeds were like their words: for they commanded by turnes interchangeably every day. *Æmilius* lodged ſixe miles from *Hannibal*, where the ground was ſomewhat uneven. Thither if the *Carthaginians* would take paines to come; hee doubted not to ſend them away in ſuch haſte, as they ſhould not leave running till they were out of *Italy*. But they came not. *Terentius* therefore the next day deſcended into the Plaines; his Colleague holding him, and beſeeching him to ſtay. Nevertheleſſe he ſate down cloſe by *Hannibal*: who, as an unbidden gueſt, gave him but a rude wel-come and entertainment. The *Carthaginian* Horſe, and light armature, fell upon the *Roman* Vant-courrers; and put the whole Army in tumult, whileſt it was yet in march: but they were beaten off, not without loſſe, for that the *Romans* had among their *Velites*, ſome troupes weightily armed, whereas the *Carthaginians* had none. The day following, *Æmilius*, who could not handſomely withdraw the Army out of that levell ground, incamped upon the River *Aufidus*; ſending a third part of his forces over the water, to lye upon the Eaſterne banke, where they entrenched themſelves. Hee never was more unwilling to fight, than at this preſent: becauſe the ground ſerved wholly for the advantage of his enemie; with whom he meant to deale, when occaſion ſhould draw him to more equall termes. Therefore he ſtirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himſelfe; expecting when *Hannibal* ſhould diſlodge, and remove towards *Geryon*, *Cannæ*, or ſome other place, where his ſtore lay, for want of neceſſaries: whereof an Army forraging the Countrie, was not likely to carry about with it ſufficient quantity, for any long time.

Here it would not be paſſed over with ſilence, That *Livie* differeth much in his Relation from *Polybius*: telling many ſtrange tales, of the miſery into which *Hannibal* had beene driven; and of baſe courſes that he deviſed to take, if the *Romans* could have retained their patience a little longer. Hee had (ſaith *Livie*) but tenne dayes proviſion of meat. He had not money to pay his Souldiers. They were an unruly Rabble, gathered out of ſeverall Nations, ſo that he knew not how to keepe them in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, firſt, about their Pay, and Provant, and afterwards for very famine. Eſpecially the *Spaniards* were ready to forſake him, and runne over to the *Roman* ſide. Yea *Hannibal* himſelfe was once upon the point, to have ſtolne away into *Gaule* with all his horſe, and left his foot unto their miſerable deſtinies. At length for lack of all other counſaile, he reſolved to get him as farre as he could from the *Romans*, into the Southermoſt parts of *Apulia*; to the end, that both his unfaithfull Souldiers might finde the more difficulty in running from him; and that his hunger might bee relieved with the more early harveſt. But whileſt he was about to put this device in execution, the *Romans* preſſed him ſo hard, that they even forced him to that, which hee moſt deſired, even to fight a battaile upon open Champaine ground: wherein hee was victorious. It was not uncommendable in *Livie*, to ſpeake the beſt of his owne Citizens; and, where they did ill, to ſay, That, without their owne great folly, they had done paſſing well. Further alſo hee may be excuſed; as writing onely by report. For thus he ſaith, *Hannibal de fuga in Galliam* (*dicitur*) *agitaſſe*; Hannibal (*is ſaid*) *to* *have bethought himſelfe of flying into Gaule*: where he makes it no more than a matter of heare-ſay; as perhaps was all the reſt of this Relation. As for the proceſſe it ſelfe, it is very incredible. For if *Hannibal*, comming out of *Gaule*, through the *Mariſhes* and *Bogs* of *Hetruria*, could finde victualls enough, and all things needfull unto his Army, the Summer foregoing: what ſhould hinder him to doe the like this yeere; eſpecially ſeeing he had plaid the carefull husband in making a great harveſt; ſince he had long beene Maſter of the open field; and beſides, had gotten, by ſurpriſe, no ſmall part of the *Romans* proviſions? Suteable hereunto is all the reſt. If *Hannibal* had taken nothing but corne and cattell, his Souldiers might perhaps have fallen into mutinie for pay. But he brought gold with him into *Italie*: and had ſo well increaſed his ſtocke, ſince he came into that Countrie, that he had armed his *African* Souldiers, all *Roman*-like, and loaden his followers with ſpoile: having left wherewith to redeeme as many of his owne, as were taken by the Enemy; when the *Romans* were not willing, as finding it not eaſie to doe the like. In this point therefore, we are to attend the generall agreement of Hiſtorians: who give it as a principall commendation unto *Hannibal*, That he alwayes kept his Army free from ſedition, though it were compoſed of ſundry Nations; no leſſe different in Manners, Religion, and almoſt in Nature, than they were in languages: and well might hee ſo doe, having not onely pronounced, That which of his men ſoever fought bravely with an Enemy, was thereby a *Carthaginian*; but ſolemnly proteſted and ſwore, (beſides other rewards) to make as many of them, as ſhould deſerve and ſeeke it, free Citizens of *Carthage*. The running away into *Gaule*, was a ſenſeleſſe device. *Hannibal*, being there with his whole Army, tooke ſo little pleaſure in the Countrie and People, that he made all haſte to get him out of it. And what ſhould he now do there with his horſe? or how could he be truſted, either there or elſewhere? yea, how could he deſire to live; having betrayed all his Army, and relinquiſhed his miſerable foot, to the butcherie of their enemies? This tale therefore *Plutarch* omitteth; who in writing the life of *Hannibal*, takes in a maner all his directions from *Livie*. But of this and the like it is enough to ſay, That all Hiſtorians love to extoll their own Conntri-men; and where a loſſe cannot be diſſembled, nor the honour of the victory taken from the Enemy, & given unto blinde Fortune, there to lay all the blame on ſome ſtrange miſgovernment of their own forces: as if they might eaſily have won all, but loſt all through ſuch folly, as no Enemy can hope to finde in them another time.

Now let us returne backe to the two Armies, where they lye encamped on the River *Aufidus*. *Varro* was perſwaded, that it concerned him in honour, to make good his word unto the people of *Rome*: and ſince he had thus long waited in vaine, to get the conſent of *Paulus*, now at length to uſe his owne authority; and, without any more diſputing of the matter, to fight when his owne day came. When therefore it was his turne to command; at the firſt breake of the day he began to paſſe the River, without ſtaying to bid his Colleague good morrow. But *Paulus* came to him; and ſought, as in former times, to have diſſwaded him, from putting the eſtate of his Countrie to a needleſſe hazzard. Againſt whoſe words and ſubſtantiall arguments, *Terentius* could alledge none other, than *point of Honour*. *Hannibal* had preſented them battaile at their Trenches: ſhould they endure this Bravado? He had ſent his *Numidians* over the River but even the day before, who fell upon the *Romans* that were fetching water to the leſſer Campe; and drave them ſhamefully to runne within their defences, which alſo they made offer to aſſaile: muſt this alſo be ſuffered? Hee would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the ſpirit of the *Roman* Souldier; which as yet was lively, and full of ſuch courage, as promiſed aſſured victory. When *Æmilius* perceived, that he could not hinder the obſtinate reſolution of his Companion, hee tooke all care, that what he ſaw muſt be done, might be done well. Ten thouſand *Roman* foot he cauſed to be left behinde, in the greater campe oppoſite unto the *Carthaginian*; to the intent, that either *Hannibal* might be compelled to leave behinde him ſome anſwerable number, for defence of his Trenches: (which out of his paucitie he was leſſe able to ſpare from the battaile, than were the *Romans*) or that theſe ten thouſand, falling upon the *Carthaginian* Campe, when the fight began, & taking it with all the wealth therin, might therby (as commonly doe ſuch accidents) terrefie and diſtract the Enemies in the heate of fight. This done, the two Conſuls went over the water with their Armie to the leſſer Campe, whence alſo they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of battaile: the ground on the Eaſt part of the River, ſeeming perhaps more fit for marſhalling of their Army. *Hannibal* was glad of this, as he had great cauſe; and without any delay, paſſed likewiſe over, ſomewhat higher up the ſtreame, which ran from the South; leaving in his owne campe ſo many, as he thought would ſerve to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men; He bad them looke about them, and view the ground well, upon which they were to fight. They did ſo. And could you (ſaid hee) pray for any greater fortune than to joyne battaile with the *Romans* upon ſuch a levell ground, where the ſtronger in horſe are ſure to prevaile? They all aſſented to him; and ſhewed by their countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (ſaid hee further) yee are firſt of all to thanke the gods, that have brought them hither; and then Us, that have trained them along, and drawne them into neceſſity of playing for their lives, where they are ſure to loſe them. As for theſe *Romans*, I was faine to encourage you againſt them, when yee met them firſt: but now yee may even encourage your ſelves, by calling to minde that they are the men, whom yee have as often beaten as ſeene. Of one thing onely I will put you in minde: That whereas hitherto you fought for other reſpects, as, to drive them before you out of *Gaule*; and to win the open Countrie, and fields of *Italy*; both of which yee have obtained: now are ye to fight for the Townes themſelves, and all the riches within them; which this victory ſhall make yours. Therefore play the ſtout Souldiers: and ere many houres paſſe, yee ſhall be Lords of all that the *Romans* hold.

When he had ſaid this; his brother *Mago* came to him, whom he had ſent to view the countenance of the Enemy. *Hannibal* asked him, what newes; & what worke they were likely to have with theſe *Romans*? Work enough (anſwered *Mago*) for they are an horrible many. As horrible a many as they are (thus *Hannibal* replyed) I tell thee, brother, that among them all, ſearch them never ſo diligently, thou ſhalt not finde one man, whoſe name is *Mago*. With that he fell a laughing, and ſo did all that ſtood about him: which gladded the ſouldiers, who thought their Generall would not be ſo merry, without great aſſurance. Whether it were ſo, that *Hannibal*, in the pride of his victories already gotten, valued one *Mago* above many thouſand *Romans*; or whether he intimated, that the *Romans* were no leſſe troubled with thinking upon *Mago* and his Companions, than was *Mago* with beholding their huge multitude; or whether hee meant onely to correct the ſad moode of his brother with a jeſt, and ſhew himſelfe merry unto the Souldiers: this his anſwer was more manly, than was the relation of his diſcoverer. But if *Hannibal* himſelfe had beene ſent forth by *Mago*, to view the *Romans*, he could not have returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captain *Gam*, before the battaile of *Agincourt*, made unto our King *Henry* the fift: ſaying, that of the *Frenchmen*, there were enow to be killed; enow to be taken priſoners; and enow to run away. Even ſuch words as theſe, or ſuch pleaſant jeſts as this of *Hannibal*, are not without their moment; but ſerve many times, when battaile is at hand, to worke upon ſuch paſſions, as muſt governe more of the buſineſſe: eſpecially, where other needfull care is not wanting; without which they are but vaine boaſts.

In this great day, the *Carthaginian* excelled himſelfe; expreſſing no leſſe perfection of his military skill, than was greatneſſe in his ſpirit and undertakings. For to omit the commodiouſneſſe of the place, into which he had long before conceived the meanes to draw his enemies to battaile; He marſhalled his Army in ſuch convenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where every one might doe beſt ſervice. His Darters, and Slingers of the *Baleares*, hee ſent off before him, to encounter with the *Roman Velites*. Theſe were looſe troupes, anſwerable in a manner to thoſe, which we call now by a *French* name *Enfans perdues*; but when we uſed our owne termes, *the forlorne hope*. The groſſe of his Army following them, he ordered thus. His *Africans*, armed after the *Roman* maner, with the ſpoiles which they had gotten at *Trebia*, *Thraſymene*, or elſewhere; and well trained in the uſe of thoſe weapons, that were of more advantage, than thoſe wherewith they had formerly ſerved; made the two wings, very deepe in File. Betweene theſe he ranged his *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, armed, each after their own Countrey manner; their ſhields alike; but the *Gaules* uſing long broad ſwords, that were forcible in a downe-right ſtroake; the *Spaniards*, ſhort and well-pointed blades, either to ſtrike or thruſt; the *Gaules*, naked from their navell upwards, as confident in their own fierceneſſe: the *Spaniards*, wearing white caſſocks embroidered with purple.

This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in quality, made a gallant ſhew; and terrible, becauſe ſtrange. The *Gaules* were ſtrong of body, and furious in giving charge, but ſoone wearied, as accuſtomed to ſpend their violence at the firſt brunt, which diſpoſition all that come of them have inherited to this day. The *Spaniards* were leſſe eager, but more warie; neither aſhamed to give ground, when they were over-preſſed; nor afraid to returne, & renew the fight, upon any ſmall encouragement. As the roughneſſe of the one, and patience of the other, ſerved mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firme temper; ſo the place which they held in this battaile, added confidence joyntly unto them both. For they ſaw themſelves well and ſtrongly flanked with *Carthaginians* and other *Africans*; whoſe name was growne terrible in *Spaine*, by their Conqueſts; and in *Gaule*, by this their preſent war. Since therefore it could not be feared, that any great calamity ſhould fall upon them, whileſt the wings on either ſide ſtood faſt: theſe *Barbarians* had no cauſe to ſhrinke, or forbeare to imploy the uttermoſt of their hardineſſe, as knowing that the enemy could not preſſe farre upon them, without further engaging himſelfe than diſcretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great advantage, which the *Carthaginian* had in horſe: by which he was able, if the worſt had happened, to make a good retrait. The effect of contraries is many times alike. Deſperation begetteth courage; but not greater, nor ſo lively, as doth aſſured Confidence. *Hannibal* therefore cauſed theſe *Gaules* and *Spaniards* to advance; leaving voide the place wherein they had ſtood, and into which they might fall backe, when they ſhould be overhardly preſſed. So, caſting them into the forme of a *Creſcent*, He made them as it were his Vant-guard: the two points of this great halfe Moone, that looked toward the empty ſpace from which he had drawne it, being narrow and thin, as ſerving onely to guide it orderly backe, when need ſhould require; the foremoſt part of the Ring, ſwelling out toward the enemies, being well ſtrengthened & thickned againſt all impreſſion. The circle hereof ſeemeth to have beene ſo great, that it ſhadowed the *Africans*, who ſtood behinde it: though ſuch figures, cut in braſſe, as I have ſeene of this Battaile, preſent it more narrow; with little reaſon, as ſhall anon appeare: as alſo in the ſame figures it is omitted, That any Companies of *Africans*, or others, were left in the Reare, to ſecond the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, when they were driven to retrait; though it be manifeſt, that *Hannibal* in perſon ſtood between the laſt rankes of his long battalions, and in the head of his Reare, doubtleſſe well accompanied with the choice of his owne Nation. Betweene the left battalion and the River *Aufidus*, were the *Gaules* & *Spaniſh* horſe, under the command of *Aſdrubal*: On the right wing, toward the wide Plaines, was *Hanno* (*Livie* ſaith *Maharbal*) with the *Numidian* light-horſe. *Hannibal* himſelfe, with his brother *Mago*, had the leading of the Reare. The whole ſumme of *Hannibals* Army in the field this day, was ten thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot; his enemies having two to one againſt him in foot; and He, five to three againſt them in horſe.

The *Roman* Army was marſhalled in the uſuall forme: but ſomewhat more narrow, and deepe, than was accuſtomed; perhaps, becauſe this had beene found convenient againſt the *Carthaginians*, in the former warre. It was indeed no bad way of reſiſtance againſt Elephants, to make the Ranks *thick and ſhort*, but the Files long; as alſo to ſtrengthen well the Reare, that it might ſtand faſt compacted as a wall, under ſhelter whereof the diſordered troupes might re-ally themſelves. Thus much it ſeemes, that *Terentius* had learned of ſome old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battailes accordingly, as meaning to ſhew more ſkill, than was in his underſtanding. But the *Carthaginians* had here no Elephants with them in the field: their advantage was in Horſe; againſt which, this manner of embattailing was very unprofitable, foraſmuch as their charge is better ſuſtained in front, than upon a long flanke. As for *Æmilius*, it was not his day of command: He was but an Aſſiſtant; and in ſuch caſes it happens often, that wiſe men yeeld for very wearineſſe unto the more contentious. Upon the right hand, and toward the River, were the *Roman* horſe-men, under the Conſull *Paulus*: On the left wing, was *C. Terentius Varro* the other Conſull, with the reſt of the horſe, which were of the *Latines*, and other aſſociates: *Cn. Servilius* the former yeeres Conſull, had the leading of the battaile. The Sunne was newly riſen, and offended neither part; the *Carthaginians* having their faces Northward, the *Romans* toward the South.

After ſome light ſkirmiſh, betweene the *Roman Velites* and *Hannibal* his Darters and ſlingers

ſlingers of the Baleares: *Aſdrubal* brake upon the Conſull *Paulus*, and was roughly encountred; not after the manner of ſervice on horſe-backe, uſed in thoſe times, wheeling about *Alman-like*; but each giving on in a right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as having the River on the one hand, and the ſhoulder of the foot on the other hand; ſo that there was no way left, but to pierce and breake thorow. Wherefore they not onely uſed their Lances and Swords; but ruſhing violently amongſt the Enemies, graſped one another: and ſo their horſes running from under them, fell many to the gound; where ſtarting up againe, they began to deale blowes like foot-men. In concluſion, the *Roman* horſe were over-borne, and driven by plaine force to ſtaggering recoile. This the Conſull *Paulus* could not remedy. For *Aſdrubal*, with his boiſterous *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, was not to be reſiſted by theſe *Roman* Gentlemen, unequall both in number, and in horſmanſhip. When the battailes came to joyning, the *Roman* Legionaries found worke enough, and ſomewhat more than enough, to breake that great *Creſcent*, upon which they firſt fell: ſo ſtrongly for the while, did the *Gaules* and *Spaniſh* foot make reſiſtance. Wherefore the two points of their battaile drew towards the midſt; by whoſe aide, theſe Oppoſites were forced to disband, and flye backe to their firſt place. This they did in great haſte and feare: and were with no leſſe haſte, and folly purſued. Upon the *Africans* that ſtood behinde them, they needed not to fall foule; both for that there was voide roome enough; and foraſmuch as the Reare, or Hornes of this Moone, pointed into the ſafe retrait, where *Hannibal* with his *Carthaginians* was ready to re-enforce them, when time ſhould require. In this haſty retrait, or flight, of the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*; it hapned, as was neceſſary, that they who had ſtood in the limbe or utter compaſſe of the halfe Moone, made the innermoſt or concave ſurface thereof (diſordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turne the inſide outward: the hornes or points thereof, as yet, untouched, onely turning round, & recoyling very little. So the *Romans*, in purſuing them, were incloſed in an halfe circle; which they ſhould not have needed greatly to regard, (for that the ſides of it were exceeding thin and broken; and the bottome of it, none other than a throng of men routed, and ſeeming unable to make reſiſtance) had all the enemies foot bin caſt into this one great body, that was in a manner diſſolved. But whileſt the Legions, following their ſuppoſed victory, ruſhed on upon thoſe that ſtood before them, & thereby unwittingly engaged themſelves deeply within the principall ſtrength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two *African* Battalions on either ſide advanced ſo far, that getting beyond the Reare of them, they encloſed them, in a manner, behinde: and forward they could not paſſe farre, without removing *Hannibal* and *Mago*; which made that way the leaſt eaſie. Hereby it is apparent, That the great *Creſcent*, before ſpoken of, was of ſuch extent, as covered the *Africans*, who lay behinde it undiſcerned, untill now. For it is agreed, that the *Romans* were thus empaled *unawares*; and that they behaved themſelves, as men that thought upon no other worke, than what was found them by the *Gaules*. Neither is it credible, that they would have beene ſo mad, as to run head-long, with the whole bulke of their Army, into the throat of ſlaughter; had they ſeene thoſe weapons bent againſt them at the firſt, which when they did ſee, they had little hope to eſcape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and raſhneſſe of inferiour Captaines: but ſince the Conſull *Paulus*, a man ſo expert in warre, being vanquiſhed in horſe, had put himſelfe among the Legions; it cannot be ſuppoſed, that hee and they did wilfully thus engage themſelves. *Aſdrubal*, having broken the troupes of *Roman* horſe, that were led by the Conſull *Paulus*, followed upon them along the River ſide, beating downe an killing, as many as he could, (which were almoſt all of them) without regard of takin priſoners. The Conſull himſelfe was either driven upon his owne Legions, or willingly did caſt himſelfe among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, notwithſtanding the defeat of his horſe. But he failed of this his expectation. Nevertheleſſe he cheared up his men as well as he could, both with comfortable words, and wit the example of his owne ſtout behaviour: beating downe, and killing many of th enemies with his owne hand. The like did *Hannibal* among his *Carthaginians*, in th ſame part of the battaile; and with better ſucceſſe. For the Conſul received a blow fro a ſling, that did him great hurt: and though a troupe of *Roman* Gentlemen, riding abou him, did their beſt to ſave him from further harme; yet was he ſo hardly laid at, tha he was compelled, by wounds and weakneſſe, to forſake his horſe. Hereupon all hi

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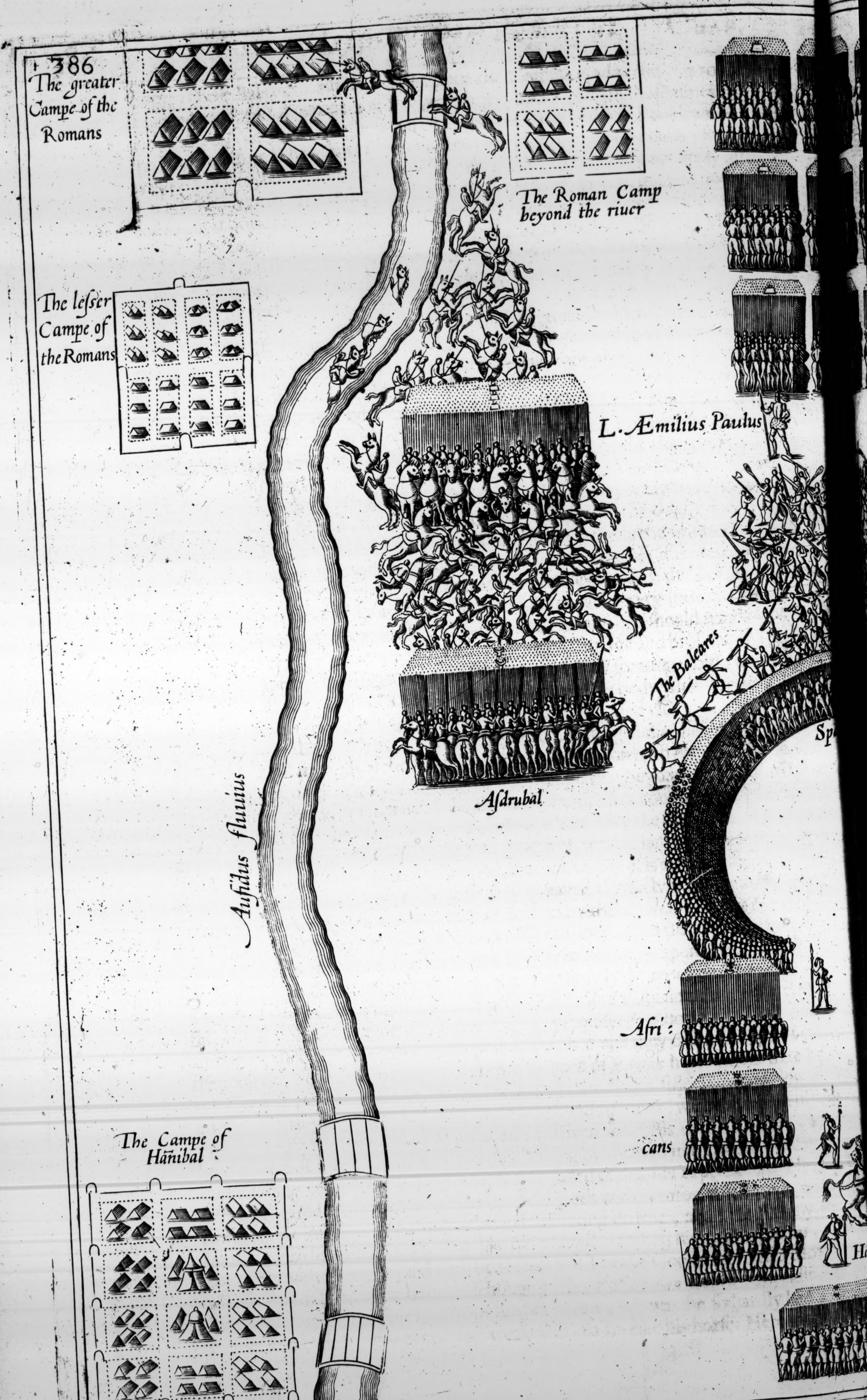
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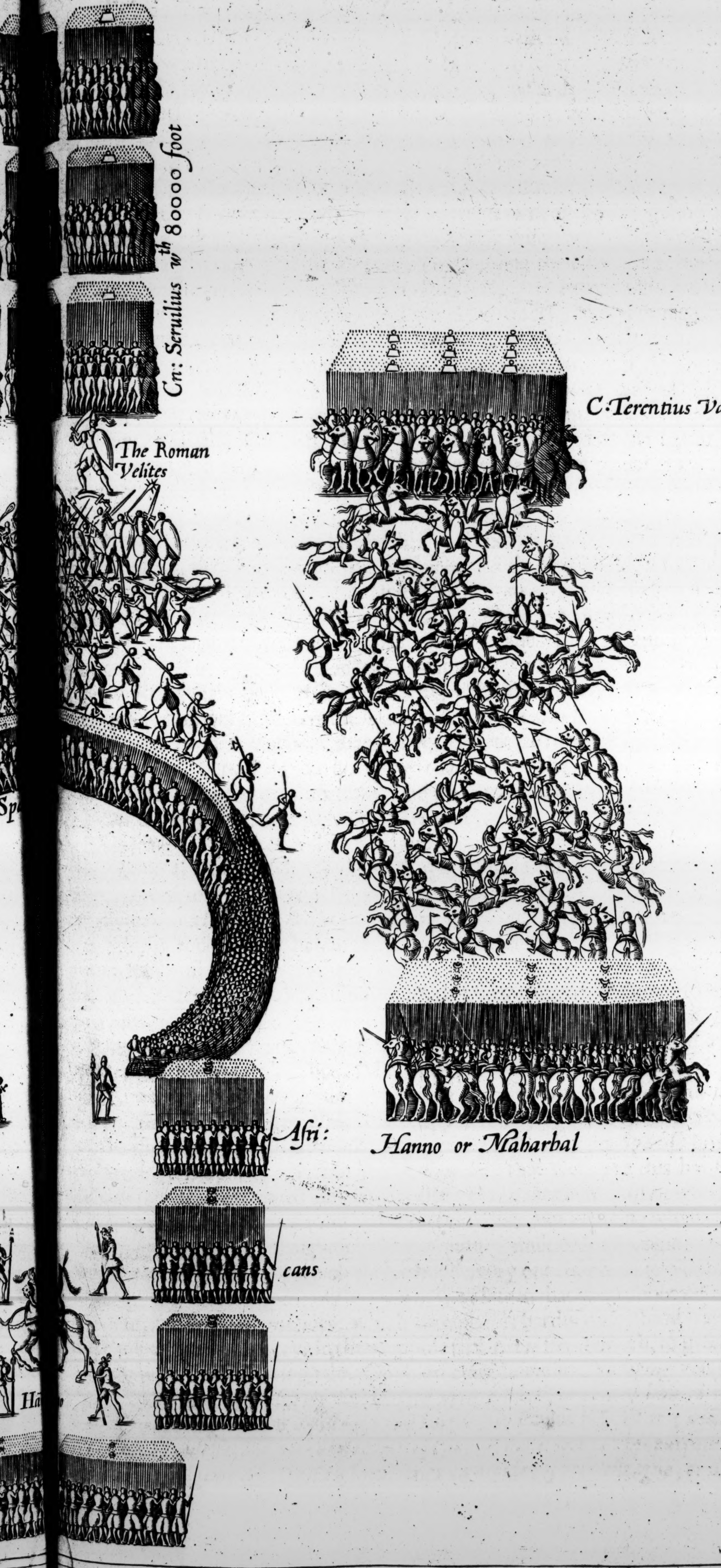
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company alighted, thinking that the Conſull had given order ſo to doe: as in many battailes, the *Roman* men at armes had left their horſes, to help their foot in diſtreſs. When *Hannibal* (for he was neer at hand) perceived this, and underſtood that the Conſull had willed his horſe-men to diſmount; He was very glad of it, and pleaſantly ſaid, *I had rather he would have delivered them unto me, bound hand & foot:* meaning, that he had them now almoſt as ſafe, as if they were ſo bound. All this while *C. Terentius Varro*, with the horſe of his aſſociates, in the left wing, was marvellouſly troubled by *Hanno* (or *Maharbal*) and the *Numidians:* who beating up and downe about that great ſandy Plaine, raiſed a foule duſt; which a ſtrong Southwinde, blowing there accuſtomarily, drave into the eyes and mouthes of the *Romans*. Theſe, uſing their advantage both of number and of lightneſſe, wearied the Conſull and his followers exceedingly: neither giving, nor ſuſtaining any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at the firſt they ſeemed to promiſe him an happy day of it. For when the battailes were even ready to joyne; five hundred of theſe *Numidians* came pricking away from their fellowes, with their ſhields caſt behinde their backes, (as was the maner of thoſe which yeelded) and, throwing downe their armes, rendred themſelves. This was good lucke to beginne withall, if there had beene good meaning. *Varro* had not leiſure to examine them; but cauſed them, unweaponed as they were, to get them behinde the Armie, where he bade them reſt quietly till all was done. Theſe crafty adventurers did as hee bade them, for a while; till they found opportunity to put in execution the purpoſe, for which they had thus yeelded. Under their Jackets they had ſhort ſwords and poniards; beſides which, they found other ſcattered weapons about the field, of ſuch as were ſlain, and therewithall flew upon the hindmoſt of the *Romans*, whileſt all eyes and thoughts were bent another way: ſo that they did great miſchiefe, and raiſed yet a greater terror. Thus *Hannibal*, in a plaine levell ground, found meanes to lay an ambuſh at the backe of his enemies. The laſt blow, that ended all fight and reſiſtance, was given by the ſame hand which gave the firſt. *Aſdrubal*, having in ſhort ſpace broken the *Romane* troups of horſe, and cut in pieces all, ſave the Companie of *Æmilius* that ruſhed into the groſſe of his foot, and a very few beſides, that recovered ſome narrow paſſage, between the River and their owne Battalions; did not ſtay to charge upon the face of the Legions, but fell backe behinde the Reare of his owne, and fetching about, came up to the *Numidians:* with whom he joyned, and gave upon *Terentius*.

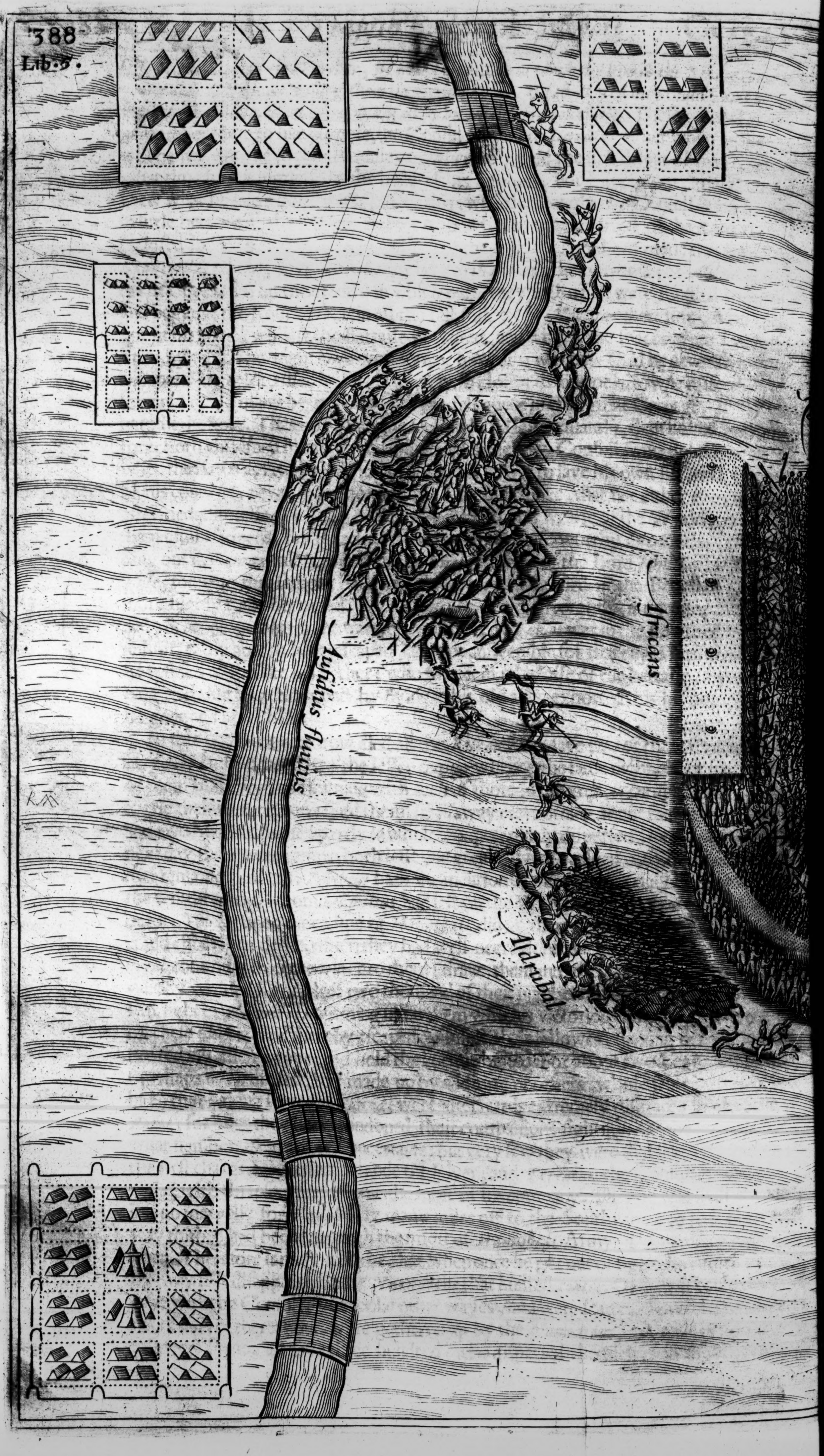
This fearefull cloud, as it ſhewed at the firſt appearance what weather it had left behinde it, on the other ſide: ſo did it prognoſticate a diſmall ſtorme unto thoſe upon whom it was ready now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius* his followers, having wearied themſelves much in doing little, and ſeeing more worke toward, than they could hope to ſuſtaine; thought it the beſt way, to avoid the danger by preſent flight. The Conſull was no leſſe wiſe than they, in apprehending the greatneſſe of his owne perill; nor more deſperate, in ſtriving to worke impoſſibilities: it being impoſſible, when ſo many ſhranke from him, to ſuſtaine the impreſſion alone, which he could not have indured with their aſſiſtance. Now hee found, that it was one thing to talke of *Hannibal* at *Rome*; and another, to incounter him. But of this, or of ought elſe, excepting haſty flight, his preſent leiſure would not ſerve him to conſider. Cloſe at the heeles of him and his flying troupes, followed the light *Numidians*, appointed by *Aſdrubal* unto the purſuit, as fitteſt for that ſervice. *Aſdrubal* himſelfe, with the *Gaules* and *Spaniſh* horſe, compaſſing about, fell upon the backes of the *Romans*; that were ere this hardly diſtreſſed, and in a manner ſurrounded on all parts elſe: He brake them eaſily; who before made ill reſiſtance, being incloſed, and laid at on every ſide, not knowing which way to turne. Here began a pittifull ſlaughter: the vanquiſhed multitude thronging up and downe, they knew not whither or which way, whileſt every one ſought to avoid thoſe enemies, whom he ſaw neereſt. Some of the *Roman* Gentlemen that were about *Æmilius*, got up to horſe, and ſaved themſelves: which though it is hardly underſtood how they could do; yet I will rather beleeve it, than ſuppoſe that *Livie* ſo reporteth, to grace therby his Hiſtory with this following tale. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, *galloping along by a place where he ſaw the Conſull ſitting all bloudied upon a ſtone, intreated him to riſe and ſave himſelfe; offering him his aſſiſtance and horſe. But* Paulus *refuſed it; willing* Lentulus *to ſhift for himſelfe, and not to loſe time: ſaying, That it was not his purpoſe to be brought againe into judgement by the People, either as an accuſer of his Colleague, or as guilty him-*

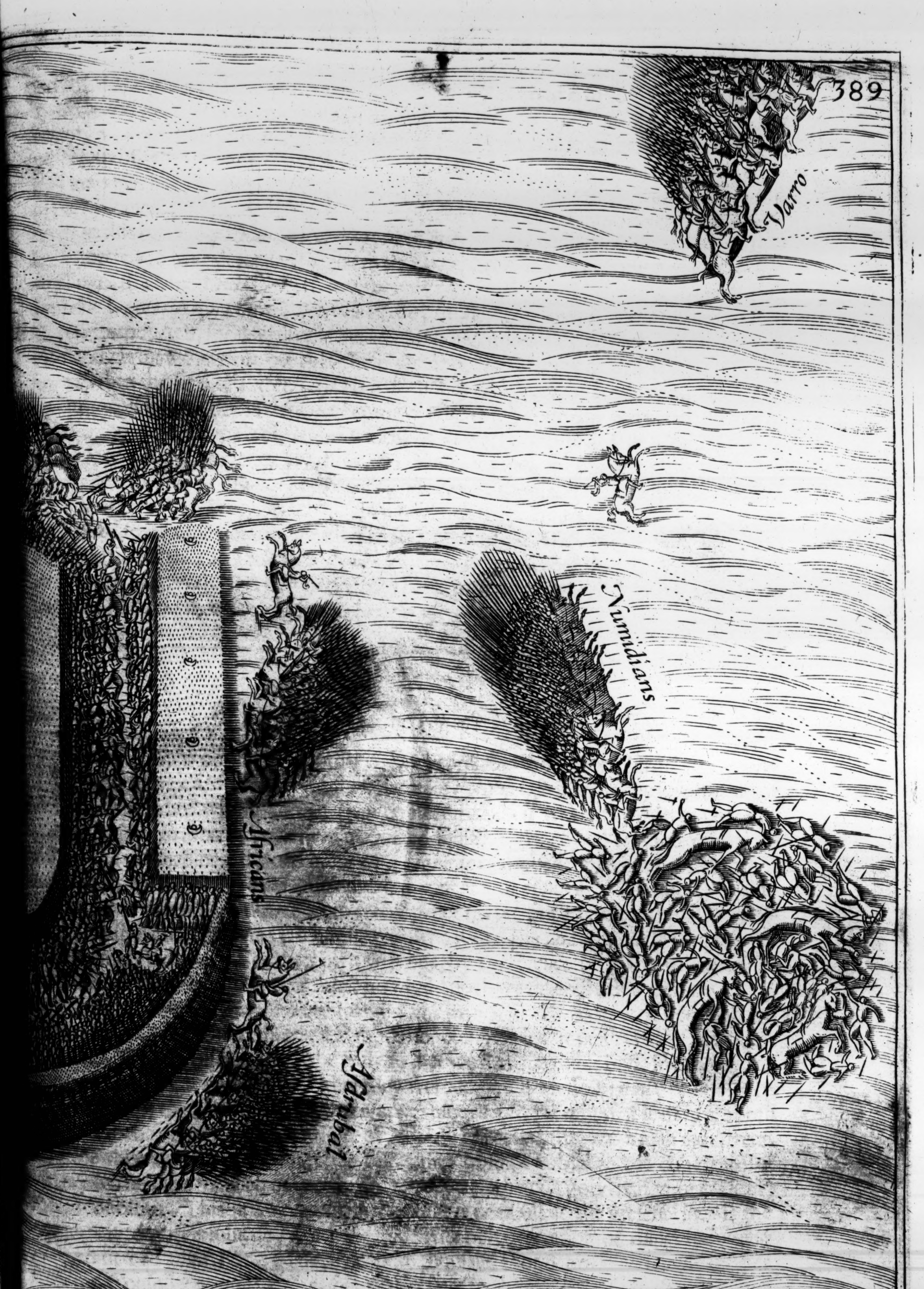
*ſelfe of that dayes loſſe. Further, he willed* Lentulus *to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to* Fabius*: willing them to fortifie Rome, as faſt as well they could; and telling* Fabius*, that he lived and died mindfull of his wholeſome counſaile.* Theſe words (peradventure) or ſome to like purpoſe, the Conſul uttered to *Lentulus*, either when againſt his will he was drawne to that Battaile, or when he beheld the firſt defeat of his Horſe; at what time he put himſelfe in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but *Hannibal* knew what he ſaid a good while before this; when he thought the Conſull & his troupe, in little better caſe than if they had been bound. The whole Groſſe of the *Romans*, was incloſed indeed as within a ſacke; whereof the *African* Battalions made the ſides; the *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, & *Hannibal* with his *Carthagnians*, the bottome; & *Aſdrubal* with his horſe, cloſed up the mouth: in which part, they firſt of all were ſhuffled together, and beganne the Rout, wherein all the reſt followed. *Æmilius* therefore, who could not ſit his horſe, whileſt the battaile yet laſted, and whileſt the ſpaces were ſomewhat open, by which he might have withdrawne himſelfe; was now (had he never ſo well bin mounted) unable to flie, having in his way ſo cloſe a throng of his owne miſerable followers, and ſo many heapes of bodies, as fell apace in that great Carnage. It ſufficeth unto his honour, That in the Battaile he fought no leſſe valiantly, than he had warily before, both abſtained himſelfe, and diſſwaded his fellow-Conſull, from fighting at all. If, when the day was utterly loſt, it had lien in his power to ſave his own life, unto the good of his countrie, never more needing it; I ſhould thinke, that hee either too much diſeſteemed himſelfe; or being too faintly minded, was wearie of the World, and his unthankefull Citizens. But if ſuch a reſolution were praiſe-worthy in *Æmilius*, as proceeding out of *Roman* valour; then was the *Engliſh* vertue of the Lord *John Talbot*, Viſcount *Liſle*, ſonne to that famous Earle of *Shrewsbery*, who died in the Battell of *Chaſtillon*, more highly to be honoured. For *Æmilius* was old, grievouſly, if not mortally, wounded, & accomptable for the overthrow received: *Talbot* was in the flowre of his youth, unhurt, eaſily able to have eſcaped, and not anſwerable for that dayes miſfortune, when he refuſed to forſake his Father; who foreſeeing the loſſe of the battaile, and not meaning to ſtaine his actions paſt by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble ſonne to be gone and leave him.

Henry VI
Death of Talbot

In this terrible overthrow died all the *Roman* foot, ſave two or three thouſand, who (as *Livie* ſaith) eſcaped into the leſſer campe; whence, the ſame night, about ſixe hundred of them brake forth, & joyning with ſuch of thoſe in the greater campe, as were willing to trie their fortune, conveyed themſelves away ere morning, about foure thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, partly in whole troupes, partly diſperſed, into *Cannuſium*: the next day the *Roman* camps, both leſſe and greater, were yeelded unto *Hannibal* by thoſe that remained in them. *Polybius* hath no mention of this eſcape: onely hee reports, that the ten thouſand, whom *Æmilius* had left on the Weſt ſide of *Aufidus* (as was ſhewed before) to ſet upon the campe of *Hannibal*, did as they were appointed; but ere they could effect their deſire, which they had well-neere done, the battaile was loſt: and *Hannibal*, comming over the water to them, drave them into their own campe; which they quickly yeelded, having loſt two thouſand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the firſt ſight of *Hannibal*, comming upon them with his victorious Army, a greater number of theſe did flie; and thereby eſcaped, whileſt their fellowes, making defence in vaine, retired into their campe, and held the enemie buſied. For about two Legions they were (perhaps not halfe full, but made up by addition of others, whoſe fault or fortune was like) that having ſerved at *Cannæ*, were afterwards extremely diſgraced by the State of *Rome*, for that they had abandoned their companions fighting. Of the *Romane* horſe what numbers eſcaped, it is uncertaine: but very few they were that ſaved themſelves in the firſt charge, by getting behinde the River; and *Terentius* the Conſull recovered *Venuſia*, with threeſcore and ten at the moſt in his company. That he was ſo ill attended, it is no marvell: for *Venuſia* lay many miles off to the Southward; ſo that his neereſt way thither, had beene through the midſt of *Hannibals* Army, if the paſſage had beene open. Therefore it muſt needs be, that when once he got out of ſight, he turned up ſome by-way; ſo diſappointing the *Numidians* that hunted *contre*. Of ſuch as could not hold pace with the Conſull, but tooke other wayes, and were ſcattered over the fields; two thouſand, or thereabout, were gathered up by the *Numidians*, and made priſoners: the reſt were ſlaine, all ſave three hundred; who diſperſed themſelves in flight, as chance led

*Liv.lib.19.*


Aufidius fluuius
Africans
Asdrubal


Varro
Numidians
Africans
Asdrubal

led them, and got into ſundry Towns. There died in this great Battaile of *Cannæ*, beſides *L. Æmilius Paulus* the Conſul, two of the *Roman* Quæſtors or Treaſurers, and one and twenty Colonels or Tribunes of the Souldiers, foureſcore Senators, or ſuch as had borne office, out of which they were to be choſen into the Senate. Many of theſe were of eſpeciall marke, as having been *Ædiles*, Prætors, or Conſuls: among whom was *Cn. Servilius*, the laſt yeeres Conſul, and *Minutius*, late maſter of the horſe. The number of priſoners, taken in this battaile, *Livie* makes no greater than three thouſand foot, & three hundred horſe: too few to have defended for the ſpace of one halfe houre, both the *Roman* Camps; which yet the ſame *Livie* ſaith, to have bin over-cowardly yeelded up. We may therefore doe better, to give credit unto one of the priſoners, whom the ſame Hiſtorian ſhortly after introduceth, ſpeaking in the Senate, & ſaying, That they were no leſſe than eight thouſand. It may therefore be, that theſe three thouſand were onely ſuch as the Enemy ſpared, when the fury of Execution was paſt: but to theſe muſt be added about five thouſand more, who yeelded in the greater campe, when their company were either ſlaine or fled. So the reckoning falls out right: which the *Romanes*, eſpecially the Conſull *Varro*, had before caſt up (as we ſay) without their Hoſt; nothing ſo chargeable, as now they finde it. On the ſide of *Hannibal* there died ſome foure thouſand *Gaules*, fifteen hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and two hundred horſe, or thereabouts: a loſſe not ſenſible, in the joy of ſo great a victory; which if he had purſued, as *Maharbal* adviſed him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome*; it is little doubted, but that the War had preſently been at an end. But he beleeved not ſo far in his own proſperity; and was therefore told, That *he knew how to get, not how to uſe a victory.*

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## §. IX.

### *Of things following the battaile at Cannæ.*

NOt without good cauſe doth *Polybius* reprehend thoſe two Hiſtorians, *Fabius* the *Roman*, and *Philinus* the *Carthaginian*: who regarding more the pleaſure of them, unto whoſe honour they conſecrated their travailes, than the truth of things, and information of poſterity, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and proceedings, the one of his *Carthaginians*, the other of his *Roman* Quirites, and Fathers conſcript. No man of ſound judgement will condemne this liberty of cenſure, which *Polybius* hath uſed. For, to recompence his junioritie (ſuch as it was) he produceth ſubſtantiall arguments, to juſtifie his owne Relation; and confuteth the vanity of thoſe former Authors, out of their own writings, by conference of places ill cohering: which paines is to bee ſuſpected, that he would not have taken, had he beene borne in either of theſe two Cities, but have ſpared ſome part of his diligence, and been contented, to have all men thinke better and more honourably than it deſerved, of his owne Countrie. The like diſeaſe it is to be feared, that we ſhall hereafter finde in others; and ſhall have ſome cauſe to wiſh, that either they were ſomewhat leſſe *Roman*, or elſe, that ſome Works of their oppoſite Writers were extant, that ſo we might at leaſt heare both ſides ſpeake: being henceforth deſtitute of *Polybius* his helpe, that was a man indifferent. But ſince this cannot be, we muſt bee ſometimes bold, to obſerve the coherence of things; and beleeve ſo much only to be true, as dependeth upon good reaſon, or (at leaſt) faire probabilitie. This attentive circumſpection is needfull at the preſent: ſuch is the repugnancie, or forgetfulneſſe, which we find in the beſt Narration of things following the Battaile of *Cannæ*. For it is ſaid, that foure thouſand foot & horſe gathered together about the Conſull *Terentius* at *Venuſia*; that others to the number of ten thouſand got into *Cannuſium*, chooſing for their Captaines, young *P. Scipio*, and *Ap. Claudius*; yet that the Conſull *Terentius Varro*, joyning his company unto thoſe of *Scipio* at *Cannuſium*, wrote unto the Senate, that he had now well-neere ten thouſand men about him; that theſe letters of the Conſull were brought to *Rome*, when the Senate was newly riſen, that had beene taking order for pacifying thoſe tumults in the City, which grew upon the firſt bruit of the overthrow; and yet, that Embaſſadours from *Capua* (after ſome conſultation, whether it were meet to ſend any, or without further circumſtance, to ſide with *Hannibal*) were ſent unto *Terentius*, and found him at *Venuſia*, a pretty while before he wrote thoſe letters, which overtooke (in a manner) at *Rome* the firſt news of the overthrow. Among ſuch incoherences, I hold it the beſt way, to omit ſo much as hath not ſome particular connexion with matter enſuing: mutuall dependencie in things of this nature, being no ſmall argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had ſacked the *Roman* camp, and truſſed up the ſpoiles, forthwith he diſlodged, and marched away into *Samnium*; finding a diſpoſition in the *Hirpines*, and many other people thereabout, to forſake the *Roman* partie, & make alliance with *Carthage*. The firſt towne that opened the gates unto him, was *Coſſa*, where he laid up his baggage: and leaving his brother *Mago* to take in other places, He haſted into *Campania*. The generall affection of the multitude, in all the cities of *Italy*, was inclinable unto him; not onely in regard of their grievous loſſes, ſuſtained abroad in the fields, which the *Romans* themſelves, who could not hinder him from ſpoiling the Country, eſpecially the poorer ſort of them, did hardly indure; but in a loving reſpect unto that great courteſie (as it ſeemed) which he uſed, unto ſuch of them as became his priſoners. For as at other times, ſo now alſo after his great victory at *Cannæ*, He had lovingly diſmiſſed as many of the *Italian* Confederates of *Rome*, as fell into his hands: rebuking them gently for being ſo obſtinate againſt him that had ſought to deliver them from bondage. Neither ſpared he to win their love by gifts; pretending to admire their valour; but ſeeking indeed, by all wayes & meanes, to make them his, whileſt all other motives were concurrent. At this time alſo he began to deale kindly (though againſt his nature) with the *Roman* priſoners; telling them, that he bore no mortall hatred unto their Eſtate; but being provoked by injuries, ſought to right himſelfe and his countrie; and fought with them, to trie which of the two Cities, *Rome* or *Carthage*, ſhould beare ſoveraigne Rule, not, which of them ſhould be deſtroyed. So he gave them leave to chooſe ten of their number, that ſhould be ſent home to treat with the Fathers about their ranſome: and together with theſe, he ſent *Carthalo* a Nobleman of *Carthage*, and Generall of his Horſe, to feele the diſpoſition of the Senate; whether it were bowed as yet by ſo much adverſity, and could ſtoope unto deſire of peace. But with the *Romanes* theſe arts prevailed not, as ſhall be ſhewed in due place. The people of *Italie*, all, or moſt of them, ſave the *Roman* Colonies, or the *Latines*, were not onely wearie of their loſſes paſt; but entertained a deceivable hope, of changing their old Society for a better. Wherefore not only the *Samnites*, *Lucans*, *Brutians*, and *Apulians*, ancient enemies of *Rome*, and not untill the former generation utterly ſubdued, began to re-aſſume their wonted ſpirits: but the *Campans*, a Nation of all other in *Italy* moſt bound unto the State of *Rome*, and by many mutuall affinities therewith as ſtreightly conjoyned, as were any ſave the *Latines*, changed on a ſudden their love into hatred; without any other cauſe found, than change of fortune.

*Campania*, is the moſt goodly and fruitfull Province of *Italie*, if not (as ſome then thought) of all the Earth: and the City of *Capua*, anſwerable unto the country, whereof it was Head, ſo great, faire, and wealthie, that it ſeemed no leſſe convenient a ſeat of the Empire, than was either *Rome* or *Carthage*. But of all qualities, bravery is the leaſt requiſite unto ſoveraigne command. The *Campans* were luxurious, idle, and proud: and valuing themſelves like Jayes by their feathers, deſpiſed the unfortunate vertue of the *Romans* their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet were there ſome of the principall among them, as in other Cities, that bore eſpeciall regard unto the Majeſtie of *Rome*, and could not indure to heare of Innovation. But the *Plebeian* faction had lately ſo prevailed within *Capua*, that all was governed by the pleaſure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of *Pacuvius Calavius* an ambitious Noble-man, whoſe credit grew, and was up-held by furthering all popular deſires: whereof, the conjunction with *Hannibal* was not the leaſt. Some of the *Capuans* had offred their city to the *Carthaginians* ſhortly after the battaile of *Thraſymene*: whereupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his journy into *Campania*; the Dictator *Fabius* waiting upon him. At that time, either the neerneſſe of the *Roman* Army, or ſome other feare of the *Capuans*, hindred them from breaking into actuall rebellion. They had indeed no leiſure to treat about any article of new Confederacie: or had leiſure ſerved, yet were the multitude (whoſe inconſtant love *Hannibal* had won from the *Romans*, by gentle uſage, and free diſmiſſing of ſome priſoners in good account among them) unable to hold any ſuch negotiation, without advice of the Senate; which mainely impugned it. So they that had promiſed to yeeld up their town to *Hannibal*, & meet him on the way, with ſome of their nobility that ſhould aſſure him of all faithfull meaning; were driven to ſit ſtill in a great perplexity: as having failed to let-in this their new friend, yet ſufficiently diſcovered themſelves, to draw upon them the hatred of the *Romans*. In this caſe were no ſmall number of the Citizens: who thereupon grew the more incenſed againſt their Senate, on whom they caſt all the blame, eaſily pardoning their owne cowardize. The people holding ſo tender a regard of liberty, that even the lawfull Government of Magiſtrates grieved them, with an imaginary oppreſſion; had now good cauſe to feare leſt the Senators would become their Lords indeed, & by helpe of the *Romans* bring them under a more ſtreight ſubjection, than ever they had indured. This feare being ready to breake into ſome outrage, *Pacuvius* made uſe of, to ſerve his owne ambition. He diſcourſed unto the Senate, as they ſate in Counſell, about theſe motions troubling the city: and ſaid, That he himſelfe had both married a *Roman* Ladie, and given his Daughter in marriage to a *Roman*: but, that the danger of forſaking the *Roman* partie was not now the greateſt: for that the people were violently bent to murder all the Senate, & after to joyne themſelves with *Hannibal*; who ſhould countenance the fact, and ſave them harmeleſſe. This he ſpake, as a man well knowne to bee beloved himſelfe by the People, and privie unto their deſignes. Having throughly terrefied the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging over them: He promiſed neverthelеſſe to deliver them all, and to ſet things in quiet, if they would freely put themſelves into his hands; offering his oath, or any other aſſurance that they ſhould demand, for his faithfull meaning. They all agreed. Then ſhutting up the Court, and placing a Guard of his owne followers about it, that none might enter, nor iſſue forth, without his leave: He called the people to aſſembly: and ſpeaking as much ill of the Senate, as he knew they would be glad to heare, he told them, that theſe wicked Governours were ſurpriſed by his policie, & all faſt, ready to abide what ſentence they would lay upon them. Onely thus much he adviſed them, as a thing which neceſſity required, That they ſhould chooſe a new Senate, before they ſatisfied their anger upon the old. So rehearſing unto them the names of one or two Senators, he asked what their judgement was of thoſe. All cried out, that they were worthy of death. Chooſe then (ſaid he) firſt of all ſome new ones into their places. Hereat the multitude, unprovided for ſuch an election, was ſilent; untill at laſt, ſome one or other adventured to name whom he thought fit. The men ſo nominated, were utterly diſliked by the whole Aſſembly; either for ſome knowne fault, baſeneſſe, and inſufficiency; or elſe even becauſe they were unknowne, and therefore held unworthy. This difficulty in the new Election appearing more and more, whileſt more were to be choſen; (the fitteſt men to be ſubſtitued, having beene named among the firſt, and not thought fit enough) *Pacuvius* intreated, and eaſily prevailed with the people, that the preſent Senate might for this time be ſpared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doubtleſſe) they would make, having thus obtained pardon of all offences paſt. Henceforth, not onely the people, as in former times, honoured *Pacuvius*, and eſteemed him their Patron; but the Senators alſo were governed by him, to whom they acknowledged themſelves indebted, for ſaving all their lives. Neither did the Senate faile after this by all obſequiouſnes, to court the People; giving the reines unto their lawleſſe Wil, who elſe were likely to caſt them down. All the city being thus of one mind; onely feare of the *Romans* kept them from opening their gates to *Hannibal*. But after the Battaile at *Cannæ*, this impediment was removed: and few there were, that would open their mouths to ſpeake againſt the Rebellion. Yet foraſmuch as three hundred principall Gentlemen of the *Campans*, did then ſerve the *Romans* in the Ile of *Sicil*: the Parents and Kinſmen of theſe prevailed ſo far, that Embaſſadours were ſent unto *Terentius* the Conſull; to ſee his preſent caſe, and what it could miniſter of Hope or Feare. Theſe, whereſoever they found him, found him weakely attended, and as weake in ſpirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the ſervice of their State; and deſired to know what he would command them. But he moſt baſely lamented unto them the greatneſſe of the *Roman* misfortune: ſaying, that all was loſt; and that the *Campans* muſt now, not helpe the *Romans*, who had nothing left wherewith to helpe themſelves, but make warre in their defence againſt the *Carthaginians*; as the *Romans* had ſometimes done for the *Campans* againſt the *Samnites*. Hereunto hee is ſaid to have added a fooliſh Invective againſt *Hannibal* and his *Carthaginians*: telling, How he had taught them to make bridges of ſlaughtered carkaſes, and to feed upon mans fleſh; with ſuch other ſtuffe, as only bewraied his own feare. As for the *Campans* themſelves, He put them in minde of their preſent ſtrength: they having thirty thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe; with mony, and all proviſions, in abundance. Thus he diſmiſſed them, prouder than they came, and filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordſhip; whereas before, they were ſomewhat timorous in adventuring to ſeeke their own liberty. Having reported this at *Capua*: the ſame Embaſſadors were diſpatched away to *Hannibal*, with whom they eaſily made alliance, upon theſe conditions; That the *Campans* ſhould be abſolutely free, and ruled by their owne Lawes; That no Citizens of theirs ſhould bee ſubject unto any *Carthaginian* Magiſtrate, in what caſe ſoever, whether in Warre or Peace; and, That *Hannibal* ſhould deliver unto the *Campans* three hundred *Romane* priſoners, ſuch as themſelves would chooſe, whom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which were in *Sicil*.

Againſt all this Negotiation, *Decius Magius*, an honourable Citizen, oppoſed himſelfe earneſtly: uſing, in vaine, many perſwaſions, to the wilfull and head-ſtrong Multitude; whom he put in minde of *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*, wiſhing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were ſending Embaſſadours unto *Hannibal*: and this alſo did he, when the new Alliance was concluded; but moſt earneſtly, when a *Carthaginian* Garriſon was entring the towne: at which time he gave advice, either to keepe it out, or to fall upon it, and to cut it in pieces, that by ſuch a notable piece of ſervice, they might make amends unto the *Romans*, whom they had forſaken.

Advertiſement hereof was given to *Hannibal*: who lying about Naples not farre off, ſent for *Magius* to come ſpeake with him in the campe. This *Magius* refuſed: alledging, that he was, by the late concluded Articles, free from ſubjection unto any *Carthaginian*; and therefore would not come. *Hannibal* thereupon haſted himſelfe towards *Capua*: forbearing to attempt any further upon *Naples*; which he thought to have taken in his way by *Scalado*, but found the wals too high, & was not well provided to lay ſiege unto it. At *Capua* he was entertained with great ſolemnity and pompe: all the people iſſuing forth of the towne, to behold that great Commander, which had won ſo many noble victories. Having taken his pleaſure in the ſight of that goodly City, and paſſed over his firſt entertainements; He came into their Senate: where he commended their reſolution, in ſhaking off the *Roman* yoke; promiſing, that ere long all *Italy* and *Rome* it ſelfe, ſhould be driven to acknowledge *Capua* as chiefe, and receive Law from thence. As for *Decius Magius*, who openly tooke part with the *Romans* their enemies; He prayed them, that they would not thinke him a *Campan*, but a traitor to the State, & uſe him accordingly, giving ſentence out of hand upon him, as he deſerved. This was granted: and *Magius* delivered unto *Hannibal*; who unwilling to offend the *Capuans*, at his firſt comming, by putting ſo great a man to death, yet fearing that they might ſue for his liberty, if he kept him alive, thought it beſt to ſend him away to *Carthage*. Thus *Hannibal* ſetled his friendſhip with the *Campanes*: among whom, onely this *Decius Magius* had openly dared to ſpeake againſt him; being aſſiſted by *Perolla* the ſonne of *Pacuvius*. This *Perolla* would have murdered *Hannibal*, whileſt he was at ſupper, the firſt night of his comming; had not his Fathers authority kept him from attempting any ſuch attempt. All the towne (beſides) were ſo earneſt in the love of their new Society, that they are ſaid to have murdered all the *Romans*, upon whom at the preſent they could lay hand; or, (which is all one) to have ſmothered them to death in an hot Bath.

The ſame courſe of fortune, with thoſe of *Capua*, ranne ſome other townes thereabouts, which depended on this, as their Mother-City. *Nola*, *Nuceria*, *Naples*, *Caſiline*, and *Acerræ*, were the Cities next adjoyning, that ſtood out for the *Romans*. Againſt theſe *Hannibal* went, thinking to finde them weakely manned; as they were indeed, though ſtoutly defended.

The *Romanes* at this time were not in caſe, to put Garriſons into all their walled townes; but were faine to leave all places, except a few of the moſt ſuſpected, unto the faith and courage of the Inhabitants. *Rome* it ſelfe was in extreme feare of *Hannibals* comming, at the firſt report of the overthrow at *Cannæ*: and the griefe of that loſſe was ſo generall, and immoderate, that it much diſturbed the proviſion againſt apparent danger. It was hard to judge, whether the loſſe already received, or the feare of deſtruction preſently threatning, were the more terrible. All the Senators found worke enough, to ſtint the noyſe and lamentable bewailings, whereof the ſtreets were full. Courtiers were ſent forth, to bring aſſured tidings how all went: whereof when Letters from the Conſul *Varro* had throughly enformed them, they were ſo amazed, that they ran into barbarous ſuperſtition; and taking direction (as was ſaid) from their fatall bookes, buried alive two men and women, *Gaules* and *Greekes*, in their Oxe-market. If the bookes of *Sibyl* gave them ſuch inſtructions; we may juſtly thinke that *Sibyl* her ſelfe was inſtructed by the Divell. Yet is it not improbable, that extremity of feare cauſed them to hearken to wicked Sooth-ſayers; whoſe deteſtable counſels they afterwards, for their own honour (as aſhamed of ſuch Authors) imputed to the books of *Sibyl*. An Embaſſador was ſent to *Delphi*, to conſult with the oracle of *Apollo*; and enquire with what praiers and ſupplications they might pacifie the gods, and obtain an end of theſe calamities. This is enough to diſcover the greatnes of their fear; though not ſerving to give remedy. At that time came Letters out of *Sicil*, from the Prætor *Octacilius*; whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to paſſe over into *Africk*. In theſe were contained newes of one *Carthaginian* fleet that waſted the kingdome of *Hieron* their good friend & confederate; and of another fleet, riding among the Iles *Ægateis*, which was in readineſſe to ſet upon *Lilybæum*, and the reſt of the *Roman* Province, if the Prætor ſtirred aſide to the reſcue of *Hieron*.

In the middeſt of theſe extremities, it was thought needfull to call home *Terentius* the Conſul, that he might name a Dictator, to take ſoveraigne charge of the Weale publique, with abſolute power, as neceſſity required. It muſt needs ſeeme ſtrange, that all ſorts of people went forth to meet the Conſul, and bid him welcome home, giving him thankes *for that he had not deſpaired of the Weale publique*. But this was done (as may ſeeme) by order from the Senate: which therein (doubtleſſe) provided wiſely for upholding the generall reputation. If his comming into the Citie had renewed the lamentations and outcries of the people: what elſe would have followed, than a contempt of their wretchedneſſe, among thoſe that were ſubject unto their Dominion? Now in finding this occaſion (though indeed he gave it not) of beſtowing upon him their welcome, and thanks; they noyſed abroad a fame, which came perhaps unto the eares of *Hannibal*, of their Magnanimity and Confidence: that might ſeem grounded on their remaining ſtrength. This therefore was wiſely done. But whereas *Livie* would have us thinke, that it was done generouſly, and out of great ſpirit; let me be pardoned, if I beleeve him not. It was done fearfully, and to cover their griefe: had they dared to ſhew their indignation, they would have ſtrucke off his head; as in few years after, *Cn. Fulvius* had his life brought into queſtion, and was baniſhed by them, being leſſe blame-worthy, for a ſmaller offence. *M. Junius*, by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator; and *T. Sempronius*, Maſter of the horſe. Theſe fell preſently to muſtering of Souldiers, of whom they raiſed foure new Legions, and 1000. horſe: though with much difficulty; as being fain to take up ſome that were very boyes. Theſe foure Legions are elſewhere forgotten in accompt of the forces levied by this Dictator; and two Legions onely ſet downe, that had bin enrolled in the beginning of the year for cuſtody of the City. So it may be, that theſe two Legions being drawn into the field; foure new ones of *Prætextati*, or ſtriplings were left in their places. In ſuch raw Souldiers, and ſo few, little confidence was to be repoſed; for which reaſon they increaſed their number, by adding unto them 8000. ſturdy ſlaves, that were put in hope of liberty, if they ſhould deſerve it by manfull ſervice. This not ſufficing; the Dictator proclaimed, That whoſoever ought mony and could not pay it, or had committed any capitall offence, ſhould forthwith be diſcharged of his debt or puniſhment, if he would ſerve in the War. To arme theſe Companies, they were fain to take down out of their Temples and Porches, the ſpoiles of their enemies that had bin there ſet up: among which, were 6000 Armors of the *Gaules*, that had bin carried in the Triumph of *C. Flaminius*, a little before the beginning of this War. To ſuch mockery had God brought the pride of the *Romans*, as a due reward of their inſolent oppreſſions, that they were fain to iſſue forth of their own gates, in the habite of ſtrangers, when *Hannibal* was ready to encounter them with his *Africans*, armed *Roman-like*.

*Liv.lib.26.*

*Liv.lib.22.*

*Liv.lib.23.*

About the ſame time it was that *Carthalo*, with the Agents of the priſoners taken at *Cannæ*, came to *Rome*. *Carthalo* was not admitted into the City, but commanded, whileſt he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the *Roman* Territory. To the meſſengers of the captives, audience was given by the Senate. They made earneſt Petition to be ranſomed at the publike charge; not only the teares and lamentation of their poor kinſfolke, but the great need, wherein the City then ſtood, of able Souldiers, commending their ſuite, which yet they obtained not. Beſides the generall cuſtome of the *Romans* (held by long Tradition, and ſtrengthened by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was overthrowne, and taken priſoner in the former Warre) not to be too tender of ſuch as had yeelded to the enemy; much was alledged againſt theſe who now craved ranſome: but the ſpeciall point was, that they were wilfully loſt, ſince they might have ſaved themſelves, as others did. It ſufficed not unto theſe poore men, to ſay, that their offence was no greater than the Conſuls; they were told, that this was great preſumption. The truth was, the State wanted money; and therefore could not want excuſes, whereby to avoid the disburſement: whether it were ſo, or not, that any ſuch Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we find recorded. Neither muſt wee regard it, that the ſlaves which were armed for the warre, are ſaid to have coſt more, than the ſumme did amount unto, that would have ranſomed theſe priſoners. For this is but a tale, deviſed to countenance the *Roman* proceedings, as if they had beene ſevere; when as indeed they were ſutable to the preſent fortune, poore, and ſomewhat beggarly. Hereof it is no little proofe, That *Hannibal* valued thoſe *Roman* ſlaves, whom he had taken in the Campe among their Maſters, at no more, than every one the third part of a common Souldiers ranſome: and likely it is, that hee offered them at the price, whereat hee thought them current. But if we ſhould ſuppoſe, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargain for ſlaves might have beene made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with private men; yet muſt we withall conſider, that theſe private men did onely lend theſe ſlaves for a while unto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented *to forbeare the price of them* (when by order of the Senate they were enfranchiſed) untill the Warre ſhould be ended. If *Hannibal* would have given ſuch long day of payment, it is likely that the *Romans* would have beene his Chapmen: but, ſeeing hee dealt onely for ready money, they choſe rather to ſay, We will not give, than, We cannot. The like auſteritie, upon the ſame reaſon, but contrary pretence, was uſed toward the ſouldiers that eſcaped from that great Battell. Theſe were charged for having fled: as the priſoners were, for not flying, when they might have done ſo. True it is, that in ſuch caſes (if ever) that which they call *raggione del Stato*, may ſerve for an excuſe: when the Common-wealth, being driven to a miſerable exigent, is faine to helpe it ſelfe, by doing injuries to private men. And ſo dealt the *Romans* now: condemning all thoſe that had ſerved at *Cannæ*, to bee tranſported into *Sicil*; and there to ſerve, not as others did, untill they had fulfilled twenty yeeres in the Warres, or elſe were fifty yeeres of age; but untill this Warre ſhould be ended, how long ſoever it laſted, and that without reward. The ſame thrifty cenſure was afterwards layd upon others, for their miſ-behaviour: but never upon any man of quality, ſave only (a good while after this, at better leiſure) upon *Cecilius Metellus*, and a few other hare-brain'd fooles his companions; who, being frighted out of their wits, with the terrour of ſo great a loſſe, were deviſing, after the battell, which way to runne out of *Italie*, when *Hannibal* as yet had ſcarce one towne within it. The inequality of this rigour grew ſhortly diſtaſtfull to the Commonalty: and was openly blamed by *a Tribune of the people*; nevertheleſſe it was quietly digeſted, the excuſe being no leſſe apparent than the fault.

Liv.l.24.

Liv.l.25.

*M. Junius* the Dictator, having diſpatched all needfull buſineſſe within the Citie, tooke the field with five and twenty thouſand men. What he did with this Army, I cannot find: nor more of him than this, That he ſpent the time about *Campania*; where (as may be preſumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be aſcribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater evill: for of any evill done to *Hannibal*, by the *Romans*, in this their weake eſtate, onely *Marcellus* had the honour. *Marcellus*, being then one of the Prætors, lay at *Oſtia*, with a Fleet ready to ſet ſaile for *Sicil*, having one Legion aboord his ſhips, and fifteene hundred other Souldiers newly taken up: with which forces hee was to defend that Iland, and doe what harme he could in *Africk*. But hearing of the overthrow at *Cannæ*, he ſent theſe of his new Levie to *Rome*, for defence of the Citie; and marched haſtily with his Legion toward *Cannuſium*: delivering the Fleet, empty of Souldiers, to *P. Furius* his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magiſtrates, and chiefe Citizens of *Nola*, to helpe them: who were like to be forced by the multitude (affected, as were the reſt of the *Campanes*) to let in the *Carthaginian*; and knew not how to avoid this otherwiſe, than by ſeeming to deliberate about the articles of this new confederacie. Wherefore hee made great journies thitherward; and arrived even time enough to prevent the Enemy. Many idle walkes *Hannibal* made betwixt *Nola* and *Naples*: aſſaying by faire words and terrible threats the one and the other Citie. *Naples* was ſtrong, and not infected with any the leaſt touch of diſloyaltie: had alſo a ſure Haven, whereby it ſtood in the leſſe feare of ſuſtaining much inconvenience, by ſpoyle of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Countrey. But at *Nola* it was thought a valuable conſideration, That *Hannibal* was Maſter of the field: which if he laid waſte, all the poore people were utterly undone. So thought the Multitude: and ſuch talk uſed ſome, that had little feare of their own private want or poverty, but a great deſire to gratifie the *Carthaginian*. Of theſe, one *L. Bantius* was chiefe; a ſtout young gentleman, and Souldier of eſpeciall marke, well beloved in the Citie, and one that had done good ſervice to the *Romans*; but was found by *Hannibal* halfe dead at *Cannæ*; and after much gentle uſage, good attendance, and cure of his wounds, friendly diſmiſſed with liberall gifts. Hee therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to returne the greateſt thankes hee could unto ſo courteous an enemy. *Marcellus* perceiving this, wrought upon the ſame eaſie nature of the Gentleman: and taking notice of him, as if it had beene by chance, ſeemed to wonder, why one that had ſo well deſerved of the *Roman* ſtate, had not repaired unto him the Prætor, who deſired nothing more than ſuch acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and loving entertainment, being himſelfe alſo a man highly reputed for his perſonall valour, he made this *Bantius* ſo farre in love with him, that nothing could be attempted within *Nola*, againſt the *Romans*, whereof he had not preſently advertiſement. At the comming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* removed from about *Nola*; and aſſayed, as formerly he had done, the *Neapolitans*: but they had lately taken in a *Roman* Garriſon; upon confidence whereof they gave him a peremptorie anſwer, to his diſcontent. Thence went he to *Nuceria*, which he tooke by compoſition; and ſo returned backe againe to *Nola*. He was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore unto him: who although they durſt not ſtirre in his quarrell, being over-awed by the *Roman* Garriſon; yet if they ſaw *Marcellus* hardly beſtead, and forced to turne his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies aſſailing him without, like enough it ſeemed, that they would not be wanting unto the accompliſhment of their owne deſires. He therefore brought his Armie cloſe to the Towne, and ſkirmiſhed often with *Marcellus*: not in hope thereby to doe much good, but onely to make ſhew of a meaning to force the Towne; which he ſought in the meane while to take by intelligence. In the night time there paſſed meſſages between him and the Citizens his partakers: whereby it was concluded, That if once *Marcellus*, with all his forces, could be trained into the field, the Multitude within the Towne ſhould preſently riſe; and ſeizing upon the gates, exclude him as an Enemy. Of this Negotiation *Marcellus* was advertiſed: and fearing leſt the Conſpirators would ſhortly adventure, even to find him buſied within the Citie, whileſt the *Carthaginians* ſhould ſcale the walls; hee thought it the ſureſt way, to cut off the enemies hope, and ſend him away betimes. Wherefore ordering his men in three companies, within three ſeverall gates, looking towards the enemy: he gave a ſtreight command, that all the Citizens ſhould keepe their houſes. Thus he lay cloſe a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder; againſt whom he had cuſtomarily iſſued forth before more early, every day, to ſkirmiſh. But when it was further noted, that the walls were bare; and not a man appearing on them; then thought *Hannibal*, that ſurely all was diſcovered, and *Marcellus* now buſied with the Citizens. Whereupon he bad his men bring ladders, and make ready for the aſſault: which was done in all haſte. But when the *Carthaginians* were at the very walls, and thought nothing leſſe, than that the *Romans* would meet them in the field: ſuddenly the middle gate was opened, whereat *Marcellus*, with the beſt and oldeſt of his Souldiers, brake forth upon them, with a great noiſe, to make his unexpected ſally the more terrible. Whileſt the *Carthaginians*, much out of order, were ſome of them flying before *Marcellus*, the reſt making head againſt him: the other two gates opened, whereat in like ſort iſſued they of the new levied Companies, upon the enemies backes. The ſudden terrour was more availeable unto the *Romans*, than their force: yet the Execution was ſo great, that this was accounted as a victorie, and reputed one of the braveſt Acts performed in all that Warre, foraſmuch as hereby it was firſt proved, that *Hannibal* might be overcome. After this, *Marcellus*, being freed from his enemies that were departed, tooke a ſtrict account of the Citizens of *Nola*; condemning above threeſcore and ten of high Treaſon, whoſe heads he ſtruck off; and ſo leaving the town in quiet obedience unto their Senate, went and incamped hard by about *Sueſſula*. *Hannibal* in the meane ſeaſon was gone to *Acerræ*: where being excluded, hee thought it no wiſedome to loſe time in perſwaſions, but layd ſiege unto it, and began on all ſides to cloſe it up. This terrefied the People, who knew themſelves unable to hold out. Therefore, before his Workes were finiſhed, and they quite ſurrounded; they ſtole out by night, and left him the Town empty: which he ſacked and burnt. Then hearing newes of the Dictator, that he was about *Caſiline*, thither went *Hannibal*; as being unwilling that an Enemie ſo neere ſhould diſquiet him at *Capua*; where he meant to Winter. It ſeemes, or rather indeed it is plain, that the late victory of *Marcellus* had nothing abated the ſpirit of the *Carthaginian*: who durſt with a ſmall part of his Army ſeeke out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the *Roman* ſtrength. Wherefore the joy of his Enemies, upon ſo ſlight an occaſion as the death of ſome two thouſand of his men, at the moſt, and thoſe not ſlaine in plaine battell, but by a ſudden eruption; witneſſeth chiefly, in what great feare they ſtood of *Hannibal*, and how Creſt-fallen they were: that having three yeares ſince demanded at *Carthage* the body of *Hannibal*, to bee delivered unto their pleaſure, by his owne Citizens; could now pleaſe themſelves, as with good newes, to heare, That in a skirmiſh not far from *Rome*, hee appeared to be a man, and not reſiſtleſſe. At *Caſilinum* the Dictator was not: but many Companies of *Italians*, Confederates of *Rome*, were gotten into the Town, and held it. Five hundred of the *Præneſtines* there were, and about foure hundred of *Peruſia*, with ſome of the *Latines*. All theſe had the good hap, to come too late to the battell at *Cannæ*, being ſent by their ſeverall States to the Campe: whither whileſt they were marching, the tidings of that great misfortune encountred them, and ſent them back ſorrowfull; for they loved well their Lords the *Romans*, under whoſe government they lived happily. So came they all, one after another, to *Caſiline*, where they met and ſtayed. Neither had they ſtayed there long, ere they heard newes from *Capua*, How that great Citie became the Ringleader of all the *Campanes* into rebellion. The people of *Caſiline* were affected as they of *Capua*: and therefore ſought how to rid their hands of thoſe *Præneſtines* and their fellowes; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many traines laid one for another, at laſt they ſlew all the Townſmen in a night, and fortified the Weſterne part of the Towne (for it was divided by the River *Vulturnus*) againſt the Enemy. If they had run away with the goods, and pretended, that theſe of *Caſiline* were as the reſt of the *Campanes*, all Traitors; they themſelves might have bin reputed, as no better than the *Mamertines*. But their conſtancy in defence of the place witneſſeth, upon what honeſt reaſons they ſurpriſed it. *Hannibal* came thither, thinking to have encountred with greater forces: but theſe few found him more worke than he expected. Divers aſſaults he gave, but was ſtill repelled with loſſe: and many ſallies they made, with variable event. The Enemy mined; and they countermined: oppoſing ſo much induſtry to his force, that he was driven to cloſe them up, and ſeeke to winne them by famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was Maſter of the horſe, lay with the *Roman* Army higher up the River: who faine would have relieved *Caſiline*, but that the Dictator, being gone to *Rome* about ſome matters of Religion, had given him expreſſe charge not to fight till his returne. *Marcellus* from *Sueſſula* could not come: his way being ſtopped by the overflowings of *Vulturnus*; the *Nolans* alſo beſeeching him not to leave them, who were in danger of the *Campanes*, if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the water ſtayed his journey, ſuch entreaties were needleſſe. Neither is it like that the Dictator tarryed at *Rome* ſo long, as till extreme famine had conſumed the Garriſon in *Caſiline*. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Towne was loſt, becauſe the *Romans* durſt not adventure to raiſe the ſiege. Barrels of corne were ſent by night, floting down the River; and when ſome of theſe, being carryed awry by an Eddie of the water, ſtucke among the Willowes on the bank, whereby this manner of reliefe was diſcovered and prevented; *Gracchus* caſt a great quantity of Nuts into the ſtreame, which faintly ſuſtained the poore beſieged men. At length when all food was ſpent, and whatſoever grew greene under the Walles was gathered for Sallets, the *Carthaginians* ploughed up the ground; whereon the beſieged preſently ſowed Rape-ſeede. *Hannibal* ſeeing this, admired their patience; and ſaid, That he meant not to ſtay at *Caſiline* untill the Rapes were grown. Wherefore, though hitherto he had refuſed to hearken unto any Compoſition, as intending to make them an example to all others, by puniſhing their obſtinacy; yet now he was content, to grant them their lives at an indifferent ranſom; which when they had paid, he quietly diſmiſſed them, according to his promiſe. Seven hundred *Carthaginians* he placed in *Caſiline*, as a Garriſon for defence of the *Campanes*; unto whom he reſtored it. To the *Præneſtine* Souldiers great thankes were given, and loving rewards; among which they had offer, in regard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. But their preſent condition pleaſed them ſo well, that they choſe rather to continue, as they were, in *Præneſte*: which is no weake proofe, of the good eſtate wherein the Cities flouriſhed, that were ſubject to the *Roman* Government. This ſiege of *Caſiline* was not a little beneficiall to the *Romans*; as having long detained *Hannibal*, and conſumed much of his time, that might otherwiſe have bin better ſpent. For Winter overtook him long before he could diſpatch the buſineſſe: which how to quit with his honour he knew not, when he was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at *Capua*: where he refreſhed his Army, or rather corrupted it, as all Hiſtorians report, and made it effeminate; though, effeminate as it was, He therewithall did often beat the *Romans* in following times, as ſhall appeare hereafter.

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## §. X.

*Of the great ſupply that was decreed at Carthage to be ſent to* Hannibal *into Italie. How by the malice of* Hanno, *and ſloth or parſimony of the Carthaginians, the ſupply was too long deferred. That the riches of the Carthaginians grew faſter, than of the Romans. Of* Fabius *and other old Roman Hiſtorians, how partiall they were in their writings.*

WHen *Mago*, the ſon of *Amilcar*, had ſpent ſome time about the taking in of ſuch *Italians*, as fell from the *Romans* after the battell at *Cannæ*; his brother *Hannibal* ſent for him to *Capua*, and thence diſpatched him away to *Carthage*, with the joyfull meſſage of Victory. He told the *Carthaginian* Senate with how many *Roman* Generals his brother had fought, what Conſuls he had chaced, wounded, or ſlain; how the ſtout *Romans*, that in the former war never ſhunned any occaſion of fight, were now growne ſo calme, that they thought their Dictator *Fabius* the onely good Captaine, becauſe he never durſt adventure to come to battell; That, not without reaſon, their ſpirits were thus abated, ſince *Hannibal* had ſlaine of them above two hundred thouſand, and taken above fifty thouſand priſoners. He further told them of the *Brutians*, *Apulians*, *Samnites*, *Lucans*, and other people of *Italy*, that following the fortune of thoſe great victories, had revolted unto the *Carthaginians*. Among the reſt hee magnified *Capua*, as a goodly Citie, and fit to be not onely (as already it was) Head of all the *Capuans*, but the chiefe ſeat of their Dominion in *Italie*: and there he informed them, how lovingly his brother had bin entertained, where he meant to reſt that winter, attending their ſupply. As for the war, He ſaid it was even at an end, if they would now purſue it cloſely, and not give the *Romans* any breathing time, wherein to re-collect themſelves, and repair their broken forces. He willed them to conſider, that the war was far from home, in the Enemies Countrey; that ſo many battells had much diminiſhed his brothers Armie: that the Souldiers, who had ſo well deſerved, ought to be conſidered with liberall rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new *Italian* friends, with exactions of mony, corne, and other neceſſaries; but that theſe things muſt be ſent from *Carthage*; which the victory would requite with large amends. Finally, hee cauſed the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the *Roman* Knights that were ſlaine, to be powred out openly in the Court: which being meaſured, filled (as ſome ſay) three buſhels, or (as others would rather have it) no more than one; adding, that by this might appeare the greatneſſe of the *Roman* calamity, for as much as none but the * principall of that order, were accuſtomed to weare that ornament.

* Thus *Livie* reports it; and credible it is, that while *Rome* was poore, the bravery of private men was not altogether ſo great, as the Law would have permitted, though otherwiſe *Jus Annuli*, *The wearing of the Ring*, was the generall priviledge of the *Roman Equites*.

Who ſo conſiders the former *Punicke warre*, may eaſily find, that the State of *Carthage* never did receive, in all the durance thereof, any ſuch hopefull advertiſements from their Captaines abroad. Wherefore it is no marvell, if the errand of *Mago* found extraordinary welcome. In the vehemency of this joy, *Himilco*, a Senator adverſe to the faction of *Hanno*, is ſaid to have demanded of that great perſwader unto peace with *Rome*, Whether he were ſtill of opinion, that *Hannibal* ſhould be yeelded up unto the *Romans*; or whether he would forbid them to give thanks unto the gods, for this their good ſucceſſe. Hereunto though it be not likely that *Hanno* made the ſame formall anſwer, which *Livie* puts into his mouth, calling the *Carthaginian* Senators *Patres conſcripti*, by a terme proper to the *Romans*; and putting them in minde of his owne ſhamefull overthrow received at the Ilands *Ægateis:* yet the ſumme of his ſpeech appeares to have been no leſſe malicious than it is ſet downe, foraſmuch as *Hannibal* himſelfe, at his departure out of *Italie*, exclaimed againſt the wickedneſſe of this *Hanno*; ſaying, that his hatred againſt the *Barchines*, had oppreſſed their Familie, when otherwiſe it could not, with the ruine of *Carthage*. Therefore it may well be, that he made ſuch a jeſt of theſe victories, as is reported; ſaying, It ill beſeemed him, who had vanquiſhed the *Romans*, to call for more help as if he had been beaten; or him, that had taken their camp, filled forſooth with ſpoile, to make requeſt for meat and mony. To theſe cavils, if anſwer were needful, it might be ſaid, That other booty than of horſes and ſlaves, little was to be found in the *Roman* campe: the beſt of the Souldiers carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few [a] ſilver ſtuds in the bridles and trappings of their horſes. If *Hannibal* had taken any maine convoy of mony and proviſions, going to ſupply all wants of a great army in ſome other Province, (as the two *Scipio's* are afterwards ſaid to have done, when they wan the camp of *Aſdrubal*, that carried along with him all the wealth of *Spaine*, in his journey towards *Italie*) then might ſuch an objection more juſtly have bin made unto his demand of a ſupply. But the moſt likely part of *Hanno* his Oration, and wherein he beſt might hope to prevaile, contained a perſwaſion to uſe their fortune with moderation; and now to ſeeke peace, whileſt they had ſo much the better in war.

What would have bin the iſſue of this counſell, if it had bin followed, it were not eaſie to ſay. For though it be likely, that the *Roman* pride would have brooked much indignity, in freeing *Italy* from the danger of war; yet it is not likely, that the faith, ſo often broken to the *Carthaginians* in former times, would have bin kept entire, when any opinion of good advantage had called for revenge of ſo many ſhamefull overthrowes; ſince after this war ended, and a new league concluded, no ſubmiſſive behaviour could preſerve *Carthage* from ruine, longer, than untill ſuch time as *Rome* was at leiſure from all other wars. This counſell therefore of *Hanno*, though it might ſeeme temperate, was indeed very peſtilent; and ſerved onely to hinder the performance of a noble reſolution. For it was concluded by a maine conſent of the Senate, that forty thouſand *Numidians*, forty Elephants, and great abundance of ſilver, ſhould be ſent over to *Hannibal:* and that, beſides theſe, twenty thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe, ſhould be levied in *Spain*; not only to ſupply, as need ſhould require, the Armies in that Province, but to be tranſported into *Italie*.

This great aide, had it beene as carefully ſent, as it was readily decreed, the *Roman* Hiſtorians would not have found cauſe, to taxe the retchleſſe improvidence of *Hannibal*, in forbearing to march directly from *Cannæ* to *Rome*, or, in refreſhing his Armie among the delights of *Capua:* the next yeeres worke would have finiſhed the buſineſſe, with leſſe dangerous adventure; and the pleaſures, which his men enjoyed among the *Campanes*, would have been commended, as rewards by him well thought upon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to be imployed in the following Warre. But either the too much careleſneſſe of thoſe, that were loth to make haſte in laying out their money, before extreme neceſſity required it; or the crafty malice of *Hanno*, and his fellowes, working upon the private humours of men, that had more feeling of their owne commodity, than ſenſe of the publike need; utterly perverted, and made unprofitable in the performance, the order that had beene ſo well ſet down. The [b] Elephants were ſent: and ſome money peradventure, uncertaine it is how long after. But thoſe great forces of threeſcore thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe, came not into *Italy*, till much was loſt of that which already had been gotten, and a great part of the old *Carthaginian* Armie, was firſt conſumed by time, and ſundry accidents of warre. Onely ſome ſmall numbers, no way anſwering unto the proportion decreed, were ſent into *Spaine*; and the journey of *Aſdrubal* thence through *France* into *Italie* much talked of, but he not enabled thereunto, till many yeeres were paſt, and the *Romans* had recovered their ſtrength.

Here wee may note, what great riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their Citie, both by

[a] *Liv.l.22.*

[b] *Liv.l.26.*

by the Tributes received from their ſubjects, and by their wealthy Trade of Merchandize. For it is not long, ſince the Warre of the Mercenaries, and the perfidious tyranny of the *Romans*, extorting in time of greateſt neceſſitie twelve hundred talents; had exceedingly impoveriſhed *Carthage:* which was before brought into great want, even by the expence of ſo much money, as was to be diſburſed for redeeming of peace, after the loſſe at *Ægateis*. Yet we ſee, what great Armies of *Numidians*, and *Spaniards*, beſides thoſe already on foot, are appointed to the ſervice in *Italie*, and how little the *Carthaginians* feare the want of money in theſe chargeable undertakings: whereas the *Romans*, on the other ſide, having three or foure yeeres together beene forced to ſome extraordinary coſt, are faine to goe upon credit, even for the price of thoſe ſlaves, which they bought of their owne Citizens to arme for their defence. Such advantage, in meanes to enrich their Treaſury, had the wealthy Merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all parts of the *Mediterran* Sea, even from *Tyrus* their Mother-Citie in the bottome of the ſtreights unto the great Ocean, above the *Romans:* who lived on the fruits of their ground, and received their Tributes from people following the ſame courſe of life. When time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* found leiſure to ſhew it ſelfe, in the deſtruction of *Carthage*; the impudence of *Roman* falſhood, in ſeeking an honeſt colour wherewith to ſhadow the intended breach of faith, diſcovered plainely whence the jealouſie was bred, that this mighty City would againe rebell. For the *Carthaginians*, having given up hoſtages, even before the *Roman* Army did ſet forth, to perform whatſoever ſhould be enjoyned them, with condition, that their City might not be deſtroyed; and having accordingly, when they were ſo required, yeelded up all their weapons, and engines of Warre; the *Romans* told them plainely, That the Citie of *Carthage*, which was the body of the Citizens, ſhould be friendly dealt withall, but the Towne muſt needs be demoliſhed, and removed into ſome other place, that ſhould be twelve miles diſtant from the Sea. For (ſaid the *Romans*) This Trade of Merchandice, by which ye now live, is not ſo fit for peaceable men, ſuch as ye promiſe to become hereafter, as is the Trade of Husbandry; an wholeſome kind of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities, which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for converſation. This villainous dealing of the *Romans*, though ſugred with gloſing words, plainely ſhewes, what good obſervation the elder *Cato* had made of the haſtie growth of *Carthage* in riches. For, when being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatſoever it were, he added ſtill this concluſion, *Thus I thinke; and that Carthage ſhould be deſtroyed*; Hee may ſeeme, not onely to have had regard unto that preſent wealth, which at his being there he had found in the City, but much more unto theſe times, and the great height whereunto it roſe, even ſuddenly as we ſee, out of many calamities, whileſt the *Romans* thought, that it had not bin in caſe to dare ſo terrible a War.

But as the *Carthaginians*, in gathering wealth, were more induſtrious and skilfull than the *Romans*; ſo came they far ſhort of them in the honourable care of the publike good: having every one, or moſt of them, a more principall regard of his owne private benefit. This made them (beſides the negligence commonly found in victors) when the firſt heat of their affection (wherein they concluded to purſue the war ſtrongly) was over-paſt, goe more leiſurely to work, than had bin requiſite in the execution. It was eaſie for *Hanno* to perſwade covetous men, that they ſhould firſt of all defend their own in *Spain*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Province was ſecured, they might ſend an Army into *Italie*; ſo going to worke orderly by degrees. For it were no wiſedom to commit all the ſtrength of the Common-wealth to one hazzard of fortune, againſt the enemies; or (which perhaps were worſe) to the government of an ambitious man, and his brethren; who having once (if they could ſo doe) finiſhed the warre, might eaſily make * *Hannibal* a King, and ſubdue *Carthage*, with the forces that they had given him to the conqueſt of *Rome*.

By ſuch malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their owne ſlackneſſe, incredulity, dulnes, or niggardize, the *Carthaginians* were perſwaded rather to make ſmall diſburſments in *Spain*, than to ſet up all their reſt at once in *Italy*. Yet was it indeed impoſſible, to hold a Countrey of ſo large extent, and ſo open a coaſt as that of *Spaine*, free from all incurſion of the Enemy: eſpecially the affection of the Naturals being (as in a new Conqueſt) ill eſtabliſhed. A better way therefore it had beene, to make a running Warre, by

which

* Of ſuch ambition *Hanno* directly accuſed *Hannibal*, ſaying, that he made warre, that ſo he might live compaſſed with Legions, as knowing no other way to make himſelf a King. *Liv. l.* 21.

which the *Romans* might have bin found occupied, even with the ordinary *Carthaginian* Garriſons, or ſome little addition thereunto. For if it were thought meet, to defer the proſecution of their maine intendment againſt *Rome* it ſelf, untill ſuch time as every little thorne were pulled out of the ſides of ſo great a Province, then muſt *Emporiæ* have been beſieged and forced: which, by reaſon of alliance with the *Maſſilians*, gave unto the *Romans*, at all times when they pleaſed, a ready and ſecure Harbour. But the towne of *Emporiæ* was too ſtrong to be wonne in haſte: it had long defended it ſelfe againſt the *Barbarians*; having not above foure hundred paces of wall to the main Land, and exceedingly well fortified; a great *Spaniſh* Town of the ſame name, lying without it, that was three miles in compaſſe, very ſtrong likewiſe, and friend unto the *Græcians*, though not over-much truſted. Wherefore to force this town of *Emporiæ*, that was, beſides the proper ſtrength, like to be ſo well aſſiſted by the *Maſſilians*, *Romans*, and ſome *Spaniards*, would have bin a worke of little leſſe difficulty, than was the *Roman* warre (in appearance) after the battell at *Cannæ*: yea, it had bin in effect none other, than to alter the ſeate of the warre; which *Hannibal* had already fixed, with better judgement, neere unto the gates of *Rome*. The difficulty of this attempt, being ſuch as cauſed it altogether to be forborn; great folly it was, to be much troubled about expelling the *Romans* utterly out of *Spaine*: whom they might more eaſily have diverted thence, and drawne home to their owne doores, by making ſtrong war upon their Citie. For even ſo the *Romans* afterwards removed *Hannibal* into *Africk*, by ſending an Army to *Carthage*; and by taking the like courſe, they now endevoured to change the ſeate of the warre, transferring it out of *Italy* into *Spaine*. But the private affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwiſe, than as it is acceſſary to their owne purpoſes, did make them eaſily winke at opportunities, and hope, that ſomewhat would fall out well of it ſelfe, though they ſet not too their helping hands. *Hanno* was a malicious wretch: yet they that thought him ſo, were well enough contented to hearken unto his diſcourſes, as long as they were plauſible, and tended to keepe the purſe full. In the meane while they ſuffered *Hannibal*, and all the noble houſe of *Amilcar*, to weary themſelves in travell for the Common-wealth: which all *Carthage* in generall highly commended, but weakely aſſiſted; as if the induſtry of theſe *Barchines* had bin ſomewhat more than needfull. Surely the *Carthaginians*, in generall, were far leſſe honourable than the people of *Rome*: not only in government of their ſubject Provinces, but in adminiſtration of their own eſtate; few of them preferring the reſpect of the Weale publike above their private intereſt. But as they thrived little in the end, by their parſimony uſed toward their own Mercenaries, when the former *Roman* warre was finiſhed: ſo the concluſion of this war preſent, will make them complaine, with feeling ſighes, of their negligence in ſupplying *Hannibal*, after the victory at *Cannæ*; when gladly they would give all their Treaſures, to redeeme the opportunity, that now they let paſſe, as if it were coſt enough to ſend a few handfuls into *Spaine*.

That both the *Spaniſh* buſineſſe, and the ſtate of *Africk* it ſelfe, depended wholly, or for the moſt part, upon ſucceſſe of things in *Italie*, the courſe of actions following will make manifeſt. Particularly, how matters were ordered in *Spaine* by the *Carthaginian* Governours, it is very hard, and almoſt impoſſible, to ſet downe. For, though we muſt not reprehend, in that worthy Hiſtorian *Livie*, the tender love of his owne Countrey, which made him give credit unto *Fabius* and others: yet muſt we not, for his ſake, beleeve thoſe lies, which the unpartiall judgement of *Polybius* hath condemned, in the Writers that gave them originall. It were needleſſe to rehearſe all that may bee found in *Polybius*, concerning the untruth of that *Roman* Hiſtorian *Fabius*. One example may ſuffice. He ſaith of *Amilcar* and his men at *Eryx*, in the former war, That, having cleane ſpent their ſtrength, and being even broken with many miſeries, they were glad to ſubmit themſelves unto the *Romans*. Contrary hereunto we finde in *the life of Amilcar*, ſet downe by *Æmilius Probus*, That *Eryx* was in ſuch ſort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it ſeemed to be in as good condition, as if in thoſe parts there had not been any war. Theſe words, being referred to the brave reſolution of the *Carthaginian* ſouldiers, and the ſingular vertue of their Generall, infuſing ſuch ſpirit into them, may be taken as not over liberall. For in the treaty of peace betweene *Amilcar* and *Catulus* when the *Roman* firſt of all required, that this Garriſon of *Eryx* ſhould lay downe their Armes and forſake *Sicil*, threatning, that otherwiſe hee would not talke of any compoſition:

*Pol.l.1.*

*Amilcar* boldly bad him chuſe, whether he would talke of it or no; for that the Armes which his Country had put into his hands to uſe againſt her Enemies, it was not his purpoſe to yeeld up unto them. Now ſince the *Romans*, contrary to their cuſtome upon like advantages, were content to let *Amilcar* have his wil, & not to ſtand with him upon point of honour, whileſt otherwiſe they might quietly rid their hands of him; plaine enough it is, that they were farre from thinking him a man conſumed with miſeries, as *Fabius* would have him ſeem. Hereunto agrees the relation of *Polybius*: who flatly, and by name, chargeth *Fabius* with untruth; ſaying, that howſoever *Amilcar* and his Souldiers had endured all extremity, yet they behaved themſelves as men that had no ſenſe thereof; and were as far from being either vanquiſhed or tired, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference betweene *Fabius* (as alſo perhaps between other old Writers of the *Roman* ſtory) & thoſe that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mighty city of *Rome*: we muſt take it in good part, that howſoever *Livie* introduceth *Hanno*, in one place, joyning very fooliſhly his own ſhamefull overthrow at the Ilands * *Ægateis*, with the great ſervices of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, as if both of them had had a like event; yet [a]elſwhere he forbeareth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his own unhappy conduct) into the ſame *Hanno* his mouth, making him ſay, That the affairs of *Carthage* went never better, than a little before the loſſe of their Fleet in that battell at Sea: wherein himſelfe was Generall. Now, concerning the doings of the *Scipio's* in *Spain*, there is cauſe to wiſh, that this *Fabius*, with *Val. Antias*, & others of the like ſtamp, had either written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of *Livie* to his *Rome*, had not cauſed him to think too well of their relations; which are ſuch as follow.

* *Ægateis inſulas Erycemque ante oculos proponite, &c. Liv. l. 21.*

[a] *Liv. l. 23.*

## §. XI.

### *Strange reports of the Roman victories in Spain, before* Aſdrubal *the ſon of* Amilcar *followed thence his brother* Hannibal *into Italie.*

IT hath bin ſhewed already, how *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Conſul, returning from *Gaule* into *Italie*, to encounter with *Hannibal* at his deſcent from the *Alps*, ſent before him his brother *Cneus*, with part of his Fleet and Army, into *Spain*. Two *Roman* Legions, with fourteene thouſand foot of the Confederates, and twelve hundred horſe, had been allotted unto the Conſul, therewith to make war in *Spain* againſt *Hannibal*: who, ſince he was marching into *Italie* with the ſtrength of his Army, *P. Scipio* beleeved, that a good part of theſe his own forces might well be ſpared from the *Spaniſh* Expedition; & therefore made bold to carry ſome of the number back with him, ſending on his brother with the reſt, as his Lievtenant. *Publius* himſelfe remained in *Italie* all the time of his Conſulſhip: which being expired, he was ſent Proconſul into *Spain* by the Senate, with an Army of eight thouſand men, and a Fleet of thirty Gallies.

The Acts of theſe two Brethren in their Province, were very great; and, as they are reported, ſomewhat marvellous. For they continually prevailed in *Spaine*, againſt the *Carthaginians*: whom they vanquiſhed in ſo many battels, and withdrew from their Alliance ſo many of the *Spaniards* their Confederates; that we have cauſe to wonder, how the enemy could ſo often find meanes to repaire his forces, and returne ſtrong into the field. But as the *Romans*, by pretending to deliver the Country from the tyranny of *Carthage*, might eaſily win unto their Confederacy, as many as were galled with the *African* yoake, and durſt adventure to breake it: ſo the ancient reputation of the firſt Conquerors might ſerve to arme the Naturals againſt theſe Invaders; and to reclaime thoſe, that had revolted unto the *Romans*, were it only by the memory of ſuch ill ſucceſſe, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the *Carthaginian* Treaſure: which eaſily raiſed Souldiers, among thoſe valiant, but (in that Age) poore, and gold-thirſty Nations. Neither was it of ſmall importance, that ſo many of the *Spaniards* had their children, kinſmen, and friends, abroad with *Hannibal* in his *Italian* Wars; or ſerving the *Carthaginians* in *Africk*. And peradventure, if wee durſt be bold to ſay it, the victories of the *Scipio's*, were neither ſo many, nor ſo great, as they are ſet out by *Livie*. This we may be bold to ſay, That the great Captaine *Fabius*, or *Livie* in his perſon, maketh an objection unto *Scipio*, which neither *Scipio*, nor *Livie* for him, doth anſwer, That *if* Aſdrubal *were vanquiſhed, as* Scipio *would ſay, by him in Spaine: ſtrange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had beene extremely dangerous to Rome, that the ſame vanquiſhed man ſhould invade Italie.* And it is indeed an incredible narration, That *Aſdrubal*, being encloſed on all ſides, and not knowing how to eſcape out of battell, ſave onely by the ſteepe deſcent of Rockes, over a great River that lay at his backe, ran away with all his mony, Elephants, and broken troups, over *Tagus*, directly towards the *Pyrenees*, and ſo toward *Italie*; upon which he fell with more than threeſcore thouſand armed ſouldiers. Neither doe I ſee, how it hangs well together, That hee choſe a piece of ground very defenſible, but moſt incommodious for his retrait, if he ſhould happen to be vanquiſhed; and yet, that hee ſent all his money and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the enemy: Or how it could be true, that theſe his Elephants, being ſo ſent before, could hinder the *Romans* (for ſo have they ſaid to have done in the laſt battell between him and *Scipio*) from breaking into his Campe. Wherefore we can no more than be ſorry, that all *Carthaginian* records of this Warre, and *Spaniſh*, (if there were any) being utterly loſt, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleaſed the *Romans* to tell us: unto whom it were no wiſedome to give too much credit. In this regard, I will ſummarily run over the doings of the *Scipio's* in *Spaine*; not greatly inſiſting on particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

*Cn. Cornelius* landed at *Emporiæ*, an Haven towne, not farre within the *Pyrenees*, retaining ſtill the ſame name with little inflection. That by the fame of his clemencie hee allured many Nations to become ſubject unto *Rome*, as the ſtorie begins of him, I could eaſily beleeve, if I underſtood by what occaſion they had need to uſe his clemency, or he to give ſuch famous example thereof, being a meere ſtranger, and having no juriſdiction in the Countrey. Yet it is certain, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well inſinuate himſelfe into the love of the *Barbarians*; among whom, his dexterity in practice had the better ſucceſſe, for that hee ſeemed to have none other errand, than ſetting them at liberty. This pretext availed with ſome: others were to be hired with mony: and ſome he compelled to yeeld by force or feare; eſpecially, when hee had won a battell againſt *Hanno*. Into all Treaties of accord, made with theſe people, likely it is, that he remembred to inſert this Article, which the *Romans* in their Alliances never forgate, unleſſe in long times paſt, and when they dealt with the *Carthaginians*, or their Superiors; *Majeſtatem Pop. Rom. comiter conſervent*, which is, as *Tullie* interprets it, *That they ſhould gently* (or *kindly*) *uphold the Majeſtie of the People of Rome*. This was in appearance nothing troubleſome: yet implyed it indeed an obſcure covenant of ſubjection. And in this reſpect it may be true, That the *Spaniards* became *ditionis Romanæ; of the Roman juriſdiction*; though hereafter they will ſay, they had no ſuch meaning. That part of the Country wherein *Scipio* landed, was newly ſubdued by *Hannibal* in his paſſage toward *Italie*; and therefore the more eaſily ſhaken out of obedience. Particularly in the *Bargutians*; *Hannibal* had found at his comming among them, ſuch an apprehenſion of the *Roman* greatneſſe, as made him ſuſpect, that any light occaſion would make them ſtart from the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore he not onely appointed *Hanno* Governour over them, as over the reſt of the Province betweene *Iberus* and the *Pyrenees*, but made him alſo their *Lord*; that is, (as I conceive it; for I doe not thinke he gave the Principality of their Country unto *Hanno* and his Heires,) He made him not onely Lievtenant-generall over them, in matters of Warre, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to *Carthage*; but tooke from them all inferiour Officers of their owne, leaving them to be governed by *Hanno* at his diſcretion. Theſe therefore had good cauſe to rejoyce at the comming of *Scipio*: with whom, others alſo (no doubt) found reaſons to joyne; it being the cuſtome of all conquered Nations, in hatred of their preſent Lords, to throw themſelves indiſcreetly into the protection of others, that many times prove worſe than the former. So were the *Neapolitans*, and *Milanois*, in the age of our Grand-fathers, weary by turnes of the *Spaniards* and *French*; as more ſenſible ſtill of the preſent evill which they felt, than regardfull of the greater miſchiefe, whereinto they ran by ſeeking to avoide it. This bad affection of his Province, would not ſuffer *Hanno* to temporize. Ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, *Hannibal* had left unto him: beſides which, it is like, that ſome forces he was able to raiſe out of his Province. Therefore he adventured a battell with *Scipio*; wherein hee was overthrowne and taken. Following this victory, *Scipio* beſieged *Stiſſum*, a towne hard by, and wonne it.

*Orat. pro Con. Ballo.*

*Liv. lib. 21.*

*Pol. lib. 3.*

it. But *Aſdrubal* having paſſed *Iberus*, and comming too late to the reliefe of *Hanno*, with eight thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, fell upon the *Roman* Sea-forces, that lay not farre from *Tarracon*, whom he found careleſſe, as after a victory, roaving abroad in the countrey; and with great ſlaughter drave them aboord their ſhips. This done, hee ranne up into the Countrey, where he withdrew the *Ilergetes* from the *Roman* partie, though they had given Hoſtages to *Scipio*. *Scipio* in the meane ſeaſon was gone to viſit and aide his Fleet: where having ſet things in order, he returned backe, and made toward *Aſdrubal*; who durſt not abide his comming, but withdrew himſelfe againe over *Iberus*. So the *Ilergetes* were compelled by force; having loſt *Athanagia* their chiefe Citie, to pay a fine to the *Romans*, and increaſe the number of their Hoſtages. The *Auſetani* likewiſe, Confederates of the *Carthaginians*, were beſieged in their chiefe Towne: which they defended thirty dayes; hoping, in vaine, that the ſharpe Winter, and great aboundance of Snow that fell, would have made the *Romans* to diſlodge. But they were faine at length to yeeld: and for this their obſtinacy, they were amerced twenty talents of ſilver. During the ſiege, the *Lacetani* came to helpe their diſtreſſed Neighbours, and were beaten home by *Scipio*, leaving twelve thouſand of their Company dead behinde them. I cannot but wonder, how theſe *Lacetani*, that are ſaid to be the firſt which embraced the friendſhip of *Scipio*, ſhould, without any cauſe remembred, become *Carthaginian* on the ſudden, in the next newes that we heare of them. As alſo it is ſtrange, that all the Sea-coaſt Northward of *Iberus*, having lately become voluntarily *ditionis Romanæ, ſubject unto Rome*, ſhould, in continuance of the Story, after a few lines, hold Warre againſt *Scipio*, without any reſiſtance of the *Carthaginians*. Neither can I beleeve, that *Aſdrubal*, as it were by a charme, ſtirred up the *Ilergetes*, making them lay aſide all care of their Hoſtages, and take Armes in his quarrell; whileſt himſelfe had not the daring to ſtand againſt *Scipio*, but ranne away, and ſaved himſelfe beyond *Iberus*. *Philinus* perhaps, or ſome *Carthaginian* Writer, would have told it thus: That *Scipio* adventuring too farre into the Countrey, was beaten by *Aſdrubal* backe to his ſhips, whence he durſt not ſtirre, untill winter came on: at what time the *Carthaginian* returned into the heart of his Province, leaving ſome few Garriſons to defend thoſe places, that after *Scipio* wonne, by returning upon them, unlooked for through a deepe ſnow. As for the *Lacetani*, *Ilergetes*, and the reſt, we may reaſonably thinke, that they ſought their owne benefit: helping themſelves one while by the *Romans* againſt the *Carthaginians*; and contrariwiſe, upon ſenſe of injuries received, or apprehenſion of more grievous tyranny, under which they feared to be brought by theſe new Maſters, hearkening againe unto the comfortable promiſes of thoſe, that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to live under their owne Countrey Lawes, and not under Governours ſent from *Rome* or *Carthage*, their demeanour in all Ages following may teſtifie: even from henceforth unto the dayes of *Auguſtus Cæſar*; till when they were never throughly conquered.

Liv. lib. 21.

The yeere following this, *Cn. Scipio* had a victory againſt the *Carthaginians* in fight at Sea; or rather came upon them unlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, moſt of their men being on ſhore. All their ſhips, that ranne not too farre on ground, he tooke: and thereby grew Maſter of the whole coaſt; landing at pleaſure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defenced. After this victory, above one hundred and twenty Nations, or petty Eſtates in *Spaine*, are ſaid to have ſubmitted themſelves unto the *Romans*, or given Hoſtages: whereby *Aſdrubal* was compelled to flie into the utmoſt corners of the land, and hide himſelfe in *Lucitania*. Yet it followes, that the *Ilergetes* did againe rebell; that *Aſdrubal* hereupon came over *Iberus*; and that *Scipio* (though having eaſily vanquiſhed the *Ilergetes*) went not forth to meet him, but ſtirred up againſt him the *Celtiberians*, that lately were become his ſubjects, and had given him hoſtages. Theſe tooke from the *Carthaginian* three Townes, and vanquiſhed him in two battels; wherein they ſlew fifteene thouſand of his men, and tooke foure thouſand Priſoners. Then arrived *P. Scipio*, with the ſupply before mentioned: and henceforward the two brethren joyntly adminiſtred the buſineſſe in *Spaine*.

The *Carthaginians* being occupied in the *Celtiberian Warre*; the two *Scipio's* did *haud cunctanter, without both feare or doubt*, paſſe over *Iberus*, and beſieged *Saguntum*. Little cauſe of doubt had they, if *Cn.* had already ſubdued many Nations beyond it; and, among many others, the ſame *Celtiberians*, that with their proper forces were able to vanquiſh

*Aſdrubal*. *Boſtar*, the Governor of *Saguntum*, a ſimple man, ſuffered himſelf to be perſwaded by one *Acedux* a *Spaniard*, that the only way to get the favor and hearty good will of the country, was by freely reſtoring unto them their hoſtages; as reſting, without any pledge, aſſured of their faith. But the crafty *Spaniard*, being truſted with this meſſage and reſtitution of the hoſtages, carried them all to the *Roman* Generals: perſwading them, as he had done *Boſtar*, to make the Liberality their own. Hereby the *Romans* purchaſed much love, if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward, and ere this we find, that all the *Spaniſh* Hoſtages were left in new *Carthage*. I am weary of rehearſing ſo many particularities, whereof I can beleeve ſo few. But ſince we find no better certainties, we muſt content our ſelves with theſe.

The yeare following was like unto this: *Aſdrubal* muſt be beaten again. The two *Scipio's* divide their forces: *Cn*. makes war by Land, *P*. by Sea. *Aſdrubal*, with much labour and entreaty, hath gotten foure thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe out of *Africk*: He repaires his Fleet; and provides every way to make reſiſtance. But all his chiefe Sea-men, and Maſters of his ſhips, revolt unto the *Romans*: becauſe they had bin chidden the laſt yeare for their negligence, which had betrayed the Navie. The revolt of theſe ſhip-maſters animates to rebellion the *Carpetians*, or *Carpetani*, an In-land people about *Toledo*, in the very Center of *Spaine*. Theſe doe much miſchiefe, ſo that *Aſdrubal* is faine to make a journey to them. His ſudden comming cuts off ſome of them, that were found ſcattered abroad in the fields. But they, making head, ſo valiantly aſſaile him, that they drive him, for very feare, to encampe himſelfe ſtrongly on an high piece of ground; whence he dares not come forth to give them battell. So they take a Town by force, wherein he had laid up all his proviſions; and ſhortly make themſelves Maſters of the Country round about. This good ſucceſſe breeds negligence; for which they dearely pay. *Aſdrubal* comes upon them, takes them unprepared, beats them, kils the moſt of them, and diſperſeth the reſt; ſo that the whole Nation yeeldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*, that *Aſdrubal* ſhould leade his Armie forth into *Italie*; which we may wonder, why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to doe, if they had bin informed by his letters in what hard caſe he was; and had ſo weakly ſupplied him, as is ſhewed before. But thus we find it reported: and that upon the very rumour of this his journey, almoſt all *Spaine* was ready to fall to the *Romans*. *Aſdrubal* therefore ſends word preſently to *Carthage*, That this muſt not be ſo: or, if they will needs have it ſo, that then they muſt ſend him a Succeſſor, and well attended with a ſtrong Army, which to imploy they ſhould find worke more than enough; ſuch notable men were the *Roman* Generals. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much moved with this excuſe; *Aſdrubal* muſt needs be gone: *Himilco*, with ſuch forces as are thought expedient for that ſervice, both by land and ſea, is ſent to take the charge of *Spain*. Wherfore *Aſdrubal* hath now no more to doe, than to furniſh himſelfe with ſtore of money, that he might have wherewithall to win the friendſhip of the *Gaules*; through whoſe Countries he muſt paſſe, as *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* were greatly too blame, for not remembring to eaſe him of this care. But ſince it can be no better, he layes great Impoſitions upon all the *Spaniards* his ſubjects: and having gotten together as much treaſure as he could, onward he marcheth toward *Iberus*. The *Scipio's* hearing theſe newes, are carefull how to arreſt him on the way. They beſiege *Ibera* (ſo called of the Rivers name running by it) the richeſt towne in all thoſe quarters, that was confederate with *Aſdrubal*: who thereupon ſteps aſide to relieve it. The *Romans* meet him, and fight a battell with him: which they winne the more eaſily, for that the *Spaniards*, his followers, had rather be vanquiſhed at home, than get the victory, and afterwards be haled into *Italie*. Great numbers are ſlaine: and few ſhould have eſcaped, but that the *Spaniards* ranne away ere the battels were fully joyned. Their Campe the *Romans* take and ſpoile: whereby (queſtionleſſe) they are marvellouſly enriched; all the mony that could be raked together in *Spaine* being carried along in this *Italian* expedition. This dayes event joynes all *Spaine* to the *Romans*, if any part of the Country ſtood in doubt before; and puts *Aſdrubal* ſo far from all thought of travelling into *Italie*, that it leaves him ſmall hope of keeping himſelfe ſafe in *Spaine*. Of theſe exploits advertiſement is ſent to *Rome*; and Letters to the Senate, from *P*. and *Cn*. *Scipio*, whereof the Contents are; That they have neither mony, apparell, nor bread, wherewith to ſuſtaine their Army and Fleet; That all is wanting: ſo as unleſſe they may be ſupplied from

*Liv.lib.23.*

*Rome*, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarry any longer in the Province. Theſe Letters come to *Rome* in an evill ſeaſon; the State being ſcarcely able, after the loſſe at *Cannæ*, to helpe it ſelfe at home. Yet reliefe is ſent: how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that love and care, which the private Citizens of *Rome* bare unto the Common-wealth, ſhall be inſerted elſe-where, into the relation of things wherof the truth is leſſe queſtionable. At the comming of this ſupply, the two *Scipio's* purſue *Aſdrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What elſe can we thinke, that remember the laſt newes of him, and how fearefully he miſtruſted his owne ſafety? They find him, and *Mago* and *Amilcar* the ſon of *Bomilcar*, with an Army of threeſcore thouſand men, beſieging *Illiturgi*: (which the learned *Ortelius*, and others, probably conjecture to have ſtood, where *Carinnena* is now, in the Kingdome of *Aragon*; for there was *Illiturgis*, afterwards called *Forum Julii*, quite another way) a Towne of the *Illergetes* their neereſt Neighbours, for having revolted unto the *Romans*. The towne is greatly diſtreſſed; but moſt of all, for want of victuals. The *Romans* therefore brake through betweene the Enemies Campes, with terrible ſlaughter of all that reſiſt them: and having victualled the place, incourage the towneſ-men to defend their walls as ſtoutly, as they ſhould anon behold them fighting manfully with the beſiegers, in their behalfe. So they iſſue forth, about ſixteen thouſand againſt threeſcore thouſand: and killing more of the enemies, than themſelves were in number, drave all the three *Carthaginian* Commanders, every one out of his quarter; and tooke that day, beſides priſoners and other bootie, fifty and eight Enſignes.

*Liv. lib.* 23.

The *Carthaginian* Army, being thus beaten from *Illiturgi*, fall upon *Incibili*, that ſtood a little Southward from the mouth of *Iberus*. The *Spaniards* are blamed, as too greedy of earning money by warre, for thus re-inforcing the broken *Carthaginians*. But it may be wondred, whence the *Carthaginians* had money to pay them: ſince *Aſdrubal* was lately driven to poll the Countrey, wanting money of his owne; and being beaten in his journy, had loſt his wealthy carriages, when his Campe was taken after the battell by *Ibera*. Howſoever it happens, the *Carthaginians* (according to their cuſtome) are beaten againe at *Incibili*: where there were of them above thirteene thouſand ſlaine, and above three thouſand taken; beſides two and forty Enſignes, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of *Spaine* fell from them unto the *Romans*. Thus could *Fabius*, *Valerius Antius*, or ſome other Hiſtorian, to whom *Livie* gave credit, conquer all *Spaine* twice in one yeere, by winning famous victories; whereof theſe good Captaines, *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware.

*Liv. ibid.*

The *Romans*, notwithſtanding this large acceſſe of Dominion, winter on their owne ſide of *Iberus*. In the beginning of the next yeere, great Armies of the *Spaniards* riſe againſt *Aſdrubal*; and are overthrowne by him. *P. Scipio*, to helpe theſe his friends, is forced to make great haſt over the River. At *Caſtrum Altum*, a place in the mid-way between new *Carthage* and *Saguntum*, famous by the death of the great *Amilcar*, *Publius Scipio* incampeth: and ſtores the place with victualls, being ſtrong and defencible; as intending to make it his ſeate for a while. But the Countrey round about is too full of Enemies: the *Carthaginian* horſe have charged the *Romans* in their march, and are gone off cleare; falling alſo upon ſome ſtragglers, or ſuch as lagged behinde their fellowes in march, they have cut off two thouſand of them. Hereupon it is thought behovefull, to retire into ſome place more aſſured. So *Publ.* withdrawes himſelfe unto *Mons victoriæ*: that riſing ſomewhat Eaſtward from *Incibili*, over-looketh the Southerne Out-let of *Iberus*. Thither the *Carthaginians* purſue him: His brother *Cn.* repaires unto him; and *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco*, with a full Army, arrives to helpe his Companions. As they lie thus neere incamped together, *P. Scipio*, with ſome light-armed, going cloſely to view the places thereabouts, is diſcovered by the enemies: who are like to take him, but that he withdrawes himſelfe to an high piece of ground; where they beſiege him, untill his brother *Cn.* fetcht him off. After this (but I know not why) *Caſtulo*, a great city of *Spain*, whence *Hannibal* had taken him a wife, joyneth with the *Romans*; though being farre diſtant from them, and ſeated on the head of the River *Bœtis*. Nevertheleſſe the *Carthaginians* paſſe over *Iberus*, to beſiege *Illiturgi* againe, wherein lodgeth a *Roman* garriſon; hoping to win it by famine. We may juſtly wonder, what ſhould move them to neglect the rebellion of *Caſtulo*, yea and the *Roman* Army lying ſo cloſe by them, and to ſeeke adventures further off, in that very place, wherein they had been ſo grievouſly beaten the yeere before. But thither they goe: and thither followes them *Cn. Scipio* with one Legion: who enters the Towne by force, breakes out upon them the next day, and in two battels kils above twelve thouſand, and takes more than a thouſand of them priſoners, with ſixe and thirty Enſignes. This victory (doubtleſſe) is remarkeable: conſidering that the greateſt *Roman* Legion at this time, conſiſted of no more than five thouſand men. The vanquiſhed *Carthaginians* beſiege *Bigarra*: but that ſiege is alſo raiſed by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the *Carthaginians* remove to *Manda*; where the *Romans* are ſoone at their heeles. There is a great battaile fought, that laſteth foure houres, wherein the *Romans* get a notable victory; and a more notable would have gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* beene wounded. Thirty nine Elephants are killed, & twelve thouſand men; three thouſand priſoners taken, and ſeven and fifty Enſignes. The *Carthaginians* flie to *Auringes*; and the *Romans* purſue them. *Cn. Scipio* in a Litter is carried into the field, and vanquiſhed the *Carthaginians* againe: but kils not halfe ſo many of them, as before; good cauſe why, for there are *fewer* of them left to fight. Notwithſtanding all theſe overthrowes, the *Spaniards*, a people framed even by nature ſo ſet war on foot, quickly fill up the broken troups of *Aſdrubal*, who having alſo hired ſome of the *Gaules*, adventures once more to trie his fortune with the *Romans*. But he is beaten againe: and loſeth eight thouſand of his men; beſides Priſoners, Elephants, Enſignes, and other appurtenances. After ſo many victories, the *Romans* are even aſhamed to leave *Saguntum* enthralled unto the *Carthaginians*; ſince, in behalfe of that Citie, they had at firſt entred into this warre. And well may we thinke it ſtrange, that they had not recovered it long before, ſince we may remember, that long before this they had wonne all the Countrey once and againe. But it muſt not be forgotten, that they had ere now beſieged *Saguntum*; and were faine (as appeares) to goe their way without it: ſo as they need not to bluſh, for having ſo long forborne to doe that, which ere now they had attempted, but were unable to performe. At the preſent they wonne *Saguntum*: and reſtored the poſſeſſion thereof unto ſuch of the poore diſperſed Citizens, as they can finde out. They alſo waſte and deſtroy the Country of the *Turdetani*, that had miniſtred unto *Hannibal* matter of quarrell againſt the *Saguntines*. This laſt action (queſtionleſſe) was much to their honour; and wherein we may be aſſured, that the *Carthaginians* would have diſturbed them, if they had beene able.

Liv. lib. 24.

But over-looking now this long continuance of great victories, which the *Romans* have gotten in *Spaine*, other print or token of all their brave exploits, we can perceive none, than this recovery of *Saguntum*: excepting the ſtopping of *Aſdrubals* journey; which was indeed of greateſt importance, but appertaining to their owne defence. For they have landed at *Emporiæ*, an Haven towne, built and peopled by a Colony of the *Phocæans*, kinne to the *Maſſilians*, friends to the *Romans*; They have eaſily wonne to their party, loſt, recovered, and loſt againe, ſome petty bordering Nations of the *Spaniards*, that are carried one while by perſwaſion, other-whiles by force, and ſometimes by their owne unſettled paſſions; and now finally they have won a Town, whereof the *Carthaginians* held intire poſſeſſion, who had rooted out the old inhabitants. Wherefore we may eaſily beleeve, that when they tooke *Saguntum* (if they tooke it not by ſurpriſe; which is to be ſuſpected, ſince in this Action we finde no particulars remembred, as when the ſame place was taken by *Hannibal*) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in ſome notable fight. In like ſort alſo muſt we thinke, that all thoſe battailes lately remembred, after every one of which *Aſdrubal* ſate downe before ſome place, that had rebelled, or ſeemed ready to rebell, were proſperous unto the *Carthaginians*. For it is not the cuſtome of Armies vanquiſhed, to carry the warre from Towne to Towne, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortifie themſelves within their owne places of ſtrength, and therein to attend the levie and arrivall of new ſupplies. And ſurely, if the *Romans* had beene abſolute Maſters of the field, when they wonne *Saguntum*, they would not have conſumed a whole yeere following, in practiſing onely with the *Celtiberians* the next adjoyniug people. Yet made they this, little leſſe than two yeers buſineſſe. Of theſe *Celtiberians* we heare before, That they have yeelded up themſelves unto the *Romans*; for ſecurity of their faith, given Hoſtages to *Scipio*; and, at his appointment, made warre againſt the *Carthaginians*, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is ſtrange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and, not without expreſſe condition of a great ſumme, hired to ſerve in the *Roman* camp. How this may hold together I cannot perceive; unleſſe perhaps in thoſe daies it were the *Roman* cuſtome, or rather the cuſtom of ſome bad Author whom *Livie* followes, to call every meſſenger, or ſtraggler, that entred their campe, an Hoſtage of that people from whom he came.

The *Celtiberians* at length, hired with great rewards, ſend an Army of thirty thouſand to helpe the *Romans*: out of which, three hundred the fitteſt men are choſen, and carried into *Italy*, there to deale with their Country-men that follow *Hannibal* in his warres. But if any of theſe three hundred returne backe into *Spaine*, it is to be feared, that he brings with him ſuch newes of the riches and welfare of *Hannibals* men, that all his fellowes at home are the leſſe unwilling to follow *Aſdrubal*, when he ſhall next have a deſire to leade them into *Italy*. Hereof we finde more than probability, when theſe mercenary *Celtiberians* meet the *Carthaginian* Army in the field. The two *Scipio's*, preſuming on this acceſſe of ſtrength, divide their forces, and ſeeke out the Enemies, who lie not farre off with three Armies. *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Amilcar*, is neereſt at hand; even among the *Celtiberians*, at *Anitorgis*. With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order: but the feare is, that this one part of the *Carthaginian* forces being deſtroyed; *Mago* the ſonne of *Geſco*, hearing the newes, will make uſe of their diſtance, which is five dayes march, and, by running into the furtheſt parts of the Country, ſave themſelves from being over-taken. *Publius* therefore muſt make the more haſte, and take with him the better ſouldiers, that is, two parts of the old *Roman* Armie; leaving the third part, and all the *Celtiberians*, to his brother. He that hath the longer journey to make, comes ſomewhat the ſooner to his lives end. *Mago*, and *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Geſco*, are not ſtudying how to runne away: they finde no ſuch neceſſity. They joyne their forces together; meet with *Publius Scipio*; and lay at him ſo hardly, that hee is driven to keepe himſelfe cloſe within his Trenches: wherein he thinkes himſelfe not well aſſured. Eſpecially he is vexed by *Maſanaſſa*, Prince of the *Maſſæſyli*, *Numidians*, bordering upon *Mauritania*, in the Region called now *Tremizen*: to whom the chiefe honour of this ſervice is aſcribed, for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the *Romans*. In this dangerous caſe, *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Indibilis* a *Spaniſh* Prince, is comming with ſeven thouſand & five hundred of the *Sueſſetani*, to joyne with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be ſtreight ſhut up, and beſieged, he iſſues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* upon the way; leaving *T. Fonteius* his Lievtenant, with a ſmall company to defend the camp. He meets with *Indibilis*; but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the firſt incounter. The fight continues ſo long, that the *Numidian* horſe appeare (whom he thought to have beene ignorant of his departure) and fall upon the *Romans* on all ſides: neither are the *Carthaginians* farre behinde; but come ſo faſt upon him in Reare, that *P. Scipio*, uncertaine which way to turne, yet fighting, and animating his men, where need moſt requireth, is ſtrucke through with a lance, and ſlaine: very few of his Army eſcaping the ſame deſtinie, through benefit of the darke night. The like end hath *Cn. Scipio* within nine and twenty dayes after. At his meeting with *Aſdrubal*, the *Celtiberian* Mercenaries all forſake him; pretending that they had warre in their owne Country. If *Anitorgis*, where *Aſdrubal* then lay, were, as *Ortelius* following *Beuterus* takes it, a *Celtiberian* towne; this was no vaine pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may juſtly beleeve, that they were won by *Aſdrubal*, and eaſily perſwaded to take as much mony for not fighting, as they ſhould have had for hazzarding their lives. *Cn. Scipio* therefore being unable to ſtay them, and no leſſe unable, without their helpe, either to reſiſt the enemy, or to joyne with his brother, maketh a very violent retrait; herein onely differing from plaine flight, that he keeps his men together. *Aſdrubal* preſſeth hard upon him: and *Mago*, with *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Geſco*, having made an end of *Publius*, haſten to diſpatch his brother after him. *Scipio* ſteales from them all, by night; but is overtaken the next day by their horſe, and arreſted, in an open place of hard ſtony ground, where growes not ſo much as a ſhrubbe, unfit for defence of his Legions againſt ſuch enemies. Yet a little Hill he findes of eaſie aſcent on every ſide; which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with packe-ſaddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Palliſado. Theſe weake defences the *Carthaginians* ſoone teare in ſunder: and, breaking in on all hands, leave very few of them alive; that ſaving themſelves, I know not how, within ſome woods adjoyning, eſcape unto *T. Fonteius*, whom *Publius* had left in his camp, as is before ſaid. It is a terrible overthrow, they ſay, out of which no man eſcapes. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on every ſide, in ſo bare a ground as affoorded not a ſhrub to cover them, could breake out, and ſhrowd themſelves within woods adjoyning, I ſhould much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Fonteius* is in *P. Scipio's* campe, on the North ſide of *Iberus*, fearefull (as may be ſuppoſed) of his owne life; ſince his Generall, with two parts of the *Roman* Armie, had little hope to remaine long ſafe within it. Thither comes *L. Martius*, a yong *Roman* Gentleman of a notable ſpirit: who having gathered together the ſcattered Souldiers, and drawne ſome Companies out of their Garriſons, makes a pretty Army. The Souldiers, being to chooſe a Generall by moſt voices, preferre this *L. Martius* before *Fonteius* the Lievtenant, as well they may. For *Aſdrubal*, the ſonne of *Geſco* comming upon them; this *L. Martius* ſo incourageth his men, (fondly weeping when he led them forth, upon remembrance of their more honourable Generalls lately ſlaine) and admoniſheth them of their preſent neceſſity, that he beates the *Carthaginians* into their Trenches. A notable victory perhaps he might have gotten, but that he wiſely ſounds the retrait; reſerving the fury of his Souldiers to a greater occaſion. The *Carthaginians* are at firſt amazed, and wonder whence this new boldneſſe growes, in enemies lately vanquiſhed, and now againe little better than taken: but when they ſee, that the *Roman* dares not follow his advantage, they returne to their former ſecurity; and utterly deſpiſing him, ſet neither *Corps de garde* nor Sentinell, but reſt ſecure, as if no enemy were neere. *Martius* therefore animates his ſouldiers with lively words; and tells them, That there is no adventure more ſafe, than that which is furtheſt from ſuſpition of being under-taken. They are ſoone perſwaded to follow him, in any deſperate piece of ſervice. So he leades them forth by night, and ſteales upon the Campe of *Aſdrubal*: where finding no guard, but the enemies faſt aſleepe, or very drowzie, He enters without reſiſtance, fires their Cabbines, and gives a terrible alarme; ſo that all affrighted, the *Carthaginians* runne head-long one upon another, they know not which way. All paſſages out of their Campe, *Martius* hath prepoſſeſſed, ſo that there is no way to eſcape, ſave by leaping downe the Rampart: which as many doe, as can thinke upon it, and run away toward the Campe of *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Amilcar*, that lay ſixe miles off. But *Martius* hath way-layd them. In a Valley betweene their two campes he hath beſtowed a *Roman* cohort, and I know not what number of Horſe; ſo that into this Ambuſh they fall every one, and are cut in pieces. But leſt perchance any ſhould have eſcaped, and give the alarme before his comming; *Martius* haſtens to be there as ſoone as they. By which diligent ſpeed, He comes early in the morning upon this further campe: which with no great difficulty he enters, and partly by apprehenſion of danger which the Enemies conceived, when they beheld the *Roman* ſhields, foule, and bloudied with their former execution, He drives head-long into flight, all that can ſave themſelves from the fury of the ſword. Thirty ſeven thouſand of the enemies periſh in this nights worke; beſides a thouſand eight hundred and thirty, taken priſoners. Hereunto *Valerius Antius* addes, that the campe of *Mago* was alſo taken, and ſeven thouſand ſlaine: and that in another battaile with *Aſdrubal*, there were ſlaine ten thouſand more; beſides foure thouſand three hundred and thirtie taken priſoners. Such is the power of ſome Hiſtorians. *Livie* therefore hath elſewhere well obſerved, That there is none ſo intemperate, as *Valerius Antius*, in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in battailes. That, whileſt *Martius* was making an Oration to his ſouldiers, a flame of fire ſhone about his head, *Livie* reporteth as a common tale, not giving thereto any credit: and temperately concludeth, That this Captaine *Martius* got a great name; which he might well doe, if with ſo ſmall forces, and in ſuch diſtreſſe, He could cleerely get off from the Enemies, & give them any parting blow, though it were farre leſſe than that which is here ſet downe.

Of theſe occurrents *L. Martius* ſent word to *Rome*, not forgetting his owne good ſervice, whatſoever it was, but ſetting it out in ſuch wiſe, as the Senate might judge him worthy to hold the place of their Vice-gerent in *Spaine*: which the better to intimate unto them, He ſtiled himſelfe Propretor. The Fathers were no leſſe moved with the tidings than the caſe required: and therefore tooke ſuch carefull order, for ſupplying their forces in *Spaine*, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of *Rome*, ere the companies levied to ſerve in that Province, could be ſent away; yet would they not ſtay a tide for defence of the City it ſelfe, but ſhipped them in all haſte for *Spaine*. As for that title of Propretor, which *Martius* had aſſumed, they thought it too great for him, and were offended at his preſumption in uſurping it: foreſeeing well, that it was a matter of ill conſequence, to have the Souldiers abroad make choice, among themſelves, of thoſe that ſhould command Armies and Provinces. Therefore *C. Claudius Nero* was diſpatched away, with all convenient haſte, into *Spaine*: carrying with him about ſixe thouſand of the *Roman* foot, and as many of the *Latines*, with three hundred *Roman* horſe, and of the *Latines* eight hundred.

It happened well, that about theſe times, the affaires of *Rome* began to proſper in *Italy*, and afforded means of ſending abroad ſuch a ſtrong ſupply: otherwiſe, the victories of *Martius* would ill have ſerved, either to keepe footing in *Spaine*, or to ſtop the *Carthaginian* Armies from marching towards the *Alpes*. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new forces, tooke charge of that remainder of the Army, which was under *Martius* and *Fonteius*; he found ſurer tokens of the overthrowes received, than of thoſe miraculous victories, whereof *Martius* had made his vaunts unto the Senate. The *Roman* party was forſaken by moſt of the *Spaniſh* friends: whom how to reclaime, it would not eaſily be deviſed. Yet *Claudius* advanced boldly towards *Aſdrubal* the brother of *Hannibal*: whom he found among the *Auſetani*, neer enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lapides atri*; out of which there was no iſſue, but only through a ſtreight, whereon the *Roman* ſeized at his firſt comming. What ſhould have tempted any man of underſtanding to incampe in ſuch a place, I do not finde: and as little reaſon can I find in that which followed. For it is ſaid, That *Aſdrubal*, ſeeing himſelfe thus lockt up, made offer to depart forthwith out of all *Spaine*, and quit the Province to the *Romans*, upon condition, that he and his Armie might bee thence diſmiſſed; That he ſpent many dayes, in entertaining parlee with *Claudius* about this buſineſſe; That night by night he conveighed his footmen (a few at a time) through very difficult paſſages, out of the danger; and that finally taking advantage of a miſty day, He ſtole away with all his Horſe and Elephants, leaving his Camp empty. If we conſider, that there were at the ſame time, beſides this *Aſdrubal*, two other *Carthaginian* Generalls in *Spaine*; we ſhall finde no leſſe cauſe to wonder at the ſimplicity of *Claudius*, who hoped to conclude a bargaine for ſo great a Country, with one of theſe three Chieftaines, than at the ſtrange nature of thoſe paſſages, through which the footmen could hardly creepe out by night; the Horſe and Elephants eaſily following them in a darke miſty day. Wherefore in giving beliefe to ſuch a tale, it is needfull that we ſuppoſe, both the danger wherein the *Carthaginians* were, and the conditions offered for their ſafe departure, to have been of far leſſe value. Howſoever it was; neither this, nor ought elſe that the *Romans* could do, ſerved to purchaſe any new friends in *Spaine*, or to recover the old which they had loſt. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, which had choſen *Martius* their Propretor, tooke it not well, that the Senate, regardleſſe of their good deſerts, had repealed their election, and ſent a Propretor whom they fancied not ſo well. Some ſuch occaſion may have moved them to deſire a Proconſull, & (perhaps) yong *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignity were needfull to worke regard in the *Barbarians*; and the beloved memory of *Cn.* and *Publius*, likely to doe good, were it revived in one of the ſame family. Whether upon theſe, or upon other reaſons; *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the Province; and *Publius* the ſonne of *P. Scipio* ſent Proconſull into *Spaine*.

This is that *Scipio*, who afterward tranſferred the warre into *Africk*: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Country. He was a man of goodly preſence, & ſingularly well conditioned: eſpecially he excelled in Temperance, Continency, Bounty, and other vertues that purchaſe love; of which qualities what great uſe he made, ſhall appeare in the tenour of his Actions following. As for thoſe things that are reported of him, ſavouring a little too much of the great *Alexanders* vanity; How he uſed to walke alone in the Capitoll, as one that had ſome ſecret conference with *Jupiter*; How a Dragon (which muſt have beene one of the gods; and, in likelihood, *Jupiter* himſelfe) was thought to have converſed with his Mother, entring her Chamber often, and vaniſhing away at the comming in of any man; and how of theſe matters he nouriſhed the rumour, by doubtfull anſwers; I hold them no better than fables, deviſed by Hiſtorians, who thought thereby to adde unto the glory of *Rome*: that this noble City might ſeeme, not onely to have ſurpaſſed other Nations in vertue of the generality, but alſo in great worth of one ſingle man. To this end nothing is left out, that might ſerve to adorne this *Roman* Champion. For it is confidently written, as matter

of

of unqueſtionable truth, That when a Proconſull was to be choſen for *Spaine*, there durſt not any Captaine of the principall Citizens offer himſelfe as Petitioner for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the people of *Rome* were much aſtoniſhed thereat; That when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the Citie ſtood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart, to adventure himſelfe in ſuch a deſperate ſervice; and finally, That this *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being then about foure & twenty yeers of age, getting up on an high place where he might be ſeen of all the multitude, requeſted, and obtained, that the Office might be conferred upon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of *L. Martius* no better than dreames: and either very unreaſonable was the feare of all the *Roman* Captains, who durſt not follow *Claudius Nero*, that not long before was gone into *Spain* Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Province, which *Aſdrubal* the *Carthaginian*, as we heard even now, was ready to abandon. But upon theſe incoherences, which I finde in the two partiall *Roman* Hiſtorians, I doe not willingly inſiſt.

*P. Scipio* was ſent Proconſull into *Spaine*; & with him was joyned *M. Junius Syllanus*, as Propretor, and his Coadjutor. They carried with them tenne thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, in thirty *Quinquereme* Gallies. With theſe they landed at *Emporiæ*; & marched from thence to *Tarracon* alongſt the Sea-coaſt. At the fame of *Scipio's* arrivall, it is ſaid, that Embaſſages came to him apace from all quarters of the Province: which he entertained with ſuch a majeſtie, as bred a wonderfull opinion of him. As for the enemies, they were greatly affraid of him: and ſo much the greater was their feare, by how much the leſſe they could give any reaſon of it. If we muſt beleeve this, then muſt we needs beleeve, that their feare was even as great as could be: for very little cauſe there was, to be terrefied with the fame of ſo young a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the Winter following (or, as ſome thinke, all the next yeare) hee did nothing: but ſpent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the *Spaniards*. His firſt enterprize was againſt new *Carthage*: upon which he came unexpected, with five and twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe; his Sea forces coaſting him, and moderating their courſe in ſuch wiſe, that they arrived there together with him. He aſſailed the Towne by Land and Sea; and wonne it by aſſault the firſt day. The *Carthaginians* loſt it, by their too much confidence upon the ſtrength of it: which cauſed them to man it more ſlenderly, than was requiſite. Yet it might have beene well enough defended, if ſome Fiſher-men of *Tarracon* had not diſcovered unto *Scipio*, a ſecret paſſage unto the walls; whereof the Townſ-men themſelves were either ignorant, or thought (at leaſt) that their enemies could have no notice. This Citie of new *Carthage*, reſembled the old and great *Carthage* in ſituation; ſtanding upon a demy-Iland, betweene an Haven and a great Lake. All the Weſterne ſide of the walls, and ſomewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake: which the Fiſher-men of *Tarracon* had ſounded; and finding ſome part thereof a ſhelfe, whereon at low water men might paſſe knee-deep, or (at moſt) wading up to the Navill, *Scipio* thruſt thereinto ſome companies of his men; who recovered the top of the walles without reſiſtance: the place being left without guard; as able to defend it ſelfe by the naturall ſtrength. Theſe falling ſuddenly upon the backes of the *Carthaginians* within the Citie; eaſily forced a gate, and gave free entrance to the *Roman* Army. What booty was found within the Towne, *Livie* himſelfe cannot certainly affirme; but is faine to ſay, That ſome *Roman* Hiſtorians told lies without meaſure, in way of amplification. By that ſmall proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by *Scipio* into the *Roman* Treaſury, we may eaſily perceive how great a vanity it was to ſay, That all the wealth of *Africk* and *Spaine* was heaped up in that one Towne. But therein were beſtowed all the *Spaniſh* Hoſtages: (or at leaſt of the adjoining Provinces) whom *Scipio* intreated with ſingular courteſie; reſtoring them unto their kindred and friends, in ſuch gracious manner, as doubled the thankes due to ſo great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of the *Celtiberians*, and two petty Kings of the *Ilergetes* and *Lacetani*, neereſt Neighbours to *Tarracon*, and dwelling on the North-ſide of *Iberus*, forſooke the *Carthaginian* party, & joyned with the *Romans*. The ſpeech of *Indibilis*, King of the *Ilergetes*, is much commended: for that he did not vaunt himſelf, as commonly fugitives uſe, of the pleaſure, which he did unto the *Romans*, in revolting from their enemies, but rather excuſed this his changing ſide, as being thereto compelled by injuries of the *Carthaginians*, & invited by the honourable dealing of *Scipio*.

*Scipio*. This temperate eſtimation of his new profeſſed friendſhip, was indeed no unſure token, that it ſhould be long-laſting. But if the *Ilergetes* had long ere this (as wee have heard before) forſaken the *Carthaginian* party, and ſtoutly held themſelves as friends to *Cn. Scipio*: then could nothing have bin deviſed more vaine, than this Oration of *Indibilis* their King; excuſing, as new, his taking part with the ſame, when hee ſhould have rather craved pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Uncle. Moſt likely therefore it is, that howſoever the two elder *Scipio's* had gotten ſome few places among theſe their Neighbours, & held them by ſtrength; yet were the *Romans* never maſters of the Countrie, till this worthy Commander, by recovering their Hoſtages from the *Carthaginians*, and by his great munificence in ſending them home, won unto himſelfe the aſſured love and aſſiſtance of theſe Princes. The *Carthaginian* Generalls, when they heard of this loſſe, were very ſorry: yet neverthেleſſe they ſet a good face on the matter; ſaying, That a young man, having ſtolne a Towne by ſurpriſe, was too farre tranſported, and over-joyed, but that ſhortly they would meet with him, and put him in minde of his Father and Uncle; which would alter his moode, and bring him to a more convenient temper.

Now if I ſhould here interpoſe mine owne conjecture; I ſhould be bold to ſay, That the *Carthaginians* were at this time buſie, in ſetting forth towards *Italy*; and that *Scipio*, to divert them, under-tooke new *Carthage*, as his Father and Uncle, upon the like occaſion, ſate downe before *Ibera*. And in this reſpect I would ſuppoſe, that it had not beene much amiſſe, if the paſſage over the Lake had beene undiſcovered, and the Towne held out ſome longer while. For howſoever that particular Action was the more fortunate, in comming to ſuch good iſſue upon the firſt day: yet in the generality of the buſineſſe, between *Rome* and *Carthage*, it was more to be wiſhed, that *Aſdrubal* ſhould be ſtayed from going into *Italy*, than that halfe of *Spaine* ſhould be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to do, that ſhould hinder his journey; *Mago*, & *Aſdrubal*, the ſonne of *Geſco*, were thought ſufficient to hold *Scipio* worke, in that lingring warre of taking and retaking Townes, whileſt the maine of the *Carthaginian* forces, under *Aſdrubal*, the ſon of *Amilcar*, went to a greater enterpriſe: even to fight in triall of the Empire. But the *Roman* Hiſtorians tell this after another faſhion; and ſay, That *Aſdrubal* was beaten into *Italy*: whither he ran for feare, as thinking himſelfe ill aſſured of the *Spaniards*, as long as they might but heare the name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, ſay they, comming upon *Aſdrubal*; his Vant-currers charged ſo luſtily the *Carthaginian* horſe, that they drave them into their Trenches: and made it apparent, even by that ſmall peece of ſervice, how full of ſpirit the *Roman* Army was, and how dejected the Enemie. *Aſdrubal* therefore by night retyred out of that even ground, and occupied an Hill, compaſſed on three ſides with the River, very ſteepe of aſcent, and not eaſie of acceſſe on the foreſide; by which himſelfe got up, and was to be followed by the *Romans*. On the top of it there was a Plaine, whereon he ſtrongly encamped himſelfe: and in the mid-way, betweene the top and root of the Hill, was alſo another Plaine; into which he deſcended, more upon bravery, that he might not ſeeme to hide himſelfe within the Trenches, than for that he durſt adventure his Army to the hazzard of a battaile, for which this was no equall ground. But ſuch advantage of place could not ſave him from the *Romans*. They climed up the Hill to him; they recovered even footing with him; drove him out of this lower Plaine, up into his Campe on the Hill top: whither although the aſcent were very difficult, and his Elephants beſtowed in the ſmootheſt places to hinder their approach; yet compaſſing about, and ſeeking paſſage where it was hardeſt to be found; but much more ſtrongly breaking their way, where the *Carthaginians* had got up before them, they drave both Men and Elephants head-long, I know not whither: for it is ſaid, that there was no way to flie. Out of ſuch a battaile, wherein hee had loſt eight thouſand men, *Aſdrubal* is ſaid to have eſcaped; and gathering together his diſperſed troupes, to have marched towards the *Pyrenees*, having ſent away his Elephants ere the fight began. Nevertheleſſe, *Mago*, and *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Geſco*, are reported after this, to have conſulted with him about this Warre; and finally to have concluded, that goe he needs muſt, were it but to carry all the *Spaniards* as far as might be, from the name of *Scipio*. How likely this was to have bin true, it ſhall appeare at his comming into *Italy*; whence theſe incoherent relations of the *Spaniſh* affaires have too long detained us.

## §. XII.

*The great troubles that* Hannibal *raiſed in all quarters, to the Citie of Rome.* Poſthumius *the Roman Generall, with his whole Army, is ſlaine by the Gaules.* Philip *King of Macedon enters into a League with* Hannibal, *againſt the Romans. The Romans joyning with the Ætolians, make warre upon* Philip *in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him, the better to intend their buſineſſe againſt the Carthaginians.*

WEe left *Hannibal* wintering at *Capua*: where he and his new Confederates rejoyced (as may be thought) not a little, to heare the good newes from *Carthage* of ſuch mighty aide, as was decreed to be ſent thence unto him. In former times he had found worke enough, to carry the *Romans* corne into his owne barnes, and to drive away their Cattell to *Geryon*: his victories affording him little other profit, than ſuſtenance for his Army; by making him Maſter of the open field. He might perhaps have forced ſome walled townes, in like ſort as he did *Geryon*, and the Caſtle of *Cannæ*: but had he ſpent much time, about the getting of any one place well defended; the hunger, that his Army muſt have endured the Winter and Spring following, untill corne were ripe, would have grievouſly puniſhed him for ſuch imployment of the Summer. This may have been the reaſon, why he forbore to adventure upon *Rome*, after his victory at *Cannæ*. For had hee failed (as it was a matter of no certainty) to carry the Citie at his firſt comming; want of victuals would have compelled him to quit the enterpriſe. Yea, many of the people that opened ſo haſtily their gates unto him, upon the freſh bruit of his glorious ſucceſſe, would have taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the event of another battaile: if being, either for want of meanes to force the Citie, or of neceſſaries to continue a ſiege before it, repelled (as might ſeeme) from the walles of *Rome*, he had preſented himſelfe unto them with a leſſened reputation, ſomewhat later in the yeere; when time to force their obedience was wanting, unleſſe they would freely yeeld it. But this great part of the care and travell was paſt, when ſo many States of *Italy* were become his: the yeere following, the *Samnites*, and other old enemies of *Rome*, were like to receive a notable pleaſure of their new alliance with *Carthage*, by helping to lay ſiege unto that proud Citie, which ſo long had held them in ſubjection. Thus the Winter was paſſed over joyfully, ſaving that there came not any tidings of the preparations, to ſecond the welcome report of thoſe mighty forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring drew on: and of the promiſed ſupply there arrived no more, than onely the Elephants. How late it was ere theſe came, I finde not: onely we finde, that after this he had above thirty of them; whereas all, ſave one, that he brought over the *Alpes*, had bin loſt in his journey through the Mariſhes of *Hetruria*. Very bad excuſe of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make unto *Hannibal*. If they were his friends, they told him truely, what miſchiefes the perſwaſion of *Hanno* wrought among the too niggardly *Carthaginians*. Otherwiſe, they might perhaps informe him, that it was thought a ſafer, though a farther way about, to paſſe along through *Spaine* and *Gaule*, as he himſelfe had done; and increaſe the Army, by hyring the *Barbarians* in the journey; than to commit the maine ſtrength of their Citie, to the hazzard of the Seas: eſpecially wanting a commodious Haven, to receive the Fleet that ſhould carry ſuch a number of Men, Horſes, and Elephants, with all needfull proviſions. With theſe allegations *Hannibal* muſt reſt content; and ſeeke, as well as he can, to ſatisfie his *Italian* Confederates. Therefore when time of the yeere ſerved, He tooke the field: and having finiſhed what reſted to be done at *Caſilinum*, ſought to make himſelfe Maſter of ſome good Haven-town thereabout; that might ſerve to entertaine the *Carthaginian* Fleet, or take from his Enemies at home all excuſe, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the ſame purpoſe, and to doe what elſe was needfull, He ſent *Himilco* unto the *Locrians*, and *Hanno* to the *Lucans*: not forgetting at once to aſſay all quarters of *Italy*, yea, the Iles of *Sicil* and *Sardinia*; ſince the ſiege of *Rome* muſt needs be deferred unto another yeere. *Hanno* made an ill journey of it, being met, or over-taken, by *T. Sempronius Longus*: who ſlue above two thouſand of his men; with the loſſe of fewer than three hundred *Romans*. But *Himilco* ſped farre better. By helpe of the *Brutians*, his good friends, he won *Petellia*, or *Petilia* by force; after it had held out ſome moneths. He won likewiſe *Conſentia*; and *Croton*, that was forſaken by the Inhabitants. Alſo the City of *Locri*, which was of great importance, yeelded unto him: as did all other places thereabout; except onely the Towne of *Rhegium*, over againſt *Sicil*.

The great faith of the *Petilians* is worthy to be recorded, as a notable teſtimony of the good government, under which the *Roman* ſubjects lived. As for the *Samnites*, *Campanes*, and others, whoſe earneſtneſſe in rebellion may ſeeme to prove the contrary; we are to conſider, That they had lately contended with *Rome* for Soveraignty, and were now tranſported with ambition: which reaſon can hardly moderate, or benefits allay. The *Petilians*, in the very beginning of their danger, did ſend to *Rome* for helpe: where their Meſſengers received anſwer from the Senate, That the publike misfortunes had not left meanes, to relieve their Aſſociates that were ſo farre diſtant. The *Petilian* Meſſengers (Embaſſadours they are termed; as were all others, publikely ſent from Cities of the *Roman* ſubjection, that had a private juriſdiction within themſelves) fell down to the ground, and humbly beſought the Fathers, not to give them away: promiſing to do and ſuffer whatſoever was poſſible, in defence of their Towne, againſt the *Carthaginians*. Hereupon the Senate fell to conſultation againe: and having throughly conſidered all their forces remaining, plainely confeſſed, that it was not in their power to give any reliefe. Wherefore theſe Embaſſadours were willed to returne home, and to bid their Citizens provide hereafter for their owne ſafety, as having already diſcharged their faith to the utmoſt. All this notwithſtanding, the *Petilians* (as was ſaid) held out ſome moneths: and having ſtriven in vaine to defend themſelves, when there was no apparent poſſibility, gave to the *Carthaginians* a bloudy victory over them; being vanquiſhed as much by famine, as by any violence of the Aſſailants.

The *Romans* at this time were indeed in ſuch ill caſe, that *Hannibal*, with a little helpe from *Carthage*, might have reduced them into termes of great extremity. For whereas, in a great bravery, before their loſſe at *Cannæ*, they had ſhewed their high mindes, by entertaining the care of things farre off, notwithſtanding the great warre that lay upon them ſo neere at hand: it now fell out miſerably all at once, that their fortune abroad was no whit better than at home. *L. Poſthumius Albinus* their Prætor they had ſent, with an Army of five and twenty thouſand, into *Gaule*; to the *Illyrian* King *Pineus* they had ſent for their tribute due, whereof the pay-day was paſt, willing him, if he deſired forbearance, to deliver hoſtages for his performance of what was due; and to *Philip* King of *Macedon* they had ſent, to require, that he ſhould deliver up unto them *Demetrius Pharius*, their Subject and Rebell, whom he had received. But now from all quarters they heare tidings, little ſutable to their former glorious conceits. *Poſthumius* with all his Army was cut in pieces by the *Gaules*, in ſuch ſort, that ſcarce ten men eſcaped. The manner of his overthrow was very ſtrange. There was a great Wood, called by the *Gaules*, *Litana*; through which he was to paſſe. Againſt his comming, the Enemies had ſawed the Trees ſo far, that a little force would ſerve to caſt them downe. When therefore *Poſthumius*, with his whole Army, was entred into this dangerous paſſage, the *Gaules*, that lay about the wood, began to caſt downe the Trees: which falling one againſt another, bore all downe ſo faſt, that the *Romans* were over-whelmed, Men and Horſes; in ſuch wiſe, that no more eſcaped, than is ſaid before. How this tedious worke of ſawing ſo many Trees, could take deſired effect, and neither be perceived, nor made fruſtrate, either by ſome winde, that might have blowne all downe before the *Romans* entred, or by ſome other of thoſe many accidents, whereto the device was ſubject; I do not well conceive. Yet ſome ſuch thing may have beene done: and what failed in the ſtratagem, ſupplied with the Enemies ſword. It is not perhaps worthy to be omitted, as a monument of the ſavage condition, wherewith *Lombardie*, a Country now ſo civill, was infected in elder times, That of *Poſthumius* his skull, being cleanſed, and trimmed up with gold, a drinking cup was made, and conſecrated in their principall Temple, as an holy veſſel, for the uſe of the Prieſt in their ſolemnities. Of this great overthrow, when word was brought to *Rome*; the amazement was no leſſe than the calamity. But ſorrow could give no remedie to the miſchiefe: and anger was vaine, where there wanted forces to revenge. Tribute from the *Illyrians* there came none: neither doe I finde, that any was a ſecond time demanded; this we finde, That with *Pleuratus*, & *Scerdiletus Illyrian* Kings, as alſo with *Gentius*, who reigned within a few yeeres following, the *Romans* dealt upon even termes; entreating their aſſiſtance againſt *Philip* and *Perſeus*; not commanding their dutie, as Vaſſalls. The *Macedonian* troubled them yet a little further. For having aſſured his affaires in *Greece*, & enjoying leiſure to looke into the doings abroad, He ſent Embaſſadors to *Hannibal*: with whom he made a league, upon theſe conditions; That the King in perſon ſhould come into *Italy*, and with all his forces, by Land and Sea, aſſiſt the *Carthaginians* in the *Roman* war, untill it were finiſhed; That *Rome*, and all *Italy*, together with all the ſpoile therein to be gotten, ſhould be left entire unto the State of *Carthage*; And that afterwards *Hannibal* with his Army ſhould paſſe into *Greece*, and there aſſiſt *Philip*, untill he had ſubdued all his Enemies: (which were the *Ætolians*, *Thracians*, King *Antiochus*, and others) leaving ſemblably unto him the full poſſeſſion of that country, and the Iles adjoyning. But ſuch prediſpoſition of Kingdomes and Provinces, is lightly comptrolled by the divine Providence, which therein ſhewes *It* ſelfe; not (as *Herodotus* falſly termes it, and like an *Atheiſt*) envious or malicious, but very juſt and majeſticall, in up-holding that unſpeakable greatneſſe of Soveraignty, by which *It* rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The firſt Embaſſadours that *Philip* ſent, fell into the *Romans* hands, in their journey towards *Hannibal*: & being examined what they were, adventured upon a bold lie, ſaying, That they were ſent from the King of *Macedon* to Rome, there to make a League with the Senate and People, and offer his helpe in this time of great neceſſity. Theſe newes were ſo welcome, that the joy thereof tooke away all care of making better inquiry. So they were lovingly feaſted, and freely diſmiſſed with guides that ſhould leade them the way, and ſhew them how to avoide the *Carthaginians*. But they being thus inſtructed concerning their journey, fell wilfully into the campe of *Hannibal*: who entertained them after a better faſhion; and concluded the buſineſſe, about which they came, upon the points before remembred. In their returne homeward, they happened againe unluckily to be deſcried by the *Roman* fleet; which, miſtruſting them to be of the *Carthaginian* party, gave them chace. They did their beſt to have eſcaped: but being over-taken, they ſuffered the *Romans* to come aboord; and truſting to the lie that once had ſerved them, ſaid it againe, That having beene ſent from King *Philip*, to make a league with the People of *Rome*, they were not able, by reaſon of the *Carthaginians* lying between, to get any farther than to *M. Valerius* the Prætor, unto whom they had ſignified the good affection of the King their Maſter. The tale was now leſſe credible than before: and (which marred all) *Geſco*, *Boſtar*, and *Mago*, with their followers, *Carthaginians* that were ſent with them from *Hannibal* to ratifie the agreement, being preſently detected, made the matter apparent. Wherefore a little inquiſition ſerved to finde all out: ſo that at length *Hannibals* owne letters to King *Philip* were delivered up, and the whole buſineſſe confeſſed. The Embaſſadours and their followers were ſent cloſe priſoners to *Rome*: where the chiefe of them were caſt into priſon; and the reſt ſold for bond-ſlaves. Yet one of their ſhips that eſcaped, carried word into *Macedon* of all that had happened. Whereupon new Embaſſage was ſent, that went and returned with better ſpeed; concluding, as was agreed before; onely with ſome loſſe of time.

The *Romans* were exceedingly perplexed: thinking with what heavie weight this *Macedonian* warre, in an evill houre, was likely to fall upon them, when their ſhoulders were over-burdened with the loade of the *Carthaginian*. Yet they tooke a noble reſolution; and ſutable unto that, whereby they kept off the ſtorme, that elſe would have beaten upon them from *Spaine*. They judged it more eaſie, with ſmall forces to detaine *Philip* in *Greece*, than with all their ſtrength to reſiſt him in *Italy*. And herein they were in the right. For, that the very reputation of a King of *Macedon*, joyning with *Hannibal* in ſuch a time, would have ſufficed to ſhake the allegeance, not onely of the *Latines*, and other, their moſt faithfull Subjects, but even of the *Roman* Colonies, that held all priviledges of the City, it will appeare by the following ſucceſſe of things. *M. Valerius* the Prætor, with twenty *Quinquereme* Gallies, was appointed to attend upon the *Macedonian*, and to ſet on foot ſome commotion in *Greece*; or to nouriſh the troubles already therein begunne. *Philip* was buſie about the Sea-townes, that looked towards *Italy*, ſetting upon *Apollonia*; and thence falling upon *Oricum*; which he won, and ſo returned to *Apollonia* againe. The *Epirots* craved helpe of *M. Valerius*: or rather accepted his kinde offers; who had none other buſines to do. The garriſon that *Philip* had left in *Oricum*, was ſtrong enough to hold the Townſ-men in good order; but not to keep out the *Romans*: of whoſe daring to attempt any thing againſt him, on that ſide the Sea, *Philip* as then had no ſuſpition. *Valerius* therefore eaſily regained the Towne; and ſent thence a thouſand men, under *Nævius Criſpus*, an under-taking and expert Captaine; which got by night into *Apollonia*. Theſe made a notable ſallie; and brake into *Philips* Trenches with ſo great ſlaughter, that they forced him to forſake his campe, and raiſe the ſiege. The King purpoſed (as it is ſaid) to have departed thence by Sea: but *Valerius*, comming with his fleet from *Oricum*, ſtopped up the mouth of the River, ſo that he was faine to burn his ſhips, (which belike were no better than long boates) and depart ill furniſhed of carriages, by Land. After this *Valerius* dealt with the *Ætolians*, a Nation alwayes enemy to the Crowne of *Macedon*: & eaſily perſwaded them (being ſo affected, as hath elſe-where beene ſhewed) to make ſtrong warre on *Philip*; wherein he promiſed them great aſſiſtance from the *Romans*. That which moſt moved the troubleſome ſpirits of the *Ætolians*, was the hope of getting *Acarnania*: after which they had gaped long; & whereof the *Roman* was as liberall in making promiſe, as if already it had bin his owne. So a league was made betweene them: and afterward ſolemnely publiſhed at *Olympia*, by the *Ætolians*; and by the *Romans*, in their *Capitoll*. The conditions were, That from *Ætolia* to *Corcyra*, in which ſpace *Acarnania* was contained, all the Countrey ſhould be ſubdued, and left unto the *Ætolians*, the pillage onely to be given to the *Romans*. And that if the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*, it ſhould bee with Proviſion, to hold no longer than whileſt hee abſtained from doing injurie to the *Romans*, or their Aſſociates. This was indeed the onely point, whereat *Valerius* aimed, who promiſed as much on the *Romans* behalfe, That they ſhould not make peace with the *Macedonian*, unleſſe it were with like condition of including the *Ætolians*. Into this league was place reſerved for the *Lacedæmonians* and *Eleans*, as to thoſe that had made or favoured the ſide of *Cleomenes* againſt the *Macedonian*, to enter at their pleaſure. The like regard was had of *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, & *Scerdiletus*: the firſt of which reigned at *Pergamus*, in *Aſia* the leſſe, a Prince hereafter much to be ſpoken of; the other two held ſome part of *Illyria*, about which the *Romans* were ſo farre from contending with them, that gladly they ſought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of theſe Aſſociates are thruſt into the Treatie, rather to give it countenance, than for any readineſſe which they diſcloſe to enter thereinto. The *Ætolians* alone, and chiefly *Scopas* their Prætor, with *Dorymachus* and others, are yet a while the onely men, of whom the *Roman* Generalls muſt make much; as the late *French* King, *Henry* the fourth, when he had onely the title of *Navarre*, was ſaid to court the Maiors of *Rochel*. *Philip* was not idle, when hee heard whereunto the *Ætolians* tended. He repaired his Army; made a countenance of warre upon the *Illyrians*, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger to infeſt the Kingdome of *Macedon*; waſted the Countrie about *Oricum* & *Apollonia*; and over-running the *Pelagonians*, *Dardanians*, and others, whom he held ſuſpected, came downe into *Theſſaly*, whence he made ſhew as if he would invade *Ætolia*. By the fame of this Expedition, He thought to ſtir up all the *Greeks* adjoining, againſt the *Ætolians*; whom they generally deteſted as a neſt of Robbers, troubleſome to all the Country. To which purpoſe, and to hinder the *Ætolians* from breaking into *Greece*, He left *Perſeus*, his ſon and heire, with foure thouſand men, upon their borders: with the reſt of his Armie, before greater buſineſſe ſhould over-take and entangle him, Hee made a long journey into *Thrace*, againſt a people called the *Medes*: that were wont to fall upon *Macedon*, whenſoever the King was abſent. The *Ætolians*, hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could againſt the *Acarnanians*; in hope to ſubdue thoſe their daily enemies, and winne their little Countrie, ere he ſhould be able to returne. Hereto it much availed, that the *Romans* had already taken *Oeniadæ* and *Naxos*, *Acarnanian* Townes, conveniently ſituated to let in an Army; and conſigned them unto the *Ætolians*, according to the tenor of the contract lately made with them. But the ſtout reſolution of the *Acarnanians*, to die (as we ſay) every Mothers ſonne of them, in defence of their Country; together with the great haſte of the *Macedonian* (who layed aſide all other buſineſſe) to ſuccour theſe his friends; cauſed the *Ætolians* to forſake their enterpriſe. When this Expedition was given over, the *Romans* and *Ætolians* fell upon *Ancyra*, which they tooke: the *Romans* aſſailing by Sea, the *Ætolians* by Land. The *Ætolians* had the Towne, and the *Romans* the ſpoile.

For theſe good ſervices *M. Valerius* was choſen Conſull at *Rome*; & *P. Sulpicius* ſent in his ſtead, to keepe the warre on foot in *Greece*. But beſides the *Roman* helpe, *Attalus* out of *Aſia* came over to aſſiſt the *Ætolians*. Hee was chiefly mooved by his owne jealouſie of *Philips* greatneſſe: though ſomewhat alſo tickled with the vanity of being choſen by the *Ætolians* their principall Magiſtrate; which honour, though no better than titulary, he tooke in very loving part. Againſt the forces which *Attalus* and the *Romans* had ſent, being joyned with the maine power of *Ætolia*, *Philip* tried the fortune of two battailes: and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon, theſe his troubleſome neighbours deſired peace of him, and uſed their beſt meanes to get it. But when the day appointed for the concluſion thereof, was come: their Embaſſadours, in ſtead of making ſubmiſſion, propoſed unto him ſuch intolerable conditions, as ill beſeemed vanquiſhed men to offer: and might therefore well teſtifie, that their minds were altered. It was not any love of peace, but feare of being beſieged in their owne Towns, that had made them deſirous of compoſition. This feare being taken away, by the incouragements of *Attalus* and the *Romans*, they were as fierce as ever: and thruſt a garriſon of their owne, and ſome *Roman* friends, into *Elis*; which threatned *Achaia*, wherein *Philip* then lay. The *Romans*, making a cut over the ſtreight from *Naupactus*, waſted the countrey in a terrible bravery: wherein *Philip* requited them; comming upon them in great haſt from the *Nemæan* Games (which he was then celebrating) and ſending them faſter away, but nothing richer, than they came.

In the heate of this contention, *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, fearing the growth of *Attalus*, no leſſe than *Attalus* held ſuſpected the power of *Philip*, ſent a Navie into *Greece*, to aſſiſt the *Macedonian* party. The like did the *Carthaginians*: and upon greater reaſon; as being more intereſſed in the ſucceſſe of his affaires. *Philip* was too weake by Sea: and though he could man ſome two hundred ſhips, yet the veſſels were ſuch, as could not hold out againſt the *Roman Quinqueremes*. Wherefore it behoved him, to uſe the helpe of his good friends the *Carthaginians*. But their aide came ſomewhat too late: which might better at firſt have kept thoſe Enemies from faſtening upon any part of *Greece*, than afterward it could ſerve to drive them out, when they had pierced into the bowels of that country. Ere *Philip* could attempt any thing by Sea, it was needfull that he ſhould correct the *Eleans*, bad neighbours to the *Achaians* his principall Confederates. But in aſſailing their Town, hee was incountred by the *Ætolian* and *Roman* garriſon, which drave him backe with ſome loſſe. In ſuch caſes, eſpecially where God intendeth a great converſion of Empire, Fame is very powerfull in working. The King had received no great detriment, in his retrait from *Elis*: rather he had given teſtimony of his perſonall valour, in fighting well on foot, when his horſe was ſlaine under him. He had alſo ſoone after taken a great multitude of the *Eleans*, to the number of foure thouſand, with ſome twenty thouſand head of Cattell, which they had brought together into a place of ſafetie, as they thought, when their Country was invaded. But it had happened, that in his purſuit of the *Roman* forragers about *Sicyon*, his horſe running haſtily under a low tree, had torne off one of the hornes, which (after the faſhion of thoſe times) the King wore in his Creſt. This was gathered up by an *Ætolian*, who carried it home, and ſhewed it as a token of *Philips* death. The horne was well knowne, and the tale beleeved. All *Macedon* therefore was in an uproare: and not onely the Borderers, ready to fall upon the Country, but ſome Captains of *Philip*, eaſily corrupted; who thinking to make themſelves a fortune in that change of things, ranne into ſuch treaſon, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuſe. Hereupon the King returned home, leaving not three thouſand men, to aſſiſt his friends the *Achæans*. He alſo tooke order, to have Beacons erected, that might give him notice of the Enemies doings, upon whom he meant ſhortly to returne. The affaires of *Macedon*, his preſence quickly eſtabliſhed. But in *Greece* all went il-favouredly: eſpecially in the Ile of *Eubœa*, where one *Plator* betraied to *Attalus* and the *Romans*, the Towne of *Oreum*, ere *Philip* could arrive to helpe it: where alſo the ſtrong City of *Chalcis* was likely to have been loſt, if he had not come the ſooner. He made ſuch haſtie marches, that he had almoſt taken *Attalus* in the City of *Opus*: This City, lying over againſt *Eubœa*, *Attalus* had wonne, more through the cowardize of the people, than any great force that he had uſed: now becauſe the *Roman* Souldiers had defrauded him in the ſacke of *Oreum*, and taken all to themſelves; it was agreed, that *Attalus* ſhould make his beſt profit of the *Opuntians*, without admitting the *Romans* to be his ſharers. But whilſt he was buſie, in drawing as much mony as he could out of the Citizens: the ſudden tidings of *Philips* arrivall, made him leave all behinde him, and runne away to the Sea-ſide, where he got aboord his ſhips, finding the *Romans* gone before, upon the like feare. Either the indignitie of this miſadventure, or tydings of *Pruſias* the *Bythinian* his invaſion upon the kingdome of *Pergamus*; made *Attalus* returne home, without ſtaying to take leave of his friends. So *Philip* recovered *Opus*, won *Torone*, *Tritonos*, *Drymus*, and many ſmall towns in thoſe parts; performing likewiſe ſome actions, of more braverie than importance, againſt the *Ætolians*. In the mean ſeaſon, *Machanidas*, the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, had beene buſie in *Peloponneſus*; but hearing of *Philips* arrivall, was returned home.

The *Lacedæmonians*, hearing certaine report of *Cleomenes* his death in *Egypt*, went about to chooſe two new kings, and to conform themſelves to their old maner of government. But their eſtate was ſo far out of tune, that their hope of redreſſing things within the Citie, proved no leſſe unfortunate, than had bin their attempts of recovering a large dominion abroad. *Lycurgus* a tyrant roſe up among them: upon whom ſucceeded this *Machanidas*, and ſhortly after came *Nabis*, that was worſe than both of them. They held on the *Ætolian* and *Roman* ſide, for feare of the *Achæans*, that were the chiefe Confederates of *Philip*, and hated extremely the name both of Tyrant and *Lacedæmonian*. But of theſe we ſhall ſpeake more hereafter.

*Philip* entring into *Achaia*, and ſeeing his preſence had brought the contentment of aſſurance to that Countrey; ſpake brave words to the Aſſembly of their States, ſaying, That he had to doe with an Enemie, that was very nimble, and made warre by running away. He told how he had followed them to *Chalcis*, to *Oreum*, to *Opus*, and now into *Achaia*: but could no where finde them, ſuch haſte they made, for feare of being overtaken. But flight, he ſaid, was not alwayes proſperous: he ſhould one day light upon them; as ere this he ſundry times had done, and ſtill to their loſſe. The *Achæans* were glad to heare theſe words; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For he reſtored unto their Nation ſome Townes that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewiſe to the *Megalopolitans* their Confederates, he rendered *Aliphera*. The *Dymæans*, that had beene taken by the *Romans*, and ſold for ſlaves, he ſought out, ranſomed, and put in quiet poſſeſſion of their owne Citie. Further, paſſing over the *Corinthian* Gulfe, he fell upon the *Ætolians*; whom he drave into the mountaines and woods, or other their ſtrongeſt holds, and waſted their Country. This done, he tooke leave of the *Achæans*, and returned home by Sea, viſited the people that were his ſubjects, or dependants; and animated them ſo well, that they reſted fearleſſe of any threatning danger. Then had he leiſure to make war upon the *Dardanians*, ill neighbours to *Macedon*: with whom neverthleſſe he was not ſo far occupied, but that he could goe in hand with preparing a fleet of an hundred gallies, whereby to make himſelfe Maſter of the Sea; the *Romans* (ſince the departure of *Attalus*) having not dared to meet or purſue him, when he lately ranne along the coaſt of *Greece*, faſt by them where they lay.

This good ſucceſſe added much reputation to the *Macedonian*, and emboldened him to make ſtrong warre upon the *Ætolians*, at their owne doores. As for the *Romans*, either ſome diſpleaſure, conceived againſt their Confederates, or ſome feare of danger at home; when *Aſdrubal* was ready to fall upon *Italie*; cauſed them to give over the care of things in *Greece*, and leave their friends there to their owne fortunes. The *Ætolians* therefore, being driven to great extremitie, were faine to ſue for peace unto *Philip*; and accept it, upon what ever conditions it beſt pleaſed him. The agreement was no ſooner made, than *P. Sempronius* with ten thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe, and thirty five gallies, came over in great haſte (though ſomewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in *Ætolia*, he turned aſide to *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*, making a great noiſe, as if with theſe his owne forces he would worke wonders. But it was not long ere *Philip* came to viſit him, and found him tame enough. The King preſented him battell, but he refuſed it: and ſuffering the *Macedonians* to waſte the Country round about, before his eies, kept himſelfe cloſe within the wals of *Apollonia*, making ſome Overtures of peace: which cauſed *Philip* to return home quietly. The *Romans* had not ſo great cauſe to be diſpleaſed with the *Ætolians*, as had *Philip*, to take in evill part the demeanor of the *Carthaginians*. For, notwithſtanding the royall offer that he made them, to ſerve their turne in *Italie*, and aſſiſt them, in getting their hearts deſire, before he would expect any requitall: they had not ſent any fleet, as in reaſon they ought, and as (conſidering his want of ſufficient abilitie by Sea) it is likely they were bound, either to ſecure the tranſportation of his Armie, or to free his coaſt from the *Roman* and *Ætolian* Pyracies. Onely once they came to his helpe, which was, at his laſt journey into *Achaia*. But they were gone againe before his arrivall: having done nothing, and pretending feare of being taken by the *Romans*, even at ſuch time as *Philip*, with his owne Navie, durſt boldly paſſe by Sea, and found none that durſt oppoſe him. This retchleſſe dealing of the *Carthaginians*, may therefore ſeeme to have bin one of *Hanno* his tricks, whereof *Hannibal* ſo bitterly complained. For it could not but grieve this malicious man exceedingly, to heare that ſo great a King made offer to ſerve in perſon under *Hannibal*, and required the aſſiſtance of the ſame *Hannibal*, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affaires of the world at pleaſure. Therefore he had reaſon, ſuch as Envie could ſuggeſt, to perſwade the *Carthaginians* unto a ſafe and thrifty courſe: which was, not to admit into the fellowſhip of their *Italian* warres ſo mighty a Prince; whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection unto *Hannibal*, more dangerous to their liberty. Rather they ſhould doe well to ſave charges, and feed the *Macedonian* with hopes; by making many promiſes of ſending a fleet and ſome other ſuccours. This would coſt nothing, yet would it ſerve to terrefie the *Romans*, and compell them to ſend part of their forces from home, that might finde this Enemie worke abroad. So ſhould the *Roman* Armies bee leſſened in *Italie*; and *Philip*, when once he was ingaged in the warre, be urged unto the proſecution, by his owne neceſſitie: putting the *Carthaginians* to little or no charges; yea, ſcarce to the labour of giving him thankes. Now if it might come to paſſe, as *Hannibal* every day did promiſe, that *Rome*, and all *Italy* ſhould within a while be at the devotion of *Carthage*: better it were, that the Citie ſhould be free, ſo as the troubleſome *Greekes* might addreſſe their complaints unto the *Carthaginians*, as competent Judges betweene them and the *Macedonian*, than that *Hannibal*, with the power of *Africke*, ſhould wait upon *Philip*, as his Executioner, to fulfill his will and pleaſure, in doing ſuch injuries, as would both make the name of a *Carthaginian* hatefull in *Greece*, and oblige *Philip* to be no leſſe impudent, in fulfilling all requeſts of *Hannibal*. Whether the counſell of *Hanno* and his fellowes were ſuch as this, or whether the *Carthaginians*, of their owne diſpoſition, without his advice, were too ſparing, and careleſſe, the matter (as farre as concerned *Philip*) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good, but rather dodged with him, even in their little courteſie which they moſt pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reaſon, why hee began the building of an hundred Gallies, as if he would let them and others know, whereto his proper ſtrength would have reached, had he not vainely given credit to faithleſſe promiſes. When therefore the *Ætolians* had ſubmitted themſelves already: and when the *Romans* deſired his friendſhip, as might be thought, for very feare of him, with reputation enough, and not as a forſaken Client of the *Carthaginians*, but a Prince able to have ſuccoured them in their neceſſitie, he might give over the warre, and, without reprehenſion, leave them to themſelves. For he had wilfully entred into trouble for their ſakes: but they deſpiſed him, as if the quarrell were meerely his owne, and he unable to manage it.

The vanity of which their conceits would appeare unto them, when they ſhould ſee, that with his proper ſtrength he had finiſhed the warre, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the yeere following it was agreed, by mediation of the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and others, That the *Romans* ſhould retaine three or foure Townes of *Illyria*, which they had recovered in this war, being part of their old *Illyrian* conqueſt: Places no way belonging to the *Macedonian*; and therefore perhaps inſerted into the covenants, that ſomewhat might ſeeme to have beene gotten. On the other ſide, the *Atintanes* were appointed to returne under the obedience of *Philip*: who, if they were (as *Ortelius* probably conjectures) the people of the Countrey about *Apollonia*, then did the *Romans* abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appeares, that they did not give peace, as they would ſeeme to have done, but accepted it, upon conditions ſomewhat to their loſſe.

The Confederates and Dependants of the *Macedonian*, comprehended in this Peace, were *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, *Theſſalians*, *Acarnanians*, and *Epirots*. On the *Roman* ſide were named, firſt, the people of *Ilium*, as an honourable remembrance of the *Romans* deſcent from *Troy*; then, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; *Pleuratus* an *Illyrian* Prince; and *Nabis* the tyrant of *Lacedæmon*; together with the *Eleans*, *Meſſenians*, and *Athenians*. The *Ætolians* were omitted, belike, as having agreed for themſelves before. But the *Eleans* and *Meſſenians*, followers of the *Ætolians*, (and by them, as is moſt likely, compriſed in their league with *Philip*) were alſo inſerted by the *Romans*; that were never ſlow in offering their friendſhip to ſmall and feeble Nations. As for the *Athenians*: they ſtood much upon their old honour; and loved to beare a part, though they did nothing, in all great actions. Yet the ſetting downe of their names in this Treaty, ſerved the *Romans* to good purpoſe: foraſmuch as they were a buſie people, and miniſtred occaſion to renew the War, when means did better ſerve to follow it.

## §. XIII.

### *How the Romans began to recover their ſtrength by degrees. The noble affection of the Romans, in relieving the publike neceſsities of their Common-weale.*

IT was a great fault in the *Carthaginians*, that embracing ſo many Enterpriſes at once, they followed all by the halves: and waſted more men and money to no purpoſe, than would have ſerved (if good order had been taken) to finiſh the whole Warre, in farre ſhorter ſpace; and make themſelves Lords of all that the *Romans* held. This errour had become the leſſe harmfull, if their care of *Italy* had bin ſuch as it ought. But they ſuffered *Hannibal* to weary himſelfe with expectation of their promiſed ſupplies: which being ſtill deferred from yeare to year, cauſed as great opportunities to be loſt, as a Conquerour could have deſired. The death of *Poſthumius*, and deſtruction of his whole Army in *Gaule*; the begun rebellion of the *Sardinians*; the death of *Hiero* their friend in *Syracuſe*; with great alterations, much to their prejudice, in the whole Iſle of *Sicil*; as alſo that War, of which we laſt ſpake, threatned from *Macedon*; happening all at one time; and that ſo nearely after their terrible overthrow at *Cannæ*, among ſo many revolts of their *Italian* Confederates; would utterly have ſunke the *Roman* State, had the *Carthaginians*, if not the firſt year, yet at leaſt the ſecond, ſent over to *Hannibal* the forces that were decreed. It is not to be doubted, that even this diverſity of great hopes, appearing from all parts, adminiſtred matter unto *Hanno*, or ſuch as *Hanno* was, wherupon to work. For though it were in the power of *Carthage*, to performe all that was decreed for *Italy*: yet could not that proportion hold, when ſo many new concurrences brought each along with them their new care; and required their ſeverall Armies. This had not been a very bad excuſe, if any one of the many occaſions offered had been throughly proſequuted: though it ſtood with beſt reaſon, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the proſperity of *Hannibal* in his *Italian* Warre, ſhould have been ſtrengthened; whatſoever had become of the reſt. But the ſlender Troupes, wherewith the *Carthaginians* fed the Warre in *Spaine*; the lingring ayd which they ſent to uphold the *Sardinian* rebellion, when it was already well-neare beaten downe; their trifling with *Philip*; and (amongſt all theſe their attempts) their haſty catching at *Sicil*: little deſerved to be thought good reaſons of neglecting the maine point, whereto all the reſt had reference. Rather every one of theſe Actions, conſidered apart by it ſelfe, was no otherwiſe to be allowed, as diſcreetly undertaken, or ſubſtantially followed; than by making ſuppoſition, That the care of *Italy* made the *Carthaginians* more negligent in all things elſe. Yet if theſe allegations would not ſerve to content *Hannibal*, then muſt he patiently endure to know, that his owne Citizens were jealous of his Greatneſſe, and durſt not truſt him with ſo much power, as ſhould enable him to wrong the State at home.

Whatſoever he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himſelfe to Neceſſity; to feed his *Italian* friends with hopes; and to trifle away the time about *Nola*, *Naples*, *Cumæ*, and other places: being loth to ſpend his Army in an hard ſiege, that was to be reſerved for a worke of more importance. Many offers he made upon *Nola*, but alwayes with bad ſucceſſe. Once *Marcellus* fought a battell with him there: yet under the very Walles of the Towne; having the aſſiſtance of the Citizens, that were growne better affected to the *Roman* ſide, ſince the Heads that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thouſand men *Hannibal* in that fight loſt: which was no great marvell; his forces being then divided, and imployed in ſundry parts of *Italy* at once. *Naples* was even in thoſe dayes, a ſtrong City; and required a years work to have taken it by force.

Wherefore the earneſt deſire of *Hannibal* to get it, was alwaies fruſtrate. Upon the town of *Cumæ* they of *Capua* had their plot, and were in hope to take it by cunning. They ſent to the chief Magiſtrates of the *Cumans*, deſiring them (as being alſo *Campans*) to be preſent at a ſolemne ſacrifice of the Nation, where they would conſult about their generall good: promiſing to bring thither a ſufficient guard, to aſſure the whole Aſſembly from any danger that might come by the *Romans*. This motion the *Cumans* made ſhew to entertaine; but privily ſent word of all to *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the *Roman* Conſul.

*Gracchus* was a very good man of warre, and happily choſen Conſull in ſo dangerous a time. His Colleague ſhould have beene *Poſthumius Albinus*, that was lately ſlaine by the *Gaules*: after whoſe death *Marcellus* was choſen, as being judged the fitteſt man to encounter with *Hannibal*. But the *Roman* Augures either found ſome religious impediment that nullified the election of *Marcellus*; or at leaſt they fained ſo to have done, becauſe this was the firſt time, that ever two *Plebeian* Conſuls were choſen together. *Marcellus* therefore gave over the place; and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the late famous Dictator, was ſubſtituted in his roome. But *Fabius* was detained in the City, about matters of religion, or Superſtition: wherewith *Rome* was commonly, eſpecially in times of danger, very much troubled. So *Gracchus* alone, with a Conſular Armie, waited upon *Hannibal* among the *Campans*: not able to meet the enemie in field; yet intentive to all occaſions, that ſhould be preſented. The *Volones*, or Slaves, that lately had beene armed, were no ſmall part of his followers. Theſe, and the reſt of his men, he continually trained: and had not a greater care, to make his Armie ſkilfull in the exerciſes of war, than to keepe it from quarrels, that might ariſe by upbraiding one another with their baſe conditions.

Whileſt the Conſull was thus buſied at *Linternum*, the Senators of *Cumæ* ſent him word of all that had paſſed betweene them and the *Capuans*. It was a good occaſion to fleſh his men, and make them confident againſt the Enemie; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. *Gracchus* therefore put himſelfe into *Cumæ*: whence he iſſued at ſuch time, as the Magiſtrates of that Citie were expected by the *Campans*. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called *Hamæ*, three miles from *Cumæ*. There lay *Marius Alſius* the chiefe Magiſtrate of *Capua*, with foureteene thouſand men; not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any danger that might interrupt it; but rather deviſing how to ſurpriſe others, than fearing himſelfe to be aſſailed. The Conſul therefore, ſuffering none to goe forth of *Cumæ*, that might beare word of him to the Enemies, iſſued out of the towne when it grew darke: his men being well refreſhed with meate and ſleepe, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights ſervice. So he came upon the *Capuans* unawares, and ſlew more than two thouſand of them, together with their Commander, loſing not above a hundred of his owne men. Their campe he tooke; but tarried not long to rifle it, for feare of *Hannibal*, who lay not far off. By this his providence, he eſcaped a greater loſſe, than he had brought upon the Enemies. For when *Hannibal* was informed how things went at *Hamæ*, forthwith he marched thither: hoping to finde thoſe young ſouldiers, and ſlaves, buſied in making ſpoyle, and loading themſelves with the bootie. But they were all gotten ſafe within *Cumæ*; which partly for anger, partly for deſire of gaining it, and partly at the urgent entreatie of the *Capuans*, *Hannibal* aſſailed the next day. Much labour, and with ill ſucceſſe, the *Carthaginians* and their fellowes ſpent about this towne. They raiſed a woodden Tower againſt it; which they brought cloſe unto the walls; thinking thereby to force an Entrie. But the Defendants, on the inſide of the wall, raiſed againſt this an high Tower; whence they made reſiſtance, and found meanes at length to conſume with fire the worke of their Enemies. While the *Carthaginians* were buſie in quenching the fire, the *Romans*, ſallying out of the towne at two gates, charged them valiantly, and drave them to their Trenches, with the ſlaughter of about foureteene hundred. The Conſull wiſely ſounded the Retrait, ere his men were too farre engaged, and *Hannibal* in a readineſſe to requite their ſervice. Neither would he, in the pride of his good ſucceſſe, adventure forth againſt the Enemie; who preſented him battell the day following, neere unto the walls. *Hannibal* therefore, ſeeing no likelihood to prevaile in that which he had taken in hand, brake up the ſiege, and returned to his old campe at *Tifata*. About theſe times, and ſhortly after, when *Fabius* the other Conſull had taken the field; ſome ſmall towns were recovered by the *Romans*, and the people ſeverely puniſhed for their revolt.

The *Carthaginian* Armie was too ſmall, to fill with garriſons all places that had yeelded; and withall to abide (as it muſt doe) ſtrong in the field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the ſupply from home, that ſhould enable him to ſtrike at *Rome* it ſelfe, was driven in the meane time to alter his courſe of war: and, in ſtead of making (as formerly he had done) a generall invaſion upon the whole Countrie, to paſſe from place to place; and wait upon occaſions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemy, than to him. The Country of the *Hirpines* and *Samnites* was grievouſly waſted by *Marcellus*, in the abſence of *Hannibal*: as alſo was *Campania*, by *Fabius* the Conſul; when *Hannibal* having followed *Marcellus* to *Nola*, and received there the loſſe before mentioned, was gone to winter in *Apulia*. Theſe people ſhewed not the like ſpirit in defending their lands, and fighting for the *Carthaginian* Empire, as in former times they had done; when they contended with the *Romans*, in their owne behalfe, to get the Soveraignty. They held it reaſon, that they ſhould be protected by ſuch as thought to have dominion over them: wherby at once they overburdened their new Lords; and gave unto their old, the more eaſie meanes to take revenge of their defection.

The people of *Rome* were very intentive, as neceſſity conſtrained them, to the worke that they had in hand. They continued *Fabius* in his Conſulſhip: and joyned with him *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*; whom they had appointed unto that honour the yeare before. Of theſe two, *Fabius* was called the *Shield*: and *Marcellus* the *Roman Sword*. In *Fabius* it was highly, and upon juſt reaſon, commended, That being himſelfe Conſul, and holding the Election, he did not ſtand upon nice points of formality, or regard what men might thinke of his ambition, but cauſed himſelfe to bee choſen with *Marcellus*; knowing in what need the City ſtood of able Commanders. The great name of theſe Conſuls, and the great preparations which the *Romans* made, ſerved to put the *Campans* in feare, that *Capua* it ſelfe ſhould be beſieged. To prevent this, *Hannibal*, at their earneſt entreaty, came from *Arpi*: (where he lay, hearkening after newes from *Tarentum*) and, having with his preſence comforted theſe his friends, fell on the ſudden upon *Puteoli*, a Sea-towne of *Campania*; about which he ſpent three dayes in vaine, hoping to have wonne it. The garriſon in *Puteoli* was ſixe thouſand ſtrong: and did their duty ſo well, that the *Carthaginian*, finding no hope of good ſucceſſe, could onely ſhew his anger upon the fields there, and about *Naples*; which having done, and once more (with as ill ſucceſſe as before) aſſayed *Nola*, he bent his courſe to *Tarentum*: wherein he had very great intelligence. Whileſt hee was in his progreſſe thither; *Hanno* made a journey againſt *Beneventum*: and *T. Gracchus*, the laſt yeares Conſul, haſting from *Nuceria*, met him there; and fought with him a battell. *Hanno* had with him about ſeventeen thouſand foot, *Brutians* & *Lucans* for the moſt part: beſides twelve hundred horſe; very few of which were *Italians*, all the reſt, *Numidians* and *Moores*. He held the *Roman* worke four houres, ere it could be perceived to which ſide the victory would incline. But *Gracchus* his ſouldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late-armed ſlaves, had received from their Generall a peremptory denunciation, That this day or never they muſt purchaſe their liberty, bringing every man for price thereof, an enemies head. The ſweet reward of liberty was ſo greatly deſired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it: howbeit that vaine labour, impoſed by their Generall, of cutting off the ſlaine enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindred the ſervice by imployment of ſo many hands, in a worke ſo little concerning the victory. *Gracchus* therefore finding his owne errour, wiſely corrected it: proclaiming aloud, That they ſhould caſt away the heads, and ſpare the trouble of cutting off any more; for that all ſhould have liberty immediately after the battell, if they wonne the day. This encouragement made them runne headlong upon the Enemie; whom their deſperate furie had ſoone overthrowne, if the *Roman* Horſe could have made their part good againſt the *Numidian*. But though *Hanno* did what he could, and preſſed ſo hard upon the *Romans* battell, that foure thouſand of the ſlaves, (for feare either of him, or of the puniſhment which *Gracchus* had threatned before the battell, unto thoſe that ſhould not valiantly behave themſelves) retired unto a ground of ſtrength; yet was he glad at length to ſave himſelfe by flight, when the Groſſe of his Armie was broken; being unable to remedy the loſſe. Leaving the field, he was accompanied by no more than two thouſand: moſt of which were horſe; all the reſt were either ſlaine or taken. The *Roman* Generall gave unto all his ſouldiers that reward of liberty which he had promiſed: but unto thoſe foure thouſand, which had recoyled unto the Hill, he added this light puniſhment; That as long as they ſerved in the wars, they ſhould neither eat nor drink otherwiſe than ſtanding, unleſſe ſickneſſe forced them to breake his order. So the victorious Armie returned to *Beneventum*: where the newly enfranchiſed Souldiers were feaſted in publike by the townſ-men; ſome ſitting, ſome ſtanding, and all of them having their heads covered (as was the cuſtome of ſlaves manumiſed) with caps of white wooll. The picture of this Feaſt (as a thing worthy of remembrance) was afterward hung up in a Table by *Gracchus*, in the Temple of Liberty; which his father had built and dedicated. This was indeed the firſt battell, worthy of great note, which the *Carthaginians* had loſt ſince the comming of *Hannibal* into *Italie*: the victories of *Marcellus* at *Nola*, and of this *Gracchus* before at *Hamæ*, being things of ſmall importance.

Thus the *Romans* through induſtry, by little and little, repaired that great Breach in their Eſtate, which *Hannibal* had made at *Cannæ*. But all this while, and long after this, their Treaſurie was ſo poore, that no induſtrie nor art could ſerve to helpe it. The fruits of their grounds did onely (and perhaps hardly) ſerve to feed their Townes and Armies, without any ſurpluſage, that might be exchanged for other needfull commodities. Few they were in *Italy* that continued to pay them tribute: which alſo they could worſe doe than before; as living upon the ſame trade, and ſubject to the ſame inconveniences, which enfeebled *Rome* it ſelfe. *Sicil* and *Sardinia*, that were wont to yeeld great profit, hardly now maintained the *Roman* Armies, that lay in thoſe Provinces, to hold them ſafe, and in good order. As for the Citizens of *Rome*, every one of them ſuffered his part of the detriment, which the Common-wealth ſuſtained, and could now doe leaſt for his Countrey, when moſt need was: as alſo the number of them was much decreaſed; ſo as if money ſhould be raiſed upon them by the *Poll*, yet muſt it be farre leſſe, than in former times. The Senate therefore, diligently conſidering the greatneſſe of the warre within the bowels of *Italie*, that could not bee thence expelled, without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the perill, wherein *Sicil* and *Sardinia* ſtood, both of the *Carthaginians*, and of many among the Naturals declining from the friendſhip or ſubjection of *Rome*; the threats of the *Macedonian*, ready to land in the Eaſterne parts of *Italie*, if they were not at the coſt to finde him work at home; the greater threats of *Aſdrubal*, to follow his brother over the *Alpes*, as ſoon as he could rid himſelfe of the *Scipio's* in *Spaine*; and the povertie of the common-wealth, which had not mony for any one of theſe mortall dangers; were driven almoſt even to extreme want of counſell. But being urged by the violence of ſwift neceſſitie, ſignified in the letters of the two *Scipio's* from *Spaine*; they reſolved upon the only courſe, without the which the Citie could not have ſubſiſted.

They called the people to aſſembly; wherein *Quintus Fulvius* the Prætor layd open the publike wants; and plainely ſaid, That in this exigent, there muſt be no taking of money for victuall, weapons, apparrell, or the like things needfull to the Souldiers; but that ſuch as had ſtuffe, or were Artificers, muſt truſt the Common-wealth with the Loane of their commodities and labours, untill the warre were ended. Hereunto he ſo effectually exhorted all men, eſpecially the Publicans or Cuſtomers, and thoſe which in former times had lived upon their dealing in the common Revenues, that the charge was undertaken by private men; and the Armie in *Spaine* as well ſupplied, as if the Treaſurie had beene full. Shortly after this, *Marcus Atilius Regulus*, and *Publius Furius Philus*, the *Roman* Cenſors, taking in hand the redreſſe of diſorders within the Citie, were chiefly intentive to the correction of thoſe, that had miſ-behaved themſelves in this preſent warre. They began with *L. Cecilius Metellus*; who, after the battell at *Cannæ*, had held diſcourſe with ſome of his Companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if *Rome*, and all *Italie*, had beene no better than loſt. After him, they tooke in hand thoſe, that having brought to *Rome* the meſſage of their fellowes made priſoners at *Cannæ*, returned not backe to *Hannibal*, as they were bound by oath; but thought themſelves thereof ſufficiently diſcharged, in that they had ſtepped once backe into his Campe; with pretence of taking better notice of the Captives names. All theſe were now pronounced infamous by the Cenſors: as alſo were a great many more; even whoſoever had not ſerved in the warres, after the terme which the Lawes appointed: Neither was the note of the Cenſors at this time (as otherwiſe it had uſed to be) hurtfull onely in reputation: but greater weight was added thereunto, by this Decree of the

Senate, following; *That all ſuch as were noted with infamy by theſe Cenſors, ſhould bee tranſported into Sicil, there to ſerve untill the end of the Warre, under the ſame hard conditions, that were impoſed upon the Remainder of the Armie beaten at Cannæ.* The office of the Cenſors was, to take the Liſt and accompt of the Citizens; to chooſe or diſplace the Senatours; and to ſet notes of diſgrace (without further puniſhment) upon thoſe, whoſe unhoneſt or unſeemly behaviour fell not within the compaſſe of the Law. They tooke alſo an account of the *Roman* Gentlemen: amongſt whom they diſtributed the publike Horſes of ſervice, unto ſuch as they thought meet; or tooke them away for their miſ-behaviour. Generally, they had the over-ſight of mens lives and manners: and their cenſure was much reverenced and feared; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of ranke; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was the moſt that they could doe) cauſing them to pay ſome Duties to the Treaſurie, from which others were exempted. But beſides the care of this generall Taxe, and matters of Moralitie, they had the charge of all publique Workes; as mending of High-wayes, Bridges, and Water-courſes; the reparations of Temples, Porches, and ſuch other buildings. If any man incroached upon the Streets, High-wayes, or other places that ought to bee common; the Cenſors compelled him to make amends. They had alſo the letting out of Lands, Cuſtomes, and other publique Revenues to farme: ſo that moſt of the Citizens of *Rome* were beholding unto this Office; as maintaining themſelves by ſome of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no ſmall helpe to conſerve the dignity of the Senate: the commonalty being obnoxious unto the Cenſors; which were alwayes of that Order, and carefull to up-hold the reputation thereof. But the Commonweale being now impoveriſhed by Warre, and having ſmall ſtore of Lands to let, or of cuſtomes that were worth the farming; *Regulus* and *Philus* troubled not themſelves much with peruſing the Temples, or other decayed places, that needed reparations: or if they took a view of what was requiſite to be done in this kinde; yet forbore they to ſet any thing in hand, becauſe they had not wherewith to pay. Herein againe appeared a notable generoſity of the *Romans*. They that had been accuſtomed in more happy times, to undertake ſuch pieces of worke, offered now themſelves as willingly to the Cenſors, as if there had beene no ſuch want: promiſing liberally their coſt and travell; without expectation of any payment, before the end of the Warre. In like ſort, the Maſters of thoſe ſlaves, that lately had been infranchiſed by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forbeare the price of them, untill the Citie were in better caſe to pay. In this generall inclination of the Multitude, to relieve, as farre forth as every one was able, the common neceſſity; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widowes living under Patronage, were brought into the Treaſurie; and there the Queſtor kept a Booke of all that was layd out for the ſuſtenance of theſe Widowes and Orphans: whileſt the whole ſtocke was uſed by the Citie. This good example of thoſe which remained in the Towne, prevailed with the Souldiers abroad: ſo that (the poorer ſort excepted) they refuſed to take pay; and called thoſe *Mercenaries*, that did accept it, when their Countrey was in ſo great want.

The twelve hundred Talents, wrongfully extorted from the *Carthaginians*; nor any injuries following, done by the *Romans* in the height of their pride; yeelded halfe ſo much commodity, as might be laid in ballance againſt theſe miſeries, whereinto their Eſtate was now reduced. Nevertheleſſe if we conſider things aright, the calamities of this Warre did rather enable *Rome* to deale with thoſe Enemies, whom ſhe forthwith under-tooke, than abate or ſlacken the growth of that large Dominion, whereto ſhe attained, ere the youngeſt of thoſe men was dead, whoſe names we have already mentioned. For by this hammering, the *Roman* metall grew more hard and ſolide: and by paring the branches of private fortunes, the Root and Heart of the Commonwealth was corroborated. So grew the Citie of *Athens*, when *Xerxes* had burnt the Towne to aſhes, and taken from every particular Citizen, all hope of other felicity, than that which reſted in the common happineſſe of the univerſality. Certaine it is, (as Sir *Francis Bacon* hath judiciouſly obſerved) That a State, whoſe demention or ſtemme is ſmall, may aptly ſerve to be foundation of a great Monarchie: which chiefly comes to paſſe, where all regard of domeſticall proſperity is laid aſide; and every mans care addreſſed to the benefit of his Countrey. Hereof I might ſay that our Age hath ſeen a great example, in the united Provinces in the Netherlands; whoſe preſent riches, and ſtrength grew chiefly from that ill aſſurance, which each of their Towns, or almoſt of their Families, perceived it ſelfe to hold, whileſt the generality was oppreſſed by the Duke of *Alva*; were it ſo, that the people had thereby growne as warlike, as by extreme induſtry, and ſtraining themſelves to fill their publike Treaſurie, they are all growne wealthy, ſtrong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their ſervices by Land. Wherfore if we value at ſuch a rate as we ought, the patient reſolution, conformitie to good Order, obedience to Magiſtrates, with many other Vertues, and above all other, the great love of the Common-Weale, which was found in *Rome* in theſe dangerous times: we may truely ſay, That the Citie was never in greater likelihood to proſper. Neither can it be deemed otherwiſe, than that if the ſame affections of the people had laſted, when their Empire, being growne more large and beautifull, ſhould in all reaſon have beene more deare unto them; if the riches and delicacies of *Aſia* had not infected them with ſenſualitie, and carried their appetites mainly to thoſe pleaſures, wherein they thought their well-being to conſiſt; if all the Citizens and Subjects of *Rome* could have beleeved their owne intereſt to be as great, in thoſe warres which theſe latter Emperours made for their defence, as in theſe which were managed by the Conſuls: the Empire, founded upon ſo great vertue, could not have been throwne down by the hands of rude Barbarians, were they never ſo many. But unto all Dominions God hath ſet their periods: Who though he hath given unto Man the knowledge of thoſe waies, by which Kingdomes riſe and fall; yet hath left him ſubject unto the affections, which draw on theſe fatall changes, in their times appointed.

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## §. XIIII.

### *The Romans winne ſome Townes backe from* Hannibal. Hannibal *winnes Tarentum. The ſiege of Capua. Two victories of* Hannibal. *The journey of* Hannibal *to the gates of Rome. Capua taken by the Romans.*

AS the people of *Rome* ſtrained themſelves to the utmoſt, for maintaining the Warre: ſo their Generals abroad omitted no part of induſtry, in ſeeking to recover what had been loſt. The Towne of *Caſiline*, *Fabius* beſieged. It was well defended by the Carthaginian garriſon; and likely to have beene relieved by thoſe of *Capua*, if *Marcellus* from *Nola*, had not come to the aſſiſtance of his Colleague. Neverthelesse, the place held out ſo obſtinatly, that *Fabius* was purpoſed to give it over: ſaying, that the enterpriſe was not great; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But *Marcellus* was of a contrary opinion. Hee ſaid, That many ſuch things, as were not at firſt to have been under-taken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, unto be proſequuted to the beſt effect. So the ſiege held on: and the Town was preſſed ſo hard, that the *Campans* dwelling therein grew fearefull, and craved parlee; offering to give it up, ſo as all might have leave to depart in ſafety, whither they pleaſed. Whileſt they were thus treating of conditions: or whileſt they were iſſuing forth, according to the compoſition already made; (for it is diverſly reported) *Marcellus* ſeizing upon a Gate, entred with his Armie, and put all to ſword that came in their way. Fiftie of thoſe that were firſt gotten out, ran to *Fabius* the Conſul, who ſaved them, and ſent them to *Capua* in ſafety; all the reſt were either ſlaine, or made priſoners. If *Fabius* deſerved Commendations, by holding his word good unto theſe fifty; I know not how the ſlaughter of the reſt, or impriſonment afterward of ſuch as eſcaped the heat of execution, could be excuſed by *Marcellus*. It may be that he helped himſelfe, after the *Roman* faſhion, with ſome æquivocation, but hee ſhall pay for it hereafter. In like ſort was *Mount Marſam* in *Gaſcoigne* taken by the Marſhall *Monluc*; when I was a young man in *France*. For whileſt he entertained parlee about compoſition; the beſieged ranne all from their ſeverall guards, upon haſty deſire of being acquainted with the conditions propoſed. The Marſhall therefore diſcovering a part of the Wals unguarded, entred by *Scalado*, and put all ſave the Governour unto the ſword. Herein that Governour of *Mount Marſam* committed two groſſe errours; the one, in that hee gave no order for the Captaines and Companies, to hold themſelves in their places; the other, in that he was content to parlee without Pledges for aſſurance given and received. Some ſuch over-ſight the Governour of *Caſiline* ſeemeth to have committed; yet neither the advantage taken by *Marcellus*, or by *Monluc*, was very honourable.

rable. When this Work was ended, many ſmall Towns of the *Samnites*, and ſome of the *Lucans* and *Apulians*, were recovered: wherein were taken, or ſlaine, about five and twenty thouſand of the Enemies; and the Country grievouſly waſted by *Fabius*, *Marcellus* lying ſick at *Nola*.

*Hannibal* in the meane while was about *Tarentum*; waiting to heare from thoſe, that had promiſed to give up the Towne. But *M. Valerius* the *Roman* Propretor had thruſt ſo many men into it, that the Traytors durſt not ſtirre. Wherefore the *Carthaginian* vvas faine to depart, having vvearied himſelfe in vaine vvith expectation. Yet he vvaſted not the Countrey, but contented himſelfe with hope, that they would pleaſe him better in time following. So he departed thence toward *Salapia*: which hee choſe for his wintring place; and began to victuall it when Summer vvas but halfe paſt. It is ſaid, that he vvas in love vvith a young Wench in that Town, in vvhich regard if he began his winter more timely than otherwiſe he required, He did not like the *Romans*; vvhom neceſſity inforced, to make their Summer laſt as long as they were able to travell up and downe the Country.

About this time began great troubles in *Sicil*, whither *Marcellus* the Conſul was ſent, to take ſuch order for the Province, as need ſhould require. Of the doings there, vvhich wore out more time than his Conſulſhip, we vvill ſpeake hereafter.

The new Conſuls, choſen at *Rome*, were *Q. Fabius* the ſonne of the preſent Conſul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the ſecond time. The *Romans* found it needfull for the publique ſervice, to imploy oftentimes their beſt able men: and therefore made it lawfull, during the warre, to recontinue their Officers, and chooſe ſuch, as had lately held their places before; vvithout regarding any diſtance of time, which was otherwiſe required. The old *Fabius* became Lievtenant unto his ſonne: which vvas perhaps the reſpect, that moſt commended his ſonne unto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the Campe, and his ſonne rode forth to meet him: eleven of the twelve Lictors, which carried an axe with a bundle of rods before the Conſul, ſuffered him, in regard of due reverence, to paſſe by them on horſe-back, vvhich vvas againſt the cuſtome. But the ſonne perceiving this, commanded the laſt of his Lictors to note it: who thereupon bade the old *Fabius* alight, and come to the Conſul on his feet. The father chearfully did ſo; ſaying, *It was my minde, ſonne, to make tryall, whether thou diddeſt underſtand thy ſelfe to bee Conſul.* *Caſſius Altinius* a wealthy Citizen of *Arpi*, who, after the battell at *Cannæ*, had holpen the *Carthaginian* into that Town, ſeeing now the fortune of the *Romans* to amend; came privily to this Conſul *Fabius*, and offered to render it backe unto him, if he might be therefore well rewarded. The Conſul purpoſed to follow old examples: and to make this *Altinius* a patterne to all traytors; uſing him as *Camillus* and *Fabricius* had done thoſe that offered their faithfull ſervice againſt the *Faliſci*, and King *Pyrrhus*. But *Q. Fabius* the father, was of another opinion: and ſaid, it was a matter of dangerous conſequence, That it ſhould be thought more ſafe to revolt from the *Romans*, than to turne unto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that hee ſhould be ſent to the Towne of *Cales*, and there kept as priſoner; untill they could better reſolve, what to doe with him, or what uſe to make of him. *Hannibal* underſtanding that *Altinius* was gone, and among the *Romans*, took it not ſorrowfully; but thought this a good occaſion to ſeize upon all the mans riches, which were great. Yet that he might ſeeme rather ſevere, than covetous, he ſent for the wife and children of *Altinius* into his camp: where having examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitive, partly, and more ſtrictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, He condemned them, as partakers of the treaſon, to be burnt alive; and tooke all their goods unto himſelfe. *Fabius* the Conſul ſhortly after came to *Arpi*: which he wonne by *Scalado*, in a ſtormy and rainy night. Five thouſand of *Hannibals* Souldiers lay in the town; and of the *Arpines* themſelves, there were about three thouſand. Theſe were thruſt formoſt by the *Carthaginian* Garriſon; when it was underſtood, that the *Romans* had gotten over the Wall, and broken open a Gate. For the Souldiers held the towns-men ſuſpected; and therefore thought it no wiſdome to truſt them at their backs. But after ſome little reſiſtance, the *Arpines* gave over fight, and entertained parley with the *Romans*: proteſting, that they had been betrayed by their Princes; and were become ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, againſt their wils. In proceſſe of this diſcourſe, the *Arpine* Pretor went unto the *Roman* Conſul: and receiving his faith for ſecurity of the Town;

preſently made head againſt the garriſon. This notwithſtanding, like it is that *Hannibals* men continued to make good reſiſtance. For when almoſt a thouſand of them, that were *Spaniards*, offered to leave their companions, and ſerve on the *Roman* ſide, it was yet covenanted, That the *Carthaginians* ſhould be ſuffered to paſſe forth quietly, and returne to *Hannibal*. This was performed: and ſo *Arpi* became *Roman* againe, with little other loſſe, than of him that had betrayed it. About the ſame time *Cliternum* was taken by *Sempronius Tuditanus*, one of the Pretors: and unto *Cneus Fulvius*, another of the Pretors, an hundred & twelve Gentlemen of *Capua* offered their ſervice; upon no other condition, than to have their goods reſtored unto them, when their City ſhould be recovered by the *Romans*. This was a thing of ſmall importance: but conſidering the generall hatred of the *Campans* towards *Rome*, it ſerved to diſcover the inclination of the *Italians* in thoſe times; and how their affections recoyled from *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of thoſe mighty ſuccours, that had been promiſed from *Carthage*. The *Conſentines* alſo, and the *Thurines*, people of the *Brutians*, which had yeelded themſelves to *Hannibal*, returned againe to their old allegiance. Others would have followed their example, but that one *L. Pomponius*, who of a Publican had made himſelfe a Captaine, and gotten reputation by ſome petty exploits in forraging that Country, was ſlaine by *Hanno*; with a great multitude of thoſe that followed him. *Hannibal* in the meane while had all his care bent upon *Tarentum*; which if he could take, it ſeemed that it would ſtand him in good ſtead, for drawing over that helpe out of *Macedon*, which his *Carthaginians* failed to ſend. Long he waited, ere he could bring his deſire to paſſe: and being loth to hazzard his forces, where he hoped to prevaile by intelligence; He contented himſelfe with taking in ſome poore Townes of the *Salentines*. At length, his Agents within *Tarentum*, found meanes to accompliſh their purpoſe, and his wiſh. One *Phileas*, that was of their conſpiracie, who lay at *Rome* as Embaſſadour, practiſing with the Hoſtages of the *Tarentines*, and ſuch as had the keeping of them, conveighed them by night out of the Citie. But hee and his company the next day were ſo cloſely purſued, that all of them were taken, and brought backe to *Rome*, where they ſuffered death as traytors. By reaſon of this cruelty, or ſeverity, the people of *Tarentum* grew to hate the *Romans* more generally and earneſtly than before. As for the Conſpirators, they followed their buſineſs the more diligently; as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention ſhould happen to be diſcovered. Wherefore they ſent againe to *Hannibal*: and acquainting him with the manner of their plot, made the ſame compoſition with him for the *Tarentines*, which they of *Capua* had made before. *Nico* and *Philomenes*, two the chiefe among them, uſed much to goe forth of the Towne on hunting by night, as if they durſt not take their pleaſure by day, for fear of the *Carthaginians*. Seldome or never they miſſed of their game: for the *Carthaginians* prepared it ready for their hands, that they might not ſeeme to have been abroad upon other occaſion. From the campe of *Hannibal*, it was about three dayes journy to *Tarentum*, if he ſhould have marched thither with his whole Army. This cauſed his long abode in one place the leſſe to be ſuſpected: as alſo to make his enemies the more ſecure, Hee cauſed it to be given out, that he was ſicke. But when the *Romans* within *Tarentum*, were growne careleſſe of ſuch his neighbourhood, and the Conſpirators had ſet their buſineſſe in order; He tooke with him ten thouſand the moſt expedite of his horſe and foot; and long before breake of day, made all ſpeed thitherward. Foureſcore light horſe of the *Numidians* ran a great way before him, beating all the wayes, and killing any that they met, for feare leſt he, and his troupe following him, ſhould be diſcovered. It had beene often the manner of ſome few *Numidian* horſe, to doe the like in former times. Wherefore the *Roman* Governour, when he heard tell in the evening, that ſome *Numidians* were abroad in the fields, tooke it for a ſigne, that *Hannibal* was not as yet diſlodged; and gave order, that ſome companies ſhould be ſent out the next morning, to ſtrip them of their booty, and ſend them gone. But when it grew darke night; *Hannibal* guided by *Philomenes*, came cloſe to the towne: where, according to the tokens agreed upon, making a light to ſhew his arrivall; *Nico*, that was within the Town, anſwered him with another light, in ſigne that he was ready. Preſently *Nico* beganne to ſet upon one of the Gates, and to kill the watchmen. *Philomenes* went toward another Gate: and whiſtling (as was his maner) called up the Porter; bidding him make haſte, for that he had killed a great Bore, ſo heavie, that ſcarce two men could ſtand under it. So the Porter opened the wicket: and forthwith entred two young men, loaden with the Bore; which *Hannibal* had prepared large enough, to be worthy the looking on. While the Porter ſtood wondring at the largeneſſe of the beaſt, *Philomenes* ran him through with his Bore-ſpeare: and letting in ſome thirty armed men, fell upon all the Watch; whom when he had ſlaine, he entred the great gate. So the Armie of *Hannibal* entring *Tarentum* at two Gates, went directly toward the Market place, where both parts met. Thence they were diſtributed by their Generall, and ſent into all quarters of the City, with *Tarentines* to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the *Romans*, and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance hereof, *Hannibal* willed the Conſpirators, that when any of their friends appeared in ſight, they ſhould bid him be quiet, and of good cheare. All the Towne was in an uproare: but few could tell what the matter meant. A *Roman* trumpet was unskilfully ſounded by a *Greek* in the Theater: which helped the ſuſpicion, both of the *Tarentines*, that the *Romans* were about to ſpoyle the Towne; and of the *Romans*, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Governour fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into the Citadell, that ſtood in the mouth of the Haven; whence he might eaſily perceive the next morning, how all had paſſed. *Hannibal* aſſembling the *Tarentines*, gave them to underſtand, what good affection he bore them; inveighed bitterly againſt the *Romans*, as tyrannous oppreſſors; and ſpake what elſe he thought fit for the preſent. This done, and having gotten ſuch ſpoyle as was to be had of the Souldiers goods in the Towne, he addreſſed himſelfe againſt the Citadell; hoping that if the Garriſon would ſally out, he might give them ſuch a blow, as ſhould make them unable to defend the Piece. According to his expectation it partly fell out. For when he began to make his approaches, the *Romans* in a bravery ſallying forth, gave charge upon his men: who fell backe of purpoſe according to direction, till they had drawne on as many as they could, and ſo farre from their ſtrength, as they durſt adventure. Then gave *Hannibal* a ſigne to his *Carthaginians*, who lay prepared ready for the purpoſe: and fiercely ſetting upon the Enemy, drave him backe with great ſlaughter, as faſt as he could runne; ſo that afterwards he durſt not iſſue forth. The Citadell ſtood upon a Demi-Iland, that was plaine ground; and fortified onely with a Ditch and Wall againſt the Towne, whereunto it was joyned by a cawſey. This cawſey *Hannibal* intended to fortifie in like ſort againſt the Citadell; to the end that the *Tarentines* might be able, without his helpe, to keep themſelves from all danger thence. His worke in few dayes went ſo well forward, without impediment from the beſieged, that he conceived hope of winning the Piece it ſelfe, by taking a little more pains. Wherefore he made ready all ſorts of engines, to force the place. But whilſt he was buſied in his works, there came by ſea a ſtrong ſupply from *Metapontum*: which took away all hope of prevailing; and made him returne to his former counſell. Now foraſmuch as the *Tarentine* fleet lay within the haven, and could not paſſe forth, whileſt the *Romans* held the Citadell: it ſeemed likely that the Towne would ſuffer want, being debarred of accuſtomed trade and proviſions by Sea: whileſt the *Roman* garriſon by help of their ſhipping, might eaſily be relieved, and enabled to hold out. Againſt this inconvenience, is was rather wiſhed by the *Tarentines*, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the haven; to guard the mouth of it, and cut off all ſupply from the Enemy. *Hannibal* told them, that this might well be done: for that their Town ſtanding in plain ground, and their ſtreets being faire and broad, it would be no hard matter to draw the Gallies over land, and lanch them into the ſea without. This he undertook, and effected: whereby the *Roman* garriſon was reduced into great neceſſity; though with much patience it held out, and found *Hannibal* often-times otherwiſe buſied, than his affaires required.

Thus with mutuall loſſe on both ſides, the time paſſed: and the *Roman* forces, growing daily ſtronger, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus.* with *Appius Claudius*, lately choſen Conſuls, prepared to beſiege the great Citie of *Capua*. Three and twenty Legions the *Romans* had now armed. This was a great and haſtie growth from that want of men, and of all neceſſaries, whereinto the loſſe at *Cannæ* had reduced them. But to fill up theſe Legions, they were faine to take up young Boyes, that were under ſeventeen yeares of age: and to ſend Commiſſioners above fifty miles round, for the ſeeking out of ſuch Lads as might appeare ſerviceable, and preſſing them to the Wars; making yet a Law, That their years of ſervice, whereinto they were bound by order of the Citie, ſhould be reckoned, for their benefit, from this their beginning ſo young, as if they had been of lawfull age.

Before the *Roman* Army drew neare, the *Campans* felt great want of victuall, as if they had already beene beſieged. This happened partly by ſloth of the Nation, partly by the great waſte and ſpoyle, which the *Romans* had in fore-going yeares made upon their grounds. They ſent therefore Embaſſadors to *Hannibal*; deſiring him to ſuccour them ere they were cloſed up, as they feared to be ſhortly. Hee gave them comfortable words, and ſent *Hanno* with an Army to ſupply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day; againſt which they ſhould be ready with all maner of carriages, to ſtore themſelves with victuals, that he would provide. Neither did he promiſe more than he performed. For he cauſed great quantity of graine, that had beene laid up in Cities round about, to be brought into his Campe, three miles from *Beneventum*. Thither at the time appointed, came no more than forty Carts or Wagons, with a few packe-horſes, as if this had beene enough to victuall *Capua*. Such, was the retchleſneſſe of the *Campans*. *Hanno* was exceeding angry hereat: and told them they were worſe than very beaſts; ſince hunger could not teach them to have greater care. Wherefore he gave them a longer day; againſt which he made proviſion to ſtore them throughly. Of all theſe doings word was ſent to the *Roman* Conſuls, from the Citizens of *Beneventum*. Therefore *Q. Fulvius* the Conſul, taking with him ſuch ſtrength as he thought needfull for the ſervice, came into *Beneventum* by night; where with diligence he made inquiry into the behaviour of the Enemie. He learned, that *Hanno* with part of his Army was gone abroad to make proviſions; that ſome two thouſand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carters and other Varlets, lay among the *Carthaginians* in their Campe; ſo that little good order was kept: all thought being ſet upon a great harveſt. Hereupon the Conſul bade his men prepare themſelves to aſſaile the Enemies Campe: and leaving all his impediments within *Beneventum*, he marched thitherward ſo early in the morning, that he was there with the firſt breake of day. By comming ſo unexpected, he had well neare forced the Campe on the ſudden. But it was very ſtrong, and very well defended: ſo that the longer the fight continued, the leſſe deſire had *Fulvius* to loſe more of his men in the attempt; ſeeing many of them caſt away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore he ſaid, that it were better to goe more leiſurely and ſubſtantially to worke; to ſend for his fellow-Conſul, with the reſt of their Army; and to lye betweene *Hanno* and home; that neither the *Campans* ſhould depart thence, nor the *Carthaginians* be able to relieve them. Being thus diſcourſing, and about to ſound the retrait; he ſaw that ſome of his men had gotten over the Enemies Rampart. There was great bootie; or (which was all one to the Souldier) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that Campe. Wherefore ſome Enſigne-bearers threw their Enſignes over the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, unleſſe they would indure the ſhame and diſhonour following ſuch a loſſe. Feare of ſuch ignominie, than which nothing could be greater, made the Souldiers adventure ſo deſperately; that *Fulvius*, perceiving the heat of his men, changed his purpoſe, and incouraged thoſe that were ſomewhat backward, to follow the example of them that had already gotten over the Trenches. Thus the Campe was wonne: in which were ſlaine above ſixe thouſand; and taken above ſeven thouſand, beſides all the ſtore of victualls, and carriages, with abundance of booty, that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the *Roman* Confederates. This miſadventure, and the nearer approach of both the Conſuls, made them of *Capua* ſend a pitifull Embaſſage to *Hannibal*: putting him in minde of all the love that he was wont to proteſt unto their Citie; and how he had made ſhew to affect it no leſſe than *Carthage*. But now, they ſaid it would be loſt, as *Arpi* was lately, if he gave not ſtrong and ſpeedy ſuccour. *Hannibal* anſwered with comfortable words: and ſent away two thouſand horſe, to keep their grounds from ſpoyle, whileſt he himſelfe was detained about *Tarentum*, partly by hope of winning the Citadell, partly by the diſpoſition, which he ſaw in many Townes adjoyning, to yeeld unto him. Among the Hoſtages of the *Tarentines*, that lately had fled out of *Rome*, and being overtaken, ſuffered death for their attempt; were ſome of the *Metapontines*, and other Cities of the *Greeks*, inhabiting that Easterne part of *Italy*, which was called of old, *Magna Gracia*. Theſe people took to heart the death of their hoſtages, and thought the puniſhment greater than the offence. Wherefore the *Metapontines*, as ſoon as the *Roman* garriſon was taken from them to defend the Citadel of *Tarentum*, made no more adoe, but opened their gates to *Hannibal*. The *Thurins* would have done the like, upon the like reaſon, had not ſome Companies lyen in their

Towne; which they feared that they ſhould not be able to Maſter. Neverthleſſe, they helped themſelves by cunning: inviting to their gates *Hanno* and *Mago*, that were neare at hand: againſt whom whileſt they proffered their ſervice to *Atinius* the *Roman* Captaine, they drew him forth to fight, and recoyling from him, cloſed up their gates. A little formality they uſed in pretending feare, leſt the Enemy ſhould break in together with the *Romans*, in ſaving *Atinius* himſelfe, and ſending him away by Sea; as alſo in conſulting a ſmall while (becauſe perhaps many of their chiefe men were unacquainted with the practice) whether they ſhould yeeld to the *Carthaginian* or no. But this diſputation laſted not long: for they that had removed the chiefe impediment, eaſily prevailed in the reſt; and delivered up the Town to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good ſucceſſe, and hope of the like, detained *Hannibal* in thoſe quarters, whileſt the Conſuls fortifying *Beneventum* to ſecure their backs, addreſſed themſelves to the ſiege of *Capua*.

Many diſaſters befell the *Romans*, in the beginning of this great enterpriſe. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of Warre, that had of late been twice Conſul, was ſlaine, either by treachery of ſome *Lucans*, that drew him into ambuſh, or by ſome *Carthaginian* ſtragglers, among whom he fell unawares. His body, or his head, was very honourably interred, either by *Hannibal* himſelf, or (for the reports agree not) by the *Romans*; to whom *Hannibal* ſent it. He was appointed to lie in *Beneventum*, there to ſecure the backe of the Army that ſhould beſiege *Capua*. But his death hapned in an ill time, to the great hinderance of that buſineſſe. The Volones or Slaves lately manumiſed, forſooke their Enſignes, and went every one whither he thought good, as if they had been diſcharged by the deceaſe of their Leader; ſo that it asked ſome labour to ſeeke them out, and bring them back into their Camp. Neverthleſſe, the Conſuls went forward with their work, & drawing neare to *Capua*, did all acts of hoſtility which they could. *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, and the Citizens of *Capua* gave them an hard welcome, wherein above fifteen hundred *Romans* were loſt. Neither was it long ere *Hannibal* came thither, who fought with the Conſuls, and had the better; inſomuch, that he cauſed them to diſlodge. They removed by night, and went ſeverall wayes: *Fulvius* towards *Cannæ*, *Claudius* into *Lucania*. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*, who having led him a great walk, fetcht a compaſſe about, and returned to *Capua*. It ſo fell out, that one *Marcus Centenius Penula*, a ſtout man, & one that with good commendations had diſcharged the place of a Centurion, lay with an Army not far from thence, where *Hannibal* reſted, when he was weary of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penula* had made great vaunts to the *Roman* Senate, of vvonders which he would work, if he might be truſted with the leading of five thouſand men. The Fathers vvere unwilling in ſuch a time, to reject the vertue of any good Souldier, how meane ſoever his condition vvere. Wherefore they gave him the charge of eight thouſand: and hee himſelfe being a proper man, and talking bravely, gathered up ſo many voluntaries, as almoſt doubled his number. But meeting thus vvith *Hannibal*, he gave proofe of the difference betweene a ſtout Centurion, and one able to command in chiefe. He and his fellowes vvere all (in a manner) ſlaine, ſcarce a thouſand of them eſcaping. Soon after this, *Hannibal* had vvord, that *Cneus Fulvius* a *Roman* Pretor with eighteen thouſand men was in *Apulia*, very careleſſe, and a man inſufficient for the charge vvhich he held. Thither therefore hee haſted to viſit him: hoping to deale the better with the maine ſtrength of *Rome*, vvhich pointed at *Capua*, vvhen he ſhould have cut off thoſe forces, that lay in the Provinces about, under men of ſmall ability. Comming upon *Fulvius*, he found him and his men ſo jolly, that needs they would have fought the firſt night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So he beſtowed *Mago* with three thouſand of his lighteſt armed, in places thereabout moſt fit for ambuſh. Then offering battell to *Fulvius*, he ſoone had him in the trap: whence he made him glad to eſcape alive; leaving all, ſave two thouſand of his followers, dead behind him.

Theſe two great blowes, received the one preſently after the other, much aſtoniſhed the *Romans*. Neverthleſſe, all care was taken, to gather up the ſmall reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Conſuls ſhould goe ſubſtantially forwards with the ſiege of *Capua*: which was of great conſequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other reſpects. The two Conſuls ſate downe before the Town, and *C. Claudius Nero*, one of the Pretors, came with his Army from *Sueſſula*, to their aſſiſtance. They made Proclamation, That whoſoever would iſſue out of *Capua* before a certain day prefixed, ſhould have his pardon, and be ſuffered to enjoy all that unto him belonged: which day being paſt, there ſhould be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliouſly rejected; the *Capuans* relying on their owne ſtrength, and the ſuccours attended from *Hannibal*. Before the City was cloſed up, they ſent meſſengers to the *Carthaginian*; which found him at *Brunduſium*. He had made a long journy, in hope of gaining the *Tarentine* Citadell: of which expectation failing, he turned to *Brunduſium*, upon advertiſement that he ſhould be let in. There the *Capuans* met him, told him of their danger with earneſt words; and were with words as bravely re-comforted. He bade them conſider, how a few daies ſince he had chaſed the Conſuls out of their fields; and told them, that he would preſently come thither againe, and ſend the *Romans* going as faſt as before. With this good anſwer the Meſſengers returned, and hardly could get back into the City; which the *Romans* had almoſt intrenched round. As for *Hannibal* himſelfe, he was of opinion, that *Capua*, being very well manned, and heartily devoted unto his friendſhip, would hold out a long time, and thereby give him leiſure to do what he thought requiſite among the *Tarentines*, and in thoſe Eaſterne parts of *Italy*; whileſt the *Roman* Army ſpent it ſelfe in a tedious ſiege. Thus he lingred, and thereby gave the Conſuls time, both to fortifie themſelves at *Capua*, and to diſpatch the election of new Magiſtrates in *Rome*; whileſt he himſelfe purſued hopes that never found ſucceſſe.

*Claudius* and *Fulvius*, when their terme of office was expired, were appointed to continue the ſiege at *Capua*; retaining the ſame Armies as Proconſuls. The Townſ-men often ſallied out; rather in a bravery, than likelihood to worke any matter of effect; the Enemy lying cloſe within his Trenches, as intending without other violence, to ſubdue them by famine. Yet againſt the *Campan* horſe (for their foot was eaſily beaten) the *Romans* uſed to thruſt out ſome troupes, that ſhould hold them skirmiſh. In theſe exerciſes the *Campans* uſually had the better, to the great griefe of their proud Enemy; who ſcorned to take foile at the hands of ſuch Rebels. It was therefore deviſed, that ſome active and couragious young men ſhould learne to ride behind the *Roman* men at armes; leaping up, and againe diſmounting lightly, as occaſion ſerved. Theſe were furniſhed like the *Velites*, having each of them three or foure ſmall darts: which, alighting in time of conflict, they diſcharged thick upon the Enemies horſe; whom vanquiſhing in this kinde of ſervice, they much diſheartned in the maine. The time thus paſſing, and famine daily increaſing within the City, *Hannibal* came at length, not expected by the *Romans*: and taking a Fort of theirs, called *Galatia*, fell upon their Camp. At the ſame time the *Capuans* iſſued with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could deviſe: ſetting all their multitude of unſerviceable people on the walls, which with a loud noyſe of Pans and Baſons, troubled thoſe that were occupied in fight. *Appius Claudius* oppoſing himſelf to the *Campans*, eaſily defended his Trenches againſt them; and ſo well repreſſed them, that he drave them at length back into their City. Nevertheleſſe, in purſuing them to their gates, He received a wound that accompanied him in ſhort ſpace after to his grave. *Q. Fulvius* was held harder to his taske by *Hannibal*, and the *Carthaginian* Army. The *Roman* camp was even at point to have bin loſt; and *Hannibal* his Elephants, of which he brought three and thirty, were either gotten within the rampart, or elſe (for the report varies) being ſome of them ſlain upon it, fell into the ditch; & filled it up in ſuch ſort, that their bodies ſerved as a bridge unto the Aſſailants. It is ſaid, that *Hannibal* in this tumult cauſed ſome fugitives that could ſpeak Latine well, to proclaim aloud as it were in the Conſuls name, That every one of the Souldiers ſhould ſhift for himſelf, and flie betimes unto the next hils, foraſmuch as the Campe was already loſt. But all would not ſerve. The fraud was detected: and the Army having ſitten there ſo long, had at good leiſure ſtrongly intrenched it ſelfe, ſo as little hope there was to raiſe the ſiege by force.

This did extremely perplex the *Carthaginian*. The purchaſe of *Capua* had (as was thought) with-held him from taking *Rome* it ſelfe: and now his deſire of winning the *Tarentine* Citadell, had well-near loſt *Capua*; in reſpect of which, neither the Citadell, nor the City of *Tarentum* were to have bin much regarded. Falling therefore into a deſperate anger with himſelfe and his hard fortune, that of ſo many great victories he had made no greater uſe: on the ſudden he entetained an haughty reſolution, even to ſet upon *Rome*; and carry to the Walles of that proud City, the danger of Warre that threatned *Capua*. This he thought would be a meane, to draw the *Roman* Generals, or one of them at leaſt, unto the defence of their owne home. If they roſe from the ſiege with their whole Army, then had he his deſire: If they divided their forces, then was it likely, that either he or the *Campans*, ſhould well enough deale with them apart. Neither did he deſpaire, that the terror of his coming might ſo aſtoniſh the multitude within *Rome*, as he might enter ſome part or other of the City. His onely feare was, leſt the *Campans*, being ignorant of his purpoſe, ſhould thinke he had forſaken them; and thereupon forthwith yeeld themſelves to the Enemy. To prevent this danger, he ſent letters to *Capua* by a ſubtle *Numidian*: who running as a fugitive into the *Roman* Camp, conveighed himſelfe thence over the innermoſt Trenches into the Citie. The journey to *Rome* was to be performed with great celerity: no ſmall hope of good ſucceſſe reſting in the ſuddenneſſe of his arrivall there. Wherefore he cauſed his men, to have in a readineſſe ten dayes victualls; and prepared as many boates, as might in one night tranſport his Army over the River *Vulturnus*. This could not be done ſo cloſely, but that the *Roman* Generals, by ſome fugitives, had notice of his purpoſe. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate; which was therewith affected, according to the diverſity of mens opinions, in a caſe of ſuch importance. Some gave counſell to let alone *Capua*, yea, and all places elſe, rather than to put the Town of *Rome* into perill of being taken by the enemy. Others were ſo farre from allowing of this, as they wondred how any man could think, that *Hannibal*, being unable to relieve *Capua*, ſhould judge himſelfe ſtrong enough to win *Rome*; and therefore ſtoutly ſaid, That thoſe Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the City, would ſerve the turn well enough, to keep him out, and ſend him thence, if he were ſo unwiſe as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that Letters ſhould be ſent to *Fulvius* & *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the preſent were in *Rome*: who, ſince they knew beſt what the ſtrength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, were beſt able to judge, what was needfull to oppoſe him. So it was referred unto the diſcretion of theſe Generals at *Capua*, to doe as they thought behoovefull: and if it might conveniently be, neither to raiſe their ſiege, nor yet to put the City of *Rome* into much adventure. According to this Decree of the Senate, *Q. Fulvius* took fifteen thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, the choice of his whole Army: with which he haſted toward *Rome*; leaving *App. Claudius*, who could not travell by reaſon of his wound, to continue the ſiege at *Capua*.

*Hannibal* having paſſed over *Vulturnus*, burnt up all his boates; and left nothing that might tranſport the Enemy, in caſe he ſhould offer to purſue or coaſt him. Then haſted he away toward *Rome*, ſtaying no longer in any one place, than he needs muſt. Yet found he the Bridges over *Liris* broken downe by the people of *Fregellæ*: which as it ſtopped him a little on his way; ſo it made him the more grievouſly to ſpoyle their lands, whiles the Bridges were in mending. The nearer that he drew to *Rome*, the greater waſte he made: his *Numidians* running before him; driving the Country, and killing or taking multitudes of all ſorts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The meſſengers of theſe newes came apace, one after another into the City; ſome few bringing true advertiſements; but the moſt of them reporting the conceits of their owne feare. All the ſtreets and Temples in *Rome* were peſtered with women, crying, and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their haire, becauſe they could doe none other good. The Senators were all in the great Market, or place of Aſſembly; ready to give their advice, if it were asked, or to take directions given by the Magiſtrates. All places of moſt importance were ſtuffed with ſouldiers: it being uncertaine, upon which part *Hannibal* would fall. In the midſt of this trepidation, there came newes that *Quintus Fulvius*, with part of the Army from *Capua*, was haſting to the defence of the City. The Office of a Proconſul did expire, at his returne home, and entry into the Gates of *Rome*. Wherefore, that *Fulvius* might loſe nothing by comming into the City in time of ſuch need, an Act was paſſed, That hee ſhould have equall power with the Conſuls during his abode there. He and *Hannibal* arrived at *Rome*, one ſoone after another: *Fulvius* having been long held occupied in paſſing over *Vulturnus*; and *Hannibal* receiving impediment in his journey, as much as the Countrey was able to give. The Conſuls, and *Fulvius*, incamped without the Gates of *Rome*, attending the *Carthaginian*. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew nearer and greater; ſo took they more carefull and eſpeciall order againſt all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the River *Anio* or *Anien*, three miles from the Towne; whence he advanced with two thouſand horſe, and rode along a great way under the Walles, viewing the ſite thereof, and conſidering how he might beſt approach it. But he either went, or (as the *Roman* Story ſaith) was driven away, without doing or receiving any hurt. Many tumults roſe in this while among the people; but were ſuppreſſed by care and diligence of the Senators. Above the reſt one accident was both troubleſome, and not without perill. Of *Numidians* that had ſhifted ſide, and fallen (upon ſome diſpleaſures) from *Hannibal* to the *Romans*, there were ſome twelve hundred then in *Rome*: which were appointed by the Conſuls, to paſſe through the Towne, from the Mount *Aventine*, to the Gate *Collinus*, where it was thought that their ſervice might be uſefull, among broken wayes, and Garden walls lying in the ſuburbs. The faces of theſe men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of *Hannibal*; bred ſuch miſtaking, as cauſed a great uproare among the people: all crying out that *Aventine* was taken, and the Enemy gotten within the Walls. The noyſe was ſuch, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the ſtreets were ſo full of cattell, and husbandmen, which were fled thither out of the Villages adjoyning, that the paſſage was ſtopt up: and the poore *Numidians* pitifully beaten from the houſe toppes, with ſtones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the deſperate multitude, that would have run out at the Gates, had it not beene certaine who lay under the Walles. To remedy the like inconveniences, it was ordained, *That all which had beene Dictators, Conſuls, or Cenſors, ſhould have authority as Magiſtrates, till the Enemy departed*. The day following *Hannibal* paſſed over *Anien*, and preſented battell to the *Romans*, who did not wiſely if they undertooke it. It is ſaid, that a terrible ſhowre of raine, cauſed both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* to returne into their ſeverall Camps: and that this happened two dayes together, the weather breaking up and clearing as ſoon at they were departed aſunder: certain it is, that *Hannibal*, who had brought along with him no more than ten dayes proviſion, could not indure to ſtay there, untill his victuals were all ſpent. In which regard the *Romans*, if they ſuffered him to waſte his time and proviſions, knowing that he could not abide there long, did as became well adviſed men: if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is ſaid) by ſome accident of weather, the commendations muſt be given to their fortune. The terror of *Hannibals* comming to the City, how great ſoever it was at the firſt, yet after ſome leiſure, and better notice taken of their forces, which appeared leſſe than the firſt apprenſion had formed them, was much and ſoone abated. Hereunto it helped well, that at the ſame time the ſupply appointed for *Spaine*, after the death of the two *Scipio's*, was ſent out of the Town, & went forth at the gate, whilſt one *Carthaginian* lay before another. In all *Punick terrours*, as they are called, whereof there is either no cauſe known, or no cauſe anſwerable to the greatneſſe of the ſudden conſternation; it is a good remedy to do ſomewhat quite contrary to that which the danger would require, were it ſuch as men have faſhioned it in their amazed conceits. Thus did *Alexander* cauſe his ſouldiers to diſarme themſelves, when they were all on a ſudden in a great feare of they wiſt not what. And thus did *Clearchus* pacifie a fooliſh uproare in his Army, by proclaiming a reward unto him that could tell who had ſent the Aſſe into the Camp: But in this preſent example of the *Romans*, appears withall a great magnanimity: whereby they ſuſtained their reputation, and augmented it no leſſe, than by this bold attempt of *Hannibal* it might ſeeme to have been diminiſhed. Neither could they more finely have checked the glorious conceits of their enemies, and taken away the diſgrace of that feare, which clouded their valour at his firſt cõming; than by making ſuch demonſtrations, when once they had recovered ſpirit, how little they eſteemed him. To this purpoſe therefore that very piece of ground, on which the *Carthaginian* lay encamped, was ſolde in *Rome*: and ſold it was nothing under the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had bin in time of peace. This indignity comming to his eare, incenſed *Hannibal* ſo much, that he made port-ſale of the Silver-ſmiths ſhoppes, which were neare about the Market or Common place in *Rome*; as if his owne title to the houſes within the Towne were no whit worſe, than any *Roman* Citizens could be unto that piece of ground, whereon he raiſed his Tent. But this counter-practiſe was nothing worth. The *Romans* did ſeek to manifeſt that aſſurance which they juſtly had conceived; *Hannibal*, to make ſhew of continuing in an hope, which was already paſt. His victuals were almoſt ſpent: and of thoſe ends, that he had propoſed unto himſelfe, this journy had brought forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore hee brake up his Campe: and doing what ſpoile he could of the *Roman* Territory, without ſparing religious places, wherein wealth was to be gotten, he paſſed like a tempeſt over the Country, and ran toward the Eaſterne Sea ſo faſt, that he had almoſt taken the Citie of *Rhegium* before his arrivall was feared or ſuſpected. As for *Capua*, he gave it loſt: and is likely to have curſed the whole faction of *Hanno*, which thus diſabled him to relieve that faire City, ſince he had no other way to vent his griefe.

*Q. Fulvius* returning back to *Capua*, made Proclamation anew, that whoſo vvould yeeld, before a certaine day, might ſafely doe it. This, and the very returne of *Fulvius*, without any more appearance of *Hannibal*, gave the *Capuans* to underſtand, that they vvere abandoned, and their caſe deſperate. To truſt the *Roman* pardon proclaimed, every mans conſcience of his owne evill deſerts, told him, that it was a vanity: and ſome faint hope was given, by *Hanno* and *Boſtar*, Captaines of the *Carthaginian* Garriſon within the Towne, that *Hannibal* ſhould come againe; if meanes could onely be found, how to convey ſuch Letters unto him as they would write. The carriage of the Letters was undertaken by ſome *Numidians*: who running as fugitives, out of the Towne into the *Roman* Camp, waited fit opportunity to make an eſcape thence with their packets. But it hapned ere they could conveigh themſelves away, that one of them was detected by an harlot following him out of the Town; and the Letters of *Boſtar* and *Hanno* were taken and opened, containing a vehement intreaty unto *Hannibal*, that hee would not thus forſake the *Capuans* and them. For (ſaid they) we came not hither to make Warre againſt *Rhegium* and *Tarentum*, but againſt the *Romans*: whoſe Legions, whereſoever they lye, there alſo ſhould the *Carthaginian* Army be ready to attend them; and by taking of ſuch courſe, have we gotten thoſe victories at *Trebia*, *Thrſyamene*, and *Cannæ*. In fine, they beſought him, that he would not diſhonour himſelfe, and betray them to their enemies, by turning another way; as if it were his onely care, that the Citie ſhould not be taken in his full view: promiſing to make a deſperate ſally, if he would once more adventure to ſet upon the *Roman* Campe. Such were the hopes of *Boſtar* and his fellow.

But *Hannibal* had already done his beſt: and now beganne to faint under the burden of that Warre, wherein (as afterward he proteſted) he was vanquiſhed by *Hanno* and his Partiſans in the *Carthaginian* Senate, rather than by any force of *Rome*. *Liv. lib.* 30. It may well bee, as a thing incident in like caſes, that ſome of thoſe which were beſieged in *Capua*, had bin ſent over by the *Hannonians*, to obſerve the doings of *Hannibal*, and to checke his proceedings. If this were ſo, juſtly might they curſe their owne malice, which had caſt them into this remedileſſe neceſſity. Howſoever it were, the Letters directed unto *Hannibal*, fell (as is ſhewed) into the *Roman* Proconſuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all ſuch counterfeit fugitives, as carried ſuch meſſages, whipt them back into the Towne. This miſerable ſpectacle brake the hearts of the *Campans*, ſo that the multitude crying out upon the Senate, with menacing termes, cauſed them to aſſemble and conſult, about the yeelding up of *Capua* unto the *Romans*. The braveſt of the Senators, and ſuch as a few years ſince, had beene moſt forward in joyning with *Hannibal*, underſtood well enough whereunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them invited the reſt home to ſupper: telling them, that when they had made good cheare, he would drinke to them ſuch an health, as ſhould ſet them free from that cruell revenge, which the Enemies ſought upon their bodies. About ſeven and twenty of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their lives together, by drinking poyſon. All the reſt hoping for more mercy than they had deſerved, yeelded ſimply to diſcretion. So one of the Town-gates was ſet open; whereat a *Roman* Legion, with ſome other Companies, entring, diſarmed the Citizens; apprehended the *Carthaginian* Garriſon; and commanded all the Senators of *Capua* to goe forth into the *Roman* camp. At their comming thither, the Proconſuls laid yrons upon them all, and commanding them to tell what ſtore of gold and ſilver they had at home, ſent them into ſafe cuſtodie; ſome to *Cales*, others to *Theanum*. Touching the generall multitude, they were reſerved unto the diſcretion of the Senate: yet ſo hardly uſed by *Fulvius* in the meane while, that they had little cauſe of hope or comfort in this adverſity. *Ap. Claudius* was brought even to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately received: yet was he not inexorable to the *Campans*; as having loved them well in former times, & having given his daughter in mariage to that *Pacuvius*, of whom we ſpake before. Bnt this facility of his Colleague, made *Fulvius* the more haſty in taking vengeance: for feare, leſt upon the like reſpects, the *Roman* Senate might prove more gentle, than he thought behoovefull to the common ſafety, and honour of their State. Wherefore he took the paines to ride by night unto *Theanum*, and from thence to *Cales*: where he cauſed all the *Campan* priſoners to ſuffer death; binding them to ſtakes, and ſcourging them firſt a good while with rods; after which he ſtruck off their heads.

This terrible example of vengeance, which the *Carthaginians* could not hinder, made all townes of *Italy* the leſſe apt to follow the vaine hope of the *Campans*: and bred a generall inclination, to returne upon good conditions to the *Roman* ſide. The *Atellans, Calatines* and *Sabatines*, people of the *Campans*, that in the former change had followed the fortune of *Capua*, made alſo now the like ſubmiſſion, for very feare and want of ability to reſiſt. They were therefore uſed with the like rigour, by *Fulvius*: who dealt ſo extremely with them all, that he brought them into deſparation. Wherefore ſome of their yong gentlemen, burning with fire of revenge, got into *Rome*: where they found means by night-time, to ſet on fire ſo many houſes, that a great part of the city was like to have bin conſumed. The beginning of the fire in divers places at once, argued that it was no caſualty. Wherefore liberty was proclaimed unto any ſlave, and other ſufficient reward to any free man, that ſhould diſcover who thoſe Incendiaries were. Thus all came out; and the *Campans* being detected by a ſlave of their owne (to whom, above his liberty promiſed, was given about the ſum of an hundred markes) had the puniſhment anſwerable to their deſerts. *Fulvius* hereby being more and more incenſed againſt this wretched people, held them in a maner as priſoners within their Walls: and this extreme ſeverity cauſed them at length to become Suppliants unto the *Roman* Senate; that ſome period might be ſet unto their miſeries. That whereupon the Senators reſolved in the end, was worſe than all that which they had ſuffered before. Onely two poore women in *Capua* (of which one had beene an harlot) were found not guilty of the late rebellion. The reſt were, ſome of them, with their wives and children ſold for ſlaves, and their goods confiſcated; others laid in priſon, and reſerved to further deliberation: but the generality of them, commanded to depart out of *Campania* by a certaine day, and confined unto ſeverall places, as beſt liked the angry victors. As for the towne of *Capua*, it was ſuffered to ſtand, in regard of the beauty and commodious ſite: but no corporation or forme of politie was allowed to be therein; onely a *Roman* Provoſt vvas every year ſent to governe over thoſe that ſhould inhabit it, and to doe juſtice. This was the greateſt act, and moſt important, hitherto done by the people of *Rome*, after many great loſſes in the preſent war. After this, the glory of *Hannibal* began to ſhine with a more dim light than before: his oyle being farre ſpent; and that which ſhould have revived his flame, being unfortunately ſhed; as ſhall be told in place convenient.

## §. XV.

### *How the* Carthaginians, *making a party in* Sardinia *and* Sicil, *held War againſt the* Romans *in thoſe Iſlands, and were overcome.*

WHilſt things paſſed thus in *Italy*, the commotions raiſed in *Sardinia* & *Sicil* by the *Carthaginians* & their friends, were brought to a quiet & happy end by the induſtrious valour of the *Romans*. The *Sardinian* rebellion was great and ſudden: above thirty thouſand being up in armes, ere the *Roman* forces could arrive there to ſuppreſs it. One *Harſicoras* with his ſon *Hyoſtus*, mighty men in that Iland, were the Ring-leaders; being incited by *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, that promiſed the aſſiſtance of his country. Neither were the *Carthaginians* in this enterpriſe ſo careleſſe, as in the reſt of their maine undertakings, about the ſame time. Yet it had beene better if their care had been directed unto the proſecution of that maine buſineſſe in *Italy*; whereon this and all other hopes depended. For it would have ſufficed, if they could have hindred the *Romans* from ſending an Army into *Sardinia*. *Harſicoras* with his followers might well enough have ſerved to drive out *Quintus Mutius* the Prætor: who lay ſicke in the Province; and not more weake in his owne body, than in his traine. But vvhileſt they ſought revenge of that particular injurie, vvhereof the ſenſe vvas moſt grievous; they neglected the opportunity of requiting thoſe that had done them vvrong, and of the ſecuring themſelves from all injuries in the future. Their fortune alſo in this enterpriſe was ſuch, as may ſeeme to have encouraged them from being at the like charge, in caſes of more importance. For whereas they ſent over *Aſdrubal*, ſurnamed *the Bald*, with a competent fleet and Armie; aſſiſted in this expedition by *Hanno* the Author of the rebellion, and by *Mago* a Gentleman of the *Barchine* houſe, and neere kinſman to *Hannibal*: it ſo fell out, that the whole fleet, by extremity of foule weather, was caſt upon the *Baleares*; ſo beaten, and in ſuch evill plight, that the *Sardinians* had even ſpent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquiſhed, ere theſe their friends could arrive to ſuccour them.

*Titus Manlius* was ſent from *Rome* with two and twenty thouſand foot, and twelve hundred horſe, to ſettle the eſtate of that Iland, which he had taken in, and annexed unto the *Roman* dominion, long before this, in his Conſulſhip. It was a laudable cuſtome of the *Romans*, to preſerve and up-hold in their ſeverall Provinces, the greatneſſe and reputation of thoſe men, and their families, by whom each Province had beene firſt ſubdued unto their Empire. If any injurie were done unto the Provincialls, if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate, or whatſoever accident required the aſſiſtance of a Patron; the firſt Conquerour, and his race after him, were the moſt ready and beſt approved meanes, to procure the benefit of the people ſubdued. Hereby the *Romans* held very ſure intelligence, in every Province, and had alwayes in readineſſe fit men to reclaime their Subjects, if they fell into any ſuch diſorder, as would otherwiſe have required a greater charge and trouble. The comming of *Manlius* retained in obedience all that were not already broken too farre out. Yet was *Harſicoras* ſo ſtrong in field, that *Manlius* was compelled to arme his Mariners: without whom he could not have made up that number of two and twenty thouſand, whereof we have ſpoken before: he landed at *Calaris*, or *Carallis*, where mooring his ſhips, he paſſed up into the Countrey, and ſought out the Enemie. *Hyoſtus*, the ſonne of *Harſicoras*, had then the command of the *Sardinian* Army left unto him by his father, who was gone abroad into the Countrey, to draw in more friends to their ſide. This young gentleman would needs adventure to get honour, by giving battell to the *Romans* at his owne diſcretion. So he raſhly adventured to fight with an old Souldier: by whom hee received a terrible overthrow; and loſt in one day above thirtie thouſand of his followers. *Hyoſtus* himſelfe, with the reſt of his broken troupes, got into *Cornus*, the chiefe Towne of the Iſland: whither *Manlius* purſued them. Very ſoon after this defeature came *Aſdrubal* with his *Carthaginians*; too late to winne all *Sardinia* in ſuch haſte as he might have done, if the tempeſt had not hindered his voyage: yet ſoone enough, and ſtrong enough to ſave the Towne of *Cornus*; and to put a new ſpirit into the Rebels. *Manlius* hereupon withdrew himſelfe backe to *Calaris*: where he had not ſtayed long, ere the *Sardinians* (ſuch of them as adhered to the *Roman* party) craved his aſſiſtance; their Countrey being waſted by the *Carthaginians*, and the Rebels, with whom they had refuſed to joyne. This drew *Manlius* forth of *Calaris*: where, if he had ſtayed a little longer, *Aſdrubal* would have ſought him out with ſome blemiſh to his reputation. But the fame of *Aſdrubal* and his company, appeares to have bin greater than was their ſtrength. For after ſome triall made of them in a few skirmiſhes, *Manlius* adventured all to the hazzard of a battell; wherein he ſlew twelve thouſand of the enemies; and tooke of the *Sardinians* and *Carthaginians* three thouſand. Foure houres the battell laſted; and victory at length fell to the *Romans*, by the flight of the Iſlanders, whoſe courages had beene broken in their unproſperous fight, not many dayes before. The death of young *Hyoſtus*, and of his father *Harſicoras*, that ſlew himſelfe for griefe, together with the captivity of *Aſdrubal* himſelfe, with *Mago* and *Hanno* the *Carthaginians*, made the victory the more famous. The vanquiſhed Armie fled into *Cornus*; whither *Manlius* followed them, and in ſhort ſpace won the Towne. All other Cities of the Iſle that had rebelled, followed the example of *Cornus*; and yeelded unto the *Roman*; who, impoſing upon them ſuch increaſe of tribute, or other puniſhment, as beſt ſorted with the nature of their ſeverall offences, or their ability to pay, returned back to *Calaris* with a great booty, & from thence to *Rome*, leaving *Sardinia* in quiet.

The warre in *Sicil* was of greater length, and every way more burdenſome to *Rome*: as alſo the victorie brought more honour and profit, for that the *Romans* became thereby, not onely ſavers of their owne, as in *Sardinia*; but Lords of the whole Countrie, by annexing the City and dominion of *Syracuſe*, to that which they enjoyed before. Soon after the battell of *Cannæ*, the old King of *Syracuſe* died; who had continued long a ſtedfaſt friend unto the *Romans*, and greatly relieved them in this preſent warre. He left his kingdome to *Hieronymus* his grand-child, that was about fifteene yeeres of age; *Gelo* his ſonne, that ſhould have bin his heire, being dead before. To this young King his ſucceſſour, *Hiero* appointed fifteen tutors: of which the principall were *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and *Themiſtius*; who had married his daughters, or the daughters of *Gelo*. The reſt were ſuch, as he judged moſt likely to preſerve the kingdome, by the ſame art, whereby himſelfe had gotten and ſo long kept it. But within a little while, *Andronodorus* waxing wearie of ſo many coadjutors, began to commend the ſufficiency of the young Prince, as extraordinary in one of his yeeres; and ſaid, that he was able to rule the kingdome without help of any Protector. Thus, by giving over his owne charge, he cauſed others to do the like: hoping thereby to get the king wholly into his hands; which came to paſſe, in a ſort, as he deſired. For *Hieronymus*, laying aſide all care of governement, gave himſelfe wholly over to his pleaſures: or, if he had any regard of his Royall dignitie, it was onely in matter of exterior ſhew; as wearing a Diadem, with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby he offended the eyes of his people, that had never ſeene the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo* his ſonne. But much more he offended them, when by his inſolent behaviour, ſutable to his outward pompe, he gave proofe, that in courſe of life, he would revive the memory of Tyrants dead long ſince, from whom he tooke the patterne of his habit. He grew proud, luſtfull, cruell, and dangerous to all that were about him: ſo that ſuch of his late tutors as could eſcape him by flight, were glad to live in baniſhment: the reſt, being moſt of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their owne hands, to avoid the danger of his diſpleaſure, that ſeemed worſe than death it ſelfe. Onely *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and one *Thraſo* continued in grace with him, and were his Counſellors, but not of his Cabinet. Theſe, howſoever they agreed in other points, were at ſome diſſention about the maine point of adhering, either to the *Romans*, or to the *Carthaginians*. The two former of them were wholly for the Kings pleaſures, which was ſet on change: but *Thraſo*, having more regard of his honour and profit, was very earneſt to continue the amitie with *Rome*. Whileſt as yet it remained ſomewhat doubtfull which way the King would incline, a conſpiracie againſt his perſon was detected by a Groome of his; to whom one *Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; thereby to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the undertakers. Long it was ere he would ſpeake any thing: but yeelding (as it ſeemed) in the end, unto the extremity of the torture, he confeſſed, that he had beene ſet on by *Thraſo*; whom he appeached of the treaſon, together with many more, that were neere in love or place unto *Hieronymus*. All theſe therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeed the Conſpirators, walked boldly in the ſtreets, and never ſhrunke for the matter: aſſuring themſelves, that the reſolution of *Theodorus* would yeeld to no extremitie. Thus they all eſcaped, and ſoone after found meanes to execute their purpoſe. The King himſelfe, when *Thraſo* was taken out of the way, quickly reſolved upon ſiding with the *Carthaginians*, whereto he was very inclinable before. Young men, when firſt they grow Maſters of themſelves, love to ſeeme wiſer than their fathers, by taking different courſes. And the liberality of *Hiero* to the *Romans*, in their great neceſſitie, had of late been ſuch, as might have been termed exceſſive, were it not in regard of his providence; wherein he tooke order for his owne Eſtate, that depended upon theirs. But the young Nephew taking little heed of dangers farre off, regarded onely the things preſent; the weakneſſe of *Rome*, the prevalent fortunes of *Carthage*, and the much money that his grand-father had layed out in vaine, to ſhoulder up a falling houſe. Wherefore he dealt with *Hannibal*: who readily entred into good correſpondence with him; that was maintained by *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, *Carthaginians* borne, but grand-children of a baniſhed *Syracuſian*. Theſe grew into ſuch favour with *Hieronymus*, that they drew him whither they liſted. So that when *App.Claudius* the *Roman* Prætor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacie, betweene the people of *Rome*, and the King of *Syracuſe*; his Meſſengers were diſmiſſed with an open ſcoffe. For *Hieronymus* would needs have them tell him the order of the fight at *Cannæ*; that he might thereby learne how to accommodate himſelfe; ſaying, that he could hardly beleeve the *Carthaginians*;

ſo wonderfull was the victory as they reported it. Having thus diſmiſſed the *Romans*, he ſent Embaſſadors to *Carthage*, where he concluded a league: with condition, at firſt, that a great part of the Iſland ſhould be annexed to his Dominion; but afterward, that he ſhould reigne over all *Sicil*; and the *Carthaginians* reſt ſatisfied with what they could get in *Italie*. At theſe doings *Appius Claudius* did not greatly ſtirre: partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that it behoved not the *Romans* to entertaine more quarrels, than were enforced upon them by neceſſitie; and partly (as may ſeeme) for that the reputation, both of himſelfe, and of his Citie, had received ſuch blemiſh, by that which hapned unto him in his journey, as much diſcountenanced him when he came into *Sicil*, and forbade him to looke bigge. The money that *Hiero* had beſtowed formerly upon the *Romans*, wherewith to relieve them in their neceſſitie, this *Appius* was to carry backe unto him: it being refuſed by the *Roman* Senate, with greater braverie than their preſent fortune would allow. But in ſtead of returning the money with thankes, as he had bin directed, and as it had bin noiſed abroad that he ſhould doe: the warre againſt *Philip* King of *Macedon* (whereof we have ſpoken before) compelled the *Romans* to lay aſide their vaine-glory, and ſend word after him, that he ſhould conſigne that money over to *Marcus Valerius*; of whoſe voyage into *Greece*, the City had not otherwiſe wherewith to beare the charge. This was done accordingly, and hereby *Claudius* (which name in the whole continuance of that Familie is taxed with pride) his errand was changed, from a glorious oſtentation of the *Roman* magnanimitie, into ſuch a pitifull tune of thanks-giving, as muſt needs have bred ſorrow and commiſeration in ſo true a friend as *Hiero*; or, if it were delivered after his death, matter of paſtime and ſcorn, in *Hieronymus* the new King.

But whileſt *Hieronymus* was more deſirous of war, than well reſolved how to begin it: his owne death changed the forme of things, and bred a great innovation in the ſtate of *Syracuſe*; which thereby might have proſpered more than ever, had it been wiſely governed. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, of whom we ſpake before, were ſent about the Countrie with two thouſand men, to ſollicite the Townes, and perſwade them to ſhake off their obedience to the *Romans*. The King himſelfe with an Armie of fifteene thouſand horſe and foot, went to *Leontium*, a City of his owne Dominion: hoping that the fame of his preparation, would make the whole Iſland fall to him in all haſte, and accept him for Soveraigne. There the Conſpirators tooke him on the ſudden, as he was paſſing through a narrow ſtreet: and ruſhing betweene him and his guard, ſtrooke him dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed: and the ſound of that word ſo joyfully anſwered by the *Leontines*, that the guard of *Hieronymus* had little courage to revenge their Maſters death. Yet, for feare of the worſt, a great largeſſe was promiſed unto the Souldiers, with rewards unto their Captaines; which wrought ſo effectually, that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned up, the Armie, as in deteſtation of his bad life, ſuffered his carkaſſe to lie unburied. Theſe newes ranne quickly to *Syracuſe*: whither ſome of the Conſpirators, taking alſo of the Kings horſes, poſted away; to ſignifie all that had paſſed, to ſtirre up the people to libertie, and to prevent *Andronodorus*, if he or his fellowes would make offer to uſurpe a tyranny. The *Syracuſians* hereupon preſently toooke Armes, and made themſelves maſters of their owne Citie. *Andronodorus* on the other ſide fortified the Palace, and the Iſland; being yet uncertaine what to doe: between deſire of making himſelfe a ſoveraigne Lord, and feare of ſuffering puniſhment as a Tyrant, if his enterpriſe miſ-carried. His wife *Demarata*, that was the daughter of *Hiero*, cheriſhed him in his hopes: putting him in minde of that wel-knowne Proverbe, which *Dionyſius* had uſed; *That a Tyrant ſhould keepe his place, till he were haled out of it by the heeles, and not ride away from it on horſe-backe.* But feare, and better counſell, prevailed ſo farre, that *Andronodorus*, having ſlept upon the matter, diſſembled his affections, and deferred his hope unto better opportunity. The next day he came forth, and made a ſpeech unto the people; telling them, that he was glad to ſee, how prudently they behaved themſelves in ſo great a change; that he had ſtood in feare, leſt they would not have contained themſelves within the bounds of diſcretion; but rather have ſought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that, ſince he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to raviſh their liberty perforce, but to wed it unto them for ever; he was willingly come to them forth of his ſtrength, and ſurrendred up the charge committed unto him, by one that had bin an evill maſter both to him and them. Hereupon great joy was made, and Prætors choſen (as in former times) to governe the Citie, of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chiefe. But ſuch was his deſire of Soveraigntie, and ſo vehement were the inſtigations of his wife, that ſhortly he began to practiſe with *Hippocrates*, *Epicides*, and other Captaines of the Mercenaries; hoping to make himſelfe ſtrong by their helpe, that were leaſt pleaſed with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* had beene with the *Syracuſian* Prætors, and told them, that being ſent from *Hannibal* to *Hieronymus*, they, according to inſtructions of their Captaine, had done him, whileſt he lived, what ſevrice they could; and that now they were deſirous to returne home. They requeſted therefore that they might be friendly diſmiſſed; and with a convoy, that might keepe them from falling into the hands of the *Romans*, and ſet them ſafe at *Locri*. This was eaſily granted; both for that the *Syracuſian* Magiſtrates were well contented to earne thankes of *Hannibal*, with ſuch a little courteſie; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Towne quickly of this troubleſome couple, which were good ſouldiers, and gracious with the Army, but otherwiſe lewd men. It was not the deſire of theſe two *Sicilians*, to be gone ſo haſtily as they made ſhew; they were more mindfull of the buſineſſe for which *Hannibal* had ſent them. Wherefore they inſinuated themſelves into the boſomes of ſuch as were moſt likely to fill the Army with tumult, eſpecially of the *Roman* fugitives, and thoſe that had cauſe to miſtruſt what ſhould become of themſelves, when the *Romans* and *Syracuſians* were come to agreement. Such inſtruments as theſe, *Andronodorus* had great need of: as alſo of many other, to helpe him in his dangerous attempt. He found *Themiſtius*, that had married *Harmonia*, the ſiſter of *Hieronymus*, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like paſſions of his owne, and of his wife. But in ſeeking to increaſe the number of his adherents, he revealed the matter to one, that revealed all to the reſt of the Prætors. Hereupon it followed, that he, and *Themiſtius*, entring into the Senate, were ſlaine out of hand: and afterward accuſed to the People, of all the evill which they had done, whileſt *Hieronymus* lived, as by his authoritie; and now ſince attempted, in ſeeking to uſurp the tyranny themſelves. It was alſo declared, that the daughters of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were acceſſary to this dangerous treaſon: and that the unquiet ſpirits of theſe women would never ceaſe to work, untill they had recovered thoſe royall ornaments and Soveraigne power, whereof their family was now diſpoſſeſſed. Theſe daughters therefore of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were alſo condemned to die, and executioners preſently ſent by the enraged people, to take away their lives. *Demarata* and *Harmonia* had perhaps deſerved this heavie ſentence: but *Heraclea*, the daughter of *Hiero*, and wife of *Soſippus*, being altogether innocent, was murdered, together with her two young daughters, in the haſtie execution of this raſh judgement. Her husband *Soſippus* was a lover of the Common-wealth; and in that reſpect ſo hated by *Hieronymus*, that being ſent Embaſſador to King *Ptolomie*, *&c.* he durſt not returne home, but ſtayed in *Egypt* as a baniſhed man. This conſideration, when it was too late, together with ſome pitifull accidents accompanying the ſlaughter, ſo affected the multitude, that (pardoning themſelves) all cried out upon the Authors of ſo foule a butcherie. Being thus incenſed againſt the Senate; and knowing not otherwiſe how to ſatisfie their anger, they called for an election of new Prætors, in the roome of *Andronodorus* and *Themiſtius*, that were lately ſlain: meaning to ſubſtitute ſuch in their places, as the Senators ſhould have little cauſe to like. At the election were preſent a great rowt, not onely of the poorer Citizens, but of ſouldiers that preſſed into the throng. One of theſe, named *Epicides* Prætor; another named *Hippocrates*: and the leſſe that the old Prætors and Senators approved this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a generall crie forced them to be accepted. Theſe being made Prætors did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, betweene the *Syracuſians* and the *Romans*. But having ſtriven in vaine, and ſeeing that the people ſtood in feare of *Ap. Claudius*, and of *Marcellus* that was lately come into *Sicil*; they gave way unto the time, and ſuffered the old league of *Hiero* to be re-confirmed, which afterward they purpoſed to diſſolve by practiſe. The *Leontines* had ſome need of a garriſon; and to them was ſent *Hippocrates* the Prætor, attended by ſuch fugitives, and mercenary ſouldiers, as were moſt burdenſome to *Syracuſe*. Thither when he came, he began to doe many acts of hoſtility againſt the *Romans*: firſt in ſecret, afterward more openly & boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly underſtanding the purpoſe of theſe two brethren, ſent word unto the *Syracuſians*, that they had already broken the league; and that the peace would never be kept ſincerely, untill this turbulent pair of brethren were expelled the Iſland. *Epicides*, fearing to ſuſtaine the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more deſirous to ſet forward the warre, than to excuſe any breach of peace; went himſelf unto the *Leontines*, whom he perſwaded to rebell againſt the *Syracuſians*. For he ſaid, that ſince they had all of late ſerved one Maſter, there was little reaſon why the *Leontines* ſhould not be enfranchiſed by his death, as well as the *Syracuſians*; yea or much rather, all things conſidered; ſince in their ſtreets the Tyrant was ſlain, and liberty firſt proclaimed. Wherefore, ſince they of *Syracuſe* were not contented to enjoy the freedome purchaſed among the *Leontines*; but thought it good reaſon, that they ſhould beare Dominion over thoſe that had broken the Chaine, wherewith both the one and the other were bound: his advice was, that ſuch their arrogancie ſhould be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by preſcription. Hereunto occaſion was given by one article of the League, made of late by the *Romans* and *Syracuſians*. For it was agreed, *That all which had beene ſubject to* Hiero *and* Hieronymus, *ſhould henceforth be Vaſſals unto the State of Syracuſe.* Againſt this article, if the *Leontines* would take exception, and thereby challenge their owne due; *Epicides* told them, that in this noveltie of change, they had fit opportunitie to recover the freedome, which their fathers had loſt not many ages before. Neither was it unreaſonable, which this crafty *Carthaginian* propounded; if the *Leontines* had beene ſubdued by the ſame hand, which tooke libertie from the *Syracuſians*. But ſeeing they had long ſince yeelded unto *Syracuſe*, and beene ſubject unto that Citie, by what forme ſoever it was governed; this claime of libertie was rather ſeaſonable, than juſt. Nevertheleſſe, the motion of *Epicides* was highly approved: inſomuch that when meſſengers came ſoone after from *Syracuſe*, to rebuke the *Leontines*, for that which they had done againſt the *Romans*, and to denounce unto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, that they ſhould get them gone, either to *Locri*, or whither elſe they liſted, ſo that they ſtayed not in *Sicil*: word was returned, That they of *Leontium* had not requeſted the *Syracuſians*, to make any bargaines for them with the *Romans*, nor thought themſelves bound to obſerve the covenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptory anſwer was forthwith reported unto *Marcellus* by the *Syracuſians*; who offered him their aſſiſtance in doing juſtice upon the *Leontines* their Rebels; with condition, That when the Towne was taken, it might be theirs againe. *Marcellus* required no better ſatisfaction: but forth-with took the buſineſſe in hand, which he diſpatched in one day. At the firſt aſſault *Leontium* was taken, all ſave the Caſtle; whereinto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* fled: and ſtealing thence away by night, conveyed themſelves into the towne of *Herbeſus*. The firſt thing that *Marcellus* did, when he had wonne the Towne, was the ſame, which other *Roman* Captains uſed after victorie, to ſeek out the fugitive *Roman* ſlaves and renegado's, whom he cauſed all to die: the reſt both of the Townſ-men and Souldiers, he tooke to mercy, forbearing alſo to ſtrip or ſpoyle them. But the fame of his doings was bruited after a contrarie ſort. It was ſaid, that he had ſlaine Man, Woman, and Childe, and put the Towne to ſacke. Theſe newes met the *Syracuſian* Army upon the way, as it was going to joyne with *Marcellus*, who had ended his buſineſſe before. About eight thouſand Mercenaries there were, that had beene ſent forth of *Syracuſe*, under *Soſis* and *Dinomenes*, two of the Prætors, to ſerve againſt the *Leontines* and other rebels. Theſe Captains were honeſt men, and well affected to their Countrey: but the Souldiers that followed them, had thoſe diſeaſes, with which all mercenaries are commonly infected. They took the matter deepely to heart, that their fellow ſouldiers (as now they termed thoſe againſt whom they went) had beene ſo cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutiny; though what to demand, or with whom to be angry, they could not tell. The Prætors therefore thought it beſt, to turne their unquiet thoughts another way, and ſet them a-worke in ſome place elſe: for as much as at *Leontium* there was no need of their ſervice. So towards *Herbeſus* they marched; where lay *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, the architects of all this miſchiefe, deviſing what further harme they might doe; but now ſo weakely accompanied, that they ſeemed unable to eſcape the puniſhments belonging to their offences paſt. Hereof the two brethren were no leſſe well aware: and therefore adventured upon a remedy little leſſe deſperate than their preſent caſe. They iſſued forth of *Herbeſus* unarmed, with Olive branches in their hands, in manner of Suppliants; and ſo preſented themſelves to the Army. Six hundred men of *Creet* were in the vantguard;

that had beene well uſed by *Hieronymus*; and ſome of them greatly bound unto *Hannibal*, who had taken them priſoners in the *Italian* warre, and lovingly diſmiſſed them. Theſe *Cretians* therefore welcomed the two brethren, and bade them be of good cheare, ſaying, That no man ſhould doe them harme, as long as they could uſe their weapons. Herewithall the Army was at a ſtand; and the rumour of this accident ranne ſwiftly from man to man, with generall approbation. The Prætors thought to help the matter by ſeverity, which would not ſerve. For when they commanded theſe two traitors to be layd in Irons, the exclamation was ſo violent againſt them, that faine they were to let all alone, and returne, uncertaine what courſe to take, unto *Megara*, where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, *Hippocrates* deviſed a tricke, whereby to help himſelfe, and better the uncertaine caſe wherein he ſtood. He cauſed Letters, of his owne penning, to be intercepted by ſome of his moſt truſtie *Cretans*, directed (as they made ſhew) from the *Syracuſian* Prætors to *Marcellus*. The contents hereof were, That *Marcellus* had well done, in committing all to the ſword among the *Leontines*: but that it further behoved him, to make the like diſpatch of all the mercenaries belonging to *Syracuſe*; which were offenſive, all of them in generall, to the liberty of the City, and the peace with *Rome*. When this counterfeit Epiſtle was openly rehearſed, the uproare was ſuch, that *Soſis* and his fellow Prætor, were glad to forſake the Campe, and flie for their lives. All the *Syracuſians* remaining behinde, had beene cut in pieces by the enraged Souldiers, if the two Artificers of the ſedition had not ſaved their lives; rather to keepe them as pledges, and by them, to winne their friends within the Towne, than for any good will. They perſwaded alſo a miſchievous knave, that had ſerved amongſt the *Leontines*, to juſtifie the bruit of *Marcellus* cruelty, and to carry home the newes to *Syracuſe*, as an eye-witneſſe. This incenſed not onely the multitude, but ſome of the Senate; and filled the whole towne with cauſeleſſe indignation. In good time (ſaid ſome) was the avarice and cruelty of the *Romans* detected: who, had they in like ſort gotten into *Syracuſe*, would have dealt much worſe, where their greedy appetites might have beene tempted with a farre greater bootie. Whileſt they were thus diſcourſing, and deviſing how to keepe out the wicked *Romans*, *Hippocrates* with his Army came to the gates, exhorting the Citizens to let him in, unleſſe for want of helpe, they would be betrayed to their enemies. The Prætors, with the beſt and wiſeſt of the Senate, would fain have kept him out: but the violence of the ſouldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater, than the head-ſtrong fury of thoſe within the Town, that laboured to breake it open. So he entred, and immediately fell upon the Prætors, whom (being forſaken by all men) he put to the ſword, and made ſlaughter of them and their followers untill night. The next day hee went openly to worke: and, after the common example of Tyrants, gave liberty unto all ſlaves and priſoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worſt and baſeſt ſort, made himſelfe and his brother Prætors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of *Syracuſe*.

When *Marcellus* was advertiſed of this great alteration, he thought it no time for him to ſit ſtill, and attend the further iſſue. He ſent Embaſſadours to *Syracuſe*, that were not admitted into the Haven, but chaſed out as enemies. Then drew he neere with his Armie: and lodging within a mile and a halfe of the Town, ſent before him, ſome to require a parlee. Theſe were entertained without the walls by the two new Prætors: to whom they declared, That the *Romans* were come thither, not with purpoſe to do hurt, but in favour of the *Syracuſians*, which were oppreſſed by Tyrants; and to puniſh thoſe that had murdered and baniſhed ſo many of the principall Citizens. Wherefore they required, that thoſe worthy men, their Confederates, which were chaſed out of the Towne, might be ſuffered to returne and enjoy their owne; as alſo that the Authors of the great ſlaughter lately committed, might be delivered up. Hereto *Epicides* briefly anſwered, that if their errand had beene to him, he could have told what to ſay to them: but ſince it was directed unto others, they ſhould doe well to returne, when thoſe to whom they were ſent, had the governement in their hands. As for the warre which they threatned, he told them, they ſhould finde by experience, That to beſiege *Syracuſe* was another manner of worke, than to take *Leontium*. Thus hee ſent them gone; and returned backe into the Citie. Immediately began the ſiege, which endured longer than the *Romans* had expected. The quicke and eaſie winning of *Leontium*, did put *Marcellus* in hope, that ſo long a circuit of wals as compaſſed *Syracuſe*, being manned with no better kinde of Souldiers, than thoſe with whom he had lately dealt, would in ſome part or other, be taken at the firſt aſſault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terrour in the very beginning; but did his beſt both by Land and Sea. Neuertheleſſe all his labour was diſappointed; & his hope of prevailing by open force, taken from him by the ill ſucceſſe of two or three of the firſt aſſaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Defendants, or any ſtrength of the Citie, that bred ſuch deſpaire of haſtie victory. But there lived at that time in *Syracuſe*, *Archimedes* the noble Mathematician: who at the requeſt of *Hiero* the late King, that was his kinſman, had framed ſuch engines of Warre, as being in this extremity put in uſe, did more miſchiefe to the *Romans* than could have beene wrought by the Canon, or any inſtruments of Gunne-powder; had they in that age beene knowne. This *Archimedes* diſcourſing once with *Hiero*, maintained that it were poſſible to remove the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were ſome other earth, or place of ſure footing, whereon a man might ſtand. For proofe of this bold aſſertion, he performed ſome ſtrange workes; which made the King entreat him to convert his ſtudie unto things of uſe: that might preſerve the Citie from danger of enemies. To ſuch Mechanicall workes, *Archimedes*, and the Philoſophers of thoſe times, had little affection. They held it an injury done unto the liberall ſciences, to ſubmit learned Propoſitions, unto the workemanſhip, and gaine, of baſe handi-crafts men. And of this opinion *Plato* was an author: who greatly blamed ſome Geometricians; that ſeemed unto him to prophane their ſcience, by making it vulgar. Neither muſt we raſhly taske a man ſo wiſe *Plato*, with the imputation of ſupercilious auſterity, or affected ſingularity in his reprehenſion. For it hath beene the unhappy fate of great inventions, to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreames before they were publiſhed: and being once made knowne, to be under-valued; as falling within compaſſe of the meaneſt wit; and things, that every one could well have performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable example of *Columbus* his diſcoverie, with the much different ſorts of neglect, which he under-went before and after it) in a familiar and moſt homely example, we may ſee moſt apparent proofe. He that lookes upon our *Engliſh Brewers*, and their Servants, that are daily exerciſed in the Trade; will thinke it ridiculous to heare one ſay, that the making of *Malt*, was an invention; proceeding from ſome of an extraordinary knowledge in naturall Philoſophie. Yet is not the skill of the inventors any whit the leſſe, for that the labour of workemanſhip growes to be the trade of ignorant men. The like may bee ſaid of many handi-crafts: and particularly in the Printing of Bookes; which being deviſed, and bettered, by great Scholers and wiſemen, grew afterward corrupted by thoſe, to whom the practice fell; that is, by ſuch, as could ſlubber things eaſily over, and feede their workemen at the cheapeſt rate. In this reſpect therefore, the Alchymiſts, and all others that have, or would ſeeme to have any ſecret skill, whereof the publication might doe good unto mankinde; are not without excuſe of their cloſe concealing. For it is a kinde of injuſtice, that the long travells of an underſtanding braine, beſide the loſſe of time, and other expence, ſhould be caſt away upon men of no worth; yeeld leſſe benefit unto the Author of a great worke, than to meere ſtrangers; and perhaps his enemies. And ſurely, if the paſſion of Envie have in it any thing allowable and naturall; as having Anger, Feare, and other like Affections: it is in ſome ſuch caſe as this; and ſerveth againſt thoſe, which would uſurpe the knowledge, wherewith God hath denied to indue them. Neuertheleſſe, if we have regard unto common charity, and the great affection that every one ought to beare unto the generality of mankinde, after the example of him *that ſuffereth his Sunne to ſhine upon the juſt, and unjuſt*: it will appeare more commendable in wiſe men, to enlarge themſelves, and to publiſh unto the world, thoſe good things that lye buried in their owne boſomes. This ought ſpecially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it ſome dangerous cunning, that may bee perverted by evill men to a miſchievous uſe. For if the ſecret of any rare *Antidote*, contained in it the skill of giving ſome deadly and irrecoverable poiſon: much better it were, that ſuch a jewell remaine cloſe in the hands of a wiſe and honeſt man; than being made common, binde all men to uſe the remedy, by teaching the worſt men how to doe miſchiefe. But the workes which *Archimedes* publiſhed, were ſuch as tended unto very commendable ends. They were Engines, ſerving unto the defence of *Syracuſe*; not fit for the *Syracuſians* to carry abroad, to the hurt & oppreſſion of others. Neither did he altogether publiſh the knowledge, how to uſe them, but reſerved ſo much to his owne direction; that after his death more of the ſame kinde were not made, nor thoſe of his owne making were employed by the *Romans*. It ſufficed unto this worthy man, that he had approved unto the vulgar, the dignity of his Science; and done eſpeciall benefit to his Country. For to enrich a Mechanicall trade, or teach the Art of murdering men, it was beſides his purpoſe.

*Marcellus* had cauſed certaine of his *Quinquereme* Gallies to be faſtned together, and Towers erected on them to beat the defendants from the wal. Againſt theſe *Archimedes* had ſundrie devices; of which any one ſort might have repelled the aſſailants: but all of them together ſhewed the multiplicity of his great wit. He ſhot heavie ſtones & long pieces of timber, like unto the yeards of ſhips; which brake ſome of the Gallies by their force and weight. Theſe afflicted ſuch as lay farre off. They that were come neerer the wals, lay open to a continuall volly of ſhot, which they could not endure. Some with an yron grapple were taken by the prow and hoyſted up, ſhaking out all the men, and afterwards falling downe into the water. Some by ſtrange Engines were lifted up into the ayre, where turning round a while, they were broken againſt the walls or caſt upon the rockes: and all of them were ſo beaten that they durſt never come to any ſecond aſſault. In the like ſort was the Land armie handled. Stones and timber, falling upon it like haile, did not onely over-whelme the men, but brake downe the *Roman* engins of battery; and forced *Marcellus* to give over the aſſault. For remedy hereof it was conceived, that if the *Romans* could early before day get neere unto the walls: they ſhould be (as it were) under the *point blancke*, and receive no hurt by theſe terrible Inſtruments; which were woond up hard to ſhoot a great compaſſe. But this vaine hope coſt many of the aſſailants lives: For the ſhot came downe right upon them: and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great ſlaughter of them, all the way as they fled; (for they were unable to tarry by it) even till they were gotten very farre off. This did ſo terrefie the *Romans*, that if they perceived any peece of timber, or a ropes end, upon the walls, they ranne away, crying out, that *Archimedes* his engines were readie to diſcharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to overcome theſe difficulties, or to take away from his men, that feare, againſt the cauſe whereof he knew no remedie. If the engines had ſtood upon the wals, ſubject to firing, or any ſuch annoyance from without; he might have holpen it by ſome device, to make them unſerviceable. But all, or the moſt of them were out of ſight, being erected in the ſtreetes behinde the walls; where *Archimedes* gave directions how to uſe them. Wherefore the *Roman* had no other way left, than to cut off from the Town all proviſion of victualls, both by Land and by Sea.

This was a very deſperate peece of worke. For the enemies having ſo goodly an Haven; the Sea in a manner free; and the *Carthaginians* that were ſtrong by Sea, willing to ſupply them: were not likely ſo ſoone to be conſumed with famine, as the beſiegers to be wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before ſo ſtrong a City, having no probability to carrie it. Yet, for want of better counſell to follow, this was thought the beſt, and moſt honourable courſe.

In the meane while, *Himilco*, Admirall of a *Carthaginian* Fleet, that had waited long about *Sicil*, being by *Hippocrates* advertiſed of theſe paſſages, went home to *Carthage* and there ſo dealt with the Senate, that five and twenty thouſand Foot, three thouſand Horſe, and twelve Elephants, were committed unto his charge, wherewith to make warre upon the *Romans* in *Sicil* by Land. Hee tooke many Townes; and many that had anciently belonged unto the *Carthaginians*, did yeeld unto him. To remedie this miſchiefe, and to ſtay the inclination of men, which following the current of Fortune, beganne to turne unto the *Carthaginians*; *Marcellus* with a great part of his Armie, roſe from *Syracuſe*, and went from place to place about the Iſland. He tooke *Pelorus* and *Herbeſus*, which yeelded unto him. He tooke alſo *Megara* by force and ſackt it: either to terrefie others that were obſtinate, eſpecially the *Syracuſians*, or elſe becauſe *Rome* was at this time poore, and his Army muſt have ſomewhat to keepe it in heart. His eſpeciall deſire was to have ſaved *Agrigentum*: whither he came too late; for *Himilco* had gotten it before. Therefore he returned backe toward *Syracuſe*; carefully, and in as good order as he could, for feare of the *Carthaginian* that was too ſtrong for him. The circumſpection that he uſed, in regard of *Himilco*, ſtood him in good ſtead againſt a danger that he had not miſtruſted. For *Hippocrates*, leaving the charge of *Syracuſe* unto his brother, had lately iſſued out of the Citie, with ten thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, intending to joyne his forces with *Himilco*. *Marcellus* fell upon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the *Romans*, being in good order, got an eaſie victorie againſt the diſperſed and halfe unarmed *Syracuſians*. The reputation hereof helped a little to keepe the *Sicilians* from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere *Himilco*, joyning with *Hippocrates*, ranne over all the Iſland at his pleaſure, and preſented battaile to *Marcellus*, even at his Trenches; but the *Roman* wiſely refuſed it. *Bomilcar* alſo a *Carthaginian*, entred with a great fleet into the Haven of *Syracuſe*, and victualled the Citie. After this, the diſpoſition of the Iſlanders changed ſo againe, that although another Legion was come from *Rome*, which eſcaped from *Himilco*, and ſafely arrived at *Marcellus* his Campe: yet many places revolted unto the *Carthaginians*, and ſlew or betraied the *Romane* Garriſons.

In the midſt of theſe troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath a while: and *Marcellus*, leaving ſome of his Armie before *Syracuſe*, that hee might not ſeeme to have given over the ſiege, went unto *Leontium*, where he lay intentive to all occaſions. In the beginning of the Spring he ſtood in doubt, whether it were better to continue the laborious work of beſieging *Syracuſe*, or to turn all his forces to *Agrigentum*, againſt *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly have impaired his reputation, if he had gone from *Syracuſe*, as unable to prevaile: & he himſelfe was of an eager diſpoſition, ever unwilling to give ground, or to quit, as not feiſible, an enterpriſe that he had once taken in hand. He came therefore to *Syracuſe*: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; & no likelihood to take the City by force or famine; yet was he not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth ſomewhat, which might fulfill his deſire. Eſpecially he aſſaied to prevaile by treaſon; againſt which no place can hold out. And to this end he dealt with the *Syracuſian* Gentlemen that were in his Campe; exhorting them to practiſe with their friends that remained in the City. This was not eaſie for them to doe, becauſe the Towne would hearken to no parlee. At length a ſlave unto one of theſe baniſhed men, making ſhew to runne away from his Maſter, got into *Syracuſe*; where hee talked in private with ſome few, as hee had beene inſtructed. Thus began *Marcellus* to have intelligence within the City: whence the Conſpirators uſed to ſend him advertiſement of their proceedings, by a fiſher-boat that paſſed forth in the night: but when they were growne to the number of foureſcore, and thought themſelves able to effect ſomewhat of importance, all was diſcovered; and they, like Traitors, put to death. In the meane while, one *Damaſippus* a *Lacedæmonian*, that had been ſent out of the Towne as an Embaſſador to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, was fallen into the hands of *Marcellus*. *Epicides* was very deſirous to ranſome him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpoſe, not farre from the walls. There, one of the *Romanes* looking upon the wall, and wanting the more compendious Art of Geometrie, fell to numbring the ſtones: and, making an eſtimate of the height, judged it leſſe than it had beene formerly deemed. Herewith he acquainted *Marcellus*: who cauſing better notice to be taken of the place; and finding, that ladders of no extraordinary length would reach it; made all things ready, and waited a convenient time. It was the weakeſt part of the Towne, and therefore the moſt ſtrongly guarded: neither was there hope to prevaile by force againſt *Archimedes*, if they failed to take it by ſurpriſe. But a fugitive out of the Towne brought word, that a great feaſt was to be held unto *Diana*, which was to laſt three daies: and that, becauſe other good cheare was not ſo plentifull within the Citie, as in former times, *Epicides*, to gratifie the People, had made the more large diſtribution of Wine. A better opportunity could not bee wiſhed. Wherefore *Marcellus*, in the dead of the Feſtivall night, came unto the walls, which he took by *Scalado*. *Syracuſe* was divided into foure parts (or five, if *Epipolæ* were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as diſtinct Cities. When therefore *Marcellus* had gotten ſome peeces, he had the commodity of a better and ſafe lodging, with good ſtore of bootie; and better opportunity than before, to deale with the reſt. For there were now a great many, as well of thoſe in *Acradinia* & the Iſland, inner parts of the Town, as of thoſe that were already in the hands of *Marcellus*, that began to hearken unto compoſition, as being much terrefied by the loſſe of thoſe parts, which the *Romans* had taken and ſackt. As for the weapons of *Archimedes*, little harme, or none they did, unto thoſe that were ſheltred under ſtrong houſes: although it may ſeeme, that the inner walls were not altogether unfurniſhed of his helpe; ſince they held out a good while, and were not taken by force. The *Roman* fugitives and *Renegado's*, were more carefull than ever to defend the reſt of the Citie: being ſure to be rewarded with cruell death, if *Marcellus* could prevaile. *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, were daily expected; & *Bomilcar* was ſent away to *Carthage*, to bring helpe from thence. It was not long ere *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* came: who fell upon the old Camp of the *Romans*, whileſt *Epicides* ſallied out of *Acradinia* upon *Marcellus*. But the *Romans* made ſuch defence in each part, that the Aſſailants were repelled. Nevertheleſſe, they continued to beſet *Marcellus*: whom they held in a manner as ſtreightly beſieged, as he himſelfe did beſiege the Towne. But the peſtilence at length conſumed, together with the two Captains, a great part of the Armie, and cauſed the reſt to diſlodge. The *Romans* were (though ſomwhat leſſe) afflicted with the ſame peſtilence, in ſo much that *Bomilcar* did put the Citie of *Carthage* in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were ſent thither. This *Bomilcar* wanted no deſire to doe his Countrie ſervice: but his courage was not anſwerable to his good will. He arrived at *Pachynus* with a ſtrong fleet: where he ſtaid; being loth to double the Cape; for that the windes did better ſerve the enemie than him. Thither ſailed *Epicides* out of *Syracuſe*: to acquaint him with the neceſſities of the Citie; and to draw him on. With much intreatie, at length he came forward: but meeting with the *Roman* fleet, that was readie for him, he ſtood off into the deepe; and ſailed away to *Tarentum*, bidding *Sicil* farewell. Then durſt not *Epicides* returne into *Syracuſe*, but went to *Agrigentum*: where he expected the iſſue; with a very faint hope of hearing any good newes.

The *Sicilian* Souldiers that remained alive of *Hippocrates* his Army, lay as neere as they could ſafely, unto *Marcellus*, and ſome of them, in a ſtrong Towne three miles off. Theſe had done what good they could to *Syracuſe*, by doing what hurt they could unto the *Romans*. But when they were informed, that the ſtate of *Sicil* was given as deſperate by the *Carthaginians*: they ſent Embaſſadours to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themſelves, and for the Town. Hereunto *Marcellus* willingly gave eare: for he had ſtaied there long enough; and had cauſe to feare, that after a little while, the *Carthaginians* might come thither ſtrong againe. He therefore agreed, both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay abroad; That they ſhould be Maſters of their owne, enjoyning their liberty and proper lawes; yet ſuffering the *Romanes* to poſſeſſe whatſoever had belonged unto the Kings. Hereupon they, to whom *Epicides* had left his charge, were put to death; new Prætors choſen; and the gates even ready to be opened unto *Marcellus*: when ſuddenly the *Roman* fugitives diſturbed all. Theſe perceiving their owne condition to be deſperate, perſwaded the other Mercenarie Souldiers, That the Citizens had bargained onely for themſelves, and betrayed the Army to the *Romans*. Wherefore they preſently tooke Armes, and fell upon the new choſen Prætors; whom they ſlew, and made election of ſixe Captaines that ſhould command over all. But ſhortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the Souldiers; excepting only the fugitives. The Treatie was therefore againe ſet on foote, and wanted little of concluſion: which yet was delaied; either by ſome feare of the Citizens, that had ſeene (as they thought) proofe of the *Roman* avarice in the ſack of *Epipolæ*, *Tyche*, & *Neapolis*, the parts already taken; or by ſome deſire of *Marcellus* to get the Towne by force, that he might uſe the liberty of a Conqueror, & make it wholly ſubject to *Rome*. *Mericus* a *Spaniard* was one of the ſixe Captaines, that had been choſen in the laſt commotion: a man of ſuch faith, as uſually is found in Mercenaries; holding his owne particular benefit above all other reſpects. With this Captaine, *Marcellus* dealt ſecretly: having a fit inſtrument, of the ſame Nation, one *Belligenes*, that went in company with the *Romane* Embaſſadors, daily paſſing to and fro. This craftie Agent perſwaded *Mericus*, That the *Romans* had already gotten all *Spaine*: and that if ever he purpoſed to make his owne fortune good, either at home in *Spaine*, or any where elſe; it was now the onely time to do it; by conforming himſelfe to the will of the *Roman* Generall. By ſuch hopes the *Spaniſh* Captaine was eaſily won, and ſent forth his owne brother among the *Syracuſian* Embaſſadors to ratifie the covenant with *Marcellus*.

This under-hand dealing of *Marcellus* againſt the *Syracuſians*, cannot well be commended as honeſt: neither was it afterwards throughly approved at his comming to *Rome*. For the benefits of *Hiero* to the *Romans* had beene ſuch, as deſerved not to be requited with the ruine of his Countrie: much leſſe, that the miſeries of his people, oppreſſed (though partly through their owne follie) by an Army of Mercenaries, ſhould miniſter unto the people of *Rome*, advantage againſt them. The poore Citizens could not make good their parts againſt the hired ſouldiers; and therefore were faine to yeeld unto the time, and obey thoſe Miniſters of *Hannibal*, that ruled the Army. But as long as they were free after the death of *Hieronymus*; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of *Epicides*: it had beene their chiefe care to maintaine amitie with the people of *Rome*. They had lately ſlaine many the principall of *Epicides* his followers; and many of themſelves had alſo beene ſlaine, both lately and in former times, becauſe of this their deſire unto the peace. What though it were true, that the Raſcalitie, and ſome ill adviſed perſons, joyned with the ſouldiers in hatred of the *Romans*, by occaſion of the ſlaughter which they heard to be done at *Leontium*, and afterward beheld in thoſe parts of their owne City which was taken? Ought therefore the *Romane* Generall, in a treatie of peace held with the *Syracuſians*, to make a bargaine under-hand againſt them, with a Captaine of the Mercenaries? Theſe things were objected againſt *Marcellus*, at his returne home. But the Senators thought it a great deale better, to comfort the *Syracuſians* with gentle words, & promiſe of good uſage in time to come; than to reſtore the bootie, and give over the Dominion of a City, ſo great, wealthy, ſtrong, and many wayes important. Nevertheleſſe if we conſider the many inconveniences and great miſchiefes whereunto *Syracuſe* was obnoxious; both by evill neighbours, and by that very forme of policie, after which it was governed: wee may truely affirme, That it received no ſmall benefit, by becomming ſubject unto *Rome*. For thereby it was not onely aſſured againſt all forraine enemies, domeſticall conſpiracies, and ſuch Tyrants as of olde had reigned therein: but freed from the neceſſitie of baniſhing, or murdering, the moſt worthy Citizens; as alſo from all factions, inteſtine ſeditions, and a thouſand the like miſeries, that were wont to grow out of the jealouſie, wherein they held their liberty in vaine. Neither enjoyed that City, from her firſt foundation, any ſuch long time of happineſſe, as that wherein it flouriſhed, when it reſted ſecure under the protection of *Rome*; and was no more moleſted, by the diſeaſe of ambition; whereof by *Marcellus* his victorie it was throughly cured. But ſuch benefit, ariſing from wrongs done, ſerves not to make injuſtice the more excuſable: unleſſe we ſhould approve the anſwer of that Thiefe, who being found to have ſtollen a ſilver cup from a ſicke man, ſaid, *Hee never leaves drinking*.

By the treaſon of *Mericus*, the *Roman* Armie was let into poſſeſſion of all *Syracuſe*: wherein, the booty that it found, was ſaid to have bin no leſſe, than could be hoped for, if they had taken *Carthage* it ſelfe; that maintained war by Land and Sea againſt them. All the goodly workes and Imageries, wherewith *Syracuſe* was marvellouſly adorned, were carried away to *Rome*; and nothing left untouched; ſave onely the houſes of thoſe baniſhed men, that had eſcaped from *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, into the *Roman* Campe. Among other pittifull accidents; the death of *Archimedes* was greatly lamented, even by *Marcellus* himſelfe. He was ſo buſie about his Geometrie, in drawing figures, that he harkened not to the noyſe, and uprore in the City; no, nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. *Marcellus* tooke heavily the death of him; and cauſed his body to be honourably buried. Upon his Tombe (as he had ordained in his life-time) was placed a *Cylinder* and a *Sphere*, with an inſcription of the proportion betweene them; which he firſt found out. An Invention of ſo little uſe, as this may ſeeme, pleaſed that great Artiſt better, than the deviſing of all thoſe engins, that made him ſo famous. Such difference is in the judgement of learned men, and of the vulgar ſort. For many an one would thinke the monie loſt, that had bin ſpent upon a ſonne, whoſe ſtudies in the Univerſity had brought forth ſuch fruit, as the proportion betweene a *Sphere* and a *Cylinder*.

After the taking of *Syracuſe*, all the Townes in *Sicil* yeelded unto the *Romans*, except *Agrigentum* and a few places thereabout. At *Agrigentum* lay *Epicides* with one *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, & *Mutines* an *African*, that was lately ſent from *Hannibal*. This *Mutines* by many good peeces of ſervice, had added ſome credit to the beaten *Carthaginian* ſide; and withall made his owne name great. By his perſwaſions, *Hanno* and *Epicides* adventured to meet *Marcellus* without the Towne; and not behave themſelves as men expecting to bee beſieged. Neither was hee more valiant in counſell, than in execution. Once and againe he ſet upon the *Romanes*, where they lay encamped, and drove them fearefully into their Trenches. This bred envie in *Epicides* & *Hanno*: eſpecially in *Hanno*, that having beene lately ſent from *Carthage*, with commiſſion and authoritie from the State, thought himſelfe wronged greatly by *Hannibal*; in that he had ſent unto him this *Mutines*, to be his Companion, & to take upon him, like as good a man as himſelfe. The indignity ſeemed the greater, when *Mutines* being to ſtep aſide unto *Heraclea*, for the pacifying of ſome troubles there among the *Numidians*; adviſed (as directing *Hanno* and *Epicides*) not to meddle with the enemie, untill his returne. So much therefore the rather would *Hanno* fight: & offered battell unto *Marcellus*, before he ſought it. It is like, that a great part of the *Roman* Army was left behind in *Syracuſe*, as need required: which made the *Carthaginians* the better able to deale with thoſe that came againſt them. But whatſoever diſproportion was betweene the two Armies; farre greater were the oddes betweene the Captaines. For howſoever the people of *Carthage* would give authority by favour; yet could they not give worth and ability, in matter of warre. The *Numidians*, having before conceived ſome diſpleaſure againſt their Captains; and being therefore ſome of them gone away to *Heraclea*; were much more offended, when they ſaw that the vaine-glorious envie of *Hanno* carried him unto the fight, upon a fooliſh deſire to get victory, without the helpe of *Mutines* their Countriman. Wherefore they ſent unto the *Roman* Generall, and bade him be confident; for that it was not their purpoſe to ſhew themſelves his enemies that day, but only looke on, and ſee the proud *Carthaginians* well beaten, by whom they had beene miſuſed. They made good their promiſe, and had their deſire. For *Marcellus*, finding likelihood of truth in their meſſage, did ſo luſtily ſet upon the enemies, that he brake them at the firſt charge; and with the ſlaughter of many thouſands, drove them backe into *Agrigentum*.

If *Hanno* could have beene contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of Warre than himſelfe, and not have hazzarded a battell without need; the *Romans* would ſhortly have beene reduced into termes of great difficulty in their *Sicilian* warre. For *Marcellus* was ſhortly after to leave the Province; and ſoone upon his departure, there landed in the Iland a ſupply of eight thouſand foote, and three thouſand *Numidian* horſe, that were ſent from *Carthage*. The fame of this new Armie drew many of the *Sicilians* into rebellion. The *Roman* Army conſiſting (for the moſt part) of the Legions of *Cannæ*, tooke it very hainouſly, that no good ſervice done, could bring them into the favour of the Senate; but that, as baniſhed men, they were ſent farre from home, and not ſuffered to returne back to *Rome* with their Generall. *Mutines* had pacified his countrimen the *Numidians*; & like an honeſt man, did what he could for thoſe whom he ſerved, without contending againſt the fooliſh pride of *Hanno*; finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might have beene, if the Army lately overthrowne had beene entire. *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Prætor, uſed all diligence, both to pacifie his own men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. He recovered thoſe In-land Townes that had rebelled: and though he could not hinder *Mutines* from over-running all the Countrey; yet he hindred the Countrey from revolting unto *Mutines*. Above threeſcore Townes, great and ſmall, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*: of which *Agrigentum* was the principall, and farre bigger than any of the reſt. Thence iſſued *Mutines* as often as hee pleaſed, in deſpight of the *Romanes*: not onely to the ſuccour of his owne adherents, but to the great waſte of thoſe that followed the contrary part. But *Hanno*, in ſtead of being pleaſed with all theſe good ſervices, was filled more and more with envie, againſt the man that performed them. He had (belike) received inſtruction from old *Hanno* at *Carthage*, not to ſuffer *Hannibal*, or any *Hannibalian*, to have ſhare in the honour of theſe *Sicilian* Warres: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently ſupplied; whileſt *Italie* was neglected, that ſhould have beene regarded more than all the reſt. Wherefore to ſhew his authoritie, and that it was not in the power of *Hannibal*, to appoint unto him an Aſſiſtant, or Director: Hee tooke away from *Mutines* his charge, and gave it to his owne ſonne; thinking thereby to diſcountenance the man, and make him little eſteemed, as one out of Office, among the *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrary: and this ſpightfull dealing occaſioned the loſſe of whatſoever the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*. For the *Numidians* were ſo incenſed by the indignity offered unto their Countriman, being ſuch a brave Commander, that they offered him their ſervice to requite the wrong; and were thenceforth abſolutely at his owne diſpoſition. *M. Valerius Lævinus*, the *Romane* Conſull, was newly come into the Province, when this fell out: and with him did *Mutines* enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brooke theſe indignities; but being neither a *Carthaginian*, nor favoured by thoſe that bore all the ſway in *Carthage*: He thought it the wiſeſt way, to play the beſt of his own game, and forſake that Citie, which was likely to periſh by the evill counſell that governed it. He did not therefore, as his Countrimen had lately done, content himſelfe to ſee his Adverſaries reape the bitter fruits of their owne malicious over-weening: and to ſuffer that harme, in doing whereof he would not beare a part; but conſpired againſt them to deliver up *Agrigentum*, and to helpe to expell them utterly out of *Sicil*. The Conſull was glad of his friendſhip; and carefully followed his advertiſements. Neither was there much cunning needfull, to the performance of that which *Mutines* had undertaken: For he with his *Numidians* did forcibly ſeize upon a gate; whereat they let in ſome *Roman* Companies, that lay neere in a readineſſe for the purpoſe. *Hanno*, when firſt he heard the noiſe, thought it had beene no worſe matter, than ſome ſuch tumult of the *Numidians*, as he had beene well acquainted with of late. But when, making haſte to pacifie the trouble, he ſaw and heard, the *Romans* intermixed, among thoſe diſcontented followers of *Mutines*, forthwith he betooke himſelfe to flight: and ſaving himſelfe, with *Epicides*, in a ſmall Barke, ſet ſaile for *Africke*; leaving all his Army and Adherents in *Sicil*, to the mercie of the *Romans*, that henceforward continued maſters of the whole Iland.

*Lævinus* the Conſul having taken *Agrigentum*, did ſharpe execution of juſtice upon all the Citizens. The principall of them he ſcourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the maner of the *Romans*: all the reſt of them he ſold for ſlaves, and confiſcated their goods; ſending home to *Rome* the mony that was raiſed of the bootie. This was indeede a time, wherein *Rome* ſtood in no leſſe neceſſity of gold, than of ſteele: which may have been the reaſon, why *Lævinus* dealt ſo cruelly with the *Agrigentines*. Nevertheleſſe the fame of ſuch ſeverity bred a terrour among all the Dependants of the *Carthaginians*, ſo that in great haſte they ſought to make their peace. About forty Townes yeelded themſelves quickly unto the *Romans*; twenty were delivered up by Treaſon; and ſixe onely ſtayed to be wonne by force. Theſe things done, *Lævinus* returned home to *Rome*; carrying with him about foure thouſand men from *Agatirna*; that were a company of out-lawes, bankrouts, and baniſhed men, accuſtomed to live by ſpoile of others, in theſe troubleſome times. He beſtowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italy*, where they might exerciſe their own occupation againſt the *Brutians*; a theeviſh kinde of people, that were enemies unto thoſe of *Rhegium*, and to the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, he was well rewarded, and made Citizen of *Rome*: where he lived in good accompt; accompanying the two *Scipio's* in their journy againſt *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as it is ſaid) very eſpeciall ſervice. So by this enterpriſe of *Sicil*, the *Carthaginians* waſted much of their forces, that with greater profit might have beene employed in *Italy*: leaving yet unto the *Romans*, in the end of this warre, the entire poſſeſſion of this Iland; which they wanted when it began.

## §. XVI.

### *How the warre paſſed betweene the Romans and* Hannibal *in Italy, from the taking of Capua to the great victorie at Metaurus.*

SHortly after the winning of *Capua*, *Marcellus* came to *Rome*: where for his good ſervices done in the Iland of *Sicil*; he had granted unto him the honour of the leſſer Triumph, which was called *Ovation*. The greater Triumph was denied him: becauſe hee had not finiſhed the warre, but was faine to leave his Army behinde him in the Province. He ſtaied not long in *Rome*, before he was againe choſen Conſull together with *M. Valerius Lævinus*, who ſucceded him in the government of *Sicil*, and was, at the time of his election, making warre againſt King *Philip* in *Greece*. Great complaint was made againſt the Conſul *Marcellus*, by the *Syracuſians*, for that which he had done unto them: they alledging their great friendſhip to the people of *Rome*, in the time of their late King *Hiero*; and affirming, that their City did never willingly breake the alliance, excepting when it was oppreſſed by ſuch Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to *Rome* than to all good men that lived in *Syracuſe*. The Conſul, on the other ſide, reckoned the labours and dangers whereunto they had put him: willing them to bemoane themſelves to the *Carthaginians* that had holpen them in their neceſſity; and not unto the *Romans* whom they had kept out. Thus each part having ſome good matter to alledge, the Senate made ſuch an end of the controverſie, as beſt agreed with the benefit of their owne Common-weath: blaming the too much rigour of *Marcellus*; yet not reſtoring the bootie that he had taken, nor making the *Syracuſians* free from their ſubjection, but comforting them with gentle words, and hopefull promiſes, as hath beene ſhewed before. The two new Conſuls *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, were appointed to make war, as their lots ſhould fall out; the one in *Italy*, the other in *Sicil*. The Iſle of *Sicil* fell unto *Marcellus*; which Province he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the *Syracuſians* (whoſe cauſe had not as yet beene heard in the Senate) might not ſeeme hindred by feare, from uttering their grievances freely. Afterwards, when his buſineſſe with them was diſpatcht, hee gently undertooke the patronage of them: which remained long in his Familie, to the great benefit of their Countrie in times following. So *Valerius*, the other Conſul, was ſent into *Sicil*, whoſe doings there have been already rehearſed: but *Marcellus* was employed againſt *Hannibal*.

Before the Conſuls departed out of *Rome*, they were much troubled with preſſing of Souldiers to the war, and moſt of all, with getting Marriners for their Navie. They were all of the poorer ſort, that uſed to be emploied in Sea-ſervices, eſpecially in rowing. Theſe could not live without preſent wages: neither was there monie enough in the Treaſurie to give them pay. Wherefore it was ordained, that they ſhould bee ſet out at the expence of private men; who in this neceſſity of the State, were driven to ſuſtaine all publike charges. Hereat the people murmured, and were ready to fall into ſedition; had not the Conſuls deferred the matter unto further conſideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or doe, in a caſe of ſuch extremity. For manifeſt it was, that the multitude had already endured ſo much, as well it could undergoe; and ſomewhat more, than could with honeſty have been impoſed upon it. Nevertheleſſe it was impoſſible to maintaine the war againſt the *Carthaginians*, or to keepe the *Macedonian* out of *Italy*, without a ſtrong fleet. Wherefore, ſome were of opinion; That, ſince the common Treaſure was ſo emptie, the people muſt be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden upon them. At laſt the Conſuls began to ſay, That no perſwaſions would be ſo effectuall with the people, as good examples: and that if the Senators would follow the Conſuls, like it was, that the people alſo would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, That every one of them ſhould bring forth, and put into the Treaſurie, all the money that he had; and that no Senator ſhould keepe any veſſell of gold, or plate whatſoever; excepting one Salt-ſeller, and a Bowle wherewith to make their offerings unto the gods; as alſo a Ring for himſelfe, with ſuch other tokens of ingenuitie for his wife and children, as every one did uſe, and thoſe of as ſmall value as might be. This advice of the Conſuls was not more thankefully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded, and haſtily followed by the Gentlemen of *Rome*. Neither did the Commonaltie refuſe to doe that, which their betters had openly done before them. For ſince the publike neceſſity could no otherwiſe be holpen; every one was contented, that his private eſtate ſhould run the ſame fortune with the Common-wealth, which if it ſuffered wracke, in vaine could any particular man hope to enjoy the benefit of his proper ſubſtance. This magnanimitie deſerved well that greatneſſe of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Convenient order being thus taken for an Army and Fleet: *Marcellus* went forth of the City againſt *Hannibal*; & *Lævinus* toward *Sicil*. The army of *Hannibal* was greatly diminiſhed, by long and hard ſervice: neither did his *Carthaginians* ſeeme to remember him, and thinke upon ſending the promiſed ſupply, or any ſuch proportion as he needed. His credit alſo among his *Italian* friends, was much weakned, by the loſſe of *Capua*: which gave them cauſe to looke unto themſelves; as if in his helpe there were little truſt to be repoſed, when they ſhould ſtand in neede. This he well perceived; yet could not tell how to remedy. Either he muſt thruſt Garriſons into all Townes that he ſuſpected, and thereby ſo diminiſh his Armie, that he ſhould not be able to keepe the field: or elſe he muſt leave them to their owne fidelity, which now began to waver. At length his jealouſie grew ſo outragious, that he ſacked, and waſted thoſe places that he was unable to defend: thinking that the beſt way to enrich himſelfe; and make unprofitable, to his enemies, the purchaſe from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him; and ſome of thoſe, whom before he had leaſt cauſe to doubt. The Towne of *Salapia* yeelded unto *Marcellus*; and betraied unto him a gallant Regiment of *Numidian* horſe, the beſt of all that ſerved under *Hannibal*; which was a greater loſſe, than the Town it ſelfe. *Blaſius* the author of this rebellion, could not bring his deſire to effect; without getting the conſent of one *Daſius*, that was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Daſius* in private; and was by him accuſed unto *Hannibal*. But when he was convented and charged of Treaſon, hee ſo ſtoutly denied it; and by way of recrimination, ſo vehemently preſſed his accuſer with the ſame fault: that *Hannibal* thought it a matter deviſed out of meere malice; knowing well what enemies they were; and ſeeing, that neither of them could bring any proofe of what he affirmed. This notwithſtanding, *Blaſius* did not ceaſe to preſſe his adverſarie anew; and urge him from time to time, with ſuch lively reaſons; that he who could not be beleeved by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to win the favour of *Marcellus*. Preſently after this, the Conſul took by force, *Maronea* and *Meles*, Towns of the *Samnites*; wherein he ſlew about three thouſand of *Hannibal* his men.

*Hannibal* could not looke to all at once: but was faine to catch advantages, where he might get them; the *Romans* now being growne ſtronger in the field than he. The beſt was, that his *Carthaginians*, having wearied themſelves with ill ſpeede in many pettie enterpriſes, and laid aſide all this while the care of *Italy*, to follow buſineſſe of far leſſe importance; had now at length reſolved, to ſend preſently the great ſupply, that had beene ſo long promiſed & expected. This if they had done in better ſeaſon; *Rome* it ſelfe might have been ſtrucken down, the next yeer after that great blow received at *Cannæ*. But ſince that which is paſt cannot bee amended; *Hannibal* muſt force himſelfe to make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mighty ſuccour would come time enough. For *Maſaniſſa* was at *Carthage* with five thouſand *Numidians*, ready to ſet ſaile for *Spain*; whither when he came, it was appointed that *Aſdrubal* ſhould forthwith take his journie into *Italy*, of which there had beene ſo long talke. Theſe newes did not more comfort *Hannibal* & his followers, than terrefie the *Romans*. Wherefore each did their beſt; the *Romans* to prevent the threatning miſchiefe, and winne as much as they could upon *Hannibal*, before the comming of his brother; *Hannibal*, on the contrary, to hold his owne, and weaken the *Romans* as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that *Cn. Fulvius*, a *Roman* Prætor, lay neere unto *Herdonea* to get the Towne by practice. It was not long, ſince, neere unto the ſame place, another *Cn. Fulvius* had loſt his Army. Therefore *Hannibal* made great marches thitherward; & came to *Herdonea* ere *Fulvius* heard news of his approach. As ſoone as he came, he offered battaile to the *Roman* Prætor; who accepted it with more haſte than good ſpeede. The *Roman* Legions made good reſiſtance a while, till they were compaſſed round with the *Carthaginian* horſe. Then fell they to rout; and great ſlaughter was made of them. *Fulvius* himſelfe, with twelve *Tribunes* or *Coronels*, were loſt: of the common Souldiers, that were ſlaine, the number is uncertaine; ſome reporting ſeven, others thirteene thouſand. The Towne of *Herdonea*, becauſe it was at point to have yeelded unto *Fulvius*, *Hannibal* did ſet on fire: and putting thoſe to death that had practiſed with the Enemy, carried away the multitude; whom he beſtowed among the *Thurians* and *Metapontines*. The Conſul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote unto the Senate: & exhorted them to be of a good cheere; for that hee would ſhortly abate the enemies pride. He followed the *Carthaginian* apace; and overtaking him at *Numiſtro* in the Countrie of the *Lucans*, fought with him a battell: which beginning at nine of the clocke in the morning, laſted untill night; & ended, by reaſon of the darkenes, with uncertaine victory. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Venuſia* they met, & had many skirmiſhes; but none of importance. *Hannibal* removed often; and ſought to bring the enemy within danger of ſome ambuſh. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battaile, would yet adventure nothing, but by open day-light, and upon faire ground.

Thus paſſed the time away, untill *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, he that lately had taken *Capua*, were choſen Conſuls. *Fabius*, conſidering how much the *Romane* affaires were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purpoſed that yeere to beſiege *Tarentum*: which if he could winne; like it was, that ſcarce one good City would afterwards remaine true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and *Marcellus*, (to whom was continued the command of thoſe Legions that ſerved under him the yeer before) to preſſe the *Carthaginian* ſo hard, as he might have no leiſure to helpe

*Tarentum*. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge: for he thought no *Roman* fitter than himſelfe, to deale with *Hannibal* in open field. He followed him therefore to *Cannuſium*, and thence from place to place: deſiring ever to come to battaile, but upon equall termes. The *Carthaginian* had not minde to hazzard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertaine his enemie with skirmiſh; as being deſirous to keepe his Army ſtrong untill the comming of *Aſdrubal*. Yet could he not avoide the importunity of *Marcellus*, nor brooke the indignity of being daily braved. He therefore bade his men to be luſty, and to beat ſoundly this hot-ſpirited *Roman* Captaine, that would never ſuffer them to be at quiet; untill they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him bloud. Hereupon followed a battaile; wherein *Hannibal* had the victory; tooke ſixe Enſignes; & ſlew of the *Romans* almoſt three thouſand, among which were ſome of marke. *Marcellus* was ſo impatient of this diſhonour, that he rated his men, as Peſants, and baſe cowards: telling them, that they were the firſt of the *Roman* Legions, which had been beaten by *Hannibal*, by plaine force and manhood; without being circumvented by any ſtratageme. With theſe, and many other the like words, which they were aſhamed to heare, he did ſo vexe them; that thinking themſelves better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than ſuch diſpleaſure of their Generall; they beſought him to pardon them, and leade them forth once againe to fight. He did ſo: and placing thoſe Companies formoſt, that had loſt their Enſignes the day before, bade them be carefull to winne a victory; whereof the newes might be at *Rome*, before the report of their ſhamefull overthrow. *Hannibal* was angry, to ſee that nothing could make this Enemy quiet: and therefore was ready to fight againe; ſince all other motives continued the ſame, and his men had beene hartned by the late victory. But the *Romanes* were ſtirred up with deſire of revenge, & of repairing their honor loſt, which affections gave a ſharpe edge unto their valour: whereas the *Carthaginians* were growne dull, and wearie by ſeeing themſelves diſappointed of their hope; and the enemy, notwithſtanding their late victory, as ready to moleſt them as before. In this ſecond battaile *Marcellus* got the victory: which he purchaſed at ſo deare a rate; that neither he, nor *Hannibal*, had great cauſe to vaunt, the ſecond night. For if eight thouſand of the *Carthaginians* were ſlaine, and three thouſand of the *Roman* ſide, in this next battaile, the difference was no greater, than even to recompence the late received overthrow: eſpecially ſince the number of the *Romans* that were wounded, was ſo great, as diſabled *Marcellus* from purſuing *Hannibal*; who diſlodged by night. Neverthelesse it ſufficed, that *Fabius* the Conſull hereby got leiſure, to follow his buſineſſe at *Tarentum* without any diſturbance. *Q. Fulvius* the other Conſul, about the ſame time, tooke in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucans*, and *Volſcentes*, that willingly yeelded themſelves, and betrayed the Garriſons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Townes: whom *Fulvius* entertained in loving ſort; gently rebuking them for their errours paſt, without puniſhing thoſe that had beene authours, or buſie doers in the rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* theeves, which *Lævinus* had lately brought from *Agaterna*, was then alſo ſet on worke to beſiege *Caulonia*, a Towne of the *Brutians*: and nothing was omitted, that might ſerve to divert *Hannibal*, from the ſuccour of *Tarentum*.

*Q. Fabius* the Conſul, having taken *Manduria* a Towne of the *Salentines*, ſate downe before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that ſeemed needfull to carry it, either by aſſault or long ſiege. Of the Garriſons in the Towne, a good part were *Brutians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, under a Captaine of their owne Nation. This Captaine fell in love with a *Tarentine* wench; whoſe brother ſerved under *Fabius*. Hereof, ſhe gave notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* ſide; by telling him how rich, and of what great accompt her lover was. But her brother made the Conſul acquainted with theſe newes: and ſaid, that if the *Brutian* were farre in love, he might perhaps be wonne, by intreaty of his Miſtris, to doe what ſhe would have him. The Conſull hearing this, and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his ſouldier to convey himſelf into the Towne as a fugitive, and try what good might be done. It fell out according to his deſire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this *Brutian* Captaine: and partly by his owne perſwaſions, partly by the flattering entreatie of his ſiſter; wanne him to betray the Towne to the *Romans*. When they had agreed upon the buſineſſe, and reſolved how to order it; the ſame Souldier got out of the Towne by night, and acquainted the Conſull with his proceedings: telling him in which part that *Brutian* keept watch, and what might conveniently be done. So in the night time, *Fabius* gave an alarm to the Citie; eſpecially about thoſe parts of the wall, which were fartheſt from the place where he meant to enter. The Captaines in the Towne, prepared to make reſiſtance in thoſe places, where the noiſe did threaten them with greateſt likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himſelfe with the choice of his men, came in great ſilence to the quarter of the *Brutians*: who being wrought by their Captaine, helped the *Romans* to get up, and breake open the next gate, whereat the Armie was let in. The *Tarentines* and *Carthaginian* Souldiers, made head againſt *Fabius* in the Market place: but (as hapneth in like caſes, where the maine confidence is already taken away) not very obſtinately. *Nico*, *Democrates*, and *Philomenes*, with thoſe that before had let in *Hannibal*, uſed now the laſt of their courage in dying againſt the *Romans*. *Carthalo*, who commanded the Garriſon within the Towne, offered himſelfe priſoner: hoping to be well uſed, becauſe of hoſpitalitie that had paſſed between his Father and the Conſull. But he was ſlaine by the way, ere he could come at *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the ſword, in ſuch ſort, that they ſpared few of the *Brutians*. This ſlaughter of the *Brutian*, was thought to have beene made by appointment of the Conſull, to the end that he might ſeeme to have wonne the Towne by force and not by treaſon: though he thereby failed of his purpoſe; and neither had the glory which he expected, nor preſerved his reputation of faithfull dealing, and keeping his word. The bootie found in *Tarentum* was very great: whereof the *Roman* Treaſurie, whither it was carried, had great neede. As for the Imageries, and other curioſities, that were in the Citie, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone: and being told of ſome Idols that ſeemed worthy to be carried away, beeing very goodly pieces, in ſuch habit and poſture as if they were fighting: he ſaid, Let us leave unto the *Tarentines* their angrie gods.

*Hannibal* being gotten cleare from *Marcellus*, fell upon thoſe that beſieged *Caulonia*. They fled at his comming: but he was ſo neere, that they were faine to betake them to a hill, which ſerved to no other purpoſe, than to beare off the firſt brunt. There they defended themſelves a little while, and then they yeelded. When this buſineſſe was done, he haſted away to relieve *Tarentum*. But when he came within five miles of the City, he had news that it was loſt. This grieved him: yet he ſaid no more than this, *The* Romans *have alſo their* Hannibal; we have loſt *Tarentum* in ſuch ſort as we got it. That he might not ſeeme to turne backe amazed, or in any feare of the victorious Conſull; he incamped a few dayes together, ſo neere as he was unto *Tarentum*: and thence departing to *Metapontum*, bethought himſelfe how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He cauſed the chiefe of the *Metapontines* to write unto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garriſon; with condition, that he ſhould in that reſpect, forgive them all offences paſt. Theſe letters were ſent by two yong men of the ſame city; who did their errand ſo well, that the Conſull wrote backe by them unto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day, when they ſhould expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leiſure made ready his ambuſhes for the warie *Fabius*. But whether ſome ſecret notice of the plot were given; or whether indeede (as it is related) ſome tokens in ſacrificing, terrefied the ſuperſtitious *Roman*; the journey to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the ſame two Meſſengers were employed againe: but being apprehended, and threatned with torture, they diſcovered all.

This yeere was happy to the *Romans*, in all their warres: for they got every where, ſave onely at *Caulonia*; where they loſt a company of ſuch lewd fellowes, that it may ſeeme good fortune, to have ſo been rid of them. But their common poverty, & diſability to maintaine their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirty *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italy*: of which, twelve refuſed to contribute any longer to the Wars. For it was conſidered; that the Legions of *Cannæ*, and thoſe unhappy Companies that had beene beaten under the one and the other *Cn. Fulvius*, were tranſported into *Sicil*; where they lived, in a ſort, as baniſhed men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon up the more diligently thoſe other miſeries which they daily felt. Ten yeeres together they had beene exhauſted with levies of men, and impoſitions of money: in every of which yeeres they had received ſome notable overthrow. In this caſe the leaſt that they could feare; or rather the beſt that they could hope; was to fall into the hands of the enemy to be made priſoners. For *Hannibal* did gently ſend home their people that was taken by him: whereas the *Romans* did baniſh from their homes, thoſe that had eſcaped. It was therefore likely to come to paſſe within a while, that they ſhould be all conſumed: ſince new Souldiers were daily preſſed forth of their Townes; and the old ones never returned. Such talke was frequent among thoſe of the Colonies: eſpecially where they that were tranſported into *Sicil*, had moſt compaſſionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good Townes, to the number of twelve, That they ſhould boldy deny unto the *Romans* their farther helpe. This was thought the likelieſt way to obtaine peace: whereof otherwiſe they ſaw little hope, as long as *Hannibal* lived. When the Conſuls heard the Embaſſadors of theſe Townes make ſuch declaration, and proteſt their diſabilitie of giving any farther helpe; they were much amazed. They willed the Embaſſadours to returne home, and bring a better anſwer, foraſmuch as this was none other than treaſon: they bade them to conſider, that the people were not *Campans* or *Tarentines*, but the off-ſpring of the *Romans*; and no leſſe partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-Citie. But all would not ſerve: the Embaſſadours continuing to proteſt, that they had already done what they could; and that they had remaining, neither men, nor money. It was well for the *Romans*, that the other eighteene Colonies did not imitate theſe twelve; but ſhewed themſelves willing to undergoe whatſoever ſhould be layed upon them, without ſhrinking under the burden. This their offer was ſo highly pleaſing to the Conſuls; that the Embaſſadors of thoſe faithfull Colonies, were brought unto the Senate, and produced into the Aſſembly of the people: where, with commemoration of all their former good ſervices, this their preſent love unto the State was magnified, and thankes accordingly beſtowed upon them; with promiſe, that it ſhould not be forgotten. As for the Embaſſadors of thoſe twelve Colonies, that refuſed to contribute; it was thought beſt, neither to retaine them in the Citie, nor yet to diſmiſſe them, nor take any notice of them at all; but leave them to their owne conſideration of their ill deſerving.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of theſe twelve people would have wrought in thoſe that were ſo willing to help the State, if *Aſdrubal* had been then comming into *Italy*. For then muſt the *Romanes* have betaken themſelves wholly to their owne defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their ſubjects, they employed their forces in the conqueſt of *Italy*, with hopefull and fortunate ſucceſſe. Nevertheleſſe, they were faine to open their moſt privie treaſurie; and thence take out the gold that had beene layed up to ſerve them in caſes of greateſt extremity. Of the money thus extracted, one quarter was delivered to *Fabius* the Conſull, to ſet him well out againſt the *Tarentines*; all the reſt was ſent into *Spaine* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Army; and to provide, that *Aſdrubal* might not paſſe from thence into *Italy*. It is likely that *Fabius* did not ſpend all his money; finding ſuch eaſie ſucceſſe at *Tarentum*, as was ſhewed before. But to ſtop the Journey of *Aſdrubal*; neither the money ſent into *Spaine*, nor any victories won by *Scipio* could ſuffice. Nevertheleſſe it fell out happily for the people of *Rome*, that this yeere, and the next were ſpent, before his comming; and they better prepared, than at leſſe warning they could have beene, to entertaine him. Here it were not amiſſe to note, That ſince the *Romans*, being in ſo great neceſſity of money, were driven to furniſh the Armie in *Spaine*, with the greateſt part of all their ſtocke that was left: it muſt needs be, that either the bootie taken in new *Carthage*, was farre leſſe than fame had reported it; or else that *Scipio* had not as yet wonne it: howſoever *Livie* rather inclines to thoſe, who ſay that he got it ſoon after his arrivall.

*M. Claudius Marcellus*, & *T. Quintus Criſpinus*, were choſen Conſuls after *Fabius* and *Fulvius*: In their yeere it was, that *Aſdrubal* tooke his journey out of *Spaine*, though he came not into *Italy* untill the yeere following. After the great battaile at *Cannæ*, *Hannibal* had loſt much time about *Cumæ* and *Naples*, in ſeeking to make himſelfe Maſter of a good haven, for the landing of thoſe ſuccours that were promiſed from *Carthage*. The hope that he repoſed in *Philip*, cauſed him to turne his principall care to the Eaſterne parts of *Italy*; where he made ready a faire entrance for the *Macedonian*, if he had been ready to come. But ſince his hope was vaniſhed, and the long promiſed ſuccour of *Aſdrubal* was (though farre later than had beene expedient) ready to arrive: he began to deale with the people of *Hetruria*, through whoſe Countries his brother was to paſſe, that therein he might make a partie againſt the *Romans*. The loſſe of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, & many other Towns, might have terrefied all other of the *Italian* Towns, from harkening to any ſolicitation of the *Carthaginians*. Yet the poverty of the *Romans*, & the wearines of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Army comming than that which *Hannibal* brought into *Italy*; did imbolden many of the *Hetrurians*, eſpecially the *Aretines*, to take ſuch counſell as they thought moſt expedient for themſelves, without regard of their fidelity to *Rome*. The *Roman* Senate, hearing the rumour of their conſpiracy, ſent *Marcellus* the new choſen Conſul into *Hetruria*: whoſe comming did ſo terrefie them, that they reſted quiet for a while. All the yeare following they were deviſing how to breake out: as contrariwiſe the Roman Propretors, partly by terrour of ſevere judgments and inquiſitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which they viſited all ſuſpected places, kept them honeſt againſt their wills, and tooke many Hoſtages for better aſſurance. The two Conſuls had an earneſt deſire, to make ſtrong Warre upon *Hannibal* without more temporiſing: perſwading themſelves, that in battell they ſhould bee too ſtrong for him. *Criſpinus* had further his particular deſire, to make his Conſulſhip notable by the Winning of ſome good Towne: as *Fulvius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by *Capua* and *Tarentum*. Therefore he went about the ſiege of *Locri*; one of the beſt Cities which the *Carthaginian* then held in *Italy*: and brought thither all ſorts of engines; ſending for a Fleet out of *Sicil* to helpe him. But *Hannibal* was not ſlow to relieve the City: the fame of whoſe approach, made *Criſpinus* deſiſt from his enterpriſe, and retire unto his Colleague, that lay at *Venuſia*. Thither followed *Hannibal*; to whom the Conſuls daily offered battell. This great man of Warre had no need to ſtand upon his reputation: which was already ſo confirmed, that his refuſing to fight, was not likely to be aſcribed unto feare; but rather deemed as part of his wiſedome. He entertained the Conſuls with many light skirmiſhes, and ſought to take them at ſome advantage; reſerving his owne numbers as full as he could, unto a time of greater imployment. In this lingring manner of War, *Marcellus* tooke no pleaſure: but ſought to compell the Enemy to battell, whether he would or no. The Admirall of the *Roman* Fleet about *Sicil*, *L. Cincius*, was commanded again to aſſaile the Towne of *Locri*: which might well enough be forced, if *Hannibal* continued as he began, to trifle away the time at *Venuſia*. To the ſame purpoſe a part of the Garriſon that lay in *Tarentum*, was appointed to go by land to the aſſiſtance of *Cincius*. But *Hannibal* had an eye behind him. He laid an ambuſh in the way, between *Tarentum* and *Locri*, whereinto the *Romans* fell: and having loſt above three thouſand of their Company, were well glad, the reſt of them, to quit their enterpriſe, and ſave their owne lives within *Tarentum*. As for the Conſuls, it was the deſire of *Hannibal* to waſte their Army by little and little: which to doe, he neglected no advantage. There lay between him and them an Hillock, over-growne with wood, that ſeemed fit to cover a number of men: who lying there undiſcerned, might fall upon ſuch as ſhould ſtraggle from the Roman campe; and cut them off. Therefore he ſent thither by night ſome companies of *Numidians*: whom he willed to keep themſelves cloſe, and attend their beſt advantage. To this piece of ground the Conſuls thought it fit to remove their Camp: *Marcellus* thinking that he never lay near enough unto *Hannibal*. Thither therefore both of them rode to view the place, accompanied with the ſon of *Marcellus*, a few Colonels, and other principall men: and not many more than two hundred horſe, moſt of them *Hetrurians*. The *Numidian* Centinel gave warning of their approach to his fellows who diſcovered not themſelves, untill they had ſurrounded the Conſuls and their train. The Conſuls, as neceſſity compelled them, defended themſelves: hoping to be quickly relieved from their Campe that was near at hand. But the *Hetrurians* ran away from them, at the firſt: and left them in that great danger, to the weake aſſiſtance of no more than forty horſe-men, that were of the Colonie of *Fregellæ*. Theſe *Fregellans* abode by the Conſuls, and did what they could to have brought them ſafe off. But when *Marcellus* was ſtricken thorow with a Lance, and fell downe dead; then began every one to ſhift for himſelfe, and eſcape as they might. *Criſpinus* the other Conſul, had his deaths wound, being ſtricken with two Darts; and young *Marcellus* was likewiſe wounded; yet theſe two recovered their campe: The reſt of the Colonels and Officers, together with the Lictors that carried the bundles of Rods and Axes before the Conſuls, were all ſlaine or taken. To the dead body of the Conſul *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* gave honourable Funerall, according to the cuſtome of thoſe times: and beſtowing his aſhes in a ſilver pot, covered it with a crown of gold; and ſo ſent them to yong *Marcellus*, to be by him interred, where he thought good.

Preſently after this, *Criſpinus* bethought himſelfe, how that the ſignet Ring of *Marcellus* vvas falne into the cuſtody of *Hannibal*; vvho might uſe it to his owne purpoſes, ere that vvhich had hapned vvere vvel known abroad. Wherefore he ſent vvord unto all the Towns about; that his Colleague vvas ſlain, and that *Hannibal* had gotten his Ring: vviſhing them in that regard, to give no credit unto any letters therewithall ſigned. This providence of *Criſpinus* vvas not more than requiſite. For his Meſſenger vvas but a little before come to *Salapia*, vvhen another Meſſenger arrived there ſent from *Hannibal*, bringing letters in the name of *Marcellus*, and ſealed with the captive Ring; whereof the contents were: That it was his purpoſe to come the ſame night unto *Salapia*; where he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garriſon ſhould be in a readineſſe, for ſuch imployment as he ſhould thinke needfull. The device was plaine, and no leſſe plaine was the revengefull mind which he bare againſt that City; becauſe of his brave *Numidian* companies that had therein been betrayed. The *Salapians* hereupon bethought themſelves, how to take their enemy in his own ſnare. They ſent back the Meſſenger, which vvas a *Roman* fugitive, without letting him perceive any ſigne of diſtruſt in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readineſſe, for the entertainement of ſuch a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troupe of *Roman* fugitives armed *Roman*-like, leading the vvay. Theſe all talking Latine together, called unto the Watch, and bade open the gate; for the Conſul was there. The gate was opened faire and leiſurely, and the Port-cullis drawn up no higher than needs it muſt be, to let them enter. But vvhen ſixe hundred of them vvere gotten in, downe fell the Port-cullis againe: and they that thought to have taken others, were taken themſelves; being laid at on all hands by the *Salapians*, that quickly made an end with them.

*Hannibal* being thus over-reached vvith this ſtratageme, haſted away to *Locri*; whereunto *Cincius* the Admirall of the *Roman* fleet about *Sicil*, did lay hard ſiege. The firſt appearance of the *Numidians*, *Hannibal* his Vantcurrors, made the *Romans* in all confuſed haſte, run to their ſhips: leaving all their engines, and whatſoever was in their Campe, to the enemies diſpoſition.

The *Roman* Senate hearing of theſe accidents, ſent unto *Criſpinus* the ſurviving Conſul, & requeſted him to name a Dictator that might take charge of the Cõmon-wealth, and diſpatch the election of new Magiſtrates, with other buſineſſe; whereunto himſelfe vvas diſabled by his hurts. He did ſo: and ſoon after died. Then vvas it thought needfull, that new Conſuls ſhould be choſen out of hand: foraſmuch as two *Roman* Armies lay ſo neare unto the Enemy, without any Generall. Eſpecially it vvas deſired, that Election ſhould be made of ſuch men as vvere not onely valiant, but vvell adviſed: ſince the beſt, and moſt fortunate of their great Darers, *M. Marcellus*, by loſing himſelfe ſo ſtrangely, had given them a faire warning, not to commit their Army unto raſh heads. Among thoſe that ſtood for the Conſulſhip, *C. Claudius Nero*, was the moſt eminent. He was of great Nobility, a good Souldier, and one, whoſe many ſervices in this preſent War, did forcibly commend unto the place. Yet he ſeemed a little too violent; and one, whoſe temper needed the allay of a more ſtayed wit. The fathers therefore endeavoured to joyne unto him in the Conſulſhip, *M. Livius*: one that had borne the ſame Office long before. This *M. Livius* had been Conſul with *L. Æmilius Paulus*, in the yeare foregoing the beginning of this Warre. After their Conſulſhip, wherein they did good ſervice, they had both of them been called into judgement by the People: and this *Livius* condemned; *Æmilius* hardly eſcaping. Though it hath beene once already noted; yet I cannot forbeare to remember it againe: how it pleaſed God to upbraid the unthankfull *Romans*, with the malicious judgement, given by their multitude upon honourable men. For in the battell of *Cannæ*, it was apparent, what lamentable effects the memory of their injuſtice wrought: vvhen *L. Æmilius* rather choſe to yeeld to the froward ignorance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the greateſt overthrow that ever fell upon the State of *Rome*, than by reſiſting the pernicious courſes of *Terentius Varro*, to caſt himſelfe anew upon the danger of the popular fury. As for *M. Livius*, he is even now ready, and will ſo continue, to tell the People of their faults in a divers manner. Eight years together after his condemnation, had he been abſent out of the City, and lived in his Countrey Grange; ſtill vexing himſelfe with the indignity of his condemnation. *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, being Conſuls two or three yeares agoe, had brought him into *Rome*: where he lived private in diſcontented ſort, as might appeare, both by his careleſneſſe in apparell, and by the wearing of his long haire and beard; which in that time were the badges of men afflicted. Very lately he was compelled by the Cenſors, to poll his haire, and come into the Senate: where he uſed to ſit ſilent, and ſignifie his aſſent or diſlike to what was propoſed, either in ſhort formall words, or in paſſing from ſide to ſide, when the houſe was divided. At length it hapned, that in ſome buſineſſe weightily concerning one that was his kinſman; he ſtood up and made a ſet ſpeech: whereby he drew all the Fathers to attention; and bade them enquire of him, and take better notice, what he was, and what he had beene. The Senate was much altered ſince he had left it; many brave men were loſt; new ones were choſen; ſuch as rather ſerved to fill up the number, than to anſwer to the dignity of the place: and they that were left of ancient ſtanding, had even ſpent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore all began to ſay; that it was great pity, ſo worthy and able a man as this *Livius*, had been all this while forgotten; one of whom the Common-wealth ſtood in great need, yet had not uſed in this dangerous warre. Now ſeeing that the Conſuls ought, one of them, to be choſen a *Patrician*, the other, of neceſſity a *Plebeian*: and ſince neither *Fabius*, nor *Valerius Lævinus*, being both of them *Patricians*, could be joyned with *Claudius Nero*: every one was of opinion, that there could not be choſen and coupled together, two fitter men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Livius*. But *Livie* would not endure to heare of this. He ſaid it was unreaſonable, that one condemned as a diſhoneſt man, ſhould afterwards be choſen Ruler of the Citie. If they had done ill to truſt him with one Conſulſhip, what meant they then to offer him another? With theſe, and the like phraſes he reſiſted their deſires: till by perſwaſions, and examples rehearſed, of ſuch as had patiently digeſted injuries done by the people, and repaied good for evill; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Embleme, with which *Themiſtocles* checked the ingratitude of the *Athenians*: reſembling himſelfe to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughes whereof men breake in faire weather; but run under it for ſhelter in a ſtorme. Such unthankfulneſſe, to well-deſerving men, is not rarely found in the outragious multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much unlike, of *Philip* the ſecond King of *Spaine* his dealing with the Duke of *Alva*. For although he had committed the Duke to priſon, upon ſome ſmall offence conceived, without all regard of his former deſerts: yet when his intended conqueſt of *Portugal*, required the ſervice of a man, more than ordinarily ſufficient; he ſtood no longer upon the ſcanning of late diſpleaſures; but employed the ſame Duke, whom he had newly diſgraced. Thus is wiſedome often taught by neceſsity.

It was a dangerous yeare toward, when *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* were choſen Conſuls. *Aſdrubal* was already come into France, and waited onely, to have the wayes of the Alpes thawed by warme weather, for his paſſage into *Italy*. The *Romans* uſed at this time the ſervice of three and twenty Legions: and wanted not imployment for many more, if they had knowne how to levie and maintaine them. Of theſe which they had, foure ſerved in *Spaine*, two in *Sicil*, and two in *Sardinia*: the reſt were ſo diſpoſed, in ſeverall parts of *Italy*, where need ſeemed to require, that onely two Legions were left to each of the Conſuls. But the Conſuls were men of execution: and would not be tyed to the punctuall obſervance of what the Senate thought fit. *M. Livius* would not ſtirre out of *Rome*, againſt ſo mighty a power as followed *Aſdrubal*, untill he had firſt obtained, that he might carry with him as many as could well be ſpared from other imployments; and thoſe, or the moſt of them, choſen Companies. It was true, that two Legions, appointed to ſerve under *Lucius Porcius* a Pretor of that year, among the *Ciſalpine Gaules*, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of *Livius*; to whom the War againſt *Aſdrubal* was allotted. So might alſo two other Legions, that were among the *Salentines*, neare unto *Tarentum*, under another of the Pretors, be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Army, that was ſent againſt *Hannibal*. Neverthleſſe, the Conſuls, by the eſpeciall inſtance of *Livie*, did obtaine, that all might be left to their owne diſcretion. For newes came, that *Aſdrubal* was already paſſing the Alpes; the *Ligurians*, who dwelt in the Countrey about *Genua*, with their Neighbour people, were in readineſſe to joyne with him; and *L. Porcius* ſent word, that he would adventure no further, than he ſafely might. When all was ordered, as themſelves thought beſt, the two Conſuls went forth of the Citie; each his ſeverall way. The people of *Rome* were now quite otherwiſe affected, than they had beene, when *L. Æmilius Paulus* and *C. Terentius Varro*, were ſent againſt *Hannibal*. They did no longer take upon them, to direct their Generals, or bid them diſpatch, and winne the victorie betimes: but rather they ſtood in feare, leſt all diligence, wiſedome and valour ſhould prove too little. For ſince few years had paſſed, wherein ſome one of their Generals had not been ſlaine; and ſince it was manifeſt, that if either of theſe preſent Conſuls were defeated, or put to the worſt; the two *Carthaginians* would forthwith joyne, and make ſhort worke with the other: it ſeemed a greater happineſſe than could be expected, that each of them ſhould returne home Victor; and come off with honour, from ſuch mighty oppoſition, as he was like to finde. With extreme difficulty had *Rome* held up her head, ever ſince the battell of *Cannæ*: though it were ſo, that *Hannibal* alone, with little helpe from *Carthage*, had continued the War in *Italy*. But there was now arrived another ſonne of *Amilcar*; and one, that in his preſent Expedition, had ſeemed a man of more ſufficiencie than *Hannibal* himſelfe. For whereas in that long and dangerous march, through barbarous Nations, over great Rivers and Mountaines, that were thought unpaſſable, *Hannibal* had loſt a great part of his Armie: this *Aſdrubal* in the ſame places, had multiplied his numbers; and gathering the people, that he found in the way, deſcended from the Alpes like a rowling Snow-ball, farre greater than he came over the Pyrenees at his firſt ſetting out of *Spaine*. Theſe conſiderations and the like, of which feare preſented many unto them; cauſed the people of *Rome*, to wait upon their Conſuls out of the Towne, like a penſive traine of Mourners: thinking upon *Marcellus* and *Criſpinus*, upon whom in the like ſort they had given attendance the laſt yeare; but ſaw neither of them returne alive, from a leſſe dangerous Warre. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gave his accuſtomed advice to *M. Livius*, that he ſhould abſtaine from giving, or taking battell, untill he well underſtood the Enemies condition. But the Conſul made him a froward anſwer, and ſaid, That he would fight the very firſt day: for that he thought it long, till he ſhould either recover his honour by victory; or by ſeeing the overthrow of his owne unjuſt Citizens, ſatisfie himſelfe with the joy of a great, though not an honeſt revenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the overthrow that *Aſdrubal* received in *Spaine* by *Scipio*, a little before he took his journy into *Italy*; ſuch mention hath already been made, as agreed with the report of that noble Hiſtorian *Livie*. Yet I thinke it not amiſſe to adde in this place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius* his Hiſtory concerning that accident. *Aſdrubal* had wreſtled with many difficulties in *Spaine*; by reaſon of thoſe Captaines that were ſent from the City of *Carthage*, to joyne with him in the adminiſtration of that Province: they being, as it may ſeeme, of the *Hannonian* faction; which is to ſay, thus farre forth Traytors, that they preferred the advantage of their own ſide, before the good of their Common-wealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthy ſonne of *Amilcar*, and how they hindred his courſes undertaken, it cannot be knowne: ſince of thoſe bookes, wherein *Polybius* hath exactly handled theſe matters, there are to us remaining onely a few broken pieces. But by the ſpightfull dealing of *Hanno* in *Sicil* with *Mutines*, a better man of Warre than himſelfe, whom *Hannibal* had ſent into the Iland: we may conceive, that againſt the brother of *Hannibal* it was thought needfull, by theſe miſchievous Partizans of *Hanno*, to uſe the violent oppoſition of more earneſt malice. Neverthe leſſe, *Aſdrubal* was a good Patriot: and therefore endured patiently ſuch indignities, as *Mutines* could not long digeſt. His journey into *Italy* being reſolved upon: he lay with part of the Army at *Betula*, not farre from the Mines of ſilver; whence he was to furniſh his Expedition. Thither came *Scipio*: and drave him out of his Campe, though hee were ſtrongly lodged, before the other *Carthaginian* Captaines could, or would, come to his aſſiſtance. The overthrow ſeemes not to have beene ſo great, as it muſt have beene ſuppoſed, if no way lay open to thoſe that fled. Rather it appeares, that *Aſdrubal* dealt like a provident man, and ſeeing that his Campe was likely to be forced, ſent away all his money with his Elephants before him: but ſtaid behind himſelfe to ſuſtaine the *Romans* a while, untill his carriages might be out of danger. Herein he had his deſire. Afterwards, he gathered his broken troups together: and retyred in ſuch ſort, that *Scipio* thought it not good to purſue him, and ſo paſſed over *Tagus*. Then taking unto him the forces aſſigned for his expedition, he marched away toward the Pyrenees: leaving the care of *Spaine* unto his brother *Mago*, and to *Aſdrubal*

*Excerpt. E Polyb. hiſt. l. 10. & 11.*

the ſonne of *Geſco*; that thought himſelfe the fitteſt man for the adminiſtration thereof. Faine would *Scipio* have ſtopped him on his journey, by ſending to defend againſt him the ordinary way of the Mountains. But whether *Aſdrubal* took another way, or whether he forced the guards that *Scipio* had ſet to keep the Pyrenees (as the defence of hard paſſages commonly ſorts to no good effect) he was not letted in his voyage by any ſuch impediment. Comming into *Gaule*, and following the ſteps of his brother *Hannibal*: he found the Nations that lay in his way, ſo well affected, either to him or to his mony, that no paſſages were defended againſt him, nor any ſort of reſiſtance made; but he, and his Armie well entertained, and their number much increaſed, by acceſſe of ſuch as were deſirous to take his pay. Of theſe he had the better choyce: for that he was driven to winter in their Country; whileſt that the paſſages of the Alpes were cloſed up with Ice and Snow. The Mountainers likewiſe, that had ſo greatly moleſted *Hannibal* in his journy over the Alps, were eaſily won to take part with *Aſdrubal*, when he travelled thorow their Countrey. For theſe poor men, at the firſt comming of *Hannibal*, were verily perſwaded, that it was his purpoſe to rob them of their cattell; and to make ſpoile of that little wealth which they had painefully ſcraped together out of the deſolate rocks. But now in proceſſe of time, they were better informed. Therefore underſtanding, that there were two mighty Cities, farre diſ-joyned aſunder, which made Warre upon each other, by Land and Sea; and that the Alpes did onely lye in the way: they gladly condeſcended to take their part in the fortune of the Invaders. The like affection upon greater cauſe, was afterward found in the *Ciſalpine Gaules*. The *Ligurians* alſo joyned with *Aſdrubal*: and ſo would the *Hetrurians* have done, if he had arrived in their Countrey. There was no other *Roman* Armie neare, than *L. Portius* with his two Legions; of whom there was no great feare. Therefore did *Aſdrubal* ſet upon *Placentia*, a *Roman* Colonie: in hope to make his comming the more terrible, by the deſtruction of that Towne. But there he loſt a great deale of time, and finally was driven to quit the enterpriſe: by undertaking which, he gave the *Roman* Conſuls leiſure to make ready for him; and cauſed his brother *Hannibal* (who upon the firſt bruit of *Aſdrubal* his ſo timely, and eaſily paſſing the Alpes, was about to leave his wintring Campes, and goe forth to meet with him) to ſit ſtill awhile, as well aware, that *Placentia* would not be taken in haſte.

*C. Claudius Nero* the *Roman* Conſul, made what ſpeed he could to meet with *Hannibal*, and ſtop him from joyning with his brother. He had about forty thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe: with which he daily offered battel to the *Carthaginians*; and had of him the better in many skirmiſhes. *Hannibal* was once driven to make a tedious march from the borders of the *Salentines* and *Apulians*, into the Country of the *Brutians*, there to encreaſe his forces; which were otherwiſe too weak for the journey intended. Afterward comming to *Grumentum*, a Towne of the *Lucans*; he there fought unproſperouſly with *Nero* the Conſul. Neverthelesſe, he got off, and marched away to *Venuſia*. But *Nero* followed him, and had there againe the better of him. Wherefore he was driven to returne to *Metapontum*: where joyning with *Hanno*, that had made ready a good Army, he aſſayed againe, to make way by force to his brother. So he paſſed onward, and came againe to *Venuſia*, having *Nero* ſtill at his heeles. Thence went he over the River *Aufidus*, to *Canuſium*, where he ſate downe, not farre from the place, in which he had obtained his moſt memorable victory. There alſo did *Nero* ſit downe by him: and both of them reſted, without making offer to fight. It ſeemed perhaps unto *Hannibal*, who knew the Countrey very vvell; that his brother might vvith little impediment, overcome the vvay to *Canuſium*: vvhere if he could once again deale vvith both the Conſuls, and all the *Roman* forces together, he had reaſon to hope for ſuch another victory, as once he had gotten in the ſame open Country. If this had ſo falne out; *Rome* vvould have been undone for ever. But the *Carthaginians* ſhould not have needed to wiſh any ſecond victory, in the naked *Campans* about *Cannæ*, if ſuch an Army as this vvhich *Aſdrubal* now brings, had come to ſecond *Hannibal*, vvhen he vvas in his full ſtrength; and the *Romans* not able to keep the field. Wherefore this vvorthy Generall had good reaſon afterward to ſay, that *Hanno* vvas the man, who by delaying the ſupply, did beate him out of *Italy*; vvhich elſe no power of the *Romans* could have done.

Whileſt *Nero* vvaited upon the *Carthaginians*, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting vvith the Army that vvas comming to their ſuccour: he vvas advertiſed of

*Aſdrubal* his approach; by Letters and Meſſengers intercepted, as they were going to *Hannibal*. Theſe gave notice, that *Aſdrubal* had left the ſiege of *Placentia*, and drew onwards apace: being already come within two hundred miles of his brother; notwithſtanding all oppoſition that could be made by *Livie* the Conſul. Of theſe news *Claudius Nero* was nothing joyfull. For if *Hannibal* could once be joyned as head, unto that great body of an Army, which *Aſdrubal* brought with him: it was moſt apparent, that howſoever the fortune of *Rome* ſhould avoid, for the preſent, any great calamity; yet the very continuance of ſo ſtrong a warre at home, would enforce the *Latines*, and other faithfull Aſſociates, to faint under the burden; as twelve of the thirty *Roman* Colonies had already done. Wherefore he reſolved, that it were better to make any deſperate adventure, than to ſuffer the conjunction of two ſuch malevolent Planets: whoſe peſtilent influence, if not on the ſudden, yet within few yeeres, was like to worke moſt lamentable effects. It ſeemed apparent, that his Colleague was unable to ſtay the progreſſe of *Aſdrubal*: neither were there any good Legions in a readineſſe, that could doe ſervice in ſuch a needfull caſe; excepting thoſe, that were already employed under the two Conſuls. Hereupon he concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tye himſelfe to his owne charge, which was the warre againſt *Hannibal*: but rather that it behoved him, to helpe where more neceſſity required; and to carry part of his forces unto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet ſince the meeting of the two *Carthaginian* brethren, was farre more dangerous to the *Roman* Common-wealth: it ſeemed the beſt way to put Fortune in truſt, with that which was of the leſſe importance. Sixe thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe he therefore tooke, that were the very choice of his Army: and making ſhew, as if he would onely ſtep aſide, to doe ſome ſmall piece of ſervice neare at hand; away hee poſted as faſt as he could, to aſſiſt his fellow Conſul. His Meſſengers ranne before him, to give warning to all Townes by which he was to paſſe, that they ſhould be ready to meete him with victuals, and all other neceſſaries for his Army. *Livius* the other Conſul, at that time, lay encamped neare unto *Sena Gallica*; and *Aſdrubal* within halfe a mile of him. In ſixe dayes *Nero* had finiſhed his journey thither; and when he drew neare, ſent Meſſengers before him, to give notice of his comming. *Livie* thought it fitteſt that he ſhould ſtay in ſome place of covert untill darke night, and then enter ſecretly into the Campe: leſt the Enemy, perceiving this acceſſe of ſtrength, ſhould accordingly frame his counſels. This was done: and a token given, that the Colonels, Captaines, and all Souldiers, aſwell horſe as foot, that *Nero* had brought with him, ſhould be lodged and entertained by men of their owne ſort. Their Company was ſomewhat increaſed by Voluntaries that joyned with him on the way. Neverthelesse, it was not needfull that the Quarter which received them, ſhould bee enlarged; ſince they had brought with them nothing but their armes. The next day they held a Counſell of Warre: wherein ſome were of opinion, that it was beſt for theſe new-arrived Companies to refreſh themſelves a few dayes after their weary journey, before they ſhould be drawne forth to battell. But againſt this, *Nero* was very earneſt: and beſought his Colleague, to make uſe of him out of hand; that he might betimes returne to his owne Campe, ere *Hannibal* ſhould have notice of his abſence. The Souldiers alſo of *Nero* were full of ſpirit; perceiving that the honour of the victory was like to be theirs: foraſmuch as the battell would not have been undertaken, without this their comming to helpe. Finally, it was agreed when the Counſell brake up, that the ſigne of battell ſhould be hung out; which was commonly a purple coate over the Generals Pavilion.

*Aſdrubal* was no leſſe willing than the *Romans* to come to battell, having long deſired it, and hitherto not found occaſion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his Army, to behold the Enemies countenance: it ſeemed to him, that they were more than they had been; and ſome of their armes and horſes looked as though they had wanted dreſſing, after a long journey. Hereupon he began to with-draw his Army backe into the Campe: and gave order, that if no priſoners could be taken, by whom he might be certified of the truth; yet ſhould there good obſervation be made, whether the Enemies Campe were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might ſhew their forces to be increaſed. The Camp, as hath beene ſaid was not extended: but the trumpet, that ſounded onely once in the Quarter of *L. Porcius* the Pretor, did now, contrary to former cuſtome, ſound twice in the quarter of *Livius* the Conſul. Hereat *Aſdrubal* greatly muſed: and being well acquainted with the *Roman* orders, held this for a ſure token, that the other Conſull was there arrived. How this might be, if *Hannibal* were alive, and in good caſe, he was not able to conjecture: but thought it the beſt way, to goe leiſurely to worke, till he might be better informed. Upon confidence in his owne forces, he had not cared hitherto, how neere he lay to the *Romans*; nor troubled himſelf perhaps with over-ſtrongly fortifying his owne Campe. Yet when he now perceived, that ſomewhat was fallen out beſide his expectation, he changed his reſolution; and held it no diſhonour to remove a little further off. So he diſlodged ſecretly by night, intending to get over the River *Metaurus*; whereby to keepe himſelfe as long as he could, from neceſſity of battell. But whether it were ſo, that his guides did ſteale away from him in the dark, ſo that he could not finde the way to the Foords; or whether his carriages were too heavie, and hindred his ſpeed: farre he had not gone, ere the Conſull *Nero* was at his heeles with all the *Roman* horſe, and ſtayed him from paſſing any further. Soone after came *L. Porcius* with the light armature: whom the other Conſull followed anon with all the Legions, in good order, and ready for battell. *Aſdrubal*, ſeeing himſelfe overtaken with neceſſity to fight, omitted no care and circumſpection. His *Gaules*, in whom he repoſed leaſt confidence, he placed in his left wing upon a Hill, which the Enemie ſhould not, without much difficultie, be able to climbe: in the right wing he ſtood himſelfe with his *Africans* and *Spaniards*; his *Ligurians* he placed in the midſt; and his Elephants he beſtowed in the front of his battels. On the *Roman* ſide, *Nero* had the leading of the right wing, *Livius* of the left, and *Porcius* of the battell. Both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* well underſtood, how much depended upon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of ſafety there was unto the vanquiſhed. Onely the *Romans* herein ſeemed to have had the better in conceit and opinion; That they were to fight with men deſirous to have fled from them. And, according to this preſumption, came *Livius* the Conſull with a proud bravery, to give charge on the *Africans*, by whom he was ſo ſharply entertained, that the victory ſeemed very doubtfull. The *Africans* and *Spaniards* were ſtout Souldiers, and well acquainted with the maner of the *Roman* fight. The *Ligurians* alſo were a hardy Nation, and not accuſtomed to give ground; which they needed the leſſe, or were able now no doe, being placed in the midſt. *Livius* therefore, and *Porcius*, found ſtrong oppoſition: and with great ſlaughter on both ſides, prevailed little or nothing. Beſides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants, that brake their firſt ranks; and put them in ſuch diſorder, as the *Roman* Enſignes were driven to fall backe. All this while *Claudius Nero*, labouring much in vaine againſt a ſteepe Hill, was unable to come to blowes with the *Gaules*, that ſtood oppoſite unto him, but out of danger. This made *Aſdrubal* the more confident; who, ſeeing his owne left wing ſafe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impreſſion on the other ſide, upon the left wing of the *Romans*. But *Nero* perceiving that the place wherein he ſtood, was ſuch as would compell him to remaine idle till the fight were ended; tooke a part of his forces, and led them round behind the forces of *Porcius* and *Livius*: which having compaſſed, he fell upon *Aſdrubal*, and charged him in the flanke. Here began the victory to bee manifeſt on the *Roman* ſide. For *Nero*, finding none to reſiſt him in front, ran all along the depth of *Aſdrubal* his battell: and falling upon the skirts thereof, diſordered the Enemies, and put all to rout. Of the *Spaniards* therefore and *Africans*, that were laid at on every ſide, the greateſt part was ſlaine. The *Ligurians* and *Gaules* eſcaped as they could; and ſaved themſelves by timely flight. Of the Elephants, foure were taken alive: the reſt were ſlaine: ſome by the Enemies weapons, others by their owne guides that rode them. For when any of them, being ſore wounded, began to waxe unruly, and ruſh backe upon their owne battels following them, the guide had in readineſſe a Mallet, and a Chizzell, wherewith he gave them a ſtroke between the eares, in the joynt of the neck, next unto the head, wherewith he killed the beaſt upon the ſudden. This ſpeedy way of preventing ſuch harme as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to doe to the ſquadrons following them, is ſaid to have bin the device of *Aſdrubal* himſelfe, who dyed in this battell.

Great commendations are given to *Aſdrubal*, both by *Polybius* and by *Livie*. He is ſaid at all times to have ſhewed himſelfe worthy of *Amilcar* his father, and *Hannibal* his brother: to have ſtriven with great patience againſt many difficulties, whereinto hee fell by the meanes of thoſe Captaines that were ſent from *Carthage* into *Spaine*; to have performed in this laſt battell all duties of a worthy Generall; and finally, when he ſaw the loſſe irrepaireable, to have ridden manfully into the thickeſt of his Enemies; where, fighting bravely, he was ſlaine. Of the number that died with him in this battell, the report of *Livie*, and of *Polybius* doe very much diſagree. For *Livie* ſaith, that the *Carthaginians* had no leſſe an overthrow, than was that which they gave to the *Romans* at *Cannæ*; that fiftie ſixe thouſand of them were ſlaine, five thouſand and foure hundred taken priſoners, and above foure thouſand *Roman* citizens, whom they had captives with them, delivered, and ſet at libertie. He ſaith alſo, that of the *Romans* and their Aſſociates there were ſlaine eight thouſand: and of the bootie, that it was exceeding great; not only in other kindes, but in gold and ſilver. Concerning the bootie, *Polybius* hath no mention of it. Likely it is to have bin as rich as *Livie* reporteth it; for *Aſdrubal* came well ſtored with mony. But *Polybius* (who had no deſire to make this battell of *Metaurus*, a parallel unto that of *Cannæ*) reports no more than about ten thouſand of the *Carthaginian* ſide, and two thouſand of the *Roman*, to have bin ſlaine. The number of the priſoners he doth not mention: but only ſaith, That ſome of the *Carthaginian* Princes were taken alive; and that all the reſt died in the battell. Whereby it may ſeem that they were all *Barchines*: foraſmuch as they preferred the honour of themſelves, and of their country, above their lives.

The joy of this victory was no leſſe in *Rome*, than had bin the feare of the event. For ever ſince it was knowne in what ſort *Nero* had left his Army, the whole City was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal* his comming thither. Men thought it ſtrange, that the Conſull ſhould make ſuch a great adventure, as thus to put the one half of all the *Roman* forces unto hazzard of the Dice. For what if *Hannibal* ſhould chance to have notice of this his departure, and either purſue him, or ſet upon the Army that ſtaid behind, much weakned, and without a Generall? Thus did they talk; yet reſerving their cenſure unto the ſucceſſe; with liberty to approve or condemne, according to the iſſue. In the meane time the people filled the Market-place, the Women ranne to the Temples, with Vowes and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in counſell, waiting ſtill ready at hand upon the Magiſtrates, as if ſome great matter were likely to fall out, that would aske every ones help. In briefe, they were all ſo full of melancholy, that when the firſt newes of victory came, there were not many that would beleeve it. Afterwards, when Meſſengers arrived from the Conſuls, with Letters containing all that had paſſed, there was not onely great and joyfull concourſe of all ſorts of men unto the Temples, but the very face of the City was altered; and men from thenceforth began to follow their private buſineſſe; making contracts one with another (which they had long forborn to do) and attending their own affaires in ſuch wiſe, as if *Hannibal* were already driven out of *Italy*.

*Nero* returning to his campe, threw forth openly the head of *Aſdrubal* before the *Carthaginians*: and producing his *African* priſoners bound, ſent two of them looſe to give *Hannibal* notice of what had hapned. Theſe two priſoners might have ſerved well enough to certifie *Hannibal* of the miſ-adventure, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Aſdrubal*: eſpecially ſince *Hannibal*, in honourable, and farre different manner, had given buriall to *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*; yea, to all the *Roman* Generals, whoſe carkaſſes fell into his hands. But it may ſeeme, that howſoever the People of *Carthage* wanted much of the generous diſpoſition, which was found among the *Romans*, in their love unto the Common-weale: yet in dealing with enemies, they were far more civill, and leſſe prone to the inſolency of revenge. The beſt excuſe of this outrage done by *Nero*, is, that he hoped much more by the ſudden terrour of ſuch a ſpectacle, than by the ſimple relation of that which had paſſed, to make a deepe impreſſion of feare into the *Carthaginians*. It may alſo be ſaid, That hee forgot himſelfe, being over-joyed with the greatneſſe of his proſperity. For it was the battell of *Metaurus* that weighed downe the ballance, and turned the Tide of the *Roman* fortune: which being then at the loweſt Ebbe, ceaſed not afterwards to flow, till it could not bee contained within any banks. *Hannibal* having loſt in this unhappy fight (beſides that worthy Gentleman his brother) all the hope that ſo long ſuſtained him in *Italie*, with-drew himſelfe into the Country of the *Brutians*: and thither he cauſed all the *Lucans*, that were of his partie, to remove; as likewiſe all that dwelt in *Metapontum*. For hee wanted men to defend ſo many places as he held at the preſent, becauſe they lay too farre aſunder.

Wherefore he drew them all into a leſſer compaſſe in the utmoſt corner of *Italy*, it being a country of much faſtneſſe, and the people exceedingly devoted to his ſervice. In this buſineſſe *Nero* gave him no memorable impediment: either becauſe *Hannibal* was too ſtrong for him, having all his forces united, or becauſe it is likely that this remove of the *Lucans* and *Metapontines*, was not before the end of Summer, when their harveſt was gathered in: at what time the Senate called him home to *Rome*. *M. Livius* the other Conſul tarried among the *Ciſalpine Gaules* untill the end of ſummer; there to ſet things in ſuch order as he thought requiſite: which done, he wrote unto the Senate, that there was no more need of him and his Army in that Province, but that *L. Porcius*, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well diſcharge the place. For this cauſe, he deſired leave to returne home; and that he might bring his Army with him. The Senate well underſtood his meaning: which was, to have the honour of triumph, as he well deſerved. But foraſmuch as it was well knowne, what intereſt *Nero* had in the late victory: order was given, that not onely *Livie* with his Armie ſhould come home; but likewiſe *Nero*, though leaving his Armie behind him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pompe whereof, *Livie* made the greater ſhew, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers; becauſe in his Province, and upon his day of command, the victory was gotten: his Armie alſo being preſent at the triumph. But *Nero*, that rode on horſe-backe, and without ſuch attendance, was the more extolled by the People and Souldiers; by whom, the victory was in a manner wholly aſcribed unto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, Lievtenants to the Generals, the due acknowledgement of their good ſervice. For they were commended unto the People, as men worthy to be choſen Conſuls: and Conſuls they were choſen for the yeere following. But nothing was done by them, worthy of memory in their Conſulſhip. Neither indeed from this yeere, which was the thirteenth of the preſent warre, untill the eighteenth yeere wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in *Italy*; ſave only the taking of *Locri* from the *Carthaginians* by ſurpriſe. For *Hannibal* wanted ſtrength, wherewith to make any great offer: and the *Romans* had little minde to provoke him; but thought it well that he was quiet. Such opinion had they conceived of him, that though all about him went to ruine, yet in him alone they thought there was force enough to hold himſelfe upright. And ſurely, very notable are the commendations given unto him by *Polybius*, whom *Livie* therein followes: That making war upon a People, of all other the moſt warlike, he obtained ſo many victories by his own good conduct: and that leading an Army, compounded of ſo many ſundry nations, *Africans*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*, *Carthaginians*, *Italians*, & *Greeks*, which were, neither in Language, Lawes, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; he held them all in ſuch good order, that they never fell to ſedition among themſelves, or againſt their Generall. But that which *Livie* adds hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he ſuſtained his Army, without help from other places, from this time forward, upon the hungry ſoile of the *Brutians*: which, vvhen it was beſt manured in time of peace, could hardly ſuffice to nouriſh the Inhabitants. It is therefore apparent, that by his proper worth and vertue, he kept his Armie in ſuch order and obedience, rather than by any greatneſſe of reward and bootie: ſince, after the death of *Aſdrubal*, hee made no invaſion upon the vvealthier parts of *Italy*; but held himſelf ſtill among the poor *Brutians*. Where vve muſt leave him, untill he be drawn into *Africk* by *Scipio*; vvhoſe doings vvill henceforth entertaine, and lead us unto the end of this War.

## §. XVII.

## *How* P. Cornelius Scipio *the Roman made entire conqueſt of Spaine.*

### †. I.

### *How the Carthaginians were driven by* Scipio *from the Continent into the Iſle of Gades.*

MAgo and *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco*, took upon them the charge of *Spain*, when *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Amilcar* departed thence into *Italy*. Theſe agreed together, that *Mago* ſhould make a voyage to the *Baleares*; there to levie a ſupply of men: and *Aſdrubal* with-draw himſelfe into *Luſitania* (which is now *Portugal*) whither the *Romans* had ill means to follow; being altogether unacquainted in thoſe parts. *Mago* had ſoone ended his buſineſſe, and returned into *Spaine*: where he met with one *Hanno* (the ſame perhaps that had lately bin imployed in *Sicil*) who brought new forces out of *Africk*, and came to ſucceed in place of *Aſdrubal* the *Barchine*. It is not unlikely that *Spaine* was now the better, and more readily furniſhed with men, and all things needfull from *Carthage*; when that ſonne of *Amilcar*, whoſe authority had bin greateſt, was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old *Hanno* approve it ſelfe, againſt that noble race of Warriours; when it ſhould appear, that things did proſper much the better by being left unto the handling of other men. Whether it were upon deſire to make good ſome ſuch opinion raiſed of him at home, or whether upon confidence in the forces that he brought over: *Hanno* took the field, and led *Mago* with him; as purpoſing afreſh to ſet upon the *Romans*. So he entred into the country of the *Celtiberians*, not very far from new *Carthage*: where, by mony, and other perſwaſions, he levied above nine thouſand men.

*P. Scipio* in the meane while contained himſelfe in the Eaſterne parts of *Spaine*: attentive, as it may ſeeme, to the proceedings of *Aſdrubal*, the ſonne of *Amilcar*; againſt whom, he is reported by ſome Writers to have ſent part of his forces into *Italie*, to the aſſiſtance of *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius* the Conſuls. But hearing of the levie made by *Hanno* and *Mago* among the *Celtiberians*, he ſent *M. Syllanus* the Propretor, with ten thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe. *Syllanus* got intelligence by ſome fugitive *Celtiberians*, who became his guides, that their Countrimen incamped apart from the *Carthaginians* in great diſorder: as men fearing no danger, becauſe they were at home. Wherefore as cloſely as he was able, he drew neer to theſe *Celtiberians*: and falling upon them on the ſudden, gave them ſuch an overthrow, that *Hanno* and *Mago* comming to their ſuccour, in ſtead of heartening and re-inforcing them, became partakers of the loſſe. *Mago* ſaved himſelfe with all the horſe, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thouſand: and in ten dayes journey brought them ſafe to *Aſdrubal*. The reſt of the *Africans* were either ſlaine or taken: among whom, *Hanno* had the ill lucke to be taken priſoner; though he kept himſelf out of the fight untill all was loſt. As for the *Celtiberians*, they knew better how to make ſhift; and ſaved moſt of themſelves by running into the woods.

It could no otherwiſe be, but that *Scipio* was much troubled with the danger wherein *Italy* ſtood, by the comming thither of *Aſdrubal*. Ten thouſand foot, and eighteen hundred horſe he did therefore ſend out of *Spain* (as it is reported by ſome Authors) to the defence of his owne Countrie; or was perhaps about to ſend them: and thereupon remained at new *Carthage*, intentive to the neceſſitie and ſucceſſe of his Countrimen at home. But when he had word of the great victory at *Metaurus*, which fell out long before the end of the Summer, then might he well adventure, to take in hand the entire conqueſt of *Spain*; which muſt needs be much alienated from the *Carthaginians*, by the report of ſuch an overthrow. The *Spaniſh* Souldiers that ſerved under *Hannibal*, and thoſe that had bin ſent over into *Africke*, were as pledges heretofore, by whom their Country was held obnoxious to the *Carthaginians*. But when it was noiſed abroad, that all which had followed *Aſdrubal* into *Italie*, were fallen into the hands of the *Romans*; and that *Hannibal* with his army was cloſed up in a ſtreight, whence he could not get out: then did it greatly behove the *Spaniards* to conform themſelves unto the will of the Victors. That it was the ſucceſſe of things in *Italy*, which gave ſuch confidence unto *Scipio*; it is the more probable, becauſe he tooke not this great enterpriſe in hand, untill the Summer was almoſt ſpent. *Aſdrubal* therefore uſed the benefit of the ſeaſon; and by diſpoſing his Army into many Garriſons, hindered the Enemy from doing any great exploit before Winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the yeere, cauſed *Scipio* to return back: without any other matter performed, than that his Brother *L. Scipio* took by aſſault the Town of *Oringis*.

Againſt the next yeers danger, *Aſdrubal* prepared a great Army: and ſpared not coſt, nor travell, in ſtrengthening himſelfe, for the triall of his laſt fortune in *Spaine*. With ſeventy thouſand foot, foure thouſand horſe, and two and thirty Elephants, he tooke the field: which number I beleeve, that he could hardly have raiſed, without boldly denying the truth of thoſe reports that came from *Italy*. *Scipio* thought his *Roman* Legions too weake to incounter with ſuch a multitude. Wherefore he judged it needfull to uſe the helpe of his *Spaniſh* friends. But the death of his Father and Uncle, that were caſt away by the treaſon of ſuch falſe Auxiliaries, made him on the other ſide very doubtfull, of relying upon thoſe, that might perhaps betray him in his greateſt need. Yet ſince one *Colchas*, that was Lord of eight and twenty towns, had promiſed him the laſt Winter, to raiſe three thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe for his ſervice: he reſolved to make uſe of thoſe, and ſome few others, that might helpe to make a ſhew; and yet not be able to doe any great harme, if they would revolt. So with five and forty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, he ſought out the Enemy; neere unto whom he incamped. At his firſt comming, *Mago* and *Maſaniſſa* fell upon him; with hope to take him unprepared, whileſt he was making his lodgings. But he layd certaine troupes of horſe in covert: which, breaking upon them unexpected, cauſed them to fall off. They made at firſt an orderly retrait: but being more hardly preſſed, they ſhortly betooke themſelves to plaine flight. After this incounter, which added ſome courage to the *Romans*, and abated the preſumption of the *Carthaginians*, there were daily skirmiſhes between the horſe and light armature, on both ſides; wherein was nothing done of importance. *Aſdrubal* drew forth his Armie, and arranged it before his Trenches: the like did *Scipio*; each of them to ſhew that he durſt fight, yet not proceeding any farther. Thus they continued many dayes: *Aſdrubal* being ſtill the firſt that iſſued forth in the morning; and the firſt that, in the evening, withdrew himſelfe into his Trenches. The *Spaniſh* Auxiliaries were placed on both ſides in the wings; the *Carthaginians* were in the midſt, with their Elephants before them; and oppoſite to theſe on the other ſide were the *Roman* Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at farre diſtance, many dayes together: it grew to be the common opinion, that they ſhould ſhortly meet in the ſame forme; and be matched on each part, with the enemies long before deſigned. But *Scipio*, when he purpoſed indeed to fight, altered the forme of his Armie; and withall, came forth earlier than he had beene wont. He cauſed his men and horſes to be well fedde betimes in the morning before day: and then ſent forth his horſe aand light armature, to traine out the *Carthaginians* with their bellies empty: uſing herein the ſame trick, whereby he might remember that *Hannibal* had beaten his father in the battell of *Trebia*. His *Roman* Legions he beſtowed in the wings; his *Spaniards* in the battell. *Aſdrubal* ſent forth his horſe in all haſte, to entertaine the *Romans*; whileſt he himſelfe arranged his men, in their wonted order at the Hill foot, upon which he incamped. In the skirmiſhes of the horſe it could not be diſcerned which part had the better: ſince, being over-preſſed on either ſide, they had a ſafe retrait unto their foot; and one troupe ſeconding another by courſe, returned to charge. This fight was protracted by *Scipio* to a great length: becauſe his men, having well fed themſelves, were like to hold out better than the Enemie. But about noone he cauſed his wings to advance a good pace; leaving their battell of *Spaniards* farre behind them, that came on leiſurely, according to direction. The *Spaniſh* Mercenaries that ſtood in *Aſdrubal* his wings, were no way comparable, ſave onely in number, to the *Latine* and *Roman* Souldiers, that came againſt them; for they were freſh Souldiers, levied in haſte; and fighting onely in reſpect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flanke, at the ſame time, by the *Roman Velites*, and by ſome cohorts, that were appointed to wheele about for the ſame purpoſe, they were ſorely preſſed; and with much difficultie made reſiſtance. The *Carthaginians* would faine have ſuccoured them; but that they durſt not ſtir out of their places, becauſe of the *Spaniſh* battell which was comming againſt them; though it were as yet farre off. Thus the beſt part of *Aſdrubal* his Armie ſtood idle, untill the wings were broken. For, had he adventured to meet with the *Spaniards*, hee muſt have caſt himſelfe into the open ſpace that lay before him betweene the *Roman* wings: to the depth whereof when he had arrived, he ſhould have found himſelfe incloſed in ſuch ſort, as was the Conſull *Paulus* at the battell of *Cannæ*. Wherefore hee did onely imploy his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harme to his Enemies, than to his Friends. When they were chafed with wounds, they could no longer be ruled by their guides: but ran, as chance led them, and troubled both parts; or thoſe perhaps the more, that were the more unwilling to kill them. In proceſſe of the fight, the *Romans*, who had well refreſhed their bodies in the morning, endured luſtie; when the others began to faint with travell and heate of the day.

Wherefore perceiving their advantage, they followed it the more hotly; and gave not over, till they had forc't the enemy to change his place, and run from him. *Aſdrubal* did his beſt to have made an orderly retrait; and afterward againe, to have cauſed his men turn head at the Hill foot. But the *Romans* would not ſuffer the victory to be ſo extorted from them: neither was it eaſie to put freſh courage into the vanquiſhed, led by the obſtinate paſſion of feare, which hearkens to no perſwaſion. The Camp of *Aſdrubal* had that day bin taken, if a ſtorm of rain, which fell violently on the ſudden, and bred ſome ſuperſtition in the *Romans*, had not cauſed them to give over.

The ſame night *Aſdrubal* gave no reſt to his men: but cauſed them, hungry, and over-laboured as they were, to take paines in fortifying the Campe; wherein he feared to be aſſaulted. But little aſſurance could he have in the ſtrength of his Trenches, when he had loſt the hearts of his *Spaniſh* Souldiers. One *Attanes*, that was Lord of the *Turdetani*, fled from him to the *Romans*, with a great Band of his ſubjects: many followed this example; and ſoone after two ſtrong Townes were yeelded up to *Scipio*, and the Garriſons betrayed. It ſeemes that the perverſe fortune of this late battell, whereupon *Aſdrubal* had ſet his reſt, bred in the *Spaniards* a diſpoſition, to beleeve the more eaſily thoſe reports which they heard from *Italy*. For henceforward, they never did good office to the *Carthaginians*. *Aſdrubal*, perceiving this, withdrew himſelfe, and marched away faſter than an ordinary pace, toward the Ocean Sea. *Scipio* followed the next morning, and overtaking the *Carthaginians* with his horſe, cauſed them ſo often to make ſtand, that they were at length attached by the *Roman* Legions. Here began a cruell ſlaughter: for there was no reſiſtance made, but all fell to rout, ſave onely ſeven thouſand that with *Aſdrubal* himſelf recovered a very ſtrong piece of ground, which they fortified in haſte. The place he made ſhift a while to defend: but wanting there neceſſaries to ſuſtain himſelf long, he was forſaken by ſome of thoſe few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore he reſolved to make ſhift for one; and ſtealing from his Company by night away to the Sea-ſide, that was not farre thence, he tooke ſhipping, and ſet ſaile for *Gades*. When *Scipio* underſtood that *Aſdrubal* was thus gone, he left *Syllanus* with ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, to beſiege their Campe (which was not taken in haſte, for *Mago* and *Maſaniſſa* ſtaid in it) whileſt he with the reſt of the Army did what was needfull in the Countrie abroad. It was not long ere *Mago* and *Maſaniſſa* followed *Aſdrubal* to *Gades*: and their Army diſperſed it ſelfe; ſome flying over to the *Romans*, others taking what way they liked. So upon all the Continent of *Spaine*, there were only three Towns left, *Illiturgi*, *Caſtulo*, and *Aſtapa*, that made continuance of war againſt the *Romans*: of which only *Caſtulo* had a *Carthaginian* garriſon, conſiſting of ſuch as had ſaved themſelves by flight in the late overthrows. Hereby it ſeems, that the report of thoſe Hiſtorians was ill grounded, who ſaid, that *Caſtulo* yeelded long ſince unto the *Romans*; though *Hannibal* took a wife in that Citie. For this was one of the laſt three towns that held out on the *Carthaginian* ſide. *Illiturgi* had ſomtimes bin inclinable to the *Romans*; if not altogether at their devotion. Yet after the death of the two elder *Scipio's*, following too earneſtly the *Carthaginian* fortune, it not only rebelled, but with great cruelty betrayed and ſlue the poor men that eſcaped thither from the overthrows. *Aſtapa* was a town that ſtill adhered to the *Carthaginians*; and, which was worſe, had thriven by the ſpoyle of the *Romans* and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not untill the next year) *Scipio* went againſt theſe, and tooke himſelfe *Illiturgi* and *Caſtulo*: *Illiturgi* by aſſault, and with a generall ſlaughter of the Inhabitants; *Caſtulo*, by treaſon of one *Cerdubellus*. *Aſtapa* was taken by *Lucius Marcius*; or rather deſtroied by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raiſed in the Market-place: whereinto was thrown all the gold, and ſilver, with whatſoever elſe was precious; the vvomen and children ſtanding by it under a ſure guard, that ſhould kill and burne them if the *Romans* got into the Town. This proviſion being made, all the Inhabitants that could beare Armes, ruſhed forth deſperately, and fell upon the *Roman* Camp; vvhere ſtriving beyond their power, they vvere every one ſlain. Then vvas the Town forth-vvith ſet on fire, by thoſe that had taken charge to do it: and many of the *Romans* conſumed vvith the flame; vvhileſt they ruſhed over-haſtily to catch the gold and ſilver, vvhich they ſaw lying on the pile ready to melt.

*Aſdrubal* being beaten into the Iland of *Gades*, found no cauſe of long ſtay there: but returned home to *Carthage*, vvith ſeven Gallies: leaving *Mago* behind him, to vvait upon occaſion, if any ſhould be offered, He viſited in his way home, *Syphax*, King of the *Maſæſili*, a people of the *Numidians*; hoping to win him to the friendſhip of the *Carthaginians*. But he met with *Scipio*, as it were with his evill Angel, in the Kings port: who landing at the ſame time, carried *Syphax* quite another way. For *Scipio* having driven the *Carthaginians* out of *Spain*, did forth-with bethink himſelf, how to finiſh the War, by putting them to the like diſtreſſe in *Africk*. Hereunto it ſeemed that the help of *Syphax* would be much availeable: a King that had many times fallen out with the *Carthaginians*, and ſuſtained much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might eaſily be moved to ſeek revenge. He had alſo bin beholding to *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, that ſent him over a Captain into *Africk*; who inſtructed him ſo well in marſhalling his forces, as he thereby often became victorious. Upon theſe reaſons, the *Numidian* King ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, and made league with the city in time of great extremity. So that hereby *P. Scipio* conceived hope of laying a good foundation to the War, which he intended in *Africk*, upon the friendſhip of this ill neighbour to the *Carthaginians*. For which cauſe he ſent over *C. Lælius* his Embaſſador, to deale with *Syphax*: who declaring that the *Carthaginians* did very ill in *Italy*, and had nothing now at all to doe in *Spaine*, eaſily perſwaded the King to take part with thoſe that had the better, and were without queſtion his better friends. Only *Syphax* requeſted that the *Roman* Generall ſhould viſite him in perſon, to conclude the League; by which he was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treaty. Hereto *Scipio* condeſcended; thinking the friendſhip of ſo great a King, that was neighbour to *Carthage*, and not far diſtant from *Spaine*, well worthy of the adventure. So with two *Quinquereme* Gallies he took Sea, and arrived in the Kings Port, at the ſame time with *Aſdrubal*. This would have been very dangerous to him, had he been deſcried by his enemies further at Sea: but in the Haven they forbare to make offer one upon the other. *Syphax* might well be proud; ſeeing at one time, two ſuch Captains of two moſt powerfull Cities, came to deſire his friendſhip. He would have brought them to treat of peace: but the *Roman* excuſed himſelfe, by want of ſuch Commiſsion from the Senate. He feaſted them together: and ſhortly diſmiſſed *Scipio*, with whom he readily entred into Covenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

## †. II.

*Funerall games held by* Scipio. *A Duell between two Spaniſh Princes. A digreſsion concerning Duels.*

Scipio returning into *Spaine*, and reſting that Winter, took vengeance the next yeare, upon thoſe of *Illiturgi*, *Caſtulo*, and *Aſtapa*, as hath bin ſaid before. The Conqueſt of the Country being then in a manner at an end; he performed at new *Carthage*, with great ſolemnity, ſome Vowes that he had made, and honoured the memory of his Father and Uncle, with funerall games, eſpecially of thoſe that fought at ſharpe, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needfull that he ſhould trouble himſelfe with preparing ſlaves for that ſpectacle, to hazzard their lives, as was uſed in the City of *Rome*: for there were enow, that either offered themſelves as Voluntaries, or were ſent from their Princes, to give proofe in ſingle combat, of the valour that was in their ſeverall Countries. Some alſo there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwiſe end, agreed to refer the deciſion of their Controverſies, to tryall of the ſword, in ſingle fight. Among theſe, the moſt eminent, were *Corbis* and *Orſua*; Coſen-germans: that contended for the principality of a Town called *Ibes*. *Corbis* was the elder, and the elder brothers ſonne: wherefore he claimed the Lordſhip, as eldeſt of the houſe, after the manner of our *Iriſh Taniſtry*. But the father of *Orſua* ſtood lately ſeized of the principality: which, though himſelf received by the death of his elder brother; yet this his ſon would not let it goe back, but claimed to hold it as heire unto his father, and old enough to rule. Fain would *Scipio* have compounded the matter. But they anſwered peremptorily, That all their friends and kindred had already laboured in vaine, to take up that quarrell; and that neither God nor Man, but only *Mars*, their god of battell, ſhould be Umpire between them. So they had their wils: and the elder, who was alſo the ſtronger, and more skilfull at his weapon, eaſily vanquiſhed the foole-hardineſſe of the younger.

Such combats have been very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kinde of fight. We reade of many performed before the Warre of *Troy*; by *Theſeus*, *Hercules*, *Pollux*, and others: as alſo of two more at the Warre of *Troy*, the one betweene *Paris and Menelaus*; the other betweene *Hector* and *Ajax*. Neither want there examples of them among the *Hebrewes*: whereof that betweene *David* and *Goliah*; and others perfomed by ſome of *Davids* Worthies, againſt thoſe that challenged them, are greatly celebrated. Unto the ſame kinde appertaineth the fight betweene twelve of the Tribe of *Juda*, and as many of the *Benjamites*. The *Romans* had many of them: whereof that was principall, in which they ventured their Dominion upon the heads of three brethren the *Horatii*, againſt the three brethren, *Curatii*, that were *Albans*. The combat of *Manlius Torquatus*; and ſhortly after, of *Valerius Corvinus*, with two Champions of the *Gaules*, which challenged any *Roman*; were of leſſe importance, as having only reference to bravery. In *England* there was a great Combat fought between *Edmund Ironſide*, and *Canutus* the *Dane*, for no leſſe matter than the Kingdome. The uſe of them was very frequent in the *Saxon* times; almoſt upon every occaſion, great or ſmall. In the reigne of *Edward* the third, who ſuſtained the party of *Mountfort* againſt the Earle of *Bloys*, contending for the Duchie of *Britain*; there was a fight for honor of the Nations, between thirty of the *Britons*, and thirty *Engliſh*: two of which *Engliſh*, were *Calverlie*, a brave Captain; and that Sir *Robert Knolles*, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the *French* wars, and did highly honour his bloud, whereof the Lord *Knolles* is deſcended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Italian* Hiſtories. Moſt of them have been combats of bravery, and of *gayeté de cœur*, as the *French* terme it; for honour of ſeverall Nations; for love of Miſtreſſes; or whatſoever elſe gave occaſion unto men, deſirous to ſet out themſelves. But beſides thoſe of this ſort, there are two other natures of combats; which are, either upon accuſation for life, or upon tryall of Title and Inheritance, as in *Writ of right*. And of this latter kinde, was that, of which we ſpake even now, betweene *Corbis* and *Orſua*. Unto theſe (mee thinks) may be added, as of different condition from the reſt, the combat upon Wager; ſuch as were that between *David* and *Goliah*, or that between the *Horatii* and *Curatii*: in which, without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one over the other, is adventured upon the head of Champions. Upon an accuſation for life, there was a combat appointed between the Lord *Henry* of *Boulinbrook*, Duke of *Hereford*, and *Moubray* Duke of *Norfolke*. There was a combat performed by Sir *John Anſley* and one *Cattrington*: whom *Anſley* charged with treaſon: and proved it upon him, by being victorious. The like was fought betweene *Robert* of *Mountfort*, and *Henry* of *Eſſex*. The like alſo, between a *Navarrois*, and one *Welſh* of *Grimsby*, whom the *Navarrois* accuſed of treaſon: but, being beaten in fight, confeſſed that he had belyed him, and was therefore drawne and hanged. Whether our tryall by battell doe determine, that the falſe accuſer, if he be vanquiſhed, ſhall ſuffer the puniſhment which had beene due to the offender, if the accuſation had beene proved; I cannot affirme. But wee every where finde, That if he which is accuſed of treaſon, or, according to the cuſtomes of *Normandy*, of Murder, Rape, or burning of places (offences puniſhed by death) be overcome, He ſhall ſuffer the paines appointed for thoſe crimes. In combats for tryall of right, it is not ſo: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in perſon, but he may try it by his Champion, as did *Paramour* and *Low*, or offered to doe, in the reigne of Queen *Elizabeth*. And in this caſe, he that is beaten or yeeldeth, loſeth onely his cauſe, not his life. Neither are the combats upon accuſation, or triall of right, fought in open field, as are thoſe of bravery; but in *Campe cloſe*, that is, within railes. Now this tryall by combat was ſo ordinary in *France*, before the time of S. *Lewis* and *Philip the faire* his grand-child, as every Lord of Fee, Eccleſiaſticall or Temporall, had power to grant it within his owne Juriſdiction. And it ſeemeth, that the *French* Kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the * *Memorialls of the Chamber of Accounts*, is found an Article to this effect: That if a Combat were once accepted, and after, by conſent of the Lord, were taken up, each of the parties ſhould pay two ſhillings ſixe pence; but if it were performed, then ſhould the party vanquiſhed forfeit an hundred and twelve ſhillings. And upon this cuſtome grew the *French* Proverbe, which they uſe when as any man hath had an hard and unjuſt judgement; ſaying, That *Hee was tryed by the Law of Loray, or Berne; ou le battu paye l'amende*, where he that is beaten gives the recompence. Of theſe frequent

An.21.*Ric.*2.

An.3.*Ric.*2.

An.9.*Henr.*2.

* *Si homines de Loraico vadia Duelli temerè dederint, &c.*

trials by battell that great learned man *Yvo*, Biſhop of *Chartres*, did often complaine; and ſpecially againſt the *French* Church-men: as appeares by * his Letters to the Biſhop of *Orleans*, to the Arch-deacon of *Paris*, to *Rembert* Archbiſhop of *Sens*, and to others; wherein he rebukes the judgement of their Churches, that had ratified ſuch challenges of combat. But this liberty and kinde of tryall, was retrencht by S. *Lewis*, and *Philip the faire*; ſo that no man could decree or grant it, ſave the King himſelfe. It hath ſince been granted, though more ſparingly, by the *French* Kings, as to the Lord of *Carogues*, againſt *Jaques le Gris*; and to *Julian Romero* the *Spaniard*, againſt *Moro* his countriman: wherein Sir *Henry Knevet*, Father to the Lord *Knevet* now living, was Patron to *Romero* that had the victory; and laſtly to the Lord of *Chaſt*. Now in thoſe challenges, upon accuſation of Treaſon, Murder, or other offence deſerving death (and in thoſe onely) the rule held, That *le defendeur eſtoit tenu de propoſer ces deffences par un dementir*; *The defendant was bound to plead not guilty, by giving the accuſer the Lie*: otherwiſe it was concluded, that the Defendant did *taiſiblement confeſſer le crime*; *ſilently confeſſe the crime*. But after ſuch time as *Francis* the *French* King, upon ſome diſpute about breach of Faith, had ſent the *Lie* unto the Emperor *Charles* the fift, thereby to draw him to a perſonall combat: every petty Companion in *France*, in imitation of their Maſter, made giving of the *Lie* mortality it ſelf; holding it a matter of no ſmall glory, to have it ſaid, That the meaneſt Gentleman in *France* would not put up, what the great Emperor *Charles* the fift had patiently endured.

* *Clerici veſtri nuper ad nos revertentes, qui cauſæ Comitis* Theobaldi Aurelianis *interfuerint, retulerunt nobis, quod quidam miles Domini* Rodulphi *quendam militem Comitis ad Monomachiam provocaverit, & hanc provocationem Eccleſiæ veſtræ judicio confirmaverit, &c.*

From this beginning is derived a challenge of combat, grounded upon none of thoſe occaſions that were knowne to the Ancient. For, the Honour of Nations, the Tryall of Right, the Wager upon Champions, or the Objection and Refutation of capitall offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of halfe ſo many Duels, as are founded upon meere private Anger, yea, or upon matter *ſeeming* worthy of anger in the opinion of the Duelliſts. So that in theſe daies, wherein every man takes unto himſelfe a Kingly liberty, to offer, accept, and appoint perſonall combats, the giving of the *Lie*, which ought to be the Negation onely in accuſations for life, is become the moſt fruitfull root of deadly quarrels. This is held a word ſo terrible, and a wrong ſo unpardonable, as will admit no other recompence, than the bloud of him that gives it. Thus the faſhion, taken up in haſte by the *French* Gentlemen, after the pattern of their King, is growne to be a cuſtome: whence we have derived a kinde of Art and Philoſophie of quarrell; with certaine grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are deduced. Yea there are (among many no leſſe ridiculous) ſome ſo myſticall curioſities herein, as that it is held a farre greater diſhonour, to receive from an enemy a ſlight touch with a Cane, than a ſound blow with a Sword: the one having relation to a ſlave, the other to a ſouldier. I confeſſe that the difference is pretty: though for my owne part, if I had had any ſuch Italianated enemy in former times, I ſhould willingly have made with him ſuch an exchange; and have given him the point of honour to boot.

But let us examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the *Lie*; with their conditions who are commonly of all other the moſt tender in receiving it. I ſay, that the moſt of theſe, who preſent death on the points of their ſwords to all that give it them; uſe nothing ſo much in their converſation and courſe of life, as to ſpeake and ſweare falſly. Yea it is thereby, that they ſhift and ſhuffle in the World, and abuſe it. For how few are there among them, which, having aſſumed and ſworn to pay the monies & other things they borrow, doe not breake their word and promiſe as often as they ingage it? Nay, how few are there among them, that are not *Lyers by Record*, by being ſued in ſome Court or other of Juſtice, upon breach of word or bond? For he which hath promiſed that he will pay mony by a day, or promiſed any thing elſe, wherein he faileth; hath directly lyed to him to whom the promiſe hath been made. Nay, what is the profeſſion of love that men make now-a-daies? What is the vowing of their ſervice, and of all they have, uſed in their ordinary complements, and (in effect) to every man whom they bid but good morrow, or ſalute, other than a courteous and Court-like kinde of lying? It is (ſaith a wiſe *French* man, deriding therein the Apiſh cuſtome of his Country) *un marché & complot fait enſemble, ſe mocquer, mentir, & piper les uns les autres*; *A kind of merchandiſe, and complot made among them, to mocke, belie, and deride each other*: and ſo farre now-a-daies in faſhion, and in uſe; as he that uſeth it not, is accounted either dull or Cynicall. True it is notwithſtanding (omitting the old diſtinction) that there is great difference betweene theſe mannerly and complementall lies, with thoſe which are ſometime perſwaded by neceſſity upon breach of promiſe; and thoſe which men uſe out of cowardize and feare: the latter confeſſing themſelves to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other ſtiled the moſt villanous. But now for the *Lie* it ſelfe, as it is made the ſubject of all our deadly quarrels in effect: to it I ſay, That whoſoever giveth another man the *Lie*, when it is manifeſt that he hath lied, doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more hainouſly taken, than to tell him, he hath broken any promiſe which he hath otherwiſe made. For he that promiſeth any thing, tels him, to whom he hath promiſed, that he will performe it; and, in not performing it, hee had made himſelfe a Lier. On the other ſide, He that gives any man the *Lie*, when he himſelfe knowes that he, to whom it is given, hath not lied; doth therein give the *Lie* directly to himſelfe. And what cauſe have I, if I ſay that the Sunne ſhines when it doth ſhine, and that another fellow tels me I lie, for it's mid-night; to proſecute ſuch an one to death, for making himſelfe a fooliſh Ruffian, and a lyer in his owne knowledge? For he that gives the *Lie* in any other diſpute, than in defence of his Loyalty, or Life; gives it impertinently, and Ruffian-like. I will not deny but it is an extreme rudeneſſe to taxe any man in publike with an untruth (if it be not pernicious, and to his prejudice againſt whom the untruth is uttered:) but all that is rude, ought not to bee civillized with death. That were more to admire and imitate a *French* cuſtome, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counſell of God. But you will ſay, that theſe diſcourſes ſavour of cowardize. It is true; if you call it cowardize to feare God or hell: whereas he that is truely wiſe, and truely valiant, knowes that there is nothing elſe to be feared. For againſt an Enemies ſword, we ſhall finde ten thouſand ſeven-peny-men (waged at that price in the wars) that feare it as little, or perchance leſſe, than any profeſt Sword-man in the world. *Diligentiſſima in tutela ſui Fortitudo; Fortitude is a diligent preſerver of it ſelfe.* It is (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) a mediocrity betweene doubting and daring. *Sicut non Martyrem pœna: ſic nec fortem pugna; ſed cauſa: As it is not the puniſhment that makes the Martyr: ſo it is not fighting that declares a valiant man; but fighting in a good cauſe.* In which, whoſoever ſhall reſolvedly end his life, reſolvedly in reſpect of the cauſe, to wit, in defence of his Prince, Religion, or Country: as he may juſtly bee numbred among the Martyrs of God; ſo may thoſe that die with malicious hearts, in private combats, be called the Martyrs of the Divell. Neither doe we indeed take our owne revenge, or puniſh the injuries offered us, by the death of the injurious. For the true conqueſt of revenge is, to give him, of whom we would be revenged, cauſe to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death upon our owne conſciences; *Animaſq; in vulnere ponere; And to drowne our ſoules in the wounds and bloud of our enemies.* Hereupon you will again aske me, if I condemne, in generous and noble ſpirits, the defence of their honours, being preſt with injuries? I ſay that I doe not, if the injuries be violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the Eternall Law: and the Lawes of all Chriſtian Kings and States; doe favour him that is aſſailed, in the ſlaughter of the aſſailant. You will ſecondly aske me, Whether a Noble-man, or a Gentleman, being challenged by *Cartel* by one of like quality, be not bound in point of honour to ſatisfie the chalenger in private combat? I anſwer, that he is not: becauſe (omitting the greateſt, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrary and oppoſite to that, which they call the point of honour; the Law which hath dominion over it, which can judge it, which can deſtroy it; except you will ſtile thoſe Acts honourable, where the Hang-man gives the Garland. For, ſeeing the Lawes of this Land have appointed the Hang-man to ſecond the Conqueror, and the Lawes of God appointed the Divell to ſecond the Conquered, dying in malice: I ſay, that he is both baſe and a fool, that accepts of any *Cartel* ſo accompanied. To this perchance it will be anſwered, That the Kings of *England*, & other Chriſtian Kings, have ſeldome taken any ſuch advantage over men of quality, who upon even termes have ſlaine their private enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combuſtion they have not often done it; ſo did our Noble-men and Gentlemen in former ages, in all important injuries, ſue unto the King, to approve themſelves by battell and publique combat. For as they dared not to brave the Law; ſo did they diſdaine to ſubmit themſelves unto the ſhamefull revenge thereof; the ſame revenge (becauſe it deteſteth murder) that it hath declared againſt a common Cut-purſe or other Theeves:

Nay let it be granted that a pardon be procured for ſuch offenders: Yet is not the man-ſlayer freed by his pardon. For theſe two remedies hath the party grieved notwithſtanding; that is, to require juſtice by Grand Aſſize, or by battell, upon his appeale, which (ſaith Sir *Thomas Smith*) is not denyed; and he further ſaith (for I uſe his owne words) That if the Defendant (to wit, the man-ſlayer) be convinced either by great Aſſize or by Battell, upon that appeale; the man-ſlayer ſhall dye notwithſtanding the Princes pardon. So favourable (ſaith the ſame learned Gentleman) are our Princes, and the law of our Realme, to juſtice and to the puniſhment of bloud violently ſhed. It may further be demanded, how our Noble-men and Gentlemen ſhall be repaired in honour, where an enemy, taking the ſtart either in words or blowes, ſhall lay on them an infamy unſufferable? I ſay, that a Marſhals Court will eaſily give ſatisfaction in both. And if we hold it no diſgrace to ſubmit our ſelves for the recovery of our Debts, Goods, and Lands, and for all things elſe by which the lives of our ſelves, our wives, and children are ſuſtained, to the Judges of the Law; becauſe it may be felony to take by violence even that which is our owne: why ſhould we not ſubmit our ſelves unto the Judges of honour in caſes of honour; becauſe to recover our reputation by ſtrong hand, may be murder? But yet againe, it may be objected, That the loſſe of honour ought to be much more fearefull unto us, than either the loſſe of our goods, of our lands, or of our lives; and I ſay ſo too. But what is this honour, I meane honour indeed, and that which ought to be ſo deare unto us, other than a kinde of hiſtory, or fame following actions of vertue, actions accompanied with difficulty or danger, and undertaken for the publike good? In theſe, he that is imployed and truſted, if he faile in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other baſe affection; it is true that he loſeth his honour. But the acting of a private combat, for a private reſpect, and moſt commonly a frivolous one, is not an action of vertue, becauſe it is contrary to the Law of God, and of all Chriſtian Kings: neither is it difficult, becauſe even and equall in perſons and armes: Neither for a publike good, but tending to the contrary; becauſe the loſſe or mutilation of an able man, is alſo a loſſe to the Common-weale.

Sir *Thomas Smith* in his Com.wealth of *England*.

Now that a Marſhall of *England* hath power to ſave every mans fame and reputation, as farre as reputation may ſuſtaine injury by words, I thinke no man doubteth. For to repent us of any evill words that wee have given, and to confeſſe that we have done him wrong, unto whom we have given them, is a ſufficient ſatisfaction; and as it may fall out, more than ſufficient. For he that gives ill words in choler, and ſuddenly denies them, or repents himſelfe of them upon adviſement, hath the diſadvantage in point of reputation. Concerning blowes, which are indeed not to be given but to thoſe that are ſervile, whether ſufficient recompence will be made for them, it ſhall appeare by a notable example of a moſt worthy Gentleman *Monſier de Pleſsis*, that was ſtricken in *France* not long ſince by a Baron of the ſame Nation. The ſatisfaction which was given him by a judgement of the Conſtable and Marſhals of *France*, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Conſtable gave judgement, *M. de Pleſsis* was ſet in a chaire under the degrees where the Conſtable and Marſhals ſate: the Baron, who had given him the blow, did kneele before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a ſword with the point towards himſelfe, and in his left hand the like cudgel or baſtinado, wherewith he had ſtricken *M. de Pleſsis*; both which weapons he delivered into *Pleſsis* hands, ſubmitting himſelfe to ſuch revenge, as it ſhould pleaſe him to take with either of thoſe weapons; the Conſtable and Marſhalls having formerly left it to the will of *Pleſsis*, to uſe his owne diſcretion in the revenge of his own wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reaſon to pleaſe himſelfe, as one beforehand in point of honour, (who ſtruck *M. de Pleſsis* like a Ruffian comming behind him, and having the advantage of company, and his horſes ready, ſhifted himſelfe away on the ſudden; but being afterwards taken, was taught to repent himſelfe in this ſhamefull manner:) or whether *Monſier de Pleſsis* (of whoſe valour no man doubted) had not farre juſter cauſe to reſt ſatisfied, ſince he might at his pleaſure have beaten or wounded his enemy, but forgave him: let any wiſe man judge. To this, if it be ſaid, That the Baron was conſtrained to make his ſubmiſſion, that his repentance was enforced, and not voluntary; and therefore no diſgrace unto him: I anſwer, that one may ſay as well, that it is no diſgrace to a Theefe, when he is brought to the Gallowes, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, becauſe his repentance alſo is conſtrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is no diſgrace in reſpect of a force,but in reſpect of the fact : which(but for our ſins to God) makes all repentance ſhamefull ; becauſe all forced repentance is inflicted upon us for ſomewhat unworthy of a Gentleman,and of an honeſt man. Nay, voluntary repentance it ſelfe, as it hath relation to men, ariſeth either out of the feare of the ill that may befall us,or out of the acknowledgement of our own weakneſſe. Certainly,as wiſe men, and valiant men do rather deride petty injuries or ſudden injuries,that are not offered from malice fore-thought,than revenge them : ſo men,apt to quarrell,do commonly ſuſpect their own valour ; and rather deſire,that thereby the world ſhould beleeve them to be of great daring,than know any ſuch reſolution in themſelves. For he that knowes himſelfe indeed to be an honeſt man,ſcornes to hunt after opinion.

Now the ſame power which the Conſtable and Marſhals of France have, hath alſo a Marſhall of England, or his Deputies ; by whoſe judgement, in all diſputes of honour, every mans reputation may be preſerved ; we may therefore as well ſubmit our ſelves to the Judge of honour in all diſputes of honour,as we do ſubmit our ſelves in all controverſies of livelihood and life,to the Judges of the Law. And,out of doubt,the inſtitution of this Court of Chevalrie in *England*, in *France*, and elſewhere ; was no leſſe charitable than politike. For the bloud of man,violently ſpilt,doth not bring forth *hony bees*,as that of Bulls doth, which ſting but the fingers or the face : but it produceth that monſtrous beaſt, *Revenge*,which hath ſtung to death,and eaten up,of ſeverall Nations, ſo many noble perſonages ; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatning the wrath of God upon ſupreme Governours,than the permiſſion.

His Majeſty therefore(which *Henry* the fourth of *France* alſo endeavoured)hath done a moſt Kingly and Chriſtian-like deed in Scotland, which the moſt renowned of all his Predeceſſors could never doe : in beating downe and extinguiſhing that hereditary proſecution of malice, called *the deadly fead* ; a conqueſt, which ſhall give him the honour of Prudence and Kingly power for evermore. And we have cauſe to hope, that his royall care ſhall be no leſſe happy in preventing the like miſchiefe, which threatens *England*,by the audacious,common,and brave,yet outragious vanity of Duelliſts.

Unto this that I have ſpoken of lying, and of man-ſlaughter, it muſt bee added, That each of theſe are of great Latitude,and worthy of reproofe and vengeance proportionably,more or leſſe,in their ſeverall degrees. There is much difference betweene Lies of neceſſity upon breach of promiſe, or complementall lyes ; and ſuch pernicious lyes, as proceed from feare and cowardize,or are uttered by falſe witneſſes : the former ſort being excuſable by weakneſſe or levitie ; the latter being altogether deteſtable. No leſſe, if not more,difference there is, betweene killing of a man in open field, with even weapons; & that killing, which the Scriptures call *killing by guile*,*dolo* or *per inſidias* ; though our Lawes doe not much diſtinguiſh them in puniſhment. For in the latter, God, forſaking his owne priviledge, commandeth that the *guilefull* murderer be drawn by force, from the protection of his Altar. Neither is every guilefull murder performed by the ſword, nor by *overt* violence : but there is a guilefull murder alſo, by poyſoning ; and by the pen, or by practice. For ſuch diſtinction is found, betweene comming preſumptuouſly upon a man, *to ſlay him with guile* ; and *lying in wait for bloud, privily, for the innocent, without a cauſe*, upon hope of ſpoile, after ſuch manner as *the net is ſpread before the eyes of the birds*. *Francis* the firſt, *Queene Mary* of England, and the Kings Majeſty now reigning, have given notable teſtimony of their juſtice, upon three Noble men, who committed *guilefull murder*. Of the firſt kinde, King *Francis* upon the Lord of *Talard*: who being (ſaith the *French* Hiſtorian) *de haute & ancienne lignee, & ſupporté de pluſieurs grandes alliances* ; *who being of high and ancient linage, and ſupported by divers great alliances,* of which the Cardinall of *Bellay* (in eſpeciall favour with the King) was one, was notwithſtanding delivered over into the hands of the Hangman. *Queen Mary*, upon a noble man of her owne Religion, and in many other reſpects very deare unto her. *His Majeſty*, upon a Baron of *Scotland* ; whoſe houſe was no leſſe ancient and faithfull, than himſelfe valiant,and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilefully by poyſon, and of puniſhment following ſuch wicked Artiſans, every age hath had too many examples. Of killing guilefully by the pen (that I may not ſpeake of any *Engliſh* Judge) the Author of the *French Recherches* gives unto us two notable inſtances: the one of *des Eſhars*, who (ſaith *Paſquier*) *fit mourir Montaigu grand Maiſtre de France, pour contenter l'opinion de celuy dont il eſtoit lors idolaſtre* ; *& Dieu permit que depuis*

Exod.21.

Exod.21.14.
Pro.1.v.11.

*Lib.5.c.18.& cap.11.*

*il fut pendu & eſtranglé ; who cauſed Montaigu great Maſter of France to die to content his mind* (to wit,the Duke of Burgoyne) *whom at that time Eſhars worſhipped as his Idol: but God permitted,that he himſelfe was ſoone after hanged and ſtrangled*. The other was of the Great *Francis* the firſt,upon his Chancellor *Foyet:* who,to ſatisfie the Kings paſſion, practiſed the deſtruction of the Admirall *Chabot* ; a man moſt nobly deſcended, and of great ſervice. For as in other men,ſo in Kings, the paſſion of love growes old, and weares out by time. So the Kings affection being changed towards the Admirall,he charged him with ſome offences which he had formerly committed. The Admirall, preſuming upon the great good ſervice which he had done the King in *Piemont*,and in the defence of *Marſeilles* againſt the Emperour,gave the King other language than became him; and deſired nothing ſo much, as a publike triall. Hereupon the King ( it being eaſie to provoke an ill diſpoſition) gave commiſſion to the Chancellor,as Preſident,and other Judges, upon an information of the Kings advocate,to queſtion the Admirals life. The Chancellor,an ambitious man,and of a large conſcience,(which is not rare in men towards the Law)hoping highly to content the King ; wrought with ſome of the Judges with ſo great cunning ; with others,with ſo ſharpe threats ; and with the reſt,with ſo fair promiſes; as albeit nothing could be proved againſt the Admiral, worthy of the Kings diſpleaſure , yet the Chancellor ſubſcribed,and got others to ſubſcribe,to the forfeiture of his Eſtate,Offices, and Liberty ; though not able to prevaile againſt his life. But what was the Chancellors reward(the king hating falſhood in ſo great a magiſtrate)other than his own degradation, arraignment,and condemnation ? *Belle leçon certes*(ſaith *Paſquier) à tout Juge pur demeurer touſiours en ſoy , & ne laiſſer fluctuer ſa conſcience dedans les vagues d' une imaginare faveur,qui pour fin de jeu le ſubmerge ; A faire leſſon to all Judges,to dwell alwayes in themſelves,and not to ſuffer their conſciences to float upon the waves of imaginarie favour, which in the end overwhelmes them*. And as for the Admirall;though it might have bin anſwered unto his friends, if any bewailed his calamitie as undeſerved , That he was tryed,according to his owne deſire,by the Lawes of his Country,and by the Judges of Parliament ; yet the Kings juſtice,ſurmounting all other his paſſions,gave back unto him his Honour, his Offices,his Liberty, and his Eſtate.

## †. III.

### *The laſt Acts of* Scipio *in Spain. His return to Rome,where he is choſen Conſul.*

THe laſt buſineſſe that troubled *Scipio* in *Spain* , grew by the rebellion of the people,and mutiny of his ſouldiers. He fell dangerouſly ſick,in ſuch ſort,that the rumor of his death ran current throughout *Spain*. This encouraged *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*,petty kings,that had forſaken the *Carthaginians*,& followed *Scipio* a while before,to take arms againſt the *Romans*. They were vainly perſwaded,that after the *Carthaginians* were driven out,they themſelves ſhould become the mightieſt in all *Spain*. But ſeeing now, that things were no way anſwerable to the greatneſſe of their hopes ; they thought it beſt, to take the preſent advantage, and hammer out their owne fortunes. So they raſhly fell upon the *Sueſſetani* and *Sedetani*, Confederates of the *Romans* ; and waſted their Country. Part of the *Roman* Army lying at *Sucro*, in ſtead of making head againſt theſe Rebels,grew to be affected with the like diſtemper. They had not reaped ſuch profit of the *Roman* conqueſts , as might ſatisfie their deſires ; or as they thought eaſie to be gotten, if they might be their owne Carvers. Wherefore, when the death of *Scipio* was reported, they thought , that the time ſerved very well, to enrich themſelves with the ſpoyle of the Country. Many outrages they committed : and,which was greateſt of all, driving away their Colonels, that ſhould have bridled their furie ; they choſe out of their owne number two baſe fellowes, *Albius Calenus*, and *Atrius Umber*,to their Commanders. Theſe tooke upon them all the Enſignes of Proconſuls, or Propretors ; as if this their election had been like to that, wherein *Lucius Martius* was choſen by the Souldiers, after the death of the two *Scipio's*. But whileſt they were deviſing vvhat exploits they might doe, for the enriching of themſelves, in a time of ſuch combuſtion as vvas expected;there arrived more certain newes,that *Scipio* vvas both alive,and in good health. There came alſo new Colonels, ſent unto them from their Generall : vvho mildly rebuking their vvant of conſideration, and ſeeming to be glad that they had no further over-ſhot themſelves; led them to *Carthagena*, there to receive their pay. Before their comming, *Scipio* had reſolved to doe exemplary juſtice on the principal offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them in fear of what they had deſerved. Therefore he cauſed *Syllanus* to make ready the Companies which lay before in the Town, as it were to make an Expedition againſt *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*: he cauſed *Albius* and *Atrius* with ſome thirty other of their Complices, to be ſecretly apprehended in their lodgings; he called the Mutiners to aſſembly; and having them unarmed as they were, encircled round by *Syllanus* and his companies, prepared for the purpoſe; he bitterly inveighed againſt them all as Traitors. This done, *Albius* and *Atrius*, with the other priſoners, were haled to the ſtake; where they were whipt and beheaded, as was the *Roman* cuſtome toward ſuch offenders. The reſt of the Souldiers, to the number of eight thouſand, were cauſed to take their oath of obedience anew; and received every man his pay when he was ſworn.

*Mandonius* and *Indibilis* continued in arms; notwithſtanding that they had certain word of *Scipio* his life and health. Well they could have bin contented to be quiet: but by the ſeverity uſed to the *Roman* Souldiers, they ſtood in fear, as being *Spaniards*, and greater offenders, of harder meaſure. *Scipio* went againſt them, and found them in a Valley, that was ſcarce large enough to hold all their Army. In the entrance thereof he fought with them: and ſending *Lælius* with all his horſe to fetch a compaſſe about the hils, and charge them in rear, he overthrew them. *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had after this, no hope remaining to preſerve themſelves and their eſtates, otherwiſe than by making ſubmiſſion. *Mandonius* therefore came to *Scipio*: and humbly craving pardon, both for himſelf and for his brother *Indibilis*, obtained his requeſt; yet ſo, that they were taught to acknowledge themſelves leſſe free Princes, than formerly they had been.

Afterwards *Scipio* went toward *Gades*: and was met on the way by *Maſaniſſa*; who ſecretly promiſed to do him all ſervice, if the people of *Rome* would ſend him to make war in *Africk*. Unto *Mago* that lay in *Gades*, came directions from *Carthage*, that letting all care of *Spaine* alone, he ſhould thence depart with his fleet into *Italy*; and there wage an Army of *Gaules* and *Ligurians*, to joyn with *Hannibal*. For this purpoſe, was mony ſent unto him from *Carthage*; and he himſelf laid hold upon all that he could find in the town of *Gades*; without ſparing either private men, the common treaſury, or the Temples. In his voyage thence, he landed at *Carthagena*; hoping to have taken it by ſurpriſe. But he failed in the attempt; and was ſo beaten to his ſhips, that he returned back to repoſe himſelfe a while at *Gades*. The *Gaditanes*, offended with the robberies and ſpoyle that he had made at his taking leave of them, would not ſuffer him again to enter into their City. By this he foreſaw, that it would not be long ere they became *Roman*. Wherefore ſending Meſſengers into the Town, to complain of this uncourteous dealing, he allured their Magiſtrates forth unto him; whom, notwithſtanding all the excuſe that they could make, he whipt and crucified. This done, he followed his former intended voyage; bidding *Spain* farewell for ever.

The Iſle and City of *Gades*, was yeelded to the *Romans*, preſently after the departure of *Mago*. Then did *Scipio* deliver up the Province, to thoſe that were ſent from *Rome* to ſucceed him therein: and himſelf with ten ſhips returned home. At his comming to *Rome*, he made ſuit for the honour of a triumph. But it was denied him: for that it had as yet bin granted unto no Proconſul, excepting to ſuch, as received that dignitie after a Conſulſhip, as it were by prorogation. But, to make amends for this repulſe, the election of new Conſuls being then in hand, by generall voice of the citie *P. Cornelius Scipio* was choſen Conſul; and *P. Licinius Craſſus* joyned with him. This *Craſſus*, being high Prieſt, or Biſhop of the *Romans*, might not, by the cuſtome of thoſe times, go far from the Citie; as being to intend the matters of their ſuperſtition: though *Cæſar*, and others, who in ages following held the ſame office, were ſtaied by no ſuch religious impediment, from being far & long abſent. Hereby it came to paſſe, that *Scipio*, deſiring to have the war transferred into *Africk*, was in no danger to loſe that honorable charge, by any miſchance of lot, in the diviſion of Provinces; for that his Colleague was not capable of employment ſo far off.

## §.XVIII.

Scipio *obtaines leave to make war in Africk. His preparations. Of* Maſaniſſa *who was joyned with* Scipio. *The victories againſt* Aſdrubal *and* Syphax.

PUb. *Cornelius Scipio*, and *P. Licinius Craſſus*, entring into their Conſulſhip, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: wherein it was decreed, that *Scipio* ſhould be allowed, to beſtow part of the mony which he had brought out of *Spaine* into the treaſurie; upon the ſetting forth of ſolemn plaies, that he had vowed to make, whileſt he was buſied in his *Spaniſh* wars. This helped well to revive the memory of his victories already gotten; and to give hope unto the People of greater victories in the war, which he intended to make in *Africk*. To the ſame purpoſe, did the *Spaniſh* Embaſſages availe much in the Senate; eſpecially that of the *Saguntines*: who magnified his actions highly and deſervedly; ſaying, That they were the moſt happy of all their countriemen, ſince they being preſent, had ſeen him choſen Conſul, and ſhould carry home ſuch joyfull news. The *Saguntine* Embaſſadors were lovingly entertained by the Senate; as their faith to *Rome* (though coſtly it were both to them and to the *Romans*) had well deſerved. Nevertheleſs, when *Scipio* propoſed, that *Africk* might be decreed unto him for his Province, there wanted not many, even of the principal men, that vehemently gain-ſaid him. Of theſe was *Q. Fabius Maximus* the chiefe: who ſeems to have bin troubled with that diſeaſe, which too often cauſeth men, renowned for long approved vertue, to look aſquint upon the actions of thoſe, that follow them in the ſame kind. He alledged many reaſons againſt the purpoſe of the Conſul: whereof the chiefe were, That the treaſurie was unable to ſuſtain the charges of a war in *Africk*; and that it was extremely perillous to hazzard ſo great forces, where they could not at pleaſure be recalled unto the defence of *Rome* it ſelfe, if need required. Hereunto he added many words concerning the danger wherein *Italy* ſtood, not only of *Hannibal*, but of *Mago* his brother, that was arming the *Ligurians*: as alſo concerning the honour of the Conſul; which would (he ſaid) be greater in ſetting *Italy* free from enemies, than it could be in doing any harm to *Africk*. Neither did he forget, both to elevate the *Spaniſh* wars, as of leſſe moment than the intended voyage againſt *Carthage*, nor withall to lay great blame upon *Scipio*, for having ſuffered *Aſdrubal* to paſs into *Italy*: ſhewing, that it was greatly to be feared, leſt the like might happen again; and that a new Army, notwithſtanding the good ſucceſſe of *Scipio*, (if it hapned to be good) might be ſent from *Carthage*, to the utter endangering of *Rome*, whileſt the *Roman* forces were employed abroad. But the main point which he urged, was, That neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, *Africk* to be that yeer a Province: which the Conſul nevertheleſſe propounded in ſuch wiſe, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. *Scipio* on the other ſide, inſiſted upon this one point; That it was better to make an offenſive, than a defenſive war: eſpecially againſt ſuch as the *Carthaginians*, who being il provided of able men at home, did furniſh themſelves, by help of mony, with levies made abroad. As for the care of *Italy*, he doubted not, but *P. Licinius* his Colleague would be as well able to diſcharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promiſing to draw *Hannibal* into *Africk*, for defence of his own home; and taxing as civilly as he could, the envie of *Fabius*, which withſtood ſuch a gallant enterpriſe, he propoſed the matter again to the Senate. Much altercation there was about the maner of his proceeding: foraſmuch as it was noiſed abroad, that if he could not bring the Senate to his mind, he would carry it by the people. This offended many of the Ancients: who reſented in this honourable man, a little ſpice of that arrogancie, which in following ages grew to be much hotter, in thoſe that had commanded long abroad. But in concluſion, *Scipio* referred himſelfe wholly to the Senates good will and pleaſure; whereby he obtained thus much, That the Ile of *Sicil* might be appointed unto him for his Province; with leave to paſſe over into *Africk*, if he found it expedient.

Want of money, and no great liking to his voyage, made the *Roman* Senate have little care to furniſh out *Scipio* to the war, by him intended upon *Africk*. Herewithall it fell out, that *Mago*, comming on the ſudden from the *Baleares* to *Genua*, and winning the Town, bred a feare of no leſſe terrible invaſion upon *Italy*, than that which *Aſdrubal* had lately made. He could not indeed raiſe any great Army of the *Ligurians*: for that hee found them diſtracted with civill warres. Therefore he was driven to make choyſe of his partie; and to helpe thoſe whom he thought fitteſt for his turne, againſt the others. This troubleſome buſineſſe,though it occupied more of his time than he could willingly have ſpared: yet it got him reputation by his victories;and made the unſteady *Gauls* ready to enter into his pay. Hereupon the diſperſed Legions of the *Romans*,that under Proconſuls,and Prætors,lay ready to be employed where need ſhould require; were directed unto the borders of *Lombardie* and *Liguria*, there to make head againſt *Mago*. But all his menaces paſſed away in vapour. For a fleet,either comming to his aide from *Carthage*,or by him ſent thither(the report is uncertaine)loaden with the booty that he had taken,fell into the hands of the *Roman* Prætor,that governed in *Sardinia*. This did much diſable him: and though after a while,there came letters from *Carthage*, together with ſtore of mony,heartning him in his proceedings;yet ſome impediments which he found, and that fatall voyage of *Scipio* into *Africke* diſturbed all; and made him be re-called home.

Againſt *Hannibal* was nothing done this yeere. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the *Roman* Hiſtorians have bin pleaſed to take notice. Onely it is ſaid, that he ſpent the Summer by the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*,where he raiſed an Altar,with a huge Title of all that he had performed,graven in *Punike* and *Greeke* letters. Such accompt of winnings paſt, is commonly in Gameſters that are at the height of their fortune, a cauſe of remiſſion and careleſneſſe; in thoſe that are upon the loſing hand, a cauſe both of the ſame for the preſent,and ſhortly after of dejection, when they finde a notable change. A great peſtilence, infeſting both the *Carthaginian* and the *Roman* Campe, is ſaid to have been the occaſion of this yeeres idleneſſe; which fell out not much amiſſe for the Citie of *Rome*, that was marvellouſly impoveriſhed by this warre; and had already tried the utmoſt way to defray the charges, which grew inſupportable. To relieve the preſent neceſſitie,it was well thought upon,that a great part of *Campania* (not many yeeres ſince confiſcated) ſhould be ſold, or let out: in which bargaine, that the Citie might receive no loſſe, the tenth part of the fine was ordained as a reward, unto the detectors of lands concealed.

Of this, or other money, none was given to *Scipio*. Neither was he allowed to make preſſe of Souldiers for his *African* voyage; neither did he over-much labour to obtaine it. That which the Senate refuſed,the people did for him: or rather they did it for themſelves; that were therein wiſer than the Senate. It is uſually found in Councels of eſtate, that the buſie, or obſtinate heads of a few, doe carry all the reſt. And many times men make a ſurrender of their owne judgements, to the wiſedome that hath gotten it ſelfe a name, by giving happy direction in troubles forepaſt. Therefore,he that repoſeth himſelfe upon the advice of many, ſhall often find himſelfe deceived: the counſell of thoſe many being wholly directed by the Empire of a few,that over-ſway the reſt. *Q. Fabius* was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his warie nature ſorted well with the buſineſſe, that fell out in the chiefe of his employment. Unto him therefore *Q. Fulvius* adhered, with other of the Senators, that were growne old in following one courſe; from which they could not ſhift, as the change of times required. But the People (who though they could not well adviſe,and deliberate, yet could well apprehend) embraced the needfull reſolution of *Scipio*: in ſuch ſort, that beſides his *Roman* forces, he had from divers parts of *Italy* about ſeven thouſand Voluntaries. He had alſo proviſion from the ſeverall Townes: Corne,Iron,Canvas for ſailes,Axes,Beed-hookes,Hand-mils, and the like implements; Firre for building of ſhips, many thouſands of Targets, Helmets, and Speares of all kindes: every place furniſhing him with that commoditie, which it beſt could afford.

Unto this willingneſſe of the People, the diligence of *Scipio* was correſpondent. In the compaſſe of five and forty dayes,he had both fell'd his Timber,built, and lanched twentie *Trireme*,and ten *Quinquereme* Gallies; wherewith he tranſported his Army into *Sicil*. In *Sicil* he found,beſides other forces,two Legions, that had ſerved at *Cannæ*: which were old Souldiers, and (as he himſelfe well knew) not guilty of the overthrow; for which they had long under-gone a heavie cenſure. They had ſerved under *Marcellus* and *Lævinus*, at the taking of many Cities and ſtrong pieces: in which regard, they were like to be of good uſe to him in *Africk*, where would be ſtore of ſuch employment. For increaſing the number of his horſe,he preſſed three hundred *Sicilians*,all wealthy young men, and ſuch as loved well their eaſe. Theſe he afterward diſcharged from the Warre, highly to their contentment:but with condition,that they ſhould deliver their Horſe and Arms, to as many *Roman* Gentlemen, which he brought over with him for the purpoſe. Whileſt he was providing to have things in a readineſſe for *Africk*,the baniſhed *Locrians* that followed the *Roman* ſide, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recover their City. Some handicraft-men,that wrought for the *Carthaginians* in one of the Citadels of *Locri*,(for there were two in the Towne) being taken priſoners by the *Romans*,promiſed to betray the place, if they might be ranſomed and rewarded. *Scipio* being advertiſed of this,gave order to have the attempt made by night:which happily ſucceeded; and that Citadel was ſurpriſed. The other Citadel was ſtrongly defended by the *Carthaginian* Garriſon,which ſent to *Hannibal* for aide. The *Romans* in like ſort,fearing leſt their owne paucitie ſhould make them too weake for *Hannibal*, craved helpe of the Conſul *Scipio*. The Townſ-men were doubtfully affected: but the beſt,and moſt of them inclining to the *Romans*,kept *Hannibal* out;whom the comming of *Scipio* cauſed thence to depart; and cauſed likewiſe the *Carthaginian* Garriſon to abandon the other Citadell. Many outrages were committed by the *Roman* Souldiers,that were left by *Scipio* in cuſtodie of the Towne. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the *Locrians* unto the *Roman* Senate: not onely againſt thoſe of the Garriſon: but much more againſt *Pleminius* the Captaine,who gave bad example,and was worſe than all the reſt. Beſides many Murders,Robberies,Rapes,and other villanies, the Temple of *Proſerpina*,that had a great fame of ſanctitie,was ſpoyled by theſe barbarous Theeves. The *Locrians* therefore adviſed the Senate to make preſent amends to the goddeſſe for this ſacriledge: ſaying, that the like had never been committed, without notorious revenge by her taken upon the Authors. The Senate gave good eare to this complaint, comforted the *Locrians*, and redreſſed the injuries done unto them; ſent for *Pleminius*, with other principall offenders, whom they caſt into priſon, and uſed according to their deſerts: as alſo they reſtored unto *Proſerpina* her mony twice told. But old *Q.Fabius* was not herewithall contented. He laid much of the blame upon *Scipio*,that had placed ſuch a man in *Locri*; and had not carefully hearkened to the complaints made againſt him, but ſuffered him to runne on in theſe his wicked courſes. By the ſharpe invective that *Fabius* made, others tooke courage to ſpeake what they pleaſed, as well againſt the demeanour of *Scipio*,as againſt the diſſoluteneſſe of his Armie; which lay, as they ſaid,idle in *Sicil*,neither mindefull of any ſervice toward, nor fit for it if need ſhould require. Finally, things were ſo far urged, that ten Legates were ſent over into *Sicil*, together with the Prætor appointed for that Iland; two of the Tribunes,and one of the Ædiles; who ſhould examine theſe matters; and either cauſe the Generall to returne into *Italy*,or continue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was, they found him ſo well prepared againſt *Carthage*, as that they haſtned him on his journey, and gave him high commendations at their returne.

*Scipio* had already employed *Lælius* in *Africk*;rather to make diſcovery,than to work any other great effect of war.He took a great bootie: and ſtrucke no little terrour into the *Carthaginians*; who ſaw their affaires to be upon terms of change. But the greateſt fruit of his journy was,That ſpeaking with *Maſaniſſa*, he well informed himſelfe of the ſtate of *Africk*; and knew what was to be expected of thoſe two Kings,that had promiſed to joyne with the *Romans* at their landing.

Concerning *Maſaniſſa* his revolt from the *Carthaginians*, and his compact made under-hand with the *Romans*, *Livie* doth profeſſe, That there was no ſuch evident cauſe *Liv.lib.*[illegible] thereof at the preſent; but that the long contiuance of his faith and conſtancie, in following times, muſt helpe to prove, that this his change, was not without ſome good cauſe. But *Appianus* (an Hiſtorian far inferiour to *Livie*,both in Worth and Time) gives one reaſon ſo probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carries with it a great appearance of neceſſary truth. Onely the doubt is,How it could any way come to paſſe, that the knowledge of ſuch a matter ſhould have eſcaped the diligence of *Livie*, if it had been true: unleſſe we ſhould beleeve, that he wilfully forbare to rehearſe a Tragedie; the ſorrow whereof would cauſe men to thinke amiſſe of *Scipio*. Howſoever it was,thus * *Appian* tels it: and many circumſtances of things done, confirme it. *Aſdrubal*, the ſonne of *Geſco*, had a faire daughter,whom both King *Syphax* and *Maſaniſſa* loved. *Maſaniſſa*, being brought up at *Carthage*, and being withall a goodly Gentleman of perſon, and excellent in qualities, was choſen by *Aſdrubal* to bee his ſonne-in-law.

* *Appian.Alexan. de Bell.Punic.*

When the virgin was betrothed unto him, he went into *Spaine*, and there did great ſervice. But afterwards, the *Carthaginian* Senate thought the marriage of *Aſdrubals* daughter to be a matter of State: and beſtowed her upon *Syphax*, without ſtanding to acquaint her father or *Maſaniſſa* therewithall. This they did, for that *Syphax* was the more mighty Prince; and for that the indignity of the repulſe, had made him become their enemy. Hereof *Maſaniſſa* was advertiſed; and forthwith entred into intelligence with *Scipio*, ſecretly as he thought; yet not ſo ſecretly, but ſome notice was taken of it: which would have coſt him his life, had he not with great circumſpection conveighed himſelfe home into his fathers Kingdome. Thus far forth we may beleeve *Appianus*: all the narration well cohering with things paſt, and following. Onely it ſeemes, that howſoever *Sophoniſba*, the daughter of *Aſdrubal*, was promiſed by the *Carthaginians* unto *Syphax*: yet ſince this their courteſie proceeded from fear, he thought it wiſdome to continue and increaſe the ſame their feare, by making faire promiſes to the *Romans*, untill *Aſdrubal had ſent for his daughter from Carthage*, and the marriage was conſummated. In other matters concerning the war it ſelfe, wherein *Appian* differs much from *Livie*, and from *Polybius*, whom (as appears by the broken pieces of his works remaining) *Livie* did follow; it will be no offence, to take little heed unto his reports.

*Liv.lib.29.*

*Maſaniſſa* was the ſonne of *Gala*, a King of the *Numidians*: whoſe father dying, the Crown deſcended, by order of the Country, unto *Deſalces* the brother, not unto *Maſaniſſa* the ſonne. But this Uncle of *Maſaniſſa* ſhortly dyed: and his elder ſonne, who took poſſeſſion of the kingdome, was vanquiſhed, and ſlaine in battell by a Rebel, that made himſelfe Protector over the younger which was a child. The Traitor fortified himſelfe againſt *Maſaniſſa*, whoſe returne he feared, by Alliances with the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*. But all would not ſerve: He and his Pupill, were diſpoſſeſſed of their Eſtates by *Maſaniſſa*; that was a ſkilfull Warriour, and well beloved for the memorie of his father *Gala*. The *Carthaginians* in reaſon would have beene glad, that *Maſaniſſa*, who had done them notable ſervice, was thus confirmed in his Eſtate; had they not been guiltie of the injurie by them done unto him; whileſt his Uncle or Couſin reigned, and he ſeemed unlikely to ſtand them in any ſtead. But *Syphax*, by their procurement, and perhaps by his own malice, towards his Corrival, warred upon him; and over-charging him with numbers, drave him out of his Kingdome. Nevertheleſſe *Maſaniſſa* ſtill retained the hearts of his people; and thereby remained ſtrong enough, to infeſt both *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*; though he was often put in diſtreſſe, by great forces that were ſent againſt him. He therefore keeping much about the leſſer *Syrtis*, between the borders of the *Carthaginians* and the Nation of the *Garamants*, expected the comming of the *Romans*: yet ſo, as he made long roades over all the Country, even as far as to *Hippo*; and when *Lælius* arrived thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him to haſten on *Scipio* to the invaſion of *Africk*.

But *Syphax*, in whoſe great aide and ſuccour was repoſed more hope of good ſucceſſe, than could be expected from the good will of poore *Maſaniſſa*, ſent an Embaſſage into *Sicil* about the ſame time, which was little pleaſing unto *Scipio*. He excuſed himſelfe of his promiſe lately made: and ſignified his alliance with the *Carthaginians*; adding, That he could not chooſe but fight for the defence of *Africk*, wherein he was borne and reigned; and for the defence of his beloved wives Country, if it were invaded. Nevertheleſſe he promiſed to remain a Neuter, ſo long as the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* held war abroad, far enough from *Africk*, as hitherto they had done. This meſſage haſtened *Scipio* in his expedition, much more than any perſwaſion could have done. For the promiſed aſſiſtance of *Syphax* had not a little advanced his enterpriſe; in procuring both the aſſent of the Senate, and the forwardneſſe of many Adventurers. Leſt therefore the failing of this hope, ſhould worke too great a change in common opinion, Hee thought it the beſt way, to prevent all diſcourſe, and ſet the warre undertaken immediately on foot. The Embaſſadours he diſmiſſed in haſte, with letters to their King: wherein hee willed him to conſider, that what hee had promiſed, hee had alſo ſworne; and therefore ſhould doe well to make it good. Having ſent them away, Hee called his Souldiers together; and bade them make ready for the voyage, which hee intended no longer to deferre. For, ſaid he, *Maſaniſſa* hath been with *Lælius*: and *Syphax* hath newly ſent to mee; greatly wondering upon what I ſhould thus ſtay; and ſaying, That they will provide for themſelves, if I faile their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine tale prevented all further inquiſition, that might elſe have beene made concerning the meſſage of theſe Embaſſadors: whoſe followers had been ſeene walking up and downe *Syracuſe*. And leſt any thing ſhould afterwards breake out, that might hinder the buſineſſe, *Scipio* immediately ſent about his fleet unto *Lilybæum*: and requeſting by letters *M. Pomponius*, that was Prætor in *Sicil*, to meet him there; haſted thither with his Army. At *Lilybæum* he agreed with the Prætor, about the diviſion of the Legions between them; which to leave behinde for defence of the Iland; and which to carry with him into *Africk*. What numbers he tranſported, it is not certaine: ſome Hiſtorians reckoning onely ten thouſand foot, and two and twenty hundred horſe; others increaſing them to five and thirty thouſand, horſe and foot. Concerning his directions for embarking, and other matters belonging to their courſe, I hold it needleſſe to ſet them downe: ſince they were points of ordinarie care, and which it is like that neither hee, when hee tooke his voyage into *Spaine*, nor others upon like occaſions, have omitted; they being alſo word for word ſet down by an Hiſtorian, who borrowed them from *Livie*, and fitted them to a Prince of later age.

This *Roman* Army landed in *Africk*, neere to a fore-land then called the *faire Promontorie*: which how farre it was from *Carthage*, or toward what point of the Compaſſe, I cannot preciſely affirme; becauſe it is uncertaine, whether it were that Cape or Head-land which bore the name of *Mercurie*, and lay to the North-eaſt of *Carthage*; or whether that of *Apollo*, which lay Northerly from *Carthage*, and by Weſt. The comming of *Maſaniſſa* unto *Scipio* at his firſt arrivall, helpes to confirme the opinion of *Xylander*: who thinks the *faire Promontorie* to have been the ſame, that was alſo called *Mercuries Cape*, ſince with little difficulty *Maſaniſſa* might come thither from the leſſer *Syrtis*, whereabout was his common abiding. But foraſmuch as without any memorable impediment ſoon after his arrivall, *Scipio* encamped before *Utica*, that ſtood Weſtward from *Carthage* beyond the River *Bagradas*: it may rather ſeeme, that hee landed within the Promontorie of *Apollo*; whence the way to *Utica* was not long. This is alſo ſtrongly proved; for that out of *Carthage* were ſent, the next day, five hundred horſe to trouble him in his diſ-embarking. Neither was it ſo hard for *Maſaniſſa*, that roved about the Countrie with a troupe of horſe, to finde out the *Romans*, though they landed farre from the place to the which he uſually reſorted, like as before hee had met with *Lælius* at *Hippo* that was farther off; as it would have been for *Scipio*, with his Armie and Carriages, to overcome the trouble of a long journey, and fetch a great compaſſe to *Utica*, by Land; when he might have diſ-embarqued neerer unto it. Nevertheleſſe it may paſſe as a conjecture, That *Scipio* came firſt of all to *Emporia*, a plentifull Region about the leſſer *Syrtis*; ſince he gave charge to the Maſters of his ſhips, at the ſetting forth from *Lilybæum*, to ſhape their courſe for that coaſt. The Countrey thereabout was very rich, and fit for ſuſtenance of an Army: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well provided to make reſiſtance. Thus much perhaps *Maſaniſſa* had ſignified unto *Lælius*, when he ſpake with him at *Hippo*: thinking that the *Romans*, howſoever they made brave promiſes, would not come ſtrong enough to fight *at head*. But when he ſaw their Fleet and Army to bee ſuch, as not onely ſerved to invade the lands of *Carthage*, but threatned a conqueſt of the City and whole Eſtate: then might he better adviſe them to ſet ſaile for *Utica*, and make War upon the Enemies at their owne doores.

The *Carthaginians* had at that time neither any Captaine of great worth at home, nor better Army than of raw Souldiers; that were levied, or to be levied in haſte. *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco*, the ſame that had lately been chaſed out of *Spaine* by *Scipio*, was their beſt man of war. And good enough perhaps he was thought by *Hanno* and his fellowes, of whoſe faction he was: or if ought were wanting in him, yet his Riches and Nobility, together with the affinity of King *Syphax*, made him paſſeable. He was then with the King his ſon-in-law, working him no doubt againſt the *Romans*: when letters were brought from *Carthage*, both to *Syphax* and to him, informing them of the Invaſion: entreating the one of them to give aſſiſtance, and commanding the other to make his repaire unto the Citie, where he was choſen Generall. But ere theſe could be ready, *Scipio* had beaten the troupe of *Carthaginian* horſe, that were ſent out of the Citie to diſturbe his landing; and ſlaine *Hanno* a young Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had alſo taken and ſacked a Towne of the *Carthaginians*: wherein, beſides other booty, hee tooke eight thouſand priſoners; all which he conveighed aboord his Hulks or Ships of burden, and ſent them backe loaden into *Sicil*. He tooke likewiſe a Towne called *Salera*, which he held and fortified. In *Salera* lay another *Hanno*, with foure thouſand *Numidian* horſe: whoſe ſervice being fitter for the field, than for defence of walled places, made *Scipio* to perceive the unskilfulneſſe of their Leader, that had thus houſed them. Wherefore he ſent *Maſaniſſa* before him: who rode up to the gates; and, by making a bravado, trained out the improvident *Hanno* ſo farre, that he drew him unto a place, where the *Romans* lay in wait for him. The victorie was eaſily gotten, and *Hanno* either taken, or ſlaine. With thoſe that fled, the *Romans* entred *pell-mell* into the towne, which preſently they made their owne. Thence went *Scipio* to *Utica*, a City of great importance, of which mention hath beene formerly made, and ſate downe before it. Forty dayes he ſpent about it, aſſailing it both by Land and Sea, and uſing all his engines of battery, whereof he had plenty, yet was in no likelihood of prevailing. And now the Summer was quite ſpent: ſo that it was time for him to chooſe a place, and fortifie his Winter-Campe, which muſt be well ſtored againſt the yeere following. Whileſt thus neceſſity urged him to leave *Utica*: and ſhame of taking the repulſe in his firſt great enterpriſe, rather than any hope of better ſucceſſe, cauſed him to ſtay there: *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* gave him the honour of a faire pretence to leave the ſiege. *Aſdrubal* had made a Levie of thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe: yet adventured not with this ill-trained Army to draw neere unto the *Romans*, before the comming of *Syphax*. *Syphax* brought with him unto *Carthage* fifty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe: which joyning unto the forces of *Aſdrubal*, they marched bravely toward *Scipio*; who thereby tooke occaſion to diſlodge. He choſe for his Winter-Campe the banks of an Inlet, that had good harbour for his Navie. His foot-men he lodged on a Promontorie, joyning to the Continent by an arme of Land: his horſe-men he beſtowed upon lower ground, on the other ſhoare: in the bottome of the *Creek* he mored his ſhips; and there he quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged unto the Fleet. The whole campe he ſtrongly fortified, and ſo attended the ſeaſon of the yeere, when it ſhould ſerve him againe to fight. Of cattell and other bootie *Maſaniſſa* had brought in great ſtore, by driving the Countrey, before the comming of *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax*. Corne alſo he had gotten ſome: and great ſtore was ſent him from *Sicil* and *Sardinia*. Likewiſe apparell for his Souldiers, was ſent from home, or from *Sardinia*: though ſcarce enough to ſerve turne, for that it was a matter of more coſt. The ſhips that brought theſe things, he fraighted homewards with ſuch part of his bootie, as he could beſt ſpare; eſpecially with captives to be ſold for ſlaves. *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped neere unto *Scipio*: not ſo ſtrongly fortifying themſelves, as did the *Romans*, either for that they wanted the ſevere inſtitution, which the *Romans* uſed in the diſcipline of warre, or for that they preſumed upon their multitude, againſt which they found in *Scipio* no diſpoſition to iſſue foorth of his ſtrength, and fight. So the Winter paſſed without action.

When Spring drew neere, *Scipio* thought it good to aſſay his old friend the *Numidian* King, if perhaps he might be wonne by perſwaſions to forſake the *Carthaginians*. It was conſidered, that thoſe *Barbarians* were naturally unconſtant; and particularly, that *Syphax* had given proofe before this of his much levitie. It might therefore bee hoped, That having wearied himſelfe, by lodging a whole Winter in the Campe: and being peradventure no leſſe weary with ſatiety of his wife, who had cauſed him to enter into this warre: he might be moved with a little entreatie to withdraw himſelfe home into his Kingdome, and reſt a *Neuter*. But it is not unlikely, that ſuch a friend as this King, had beene highly entertained and honoured in the City of *Carthage*, which was neere at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleaſed him, or as he had beene invited, to make a ſtep thither and repoſe himſelfe a while: his wife Queene *Sophoniſba* lying alſo there at the ſame time, to cheriſh him in his reſolution. Howſoever it were, *Syphax* did onely make an overture of peace: propounding it as reaſonable, That *Hannibal* ſhould by recalled out of Italy by the *Carthaginians*: and that the *Romans* in like ſort ſhould quietly depart out of *Africke*, and ſo make an end of the warre: wherewith now both *Africke* and *Europe* were diſquieted. Unto this would not *Scipio* at the firſt give eare: yet being preſſed earneſtly by many meſſages from *Syphax*, and deſiring to continue the inter-courſe of Embaſſadors; he began to make ſhew, as if he would conſider of the motion. He was given to underſtand by thoſe whom he had ſent unto the King, That the Enemies had their campes without any great defence of earth, full of woodden Cabbins,

bins, and covered with boughs: and that the *Numidians*, ſuch of them as came firſt with *Syphax*, uſed coverings of Mattes and Reeds; others, that came later, had thatched their lodgings with drie boughes and leaves: under which they lay careleſly without their Trenches. Upon this advertiſement he bethought himſelfe, That it would not be hard for him to ſet their campes on fire, and thereby give them a notable overthrow. Without helpe of ſome ſuch ſtratageme, hee fore-ſaw that it would be a worke of great difficulty for him, to proceed in his warres when time ſhould ſerve. It was a plaine open Countrey wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great advantage of him in number, eſpecially in horſe; which, upon ſuch ground, could not be reſiſted by the *Roman* Legions. The longer therefore that he thought upon the matter; the more needfull he found it for himſelfe, to make ſome ſudden attempt upon their Campe. To this end hee ſent many Embaſſadours, under pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeed of purpoſe to diſcover all that might concerne the intended ſurpriſe. With theſe Embaſſadours he ſent, as Attendants, many old Souldiers, diſguiſed like ſlaves; that wandering (as it were) idle up and downe the Campe, might obſerve the wayes and entrances, with whatſoever elſe was needfull. When he had learned as much as he deſired: upon the ſudden he ſent word to *Syphax*, that it was vaine to hold any longer Treatie, foraſmuch as he could not get the conſent of his Councell of warre; without whoſe approbation, all that himſelfe could doe, was no more, than the good will of one man. This he did, to the end that, without any breach of faith, he might put his deſigne in execution. The Truce being thus cut off, *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* were very penſive; as having lately perſwaded themſelves, that their trouble was almoſt at an end. But ſince it could be no better, they began to deviſe, by what art they might draw *Scipio* out of his Campe, and provoke him to battaile in thoſe Plaines. This if they could doe, they hoped to make his Councell of war repent as greatly the refuſall of peace, as did *Marcus Atilius* after the like preſumption. But if he ſhould refuſe to come forth of his Trenches, what elſe remained than to beſiege him? which they themſelves were well able to do by land; and the *Carthaginian* fleet ſhould doe by Sea, that was making ready for the purpoſe. By ſuch diſcourſes theſe two comforted themſelves; recompencing (in conceipt) the loſſe of their hopes paſt, with that of victorie to come. But herein they were extreamly and worthily diſappointed: for that conſulting about the future, they provided not againſt preſent danger, but continued in the ſame negligence, which was growne upon them by the long diſcourſe of peace. As for *Scipio*, he was not idle; but made preparation out of hand, as it were to doe ſomewhat againſt *Utica*. Two thouſand Souldiers he had made ready, and appointed to take the ſame peece of ground, whereon he lay againſt *Utica* before. This he did, partly to keep ſecret that which he had in hand, leſt being ſuſpected by his owne Souldiers, the Enemy might happen to have notice of it; partly to hinder thoſe of *Utica* from ſetting upon the few, that he purpoſed to leave behinde him in his Campe. He cauſed his men that night to ſup well, and betimes; that they might bee ready for the journey. After ſupper, he appointed ſuch Companies as he thought fit, to the defence of his Campe; all the reſt of the army he led forth, about nine of the clocke at night. The *Carthaginians* lay from him ſeaven miles and an halfe: whom he purpoſed to undertake himſelfe with the one halfe of his army; the other halfe he committed to *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, whom he ſent before him to ſet upon the campe of *Syphax*, that was father off. It was his meaning, that the campe of *Syphax* ſhould be on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the *Carthaginians*. For the fire might ſeeme to have taken hold by caſualty upon the *Numidians*, that lay farther off: whereas if it firſt appeared in the campe of *Aſdrubal*, it would be ſuſpected as the doing of enemies, and give *Syphax* warning to looke to himſelf. To this end therefore *Scipio* marched faire and ſoftly; that *Lælius* & *Maſaniſſa*, who had a longer journey, and were to fetch a compaſſe about for feare of being diſcovered, might have time to get before him, and do their feat. It was about two or three of the clocke in the morning, when the campe of *Syphax* began to blaze: which not onely the *Numidians*, but their King himſelfe, imputed unto caſualty; as thinking themſelves ſafe enough from enemies, for that the *Carthaginians* lay interpoſed betweene them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to doe, ſome, ſtarting halfe aſleepe; and others, that had ſitten up late at drinking, ranne out of their Cabbins to quench the fire. But ſo great was the tumult, that they neither could rightly underſtand in what caſe they were, nor give any remedie to the miſchance, as it was ſuppoſed. Many were ſmothered and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater: many, leaping into the Trenches for feare of the ſudden miſchiefe, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that eſcaped the fire, fell upon the enemies ſword, which was ready to receive them. Eſpecially *Maſaniſſa*, that beſt knew the Countrie, did great execution upon them; having laid all the waies, by which hee foreſaw that they would ſeeke to eſcape. The *Carthaginians* perceiving this fire, thought none other than that it was a pittifull miſchance: ſo that ſome ranne out to helpe the poore *Numidians*; carrying onely what would ſerve to quench the fire. Others ranne up to the Rampart: where, fearleſſe of any danger towards themſelves, they ſtood beholding the greatneſſe of the flame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell out right as *Scipio* would have it. He therefore loſt no time: but ſetting upon thoſe that were running towards the *Numidians*, he killed ſome, and purſued the reſt back into their campe, which in a little while he made to burne as bright, as did that of *Syphax*. *Aſdrubal* ſeeing this, and knowing that the *Romans* were there, did not ſtand to make reſiſtance, but ſhifted onely for himſelfe, and eſcaped with a few of his horſe about him. If *Hannibal*, or any of the *Barchine* faction, had been taken in ſuch a manner: it is more than probable, that old *Hanno* would have judged him worthy to be crucified. It would then have beene ſaid, that with leſſe than one halfe of thirty thouſand men, hee might at leaſt have given ſome bad recompence, to them that were taking pains in kindling theſe fires, had he not beene only carefull how to ſave his owne fearefull head. Neverthеleſſe *Polybius* acknowledgeth, and it is moſt likely to have beene true, That if *Aſdrubal*, or any of thoſe about him, would have ſtriven to ſhew valour, when the Campe was once on fire: He ſhould not thereby have done any manner of good, becauſe of the tumult and conſternation. I ſhall not need to tell what a fearefull thing it was, to heare the cries of ſo many thouſands that periſhed by fire and ſword, or to behold the cruell flame that conſumed them; which (as *Polybius* affirmes) none *that hath beeing* is able to deſcribe. It is enough to ſay, That of thoſe many thouſands very few did eſcape; which accompanied *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* in their ſeverall wayes of flight. Beſides theſe alſo there were ſome ſcatterers, eſpecially of the *Numidians*, that ſaved themſelves in the darke: but they were not many, as after ſhall appeare. Surely it muſt needes have beene very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwiſe made away, and what numbers eſcaped in the darke of night. Wherefore *Livie*, who in the reſt of this Relation, as often elſewhere, doth follow *Polybius*, may ſeem to have followed ſome leſſe worthy Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in caſting up the ſumme. For hee reckons onely two thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, to have eſcaped; forty thouſand to have periſhed by ſword or fire; and above ſixe thouſand to have bin taken priſoners: the whole number of all which together, is farre ſhort of foureſcore and thirteene thouſand, which were in theſe two Campes.

Excerpt. è Polyb.lib.14.

*Aſdrubal*, putting himſelf into the next town that was very ſtrongly fortified, thought there to finde the *Romans* worke, untill the *Carthaginians* at good leiſure might repaire their Army. He had with him no more than two thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe: which hee thought ſufficient to defend the Towne; if the Towneſ-men would not be wanting to themſelves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earneſt in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to yeeld. Unto this diſputation, he well foreſaw, that the arrivall of *Scipio* would ſoone give an end. Wherefore, leſt they ſhould lay hold upon him, and ſeeke the Victors favour by delivering him up; he ſhrunke away betimes, and made all haſte to *Carthage*. As for the towne which he left; it opened the gates to *Scipio*, at his firſt comming: and thereby preſerved it ſelfe from all manner of loſſe. The two next Townes adjoyning would needs be valiant, and make countenance of war: but their ſtrength not being anſwerable, they were ſoone taken by *Scipio*; who abandoned them to the pleaſure of his Souldiers. This being done, he returned to the ſiege of *Utica*.

The *Carthaginians* were ſore troubled, as they had good reaſon, when, in ſtead of either Peace or Victory, which they lately hoped for, they heard newes of ſuch a lamentable overthrow. Neceſſity enforced them to make haſtie proviſion for the future: but how to doe it, few of them ſaw any meanes. Some gave advice to crave peace of *Scipio*: others, to ſend for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*; but the moſt, and they which finally prevailed, were of opinion. That notwithſtanding the loſſe of this Army, they might well defend themſelves againſt the *Romans*, by raiſing new forces: eſpecially, if *Syphax* would not leave them. It was therefore concluded, That they ſhould bend all their care this way, lewying in all haſte another Army; and ſending Embaſſadours to deale with *Syphax*, who lay then at a Towne called *Abba*, not paſſing eight miles from *Carthage*. Immediately the ſame their unfortunate Commander, *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Geſco*, was employed to make new levies of men: and Queene *Sophoniſba* went forth with Embaſſadours to her husband *Syphax*; who having gathered together as many as hee could of his ſubjects that had eſcaped from the late ſlaughter, was thinking to returne into his owne Kingdome. *Sophoniſba* laboured ſo with her husband, that at length ſhe wonne him to her owne deſire. And it fell out at the ſame time, that foure thouſand *Spaniards*, waged by the *Carthaginians*, were brought over to ſerve in *Afriche*. Of theſe were made ſuch brave reports, as if their courage, and the armes which they uſed, were not to bee reſiſted. Even the multitude within *Carthage* beleeved theſe tales, and were more glad than they had cauſe to be; which is great wonder, ſince in one Age, the whole country of *Spaine* had been twice conquered; firſt, by the *Carthaginians* themſelves, and after by the *Romans*. But with *Syphax* theſe tales prevailed much: which the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors helped with a lye; ſaying, That there were come ten thouſand of theſe terrible *Spaniards*. Upon this confidence, the people of *Carthage* and their friends gathered ſuch ſpirit, that in thirty daies they made up an Army; conſiſting wel neere of thirty thouſand men, reckoning the *Spaniards*, and *Syphax* with his *Numidians* in the number. So they incamped in a Region called, *The Great Fields*, about five dayes journey from *Utica*. *Scipio* hearing of this, came from *Utica* thither, to viſit them: leaving behinde him his impediments, with ſome part of his Army, to make a ſhew of continuing the ſiege. Two or three daies, after the meeting of both armies, paſſed away in skirmiſh, without any great thing done. It had now beene time for *Aſdrubal* to follow the example of the *Roman Fabius*, and ſeeke to weary out the Enemy by delayes. But either (which is likely) he was a farre worſe Commander, or elſe, it was not in his power to give ſuch directions as beſt pleaſed himſelfe. The fourth day the Armies met in battaile: wherein the *Romans* were marſhalled by *Scipio* after their wonted manner, having their *Italian* horſe in the right wing; and *Maſaniſſa* with his *Numidians* in the left. On the contrary ſide, *Aſdrubal* and his *Carthaginians* had the right wing; *Syphax*, the left; and the *Spaniards*, the battaile. The victory was gotten without many blowes: for the untrained followers of *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal*, could not ſuſtaine the firſt charge of the *Italians*, or of *Maſaniſſa*. Only the *Spaniards* fought a long time, even untill they were all in a manner ſlaine: rather as men deſperate, and not hoping for mercy, ſince they were thus come over to fight againſt *Scipio*, who had otherwiſe deſerved of them; than upon any likelihood or conceit of victory. This their obſtinacie was beneficiall to thoſe that fled; for that it hindred the *Romans* from making any great purſuit. Hereby *Aſdrubal*, and *Syphax* eſcaped: *Aſdrubal*, to *Carthage*; and *Syphax* home to his owne Kingdome: whether his wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him.

*Scipio*, having thus gotten the maſtery of the field, tooke counſaile about the proſecution of the warre. It was reſolved upon as the beſt courſe, That he himſelfe, with part of the Army, ſhould attempt the Cities round about him: and that *Maſaniſſa*, with his *Numidians*, and *Lælius*, with ſome of the *Roman* Legions, ſhould followe after *Syphax*; not permitting him to take reſt within his owne Kingdome, where eaſily elſe he might repaire his forces, and put them to new trouble. This advice, it ſeemes that *Maſaniſſa* gave: who knew beſt the quality of the *Numidians*; and what good might bee done among them, by the reputation of a victory. The leaſt that could be expected, was his reſtitution into his own Kingdom, uſurped by *Syphax*: which to accompliſh, it no leſſe concerned the *Romans* at the preſent, than it did himſelfe. According to this order concluded, *Lælius* was ſent away with *Maſaniſſa*: and *Scipio* ſtayed behinde, carrying the warre from towne to towne. Many places yeelded for feare; many were taken by force; and all the ſubjects of *Carthage* wavered in their fidelity, as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of thoſe unreaſonable burdens, which their proud Maſters had laid upon them for maintenance of the warre in *Spaine* and *Italy*. What to doe in this caſe, the *Carthaginians* could hardly reſolve: Fortune was their Enemy; they had loſt their Armies, and many of their Townes: neither durſt they make bold to trouble their owne ſubjects with any violent exaction of men or money; who neverthelesſe of their own free-will were likely to give little help. Very much it grieved them to ſend for *Hannibal* out of *Italy*: yet ſince there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Army; it was decreed, That Embaſſadours ſhould be forthwith ſent to call him home. Some there were that gave advice, to ſet out a fleete againſt that of *Scipio*, that rode before *Utica*, weakly manned, and eaſie to be taken, whilſt *Scipio* himſelfe was buſied in the Inland Countries. Some were of opinion, That it ſhould be their principall care, to fortifie by all meanes the City of *Carthage*: upon the ſafety whereof they ſaid all depended: adding, that whileſt they were true, and at unity among themſelves, they might well enough ſubſiſt, and expect thoſe opportunities, with which Fortune (doubtleſſe) would preſent them. Theſe counſels were not rejected; but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning the defence of the City, and for the attempt upon the *Roman* fleet at *Utica*. Nevertheleſſe, it was conſidered, that hereby they ſhould onely protract the warre; without any advancing their owne affaires towards likelihood of victory, no, though it ſhould fall out, that all the ſhippes at *Utica* might be taken or deſtroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning *Hannibal*, That he ſhould immediately come over into *Africke*, as the laſt refuge of *Carthage*. The Councell was no ſooner broken up, than all the Senators betooke themſelves to the execution of that which was decreed: ſome, to the fortification of the Towne: ſome, to make ready the Fleet; and ſome, appointed thereunto, forthwith to embarque themſelves for *Italy*.

In this their trepidation *Scipio* come to *Tunes*, a City in thoſe dayes very ſtrong, and ſtanding in proſpect almoſt of every part of *Carthage*. This place, or rather ſome defencible piece adjoyning, he eaſily tooke; the garriſon forſaking it, and running away as ſoone as he drew neere. But whileſt he was about there to incampe, and fortifie himſelfe againſt the City, he might perceive the *Carthaginian* Fleet ſetting forth, and making towards *Utica*: What this meant, he readily conceived; and ſtood in great feare, leſt his own ſhips, that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight (as being heavily loden with engines of battery, & wholly diſpoſed in ſuch order, as was moſt convenient for aſſaulting the towne) ſhould make bad reſiſtance, againſt a fleet appointed for that ſpecial ſervice. Wherefore he haſted away towards *Utica*, to aſſiſt with his preſence in this needfull caſe. It fell out well, that he had ſent his carriages, and all the great booty which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to *Tunes*. For had not he now made great expedition, he ſhould have come too late. Neither could he indeed have beene there in due time, if the *Carthaginians* had uſed ſuch diligence as was convenient. But they reſted one night in harbour by the way: and at their comming to *Utica*, they tarried awhile to make a bravado; preſenting themſelves in order of battell, as if the *Romans* would have put forth to Sea againſt them. But *Scipio* had no ſuch intent: hee thought it would be ſufficient, if he could preſerve his Gallies. As for the pleaſure of their braverie at Sea; it ſhould little availe the *Carthaginians*, if they got nothing by it, and loſt their whole eſtate by Land. Wherefore he tooke his ſhips of burden, and faſtning them together with cables, in foure ranks, one behinde another, made a foure-fold bridge over the Channel of the Haven; whereon he placed a thouſand of his choice men, with ſtore of Darts, and other caſting weapons, to make defence. Some open ſpaces he left, whereat his Frigots, and other ſmall Veſſels, might run out and backe againe upon any advantage or need: but theſe he covered with planckes, uſing the maſts and yards of his ſhips in ſtead of rafters, to joyne all together, that his men might helpe one another, and the bridge it ſelfe not be torne aſunder. Scarce was this worke finiſhed, when the *Carthaginians*, ſeeing none iſſue forth againſt them, came into the Haven. The fight betweene them and the *Romans* that were in the Hulks, was rather like to the aſſaulting of a wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that ſtood upon the bridge, had ſure footing, and threw their weapons downwards, with their whole ſtrength and violence; which the *Carthaginians* out of their Gallies, that were lower and unſteady, could not do. But the *Roman* Frigots & long boats, adventuring forth from behind the bridge, were greatly over-born by the force of the Gallies; and were one occaſion of that ſmall loſſe which followed. They that ſtood upon the Bridge were neither able to relieve them, nor yet could freely beſtow their weapons among the *Carthaginians*, as before; for feare of hurting theſe their friends, that were intangled and mixed among the enemies. The *Carthaginians* had brought with them grappling hooks, hanging at Iron chaines. Theſe they threw upon the maſts and yards which ſerved as arches to joyne the bridge together: then rowing backwards, they tore all aſunder; in ſuch ſort, that one ſhip followed another, & all the firſt ranke was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to ſave themſelves as haſtily as they could, by ſhifting into the next ranke of ſhips, that lay behinde them untouched. Neither did the *Carthaginians* trouble themſelves any further in this laborious worke: but having haled away ſixe ſhips of burden, and towed them out of the Haven, returned home to *Carthage*. Their wel-come was greater than their victory: becauſe among ſo many grievous loſſes, onely this exploit had ſucceeded well, though it were of ſmall importance.

Whileſt things thus paſſed about *Carthage*, *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, in their journey againſt *Syphax*, found as good ſucceſſe as could be deſired. The fame of the victories already gotten, reſtored *Maſaniſſa* to his Kingdome, without farther contention: the *Maſæſyli*, his ſubjects, joyfully receiving him, & forſaking the uſurpers. But here they ſtayed not: neither indeed would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. Hee had ſuch abundance of men and horſes, that he felt not greatly the loſſes paſt: and therefore being ſolicited by *Aſdrubal* and *Sophoniſba*, hee prepared againe for warre. But beſide the inſtigation of his beloved wife; the loſſe of the *Maſæſyli* would let him take no reſt: neither was it the purpoſe of *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, to give him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no leſſe unwillingly from that which they have gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance; but to thinke all alike their owne, whereof they are in poſſeſſion, bee the title unto ſome part never ſo unjuſt. Hereunto alludes the fable of the young Kite; which thought that ſhe had vomited up her owne guts, when it was onely the garbage of ſome other fowle, that ſhe had haſtily ſwallowed, and was not able to digeſt. But whether or no, *Syphax*, like the young Kite, beleeved the Kingdome of the *Maſæſyli* to be part of his entrailes: *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa* will ſhortly give him ſomewhat that ſhall make him caſt his gorge. For to this purpoſe chiefly are they come ſo farre. It concerned the *Romans* to diſpoſſeſſe (if it might be) that King, whoſe falſe and hollow friendſhip towards them, had beene converted into ſtrong enmity; as alſo to ſet in his place another, who might do them ſuch good offices, as *Syphax* had lately done unto the *Carthaginians*. How eaſily this might be effected, *Maſaniſſa* knew beſt; as being well acquainted with the nature of thoſe Countries; wherein, even to this day though there be many ſtrong Towns, yet the fortune of a battaile is enough, to tranſlate the Kingdome from one Competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*, who came againſt them with no leſſe an Armie, than his former, and marſhalled in the *Roman* order, according to the ſkill, which he had learned of the *Roman Centurion*, long agoe ſent unto him out of *Spaine* from *Cn. Scipio*. But though he could teach his men how to march in order; yet could he not teach them to fight couragiouſly. They were a rabble of all ſorts, gathered up in haſte: and few of them had ſeene warre before. Encamping neere unto the *Romans*, it fell out, as commonly, that ſome ſmall troupes of horſe on both ſides, encountred one another in the mid-way: and they that had the worſt, were ſeconded by other of their fellowes. By continuance of the skirmiſh, more and more were drawne out from either Campe: ſo that at length *Syphax*, unwilling to diſ-hearten his men by taking any foile at their firſt meeting with the Enemy, came up with all his horſe, which were the beſt part of his forces, and therewith over-charged *Maſaniſſa*, whoſe numbers were farre leſſe. But whileſt he was proſecuting his hope of victory: ſome *Roman* ſquadrons of Foot came againſt him through their own Troupes of horſe; which fell to the ſides, and made a lane for them. So their battaile ſtanding now more firme, than a little before; *Syphax* was unable, though he laboured much in vaine, to make them give ground. *Maſaniſſa* likewiſe, and his Troupes grew confident upon this aſſiſtance: and charging afreſh the Enemy, that could not make way forward, cauſed him to give backe. Herewithall the Legions came in ſight: which terrefied ſo the *Numidian* horſe, that they beganne preſently to diſ-band. Faine would *Syphax* have ſtayed them from flight: and to that end made head in perſon againſt the *Romans*; with hope, that his men would be aſhamed to leave him. But it fell out unhappily, that hee was caſt from his horſe, which received a wound, and ſo taken priſoner. Of others that were ſlaine or taken, the multitude was not great. It ſufficed, that they forſooke the place, and fled, and that their King, upon whom all depended, was in the *Romans* hand. *Maſaniſſa* told *Lælius*, that this victory ſhould made an end of the *Numidian* war, if preſently they haſted away to *Cirta* the chiefe City of the Kingdome; whither he himſelfe deſired to be ſent before with the Horſe, carrying *Syphax* along with him. Hereunto *Lælius* agreed. *Maſaniſſa* comming to *Cirta*, before any news of the Kings miſchance was there arrived, called out the chiefe of the City to parlee: wherein by many faire promiſes and threats, but eſpecially by ſhewing unto them *Syphax* bound, he prevailed ſo farre, that the gates were forthwith opened unto him; and every one ſtrove to get his favour, that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the reſt, Queen *Sophoniſba* yeelded her ſelfe into his hands, and vehemently beſought him, that ſhe might not be delivered up unto the *Romans*. Her youth, and excellent beauty, ſo commended her ſuite, that *Maſaniſſa* forthwith granted it; & to make good his promiſe, married her himſelfe that very day: thereby to prevent *Lælius* and *Scipio* from determining otherwiſe of her, ſince ſhe was his wife. But *Lælius*, when he came thither, tooke the matter hainouſly, ſo that at firſt he would have haled her away, together with *Syphax* and other priſoners, and have ſent her unto *Scipio*. But being over-intreated by *Maſaniſſa*, he ſuffered the matter to reſt a while as he found it, and referred all to *Scipio's* diſcretion: to whom he ſent away *Syphax* and other captives immediately; following ſhortly after himſelfe with *Maſaniſſa*, when they had done what was needfull in the Kingdome.

At the comming of *Syphax*, there was great joy in the *Roman* Campe: the mighty Armies which he had lately brought into the field; and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Aſdrubal*, both at one time, when *Rome* and *Carthage* together ſought his friendſhip; with ſuch other commemoration of his paſt and preſent fortune, miniſtring to every one a large argument of diſcourſe. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moved him, not onely to forſake the *Roman* friendſhip, but to make warre upon them, unprovoked. He briefly anſwered, That his wife had moved him ſo to doe; calling her a Fury, and a peſtilent creature: and ſaying, that *Maſaniſſa* was no wiſer than himſelfe, ſince hee had now taken the ſame woman to his wife, who would ſhortly draw him to the ſame courſes. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and ſtood in great doubt, leſt this perillous woman ſhould deprive him of *Maſaniſſa*, as ſhe had done of *Syphax*. It was not long, ere *Maſaniſſa* and *Lælius* came unto him: both of whom together he lovingly welcommed; and highly commended in publique, for their notable ſervice in this Expedition. Then taking *Maſaniſſa* apart, he brake with him, as touching *Sophoniſba*: letting him underſtand, that the *Romans* had title to her head, and that ſhe was a miſchievous enemy of theirs. Wherefore he intreated him to moderate his affections: and not to deface the memory of his great ſervices already done (for which hee ſhould bee highly rewarded to his owne contentment) by committing a great offence upon little reaſon. *Maſaniſſa* bluſht, and wept: and finally promiſed to be governed by *Scipio*, whom he nevertheleſſe intreated, to thinke upon his faith given to *Sophoniſba*, that ſhe ſhould not bee delivered into the *Romans* power. So he departed to his owne Tent, where, after ſome time ſpent in agony, he called unto him a ſervant of his that had the cuſtody of his poyſon (which Princes uſed then to have in a readineſſe, againſt all miſchances that might make them unwilling to live:) and tempering a potion for *Sophoniſba*, ſent it unto her with this meſſage; That gladly he would have had her to live with him as his wife: but ſince they who had power to hinder him of his deſire, would not yeeld thereto, he ſent her a cup, that ſhould preſerve her from falling alive into the hands of the *Romans*; willing her to remember her birth and eſtate, and accordingly to take order for her ſelfe.

At the receit of this Meſſage and Preſent, ſhee onely ſaid; That if her husband had no better token to ſend unto his new wife, ſhe muſt accept of this; adding, That ſhe might have dyed more honourably, if ſhe had not wedded ſo lately before her funerall. And herewithall ſhe boldly dranke off the poiſon. Thus *Livie* reporteth. But *Appian* varies from this; and ſets it downe agreably to that which hath beene ſpoken before, concerning the præcontract betweene *Maſaniſſa* and *Sophoniſba*. He ſaith, That after the taking of *Syphax*, Embaſſadours from *Cirta* met with *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa* upon their way thither, yeelding up their City, and the Kings Palace: and that *Sophoniſba*, for her owne private, ſent meſſengers to excuſe her marriage with *Syphax*, as made againſt her will, by compulſion of thoſe in whoſe power ſhe was. *Maſaniſſa* readily admitted this excuſe; and accepted her to wife. But when *Scipio* had received information from *Syphax*, how cunning in perſwaſion *Sophoniſba* was; and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of *Carthage*; he fell out about her with *Maſaniſſa* at his returne, and challenged her, as a part of the booty belonging to the *Romans*. *Maſaniſſa* ſaid, ſhe, was his owne wife, and unto him betrothed many yeeres before. But *Scipio* would not heare of this: or if it were true, yet he ſaid it was no reaſon, that *Maſaniſſa* ſhould keepe her in poſſeſſion, as long as it was diſputable, unto whom ſhe might appertaine. Wherefore he willed him firſt of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claime unto her, wherein he ſhould have no wrong. Herewithall he ſent to fetch her away: and *Maſaniſſa* accompanied the meſſengers, as it were to deliver her: but making her acquainted with the neceſſity, gave unto her a cup of poiſon, wherewith ſhe ended her life, before they came that ſhould have apprehended her. So he ſhewed unto the *Romans* her dead body, which he royally interred. The ſudden violence of *Maſaniſſa* his love, and the ready conſent of *Sophoniſba* to marry with him: adde not ſo much credit unto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the want of all other evident cauſe (which *Livie* notes) of the ſudden falling out betweene him and the *Carthaginians*, under whom he had bin trained up, and done them great ſervice. Howſoever it were; *Scipio*, hearing of this tragicall accident, ſent for *Maſaniſſa*, and comforted him as well as he could, leſt his melancholy ſhould leade him to ſome inconvenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his raſhneſſe, he brought him forth in preſence of the Army: where extolling his noble acts, and ſhewing how highly he had deſerved of the City of *Rome*, he proclaimed him King, and gave unto him a Crowne of gold, with other Royall ornaments. This was indeed the ready way to divert his thoughts from the ſad remembrance of that which was paſt, unto the more cheerefull contemplation of good fortune, that began to ſmile upon him.

*Lib.28.*

This was the firſt time that the *Romans* took upon them to create or proclaim a King. Which honour though *Maſaniſſa* well deſerved: yet would not the Title have redounded unto his great benefit; neither ſhould he have beene much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their meanes recovered poſſeſſion of his Country, together with the greateſt part of *Syphax* his Dominions. It ſeemeth not unlikely, that had he remained a *Neuter* in theſe warres, and ſuſtained himſelfe with his troupe of horſe, in ſuch ſort as he did before the comming of the *Romans*; he might nevertheleſſe have recovered his proper inheritance, by the love of his owne ſubjects without other helpe, when *Syphax* had once or twice beene vanquiſhed. As for the inlargement of his Kingdome, it was not more than he deſerved: neither were the *Romans* then in caſe, to make a conqueſt of *Numidia* for themſelves; neither could they have wiſhed a fitter opportunity, than of ſuch a man, upon whom to beſtow it, that was their aſſured friend, and paſſable withall among the *Numidians*, as being (for the *Maſæſyli* were a *Numidian* Tribe) a great Prince of the ſame Nation. Yet this liberality of the *Romans*, was noiſed abroad as very glorious: and the *Romans* themſelves, in a politicke ſort of gravity, tooke highly upon them; as if even their ſaluting him by the name of *King*, had beene a matter of great conſequence. He thrived indeed well after it: and by their maintenance waxed mighty in times following, incroaching upon his neighbours on all ſides; but moſt of all upon the State of *Carthage*, whereat they were little diſpleaſed. Hence it grew that *Vermina* the ſon of *Syphax* (of whom we ſhall ſhortly ſpeake more) which held ſome piece of his fathers Kingdome, deſiring friendſhip of the *Romans*, and promiſing by all meanes to deſerve their love, requeſted therewithall, that they would call him *King*. But though it were ſo, that never any before him had made this a matter of ſuit: yet the *Roman* Senate was *puntilious* herein, and anſwered very gravely, That it was not their cuſtome to give the honour of that appellation, ſave onely unto ſuch Kings, as had greatly deſerved of their City. Thus they made it a matter of State; and in proceſſe of time grew ſo proud of this their imaginary prerogative, that they imputed as a ſingular benefit unto Kings, that no way depended upon them, the ſalutation by * *that name*, though it were not accompanied with any other favour or profit thence redounding.

*Liv.lib.31.*

* *Cæſars Comm lib.1.*

## §. XIX.

### *The Carthaginians deſire Truce, and breake it.*

THe *Carthaginians* were extremely diſmayed, when they heard of the great calamity, that was befalne their good friend *Syphax*, and underſtood that *Maſaniſſa* their mortall enemy, had got poſſeſſion of his Kingdome. To increaſe their feare, *Scipio* returned againe to *Tunes* in view of their City: where he made an end of that Fortification, which he had begun at his laſt being there. The *Carthagi-*

*nians* had neither forces, nor courage, to withſtand him: but their hearts ſo failed them, that they ſent forth unto them thirty Embaſſadors, Princes of the city, which were their Privie Councell, to make ſuite for peace. Theſe being admitted into the preſence of *Scipio*, did not onely proſtrate themſelves on the ground; but kiſſed the * feet of him, and of thoſe that ſate in Councell with him.

* *Excerpt. è Polyb.lib.15. Liv.lib.30.*

Anſwerable to this baſe adoration was their ſpeech that followed. They confeſſed themſelves to have unjuſtly broken the Peace between them and *Rome*; and to have deſerved whatſoever puniſhment it ſhould pleaſe the *Romans* to inflict upon them. Yet they humbly beſought *Scipio* and the reſt, that in common regard of thoſe misfortunes, whereto all men are ſubject, they would ſhew mercy unto the City of *Carthage*, and let it remaine, as a monument of their clemency; which, by the folly of her Citizens, had now twice deſerved to be overthrowne. Herewithall they did not forget, to lay the blame upon *Hannibal*: who without their appointment had begunne the Warre; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole Citie. By this it appeares, that theſe Embaſſadours were no *Barchines*: but rather, that they were *Hanno*, and the choice of his company; who had now their long deſired worke in hand, of ſuing unto the *Romans* for peace. Whatſoever they were, it muſt needs be that they were moſt inſolent men over thoſe that were ſubject unto their power, for they would not have made ſuch adoration to the *Romans* in their owne neceſſity unleſſe they themſelves had expected the like, where they had the advantage.

It was not unknowne to *Scipio*, or to his aſſiſtants, in what poore caſe the city of *Rome* then was; and how unable to defray the charges of continuing the warre. Neither were the *Carthaginians*, notwithſtanding the loſſe of ſo many Armies, in ſuch ill caſe, as the *Romans* themſelves had very lately beene. For they had money enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a Citie farre ſtronger than *Rome*; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the *Roman* reſolution: and therefore diſtruſted the walls of *Carthage*; though *Utica*, a weaker Citie, had all this while held out againſt *Scipio*, and could not yet be forced by him and his Army, though ſo often victorious in the field. *Scipio* therefore accepted their ſubmiſſion, and told them, That though hee came into *Africke*, to make a conqueſt, and not a Peace: yet having the Conqueſt as it were in his hand, he would not deny to grant them the Peace which they deſired; for thereby ſhould all Nations underſtand, that the people of *Rome* did follow the rule of Juſtice, both in making warre, and in concluding it. The Conditions which he impoſed upon them, were theſe; That they ſhould render up unto him all the priſoners that they had taken, together with all *Renegadoes* and fugitive ſlaves: That they ſhould withdraw their Armies out of *Italy* and *Gaule*: That they ſhould not meddle in *Spaine*, nor yet in any Iland betweene *Italy* and *Africk*: That they ſhould deliver up all their ſhippes of warre, ſave twenty; and that they ſhould pay a great ſumme of money, with certaine hundred thouſand buſhels of wheat and barley. To conſider of theſe Articles, he gave them three dayes: and when they had approved them, he granted a Truce; that they might ſend Embaſſadours unto the *Roman* Senate.

This done, *Maſaniſſa* was diſmiſſed, and went home into his Kingdome, as if the war had beene already at an end. *Syphax* was a little before ſent with *Lælius* unto *Rome*: where the fame of theſe victories filled men with joy, and gave hope, that the long endured miſeries would be ſhortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were ſet open; and an holy day appointed for thankeſgiving and ſupplication to their gods. *Lælius* was accompanied with Embaſſadors from King *Maſaniſſa*: who gratulating the happy ſucceſſe of the *Romans* in their *African* warre, and giving thankes unto the Senate for the benefits done by *Scipio* unto their Maſter, made requeſt for the *Numidians*, ſuch as were now his ſubjects and priſoners in *Rome*, that they might be beſtowed upon him, who by rendring them to liberty, ſhould doe an act very plauſible, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reigne. The *Roman* Senate were not behinde with *Maſaniſſa* in complement: but ſhewing themſelves to be highly pleaſed with all that *Scipio* had done, and ſhould do for him, they called him King againe; releaſed his *Numidians* that were captives; and ſent him two purple Caſſocks, that had each of them one gold button, with ſuch other preſents, as in time of their poverty might ſerve to teſtifie their good will. Scarcely were theſe and *Lælius* gone from *Rome*, when the newes came, that Embaſſadors from *Carthage* were arrived to deſire peace. Theſe Embaſſadors were not admitted into the Citie, but were lodged without: untill *Lælius* being ſent for, came backe from *Oſtia*, to be preſent when their demands were to be heard. Then was audience given them in the Temple of *Bellona*; that ſtood in the Suburbs. The errand of theſe Embaſſadours, was peace, but the meaning of them and of their City, was onely to winne time, and get reſpite for warre; untill *Hannibal* and *Mago* ſhould come out of *Italy*, either to chaſe the *Romans* out of *Africk*, or to obtaine peace for *Carthage*, by terrour of their great names and Armies, upon more eaſie conditions. Wherefore they made an idle diſcourſe of the League, that was concluded betweene them and *Luctatius Catulus*, at the end of the former warre. This League they ſaid, all things well conſidered, did ſtill remaine in force: neither had there ſince beene any warre at all, betweene the people of *Rome* and the *Carthaginians*. For it was only *Hannibal*, that, without any leave from *Carthage*, had of his owne head beſieged and razed the Towne of *Saguntum*: and after that adventured in like ſort, without Commiſſion, to paſſe the *Alpes*, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of *Italy*. This being ſo, their Meſſage was none other, than to deſire, that the League before-ſpoken of, made in the time of *Catulus*, might hereafter ſtand in force; as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to doe. The Senators had cauſe to wonder at this tale, hearing theſe Embaſſadours make (as it were) a jeaſt of a warre, that had beene ſo terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many queſtions, concerning that peace made by *Luctatius*, and other paſſages following betweene the two Cities. But they excuſed themſelves, by their age: (for they were all young men) and ſaid, That thoſe things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but colluſion, and that they ſought no other than to gaine time, untill they might repaire the warre. Wherefore they were ſent home in company of *Lælius*, without any concluſion at all of peace; and, in effect, without anſwer. This notwithſtanding, we finde in *Polybius*, That the Senate receiving advertiſement from *Scipio*, of that which had paſſed betweene him and the *Carthaginians* in this Treatie of peace, approved the Conditions by him propounded, and gave him licence thereupon, to proceed unto concluſion. This may with good reaſon bee beleeved, ſince it was not unknowne, that if the warre continued, all theſe goodly hopes muſt reſt upon the moſt uncertaine iſſue of one battell between *Hannibal* and *Scipio*: wherein if fortune ſhould be averſe to them, their forces in *Africke* were no better than quite loſt.

*Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 15.*

Matters thus hanging in ſuſpence, before the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours came backe from *Rome*, a Fleet out of *Sicil*, wherein were two hundred ſhippes of burden, and thirty Gallies, being bound for *Africke*, to victuall the *Roman* Campe, was over-taken by foule-weather at Sea, and hardly eſcaping wreck, was diſperſed, and driven aground in divers parts of the Bay of *Carthage*, even in view, and under command of the Citie. There was at that time, as we finde in *Appian*, and may gather out of *Polybius*, a great dearth of victualls in *Carthage*, which cauſed the people to cry out upon their Magiſtrates, that they ſhould not let ſuch a booty eſcape them, ſaying, that the danger of famine was greater and worſe, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were ſo that hunger urged them, or that they yeelded to their owne greedy deſires: the multitude in *Carthage* underſtood (as it ſeems) that all this diſcourſe of Peace in hand, was no better than meere mockery, and therefore cared not for obſervation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was the manner in *Carthage*, as likewiſe in *Alexandria*, for all the raſcality, together with women and boyes, to be medling in uproares; the clamors of the boyes being in ſuch tumults no leſſe violent than of the men. Wherefore it is no marvaile, if little regard were had of reaſon, or of honour, in any ſuch commotion. A Fleet was ſent out under *Aſdrubal*, to gather up the diſperſed *Roman* ſhippes of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oares, recovered the ſtation whereto their camp adjoyned) and bring them into *Carthage*; which was done. *Scipio* was hereat much offended: not onely for the loſſe, and for that the Towne was thereby relieved; but for that by this breach of Truce, he fore-ſaw the intention of the *Carthaginians* to renew the warre, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he ſent Embaſſadours unto them, both to require ſatisfaction for the injury done; and to deterre them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had ſo much deſired. Theſe gave the *Carthaginians* to underſtand, That Letters were come from *Rome* unto *Scipio*, with allowance to conclude the Peace; upon thoſe conditions which he had propounded. But (ſaid they) *we hold it ſtrange, That ye, who ſo lately have caſt your ſelves to the ground before us, & kiſſed our feete, after*

*App. de bello Punico.*

*Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 15.*

*after an un-uſuall manner of humility, confeſſing your ſelves to have perfidiouſly broken the League that was betweene us, and thereby to have deſerved ſuch puniſhment as is due unto Rebels; ſhould ſo ſoone forget what ye then uttered, and runne headlong againe into the ſame crimes, for which ye acknowledged your ſelves worthy to be deſtroyed, having only recourſe unto our mercy. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye repoſe in* Hannibal, *that thus emboldens you. Yet were it not amiſſe, that yee ſhould conſider, how long he hath bin pent up in a corner of* Italy, *among the* Brutians; *where he is in a manner beſieged, and unable to ſtirre: ſo that yee are like to find his helpe wanting in your greateſt need. Or let it be ſuppoſed, that he were now in* Africke, *and ready to give us battaile: yet ſhould it well agree with your wiſedome, to doubt what might befall; remembring that he is a man, and not invincible. Now if it ſhould happen that he were overcome, what refuge have ye left unto your ſelves againſt hereafter? What gods will yee either ſweare by, to be beleeved, or call upon in your miſery? What words, and lamentable geſture will ye henceforth uſe, to move compaſſion? Surely yee have already waſted all your force of perſwaſion, and ſhall not againe deceive us, if ye refuſe the grace, whereof at this preſent yee are capable.* It is no marvell though the *Carthaginians* were angry, when they heard themſelves upbraided with the baſe demeanour of their Embaſſadors. For it was not the generall opinion of the city, that the Truce was broken by themſelves: though it had pleaſed *Hanno*, or ſuch as were of his faction, to gratifie the *Romans* with all manner of ſubmiſſion; and to renounce not onely their hope of the future, but all juſtification of matters paſt. And indeed it ſeemes, that the *Roman* Embaſſadours were very much delighted, in the rehearſall of that point which was yeelded unto them, as knowing that thereon depended the juſtice of the quarrell. But the *Carthaginians* tooke this in ſo ill part, that hardly they could refraine from doing violence unto the men, who had uſed unto them ſuch inſolent ſpeeches. Yet the fury of the multitude was in ſome ſort appeaſed; either by *Hanno*, whom *Appian*, (I know not why) calles *Hanno the Great:* or by the very reverence, due unto the place of thoſe that had uttered ſuch liberall words. So they were diſmiſſed in friendly ſort, although it were without anſwer to their Propoſition. There were alſo two gallies appointed for their ſafe convoy home; though with little intent of good unto their perſons. *Aſdrubal* was then in the mid-way, as men ſailed from *Carthage* towards *Utica*. He, whether onely deſirous to pleaſe the multitude, of whoſe diſpoſition he was informed, or whether directed by publike order to cut off theſe Embaſſadours in their way homeward, lay waiting for them behinde a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the river *Bagradas*. Their Convoy having brought them on the way, as farre as to the mouth of *Bagradas*, wiſhed them a good voyage; and ſo tooke leave of them, as if they had beene then in ſafety, ſince the *Roman* Camp was even in ſight. The Embaſſadours tooke this in ill part; not as fearing any danger toward, but thinking themſelves too much neglected, foraſmuch as their attendants did ſo abruptly leave them. But no ſooner had they doubled the Cape, than *Aſdrubal* fell upon them, in ſuch manner, as they might well diſcerne his purpoſe; which was to have ſtemmed them. They rowed hard therefore: and being in a *Quinquereme*, that had more bankes of Oares, than had any Gallie of *Aſdrubal*, they ſlipt away, and made him over-ſhoot himſelfe. Yet hee gave them chaſe, and had well-neere ſurpriſed them. But they diſcovered ſome *Roman* Companies on the ſhoare over againſt them, and therefore adventured to runne their Veſſell aground: whereby they ſaved their owne lives, though a great part of their company were ſlaine, or hurt. This practice of the *Carthaginians* was inexcuſable: and for the ſame cauſe perhaps were the Citizens heartned in ſuch a diſhonorable attempt, by thoſe that were deſirous to continue the warre; that thereby they might be driven to ſtudie nothing elſe, than how to get the victory, as having none other hope remayning. Yet likely it is, that the ſame feare, which had cauſed them to make ſuch earneſt ſuite for peace, would alſo have cauſed them to be better adviſed, than thus to abandon all hope of Treatie; had they not beene given to underſtand, that *Hannibal* was already landed in *Africk*, in whom they repoſed no ſmall confidence; but verily perſwaded themſelves, that he would change their fortune, and teach the *Romans* to hold themſelves contented with more eaſie conditions, than were thoſe that *Scipio*, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.

## §. XX.

### *In what ſort* Hannibal *ſpent the time after the battell of Metaurus. The doings of* Mago *in Italy.* Hannibal *and* Mago *called out of Italy. How the Romans were diverſly affected by* Hannibals *departure.*

EVer ſince the loſſe of that battell at *Metaurus, Hannibal* remained in the Country of the *Brutians,* waiting for another ſupply from *Carthage.* The *Roman* Conſuls that ſucceded unto *Claudius* and *Livius*, by whom *Aſdrubal* was overcome and ſlaine, were contented to be quiet all their yeare. Neither did *Licinius* the Colleague of *Scipio*, ought worthy of remembrance againſt *Hannibal*, being hindred by the peſtilence that was in his Army. *Sempronius* the Conſul, who followed *Licinius*; and *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, who followed *Sempronius*, were earneſtly bent to have done ſomewhat: but their diligence was in a manner fruitleſſe. In ſome ſkirmiſhes with *Hannibal*, they had the better; in ſome the worſe: and a few poore Townes they got from him, as it were by ſtealth; his care being more to preſerve his Armie, than to keep thoſe places that were weake.

The *Romans* had at this time ſo many great pieces of work in hand, that their chiefe enemy was become not the chief part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent upon *Africk*, wherein they were at no ſmall charges to maintaine the Army, which (as was hoped) ſhould bring the War to a ſhort and happy concluſion. They ſtood nevertheleſſe in much feare of *Mago*, the brother of *Hannibal*: who took exceeding pains among the *Ligurians* and *Gaules* to raiſe an Army, wherewith to kindle anew the War in *Italy*, that began to waxe cold. *Mago* ſolicited alſo the *Hetrurians*, and found them ſo ready to ſtirre in his behalfe, that if he could have entred their Country ſtrong, it might have proved no leſſe needfull for *Scipio* to returne home out of *Africk*, than ſhortly it was for *Hannibal* to make ſpeed unto the defence of *Carthage*. Theſe dangers cauſed the *Romans* to imploy one of their Conſuls or Proconſuls, with an Army, among the *Hetrurians*; another among the *Gaules*; and a third among the *Ligurians*: foraſmuch as it was uncertain, upon which ſide *Mago* would break out. Being thus buſied, it is no wonder though they forbore to overcharge *Hannibal* with any great power.

As for *Mago*, when things were in ſome readineſſe for his ſetting forwards, he met in the Countrey of the *Inſubrians*, which is about *Milan*, with *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Proconſul, and *P. Quintilius Varrus* one of the Pretors. With theſe he fought a battell, wherein though his vertue ſhewed it ſelfe worthy of his Father and Brethren; yet his fortune was *Carthaginian*. The fight continued a long while doubtfull; in ſuch ſort that the *Roman* Commanders began to diſtruſt the iſſue. Wherefore *Quintilius* the Pretor, taking unto him all the *Roman* Horſe, thought to have ſhaken the Enemies to pieces. The Legions at the ſame time gave a loud ſhout: and ſtrained themſelves hard, as if at that brunt the victory ſhould have been carried before them. But *Mago* oppoſed his Elephants to the Horſe: the ſervice of thoſe beaſts being fitter for ſuch uſe, than againſt the Squadrons of Foot. The figure, ſent, and braying of theſe Elephants, did ſo affright the Horſe, that they ſtarted aſide, and were ſcattered over the field; their Riders being unable to manage them. Hereby the *Numidians* got advantage upon them: whoſe manner of fight was more availeable againſt thoſe that were looſe, than againſt the Troupes that were cloſe and thick. Then fell the Elephants upon the Legions: which entertained them after the accuſtomed manner, with a ſhoure of darts, and killed foure of them; cauſing all the reſt to give back. This notwithſtanding, the ſame Legions were ſo vehemently preſſed by the Enemy; that more for ſhame of running away, than by any great force to make reſiſtance, they held their ground. The Proconſul therefore brought up thoſe forces, which he had kept unto the laſt, to ſuccour where need ſhould moſt require. Againſt theſe, *Mago* imployed ſome of his *Gaules*, whom he had in readineſſe for the like occaſion. But the *Gaules* diſcharged their parts very ill. They were ſoone beaten off, and recoiled ſo haſtily, that they brought feare upon all the reſt. When *Mago* ſaw that his men began to ſhrinke, He put himſelfe in the head of his Army; and held them ſo well to it, that keeping their order, they made a faire Retrait, with their faces toward the Enemie. But at length hee received a grievous wound in his thigh; whereof ſhortly after hee dyed. He was taken up, and carried out of danger by ſome of his owne men: the reſt of them, after little further reſiſtance, provided every one for himſelfe: So the *Romans* obtained victory, not without great coſt: as purchaſing the death of about five thouſand enemies, with the loſſe of two thouſand and three hundred of the Pretors Army, beſides thoſe that dyed of the Proconſuls Legions; alſo beſides divers Colonels, Captaines, and Gentlemen of marke, that fell in this hot piece of ſervice. Neither were there any priſoners taken; whereby it may ſeeme that the Enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recovered ſome ground that might aſſure them from purſuit. However it were, this victory would have much imported for the aſſurance of *Italy*, if the State of *Carthage* could longer have permitted theſe valiant ſonnes of *Amilcar* to abide therein. But *Mago* with-drawing himſelfe (by eaſie journies, becauſe of his wound) into *Liguria*, found there Embaſſadors from *Carthage* attending him: who gave him to underſtand the pleaſure of their City, which was, That both he and *Hannibal* ſhould preſently repaire home with all their forces; not ſtaying any longer to think upon the conqueſt of *Italy*, ſince *Carthage* it ſelfe was ready to be loſt. He obeyed this Commandement, and imbarqued ſhortly his Army; but dyed of his wound about *Sardinia*, in the way homewards.

About the ſame time *Hannibal* received the like command from *Carthage*, to returne into *Africk*. He heard it with great impatience; gnaſhing his teeth, and groaning, and hardly keeping in the teares, that were ready to burſt out, whilſt the Embaſſadors were delivering their errand. When their meſſage was done; He told them, That *this was yet plaine dealing. For,* ſaid He, *They that now directly bid me come home, have long agoe done their beſt to hale me out of Italy; though more cloſely and crookedly they went to worke, by ſtopping the ſupply that ſhould have enabled me to mannage the Warre here.* Scipio *therefore ſhall not need to bragge, that hee hath drawne me home by the heeles: it is* Hanno *that hath wrought this noble feat; and overwhelmed the houſe of the Barchines, for lacke of other means to doe it, with the ruine of Carthage.* He had before prepared a Fleet in readineſſe, doubting that which after came to paſſe: wherein he imbarqued, beſides his owne men, as many of the *Italians* as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were, that ſhrunke back from him, and refuſed to doe ſervice in this expedition: of whom, ſuch as he could take, he ſlew; not ſparing thoſe that fled into the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, which had been held an inviolable Sanctuary unto that day. He was indeed then wholly tranſported with rage; and departed out of *Italy* no leſſe paſſionate, than men are wont to be, when they leave their owne Countries to go into exile. He looked back unto the ſhore: accuſing both gods and men; and curſing his owne dulneſſe, in that he had not led his Army from *Cannæ*, hot and bloudied as it was, directly unto the walls of *Rome*. With ſuch vexation of ſpirit He quitted the poſſeſſion of *Italy*; wherein hee had lived almoſt halfe his time.

If it could have been foretold unto the *Romans*, in the firſt beginning of this Warre, with what exceeding joy in times following they ſhould entertaine the newes of *Hannibal* his departure out of *Italy*: they would (I think) leſſe earneſtly have preſſed the *Carthaginians* to ſend him over thither. When ſure advertiſement was brought unto the Citie, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his Armie: an Holy-day was appointed for thankſgiving unto their gods; and extraordinary great ſacrifices publikely made, for joy of ſuch happy tidings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, That the danger did ſtill remaine the ſame, though the place were changed: for that *Hannibal* at his comming into *Africk*, would finde *P. Scipio* other manner of worke, than he had been troubled with at any time before; and would doe greater matters in his owne Country, than ever he was able to performe abroad in a land of ſtrangers. The remove of the War from their owne doores, and the conceit of that victory for which they hoped; was enough to make them preſume further, than at other times they would have done. When therefore the *Saguntine* Embaſſadors brought unto them a great maſſe of Gold and Silver, together with ſome Agents of the *Carthaginians* taken by them in *Spaine*: onely the *Carthaginian* priſoners were accepted; the treaſure was rendred back unto the *Saguntines* that had ſurpriſed it. Upon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of thoſe monies that had bin borrowed in time of more neceſſity from private men. Hence alſo proceeded the ſevere chaſtiſement laid upon thoſe 12. Colonies, that for want either of meanes or of good will, had refuſed to give aid to the *Romans*. They were commanded, and inforced to give double the number of Foot to that which they had been wont to ſet out for the Wars, with a proportion of Horſe anſwerable to the very moſt of their ability. So confident were the *Romans* grown (though their wealth were not as yet ſutable to the greatneſſe of their ſpirit) upon the good ſucceſſe of the battell at *Metaurus*, and the hopes which they repoſed in *Scipio*. All this notwithſtanding, when they conſidered more nearely of that which might happen; and were informed, that the terrible Army, whereof *Italy* had been few daies ſince diſcharged, was landed ſafe in *Africk*: they began to revolve a thouſand fearfull matters in their heads, and to ſtand in doubt, leſt *Q. Fabius* (who died about the ſame time) would be found a true Prophet. For, bethinking themſelves of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories againſt *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal* no ſpecialty of ſuch great worth, as might promiſe the like ſucceſſe againſt another manner of Generall, followed by other manner of men, than were either of thoſe two. The *Numidian* King had been wont to bring into the field a raſcall multitude of halfe ſcullions, that were good for nothing; being himſelfe a fit Captaine for ſuch Souldiers. Likewiſe *Aſdrubal* the ſon of *Geſco*, was a Commander well thought of by the *Carthaginian* Senate; but otherwiſe, one, that in the field was only good at ſaving himſelfe by a ſwift retrait. But now there came an Army of men, hardened from their childhood with incredible patience, fleſhed many hundred times in *Roman* bloud, and wearing the ſpoyles, not only of good ſouldiers, but of brave Captaines, by them ſlaine. Such talke uſed the people of *Rome*, ſaying, That *Scipio* was like to meet in battell with many that had ſlaine *Roman* Pretors, yea, and Conſuls with their owne hands; with many that had been firſt in getting over the Trenches of ſeverall *Roman* Camps, or in winning the tops of wals at the ſiege of Towns; briefly, that he ſhould now be oppoſed by an Army, as good as ever had ſerved in War, and following the dreadfull name of *Hannibal*.

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## §. XXI.

Hannibal *in Africk prepares to fight with* Scipio; *treats with him about peace in vaine; loſeth a battell at Nadagara, and perſwades the Carthaginians to ſue for peace. Of the peace granted from Rome to Carthage.*

HAnnibal diſembarqued his Army at *Leptis*, almoſt an hundred miles from *Carthage*, Eaſtward from the Headland of *Mercurie*, and ſomewhat more than one degree to the South. He was ill provided of Horſe; which it was not eaſie for him to tranſport out of *Italy*. Therefore it behooved him to land, as he did, ſomewhat farre from the Enemy; that he might furniſh himſelfe of theſe and the like needfull helpes againſt the day of battell. From *Leptis* he paſſed on to *Adrumetum*, and ſo along through the In-land Country, gathering friends unto him by the way. *Tychæus* a *Numidian* Prince, and familiar friend of *Syphax*, was ſaid to have in thoſe dayes the beſt Horſes of ſervice, that were to be found in *Africk*. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure unto his partie: making him underſtand, that if the *Romans* got the victory, it ſhould be eaſie for *Maſaniſſa*, by their countenance and helpe to oppreſſe both him, and as many other of the neighbour Princes as hindered his proſpect. This argument, and the fame of him that uſed it, prevailed with *Tychæus*; who ſhortly after brought unto the *Carthaginian* two thouſand Horſe. *Appian* further addes, That *Mezetullus*, (the ſame who had made himſelfe Protector over *Maſaniſſa* his Couſins; and was Head of a Family, and adverſe to the *Numidian* Kings of that race) brought to *Hannibal* another thouſand Horſe: as likewiſe, that *Vermina* the Son of *Sypahx*, holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdome, began at the ſame time to aſſaile the places that yeelded obedience to *Maſaniſſa*. This *Vermine*, as we finde in *Livie*, came with more than 16. thouſand men (for he loſt more than ſo many) to ſuccour *Hannibal* when it was too late.

The *Carthaginians* were at this time in ſuch hard eſtate, or (at leaſt) ſo impatient of the ſtate wherein they were; that they could not attend the leiſure of thoſe preparations, which would have made the victory aſſured. When they conſidered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatneſſe of his Acts: it offended them to thinke, that they had beene ſo baſe as to make humble ſuit unto the *Romans* for peace; whileſt they had ſuch a brave Champion alive, to maintaine their cauſe by Warre. But when as they bethought themſelves of their owne ſufferings, which, for want of *Roman* magnanimity to endure them,appeared greater than indeed they were: then cried they out earneſtly,that it was no time to linger,but preſently to fight; that ſo they might ſee an end of theſe troubles, either good or bad: and to this purpoſe they ſent their Mandates to *Hannibal*: requiring him, without any further protraction, to doe what he could doe out of hand. *Hannibal* made anſwer,That they were his good Lords, and had power to diſpoſe of him and his Armie: but ſince he was Generall of their forces, He thought it reaſonable that they ſhould ſuffer him to doe as a Generall ought to doe; and to chooſe his owne times. Nevertheleſſe, to give them ſatisfation, He made great marches to *Zama*; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce made by the *Carthaginians*: The violence done to his Embaſſadors: and the newes of *Hannibal* his being landed in *Africk*, made *Scipio* to underſtand the reſolution of the *Carthaginians*,which was,not to yeeld unto any conditions unprofitable for themſelves, as long as they were able to make reſiſtance. Wherefore he ſent unto *Maſaniſſa*:and informed him of all that was fallen out; praying him to come away with ſpeed,and lay all other buſineſſe apart. Ten *Roman* Companies, of Horſe and Foot together, *Maſaniſſa* had with him; that were lent unto him by *Scipio*, to doe him ſervice in the eſtabliſhing and inlarging of his Kingdome. But he well underſtood, that thoſe and many more beſides all his owne forces, would but little availe him; if *Hannibal* ſhould drive the *Romans* out of *Africk*. Wherefore taking ſuch order as he could upon the ſudden,for the ſafety of his owne kingdome; with foure thouſand Horſe, and ſixe thouſand Foot,he made all haſte unto *Scipio*.

Soone after the beginning of theſe new troubles, the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors that had been at *Rome*, returned back under the conduct of *Lælius* and *Fulvius*: who brought them ſafe into the *Roman* Campe. There when they arrived,and underſtood what had lately paſſed,eſpecially how their Citizens had behaved themſelves towards the *Roman* Embaſſadors: they made little doubt,how their owne heads ſhould anſwer for ſuch notorious outrage. To confirme them in this opinion:

*M. Bæbius* one of the late Embaſſadors that had bin in *Carthage*,being left by *Scipio* to take charge of the Camp, laid hands upon them and detained them; ſending word unto his Generall,who was gone abroad to make Warre in the Country, that he had them in his power,and that now the *Carthaginians* might be repaid in their owne Coyne,for the injurie by them lately done. *Scipio* was very glad to heare of this; and commanded *Bæbius* to uſe them with all poſſible courteſie,and ſend them ſafe home. By thus doing,He brake the hearts of his enemies;and cauſed them to acknowledge themſelves (which was a great victory) far leſſe honourable than the *Romans*. This notwithſtanding,he made more cruell War upon them than before: taking their Townes by force; and putting them to ſacke, without hearkning to any Compoſition. It was the manner of the *Romans*, as often as they took a Town by aſſault,to put all that came in their way to the ſword, whatſoever they were,without regard. This they did,to make themſelves terrible: and the better to worke ſuch impreſſion in the mindes of thoſe,with whom they had to doe,they uſed oftentimes to kill the very Dogges and other Beaſts, that ran athwart them in the ſtreets; hewing their bodies aſunder,as men delighted in ſhedding of bloud. This being their practice at other times: it is likely that now they omitted no piece of cruelty; when they meant to give proofe of their vehement indignation,and revengefull minds, for the injuries received. Hence it partly grew, that the *Carthaginians* were ſo earneſt in preſsing *Hannibal* to fight.

*Excerpt. è Polyb. lib.10.*

*Hannibal* being incamped at *Zama*,ſent forth his Scowts and Spies,to diſcover where the *Romans* lay, what they were doing, and as much a might be, of their demeanour. Some of theſe were taken,& brought unto *Scipio*: who in ſtead of truſsing them up,gave them free leave to view his Campe at pleaſure, appointing one to conduct them up and downe,and ſhew them whatſoever they deſired. This done,Hee gave them leave to depart; and ſent them away ſafe unto their Generall. *Hannibal* underſtanding this, admired the bravery and courage of his enemy: with whom on the ſudden he grew deſirous to have an Enter-view,and perſonall conference; and ſignified ſo much unto him by a meſſenger ſent of purpoſe. Of this motion the *Roman* liked well: and returned anſwer, that Hee would meete him ſhortly in a place convenient. The next day *Maſaniſſa* came with his Army: whom *Scipio* taking with him, removed unto a Towne called *Nadagara*; neare unto which he ſate downe, in a place otherwiſe commodious, and cloſe by a water that might opportunely ſerve his Campe. Thence he ſent word unto the *Carthaginian*, That the time and place did fitly ſerve, if he had ought to ſay to him. *Hannibal* thereupon removed from *Zama*, and came within foure miles of the enemy: where he incamped well to his owne good liking in all things elſe; excepting that his men were driven to take much paines, in fetching their water ſomewhat farre off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two Generals each of them with a troupe of Horſe, rode forth of their Campes, till they came unto a piece of ground; which was before well ſearched for feare of ambuſh. There they will their followers to ſtand off: and themſelves with each of them one Interpreter, encountred each other in the mid-way betweene their Companies. They remained a while ſilent, viewing one the other with mutuall admiration. Then beganne the *Carthaginian*, ſaluting the *Roman*, to deliver his minde to this effect: That it had been better both for *Carthage*, and *Rome*, if they could have limited and contained their ambition within the ſhores of *Africk* and of *Italy*; for that the Countries of *Sicil* and of *Spaine*, about which their fathers and themſelves had ſtriven, were no ſufficient recompence for ſo many Fleets as had been loſt, and of ſo much bloud as had been ſhedde, in making thoſe coſtly purchaſes. But ſince things paſt could not bee recalled: He ſaid, That it was meet for them to conſider, unto what extreme dangers their owne Cities had been expoſed, by the greedy deſire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was even time for them now at length, to make an end of their obſtinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wiſedome hereafter. And to ſuch peaceable diſpoſition, Hee affirmed that his owne yeares, and long tryall of Fortune, both good and evill, had made him inclinable. But much he feared, that *Scipio*, by want of the like experience, might rather fixe his minde upon uncertaine hopes, than upon the contemplation of that mutability, whereto all humane affaires are ſubject. *Yet* (ſaid he) *mine owne example may peradventure ſuffice to teach thee moderation. For I am that ſame* Hannibal, *who after my victorie at Cannæ, won the greateſt part of Italie: and deviſed with my ſelfe, what I ſhould doe with your City of Rome, which I hoped verily to have taken. Once I brought mine armie to your walls, as thou haſt ſince brought thine to ours of Carthage: but now, ſee the change! I ſtand here entreating thee to grant us peace. This may ſerve as a document of Fortunes inſtability. I have fought with thy father* Scipio: *He was the firſt of the Roman Generalls that ever met me in the field. I did then little think, that the time would come, that I ſhould have ſuch buſineſſe, as now at the preſent, with his ſon. But this is even one of Fortunes pageants, whereof ſhe hath many. And thou maiſt have experience of the like in thy ſelfe, who knows how ſoone. Thinke upon* M. Atilius: *If he would have hearkened unto ſuch perſwaſions, as I now uſe to thee, he might have returned home to Rome an happy man, and ſo maiſt thou doe now, if any reaſonable offer will give thee ſatisfaction. How ſaiſt thou? Canſt thou bee contented, that all Spaine, Sicil, Sardinia, and whatſoever Ilands elſe are ſituate between Italie and Africk be abandoned by the Carthaginians for ever, and left unto the Romans, to bear dominion therein? Thou ſhalt have glory enough by effecting thus much: and the Romanes may well be glad of ſuch a bargaine. As for us, our owne quiet ſhall henceforth give us contentment. And the ſame contentment of ours, ſhall make us faithfully obſerve the peace with you. But if thou thinkeſt all too little, I muſt deſire thee to ponder well how great an hazzard thou muſt undergoe for obtaining a very little more, than that which thou maiſt have without contention. It is now in thine owne power to lay hold upon good fortune, if it pleaſe thee: ſtay but untill to morrow night, and thou maiſt take ſuch fortune as it pleaſe the gods. The iſſue of battaile is uncertain, and many times beguileth expectation. Men and ſteele we ſhall each of us bring into the field; but of the victory neither of us hath aſſurance. Let us therefore without more adoe make peace. And doe not tell mee that ſome falſe-hearted Citizens of ours dealt fraudulently of late in the like treaty: It is I* Hannibal *that now deſire peace with thee, which I would never doe, if I thought it not expedient for my country. And thinking it expedient, I will alwaies maintaine it, like as I have maintained, unto my power, as long as the gods did not envie me, the war by me begun.*

Hereunto *Scipio* made anſwer, That it was no ambitious deſire of ruling in *Scicil* and in *Spaine* which had moved the *Romans* to enter into this or the former Warre: but that the defence of the *Mamertines*, and afterwards of the *Saguntines*, their confederates, had cauſed them to put on thoſe armes; which the gods by the finall iſſue of the Warres had approved, and would approve to bee moſt juſt. As for the mutability of Fortune, he ſaid, that hee was not thereof ignorant; and that without any note of inſolence or over-weening, he might well refuſe the conditions offered. *For was it not plaine that all theſe Countries, with which the Carthaginians now ſo willingly departed, were already won from the Romans? If,* ſaid he, *theſe conditions had bin propounded whileſt as yet ye detained ſome part of Italy, they might peradventure not have bin rejected. But as the caſe now ſtands, I ſee no reaſon why I ſhould remit unto you any one piece of theſe my former demands, to which the Carthaginians have yeelded already, and thought me to be gracious in dealing ſo moderately. Rather I ſay, that the injuries which they have done me ſince, have made them unworthy of obtaining peace upon ſo friendly termes. But I cannot blame thee,* Hannibal, *though thou wouldſt be glad to make thy Citizens underſtand, from how much of their burden they are by thy meanes eaſed. Onely thou muſt thinke, that in like ſort it concernes me in honour not to let them be gainers or ſavers by the wrongs which they have done of late. Thou knoweſt well, that beſides thoſe offers which thou here haſt made, they were wel contented to reſtore unto us ranſome-free, all priſoners that they have of ours, to pay us five thouſand talents, to deliver up their gallies, and to deliver hoſtages for aſſurance of faire dealing. And muſt they now be diſcharged of all this by their breach of truce, their ſpoiling of our fleet, and their violating our Embaſſadors? Not ſo. But if they can be contented, beſides all this, to make ſuch amends as I ſhall require, for theſe injuries newly done; then will I take advice with my counſell what anſwer to give you; otherwiſe you may even prepare for warre, and blame your own ſelves for that I have denied you peace.*

Hereupon they brake off: and returned each to his owne Campe, with no other newes than warre; bidding their Souldiers prepare for a battell, wherein ſhould be decided the quarrell betweene *Rome* and *Carthage*. The next morning at break of day they iſſued into the field: a notable march, and ſuch as hath very ſeldome been found; whether we regard the Generals, their Armies, the two Cities that contended, or the great importance of the battell at hand. *Scipio* ordered his men after the *Roman* manner: placing firſt the *Haſtati*, divided into their Maniples, or ſmall Battalions, with a reaſonable diſtance between them: Not farre behind theſe followed the *Principes*, likewiſe divided; and ſo after them the *Triarii*. But herein *Scipio* altered a little the ordinary cuſtome of the *Romans*: He placed not the Maniples of his *Principes* oppoſite unto the voyd ſpaces between the *Haſtati*, that ſo the *Haſtati*, as was uſuall, might fall back between the *Principes*; but he placed them directly one behind another, as it were, in File. This he did, becauſe of the Elephants, whereof *Hannibal* had many. For of thoſe beaſts the danger was leſſe whileſt there was open way to let them through. Therefore he took ſuch order, that when they had paſſed through the ſpaces betweene the firſt Battalions, they ſhould not come upon the *Principes* in Front. Unto his *Velites*, or thoſe of the light armature that were to begin the fight, he gave direction, that when they found themſelves to be over-charged, either by the Enemies, or (which was moſt to be feared) by the Elephants, they ſhould run back through thoſe lanes that were betweene the Maniples; and that thoſe which were ſwifteſt, or otherwiſe beſt able, ſhould continue on their flight, untill they were got behind all their owne Army; thereby leaving roome enough unto thoſe that were wounded, or caſt behind, to ſave themſelves on the void ground, that was betwixt the firſt and ſecond, or the ſecond and third battels, without cloying up the way betweene the Maniples, which he deſired to keep open. His *Italian* horſe he placed in the left wing, under *C. Lælius*. In the right wing was *Maſaniſſa* with his *Numidians*. He himſelfe riding up and downe, exhorted his men to doe valiantly; uſing words, not many, but forcible. He bade them remember what they had atchieved, ſince their comming into *Africk*. He told them, that if this day were theirs, the Warre was at an end: and that their victory in this War, ſhould make them Lords of all the World, for that afterwards, none would be found able to reſiſt them. On the contrary, if they were beaten, he asked them whither they would flie. They were farre from home, yea, and far from their owne ſtanding Campe: neither was there any place in *Africk*, that would give them ſhelter: if they fell into the *Carthaginians* hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but death or victory: unleſſe they would live like wretched ſlaves under moſt mercileſſe enemies. In ſuch neceſſity, he ſaid, that they which conſider themſelves to be, and take reſolution anſwerable thereunto, have never been knowne to faile of getting victory.

*Hannibal* on the other ſide placed his Elephants, that were more than foureſcore, in

Front of his Battell. Next behind theſe, he made his Vantguard all of Mercenaries, *Ligurians*, *Gaules*, *Baleares*, and *Moores*. Then followed his Battell; which was of *Carthaginians* & *Africans*, more intereſſed in the quarrell than were thoſe Mercenaries; though not ſo good ſouldiers: but to helpe (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them foure thouſand *Macedonians*, lately ſent from King *Philip*. More than the ſpace of a furlong behinde theſe came his Rereward, conſiſting of thoſe brave Souldiers which had ſerved him in his *Italian* warres; and were the onely men, in whom he repoſed any confidence. Oppoſite to *Lælius*, in his owne right wing he beſtowed the *Carthaginian* Horſe. *Tychæus* and the *Numidians* he placed in his left wing againſt *Maſaniſſa*. He was indeed farre too weake for the Enemie in horſe, both in number and in goodneſſe. For *Tychæus* and *Mezetullus* had no more than three thouſand; and thoſe not ſo well exerciſed, as were the foure thouſand of *Maſaniſſa*. The *Carthaginians* alſo were no more, nor none other than ſuch as could be levied in the haſte of a few dayes; and the remainder of thoſe, that had of late been often vanquiſhed, and accuſtomed to flye. But it was no time for *Hannibal*, neither had he perhaps authoritie, to make theſe his companions alight and ſerve on foot, ſetting better men in their ſaddles. All that he could have done, was to ſtay a little longer, and expect more helpe. Had *Vermina* the ſon of *Syphax* come thither, as he did in few dayes after, with ſixteene thouſand and upwards, the moſt of them Horſe, the advantage of number might have ſerved well to ſupply all other defect. Yet ſince the Lords of *Carthage* would brooke no delay, *Hannibal* muſt be faine to comfort himſelfe with the hope that he repoſed in his old *Italian* ſouldiers; whoſe vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more ſtrongly oppoſed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their ſeverall conditions: promiſing unto the Mercenaries bountifull rewards; threatning the *Carthaginians* with inevitable ſervitude if they loſt that day: but eſpecially animating his old fellow-ſouldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained againſt farre greater numbers. He bade them to looke upon the Enemies, and make an eſtimate, whether they were any thing like ſo many, as that huge Army which they had ſlaughtered at *Cannæ*. He willed them to remember, That it was one *P. Scipio*, even the father of this man, whom they had firſt of all compelled to runne away. He told them, that theſe Legions, which they yonder beheld, were, for the moſt part of them, the very worſt of the *Roman* Souldiers; even ſuch, as for their daſtardly flight out of ſundry battels, could no longer be truſted to beare Armes in their owne Countrie. As for the reſt, they were young men, the ſons of Cowards, and bred up in the continuall feare of thoſe weapons, by which their fathers were daily ſlain or chaſed. Wherefore he entreated theſe his old companions, upon whoſe vertue he meant wholly to repoſe himſelfe, that they would this day ſtrive to make good their honour; and to purchaſe the fame of *men invincible*.

Such exhortations uſed the two Generals before the fight. When they drew neere together, the *Numidian* horſemen on both ſides began to skirmiſh. The Trumpets, and other inſtruments of warre, ſounded to battell: and *Hannibal* commanded his Elephants to breake upon the *Romans*. Of theſe Elephants (as they were alwayes an uncertaine kind of help) thoſe that ſtood neere unto the point of the left wing, turned back for feare: and ran upon their own *Numidian* Horſe; which they affrighted and diſordered. *Maſaniſſa* eſpying this, gave charge upon the ſame *Numidians*; and not ſuffering them to re-ally themſelves, drave them quite out of the field. The reſt of thoſe beaſts made a great ſpoile of the *Roman Velites*, whom they followed into the ſpaces betweene the Maniples: but without any harm to the Battalions themſelves; which gave them open way, accordingly as *Scipio* had well provided. Divers of them receiving many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be governed; but ran backe upon the right point of their owne battell, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithall they diſordered the *Carthaginian* Horſe which were in that wing: againſt whom they gave to *Lælius* the ſame advantage that *Maſaniſſa* had againſt the *Numidians*; which he uſed in like ſort. In the meane while, the battels of foot advanced, and drew neere together with a ſlow and watety pace, till they were almoſt within a weapons caſt: at what time they gave a ſhout, and ran one at the other. The Mercenaries for a time ſeemed both in audacitie, and in quickneſſe, to have the better of the *Romans*; wounding many, and doing more harme, than they took. But the *Roman* diſcipline after a while prevailed againſt the boiſterous violence of theſe untrained *Barbarians*. Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battel of the *Principes*, following ſomewhat neere after the *Haſtati*, encouraged their fellowes; and ſhewed themſelves ready, if need were, to relieve them. Contrariwiſe, the Mercenaries received no manner of helpe or comfort, from thoſe that ſhould have ſeconded them. For the new-levied *Carthaginians* and *Africans*, when they ſaw their hired ſouldiers give back, did alſo themſelves retire. This cauſed the *Ligurians*, *Gaules*, and the reſt, to thinke themſelves betrayed: whereupon they enclined unto flight. The *Carthaginian* Battell was herewith more terrefied than before, ſo as it refuſed to give way unto the Mercenaries for their ſafe retrait; and yet withall forbore to make head againſt the Enemies, that purſued them. It was no time to aske them what they meant by this: Feare and Indignation cauſed thoſe that were at once chaſed by the *Romans*, and betrayed, as they thought, by their owne fellowes, to turne their armes with an heedleſſe furie againſt both the one and the other. Thus were many of the *Carthaginians* beaten downe and ſlaine, through their owne indiſcretion, by their owne Mercenaries. The *Roman Haſtati* in like ſort, fighting with deſperate men in a throng, had their hands ſo full of worke, that the *Principes* were faine to come up unto them, and helpe to over-beare this great medley of enemies, that were together by the eares among themſelves. In this place was made a great ſlaughter, both of the Mercenaries and of the *Carthaginians*: which, hindering one another, could neither fight, nor eaſily flye. Such of them as eſcaped, ranne towards *Hannibal*: who kept his ground, and would not ſtirre one foot, to helpe or ſave theſe Run-awayes. He cauſed his men to bend their Pikes at thoſe of his owne ſide, that would have ruſhed upon him: whom he thereby compelled to turne aſide beyond his Battell, and ſave themſelves in the open field. The ground, over which the *Romans* were now to march, ere they could meet with *Hannibal*, was covered with heapes of dead bodies and weapons; and ſo ſlipperie with bloud, that *Scipio* began to ſtand in great doubt, leſt the orders of his Battalions ſhould be diſſolved in paſſing that way. In ſuch caſe, if he ſhould fight with that warlike Armie, which hee ſaw before him, remaining yet entire, and without feare expecting him; He might bee well aſſured to receive a notable overthrow. He cauſed therefore the *Haſtati* to make a ſtand there where they were, oppoſite to the maine battell of the *Hannibalians*. Then drawing up his *Principes* and *Triarii*, he placed them, when they had overcome the bad way, all in one Front with the *Haſtati*, and made of them his two Cornets. This done, he advanced towards *Hannibal*: who entertained him after another manner, than ever he had beene received in his life before. All the dayes worke till now, ſeemed to have been a matter of paſtime, in regard of the ſharpe Conflict, that was maintained betweene theſe notable Souldiers. The *Romans* were encouraged by their having prevailed all the day before: they were alſo farre the more in number. But theſe old Souldiers of *Hannibal* were freſh; (and perhaps) the better men. They fought with ſuch obſtinate reſolution, that no man gave backe one foot; but rather choſe to die on the ground whereon he ſtood. So that, after a long time, it was uncertaine which part had the worſe: unleſſe it may ſeeme, that the *Romans* were beginning to ſhrinke; for as much as the returne of *Maſaniſſa* and *Lælius* from purſuit of the Enemies Horſe, is ſaid to have beene *moſt happie* and in a *needfull time*. Theſe upon a ſudden charged the *Hannibalians* in Rere; and over-bearing them by meere violence, compelled them to fall to Rout.

Excerpt. è Pol. lib. 15.

In this Battell there died of the *Romans* fifteene hundred and upwards: on the *Carthaginian* ſide, above twenty thouſand; beſides as many that were taken; of whom, *Sopater* Captain of the *Macedonians* was one. The ſingular skill that *Hannibal* ſhewed in this his laſt fight, is highly commended by *Polybius*; and was acknowledged, as *Livie* reports, by *Scipio* himſelfe. But the Enemies were too ſtrong for him in Horſe: and being enjoyned, as he was, by the State of *Carthage*, to take battell with ſuch diſadvantage, he could worke no marvels. He ſaved himſelfe with a few Horſe; and ſtayed not in his journey, till he came to *Adrumetum*. Thence was he ſent for to *Carthage*; from which he had beene abſent ſixe and thirtie yeeres. At his comming into the Senate, He ſaid plainly, That there was none other way left, than to take ſuch peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the *Carthaginians* not knowing what other courſe to take, reſolved to ſend Embaſſadours againe, and trie the favour of *Scipio*, whoſe Armes they could not now reſiſt.

*Scipio* having ſpoyled the Enemies Campe, returned backe to *Utica*: where he found *P. Lentulus* newly arrived, with fifty Gallies and an hundred Ships of burden. With this Fleet,and that which he had before, He thought it beſt to make towards *Carthage*: rather of purpoſe to terrefie the Citie, than with any hope to take it. His Legions he committed unto *Cn. Octavius*;whom he willed to meet him there by land.Then ſending *Lælius* away to *Rome* with newes of the victory, ſet ſaile from *Utica* towards *Carthage*.He was encountred on the way by ten Embaſſadours from the City: who bearing up with the Admirall Gallie,began to uſe the pitifull geſture of ſuppliants. But they received none other anſwer,than that they ſhould meet him at *Tunes*,where he would give them audience. So rowing along before the City,and viewing it more in bravery,than with meaning to attempt it;He returned back to *Utica*,and called backe *Octavius* thither, with whom in perſon He ſet forwards to *Tunes*. As they were in their journy thither, they heard the newes,that *Vermina* the ſonne of *Syphax*,was comming with an Army of more Horſe than Foot,to the ſuccour of thoſe that were already vanquiſhed. This *Vermina* ſeemes to have bin both careleſſe of getting intelligence how things paſſed, and very defective in all other duties requiſite in the Commander of an Army. Part of the *Roman* foot, with all their power of Horſe, was ſent againſt him: which did not onely beat him, but ſo compaſſe him in, that he hardly eſcaped himſelfe with a few; leaving fifteene thouſand of his followers dead behinde him, and twelve hundred taken priſoners.If this good company had bin with *Hannibal* at *Nadagara*,they ſhould have been far better conducted, and might well have changed the Fortune of the day; which the *Carthaginian* loſt by default of Horſe. But God had otherwiſe determined. It is not to be doubted,that this victory,though it were no great acceſſe unto the former; yet ſerved well to daunt the *Carthaginians*, and imprint in them the greater feare of *Scipio*. When he came to *Tunes*,there met him thirty Embaſſadours from *Carthage*:whoſe behaviour, though it was more pitifull than it had bin before, yet procured it leſſe commiſeration, by reaſon of their late falſe dealing, after they had inlike ſort humbled themſelves. Nevertheleſſe it was conſidered, what a long and laborious work it would prove,to beſiege the mightie Citie of *Carthage*.And particularly,*Scipio* ſtood in great doubt,leſt the honour of this warre,if it were protracted,ſhould be taken out of his hands, and given to one of the Conſuls. *Cn.Servilius Cæpio*,that Conſul who had charge of the war againſt *Hannibal*, at ſuch time as he departed out of *Italy*: was bold to paſſe over into the Ile of *Sicil* (as it were in chaſe of *Hannibal* by him terrefied and driven away) with a purpoſe thence to have proceeded into *Africk*,and taken from *Scipio* the command of the Army there. But a Dictator was choſen of purpoſe, to reſtraine the ambition of this Conſull *Servilius*.After him followed *Tiberius Claudius*, who made ſuite for the ſame Province of *Africk*: and was therein ſo earneſt,that though neither the Senate,nor People, would grant him his deſire; yet he needs would be going, procuring onely leave of the Senate, that he being Conſul might joyne with *Scipio*,were it with no more than equall authority. But ere he could have his Fleet and all things in a readineſſe for the journey, wherein no man cared to further him, Winter came on, and he was onely toſt at Sea with foule weather; firſt upon the Coaſt of *Hetruria*,and afterwards by *Sardinia*; where his Conſulſhip expired, and ſo he returned home a private man. Then came the joyfull newes to *Rome*,of the victory obtained againſt *Hannibal*, and that the warre was now even at an end. Yet was *Lentulus* the new Conſull ſo paſſionate,in deſiring *Africk* for his Province,That he ſaid he would ſuffer nothing to paſſe in the Senate, untill he had firſt his will. Much adoe there was about this: and after many contentions, both in the Senate,and before the people,at laſt it was ordered,That if Peace were granted, it ſhould be granted by *Scipio*; if the warre continued, *Scipio* ſhould have command therein by Land, and the Conſul at Sea. The ambition of theſe men,cauſed *Scipio* to give the more favourable anſwer unto the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours. He willed them to conſider what they had deſerved: and in regard thereof,to think themſelves well dealt withall;in that he was contented to leave unto them their libertie and their owne Lawes, without appointing any Governour over them, or Garriſon to hold them in ſubjection; leaving alſo unto them their poſſeſſions in *Africk*,ſuch as they were at the beginning of this war. As touching the reſt he was at a point,That,before he either granted them peace or truce, they ſhould make ſatisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whileſt the late Treaty was in dependance. Hereunto if they would yeeld, then required He, *That immediatly they ſhould deliver up to the Romans all priſoners,fugitives, and renegado's, that they had of theirs: likewiſe all their Gallies,excepting ten: and all their Elephants. That they ſhould make* *no warre at all thence-forth out of Africke, neither yet within Africke, without licence of the Romans: That the Countries, Townes, goods whatſoever, belonging any wiſe unto* Maſaniſſa, *or to any of his Anceſtors, which were in their poſſeſſion, ſhould be all by them reſtored unto him: That they ſhould finde corne for the Roman Army, and wages for their Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, untill the Peace were fully concluded: That they ſhould pay tenne thouſand Talents of Silver, in the terme of fiftie yeeres, by two hundred Talents a yeare; and that for obſervance of Conditions, they ſhould give an hundred hoſtages: ſuch as* Scipio *would chooſe, being none of them under foureteene yeeres of age, nor above thirtie.*

With theſe conditions the Embaſſadours returned home, and reported them unto the Citie. They were very unpleaſing; and therefore one *Geſco* ſtood up to ſpeake againſt them: and exhorted the people, who gave good attention, that they ſhould not condeſcend unto ſuch intolerable demands. But *Hannibal* perceiving this, and noting withall what favourable audience was given to this vaine Oratour, by the unquiet, yet unwarlike Multitude, was bold to pull him downe from his ſtanding, by plaine force. Hereat all the People murmured, as if their common liberty were too much wronged, by ſuch inſolence of this preſumptuous Captain. Which *Hannibal* perceiving, roſe up and ſpake unto them, ſaying; That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwiſe than the cuſtomes of the Citie would allow; foraſmuch as he had beene thence abſent ever ſince he was a Boy of nine yeeres old, untill he was now a man of five and forty. Having thus excuſed himſelfe of the diſorder, he diſcourſed unto them concerning the Peace: and perſwaded them to accept it, as wanting abilitie to defend themſelves, had the Demands of the Enemie beene yet more rigorous. Finally, upon good advice, they reſolved to yeeld unto the Conditions propounded by *Scipio*: to whom they paid out of hand five and twenty thouſand pounds weight in ſilver, in recompence of damages, and injuries by them done to his Fleet and Embaſſadours. *Scipio* granted them Truce for three moneths, in which time they might negotiate with the State of *Rome*, about confirmation of the League. But herewithall he gave injunction, that they ſhould neither in the meane while ſend Embaſſadours any whither elſe, nor yet diſmiſſe any Embaſſadours to them ſent, without firſt making him acquainted what they were, and what their errand was.

At this time *Hanno*, and they of his Faction, were become wiſe and honourable men, by the miſeries whereinto *Carthage* was fallen through their malicious counſels. *Aſdrubal*, ſurnamed *the Kid*, a venerable man, and a great friend of *Hanno*, was chiefe of the Embaſſages which they ſent to *Rome* for obtaining peace. They went thither in company of *Scipio* his Embaſſadours, who related unto the Senate and People theſe joyfull newes. About the ſame time arrived at *Rome* Embaſſadours from *Philip* King of *Macedon*: who, together with the *Carthaginians*, were faine to waite a while for audience, till the election of new Conſuls then in hand was finiſhed; and order taken, for the provinces of them, and the new Prætors. Then were the *Macedonian* Embaſſadors called into the Senate: who firſt anſwering unto ſome points, wherein the *Romans* had lately ſignified unto their King, that they found themſelves grieved; returned the blame upon thoſe *Greeks* themſelves, that had made their complaint at *Rome*. Then accuſed they *Marcus Aurelius*: who being one of the three Embaſſadours, that had lately been ſent from *Rome* unto King *Philip*, tarried in *Greece* behind his fellowes, and there leving men, made warre upon the King, without any regard at all of the League, that was betweene him and the *Romans*. Further they deſired of the Senate, That one *Sopater*, a *Macedonian* Gentleman, with other of their Countri-men, that had lately ſerved *Hannibal* for Pay; and being taken priſoners in *Africke*, were kept in bonds by *Scipio*, might be releaſed and delivered unto them. Unto all this *M. Furius*, whom *Aurelius* had ſent to *Rome* for that purpoſe, made a ſharp anſwer. He ſaid, that the *Greekes* which were confederate with *Rome*, endured ſo many injuries at the hands of *Philip*, that *M. Aurelius* was faine to ſtay behinde, to help them as he might; which elſe were like to be brought under the Kings ſubjection. As for *Sopater*, he affirmed him to be one of the Kings Counſell, and very inward with him: one that ſerved not for money, but carried money with him, and foure thouſand men, ſent from the King to the aid of *Hannibal*. About theſe points, when the *Macedonian* Embaſſadours could make unto the Senate no good anſwer, they were willed to return, and tell their Maſter, That warre he ſought, and war he ſhould find, if he proceeded as he had begun. For in two maine points He had broken the League, that was between him and the *Romans* : firſt, in that he had wronged their Confederates; and ſecondly, in that he had ayded their Enemies againſt them with men and money.

Theſe quarrels with *Philip*, that promiſed to open a way into *Greece* and the Eaſterne Countries, helped well the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours in their ſollicitation of Peace. They appeared a very reverend company, when they entred into the Senate : and *Aſdrubal* above the reſt was much reſpected, as one, whoſe good offices had kept the *Romans* from neceſſity of ſending Embaſſadours to *Carthage*, upon the like errand. He liberally granted, that the juſtice of the quarrell had beene wholly on the *Romans* ſide; ſaying, that it was the fault of ſome violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could he not altogether excuſe the Citie that had beene too vehement in the proſecution of bad counſell. But if *Hanno* and himſelfe might have had their wils, the *Carthaginians*, even at the beſt of their Fortune, ſhould have granted the peace which they now deſired. Herewithall he commended the moderation of the *Romans*, as no ſmall argument of their valour; by which alwayes they had beene victorious. To the ſame effect ſpake the reſt of the Embaſſadours : all of them entreating to have the Peace ratified; though ſome with more lamentable words than others, according to the diverſity of their ſtile. They had patience enough to endure ſuch reproofe of Perjury, as they themſelves might have laid upon the *Romans*; if their diligence and fortune had been ſuch as the *Romans* was. Among the reſt, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would ſweare to keepe the peace hereafter : *Aſdrubal* made anſwer; *Even by the ſame gods, that are ſo ſevere unto thoſe that violate their Leagues.*

*Lentulus* the Conſul, interpoſing the authoritie of his office, would have hindred the Senate from proceeding unto concluſion of peace; for that hereby he was like to loſe the honour, which he purpoſed to get by making warre in *Africke.* But the matter was propounded unto the people, in whom reſted the Soveraign Command of *Rome*; and by them referred wholly unto the pleaſure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That *Scipio*, with tenne Delegates, ſent unto him from *Rome* of purpoſe, ſhould make a League with the *Carthaginians*, upon ſuch Conditions as ſeemed beſt: which were none other, than the ſame which he had already propounded. For this favour the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadours humbly thanked the Senate; and craved licence, that they might viſite their Countrimen, which were priſoners in *Rome*: afterwards, that they might ranſome and carry home with them ſome that were their eſpeciall friends; of whom they gave in writing almoſt two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of thoſe Priſoners, which the Embaſſadours would chooſe, ſhould be ſent over into *Africk*, and be freely reſtored to liberty by *Scipio*, when the peace was fully concluded. So they took leave, and returned home; in company of the ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to joyne with *Scipio* in commiſſion.

At their comming into *Africk*, the Peace was given, and accepted, without any controverſie or diſputation. The Priſoners, Fugitives, and Renegado's, were delivered up to *Scipio*: likewiſe the Gallies, and the Elephants. *Scipio* took more vengeance upon the Renegado's, than upon the Fugitives; and upon thoſe of the *Romans*, than upon the *Latines* or other *Italians*. The *Latines* he beheaded: the *Romans* he crucified. About the firſt payment of their money, the *Carthaginians* were ſomewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treaſurie could have ſpared two hundred Talents for the preſent; yet ſince the penſion was annuall, and to continue fiftie yeeres; it was thought meet to lay the burden upon the Citizens. At the collection of the ſumme there was piteous lamentation, as if now the *Roman* yoke had begun to pinch them; ſo as many, even of the Senatours, could not forbeare weeping. Contrariwiſe, *Hannibal* could not refraine from laughter. For which when he was checked by *Aſdrubal Hædus*, and told, That it worſt of all beſeemed him to laugh, ſince he had bin the cauſe why all others did weep; He anſwered, *That laughter did not alwaies proceed from joy; but ſometimes from extremity of indignation*: *Yet*, ſaid He, *My laughter is more ſeaſonable, and leſſe abſurd, than your teares. For ye ſhould have wept when ye gave up your ſhips and Elephants, and when ye bound your own hands from the uſe of armes, without the good leave of the Romans firſt obtained. This miſerable condition keeps us under, and holds us in aſſured ſervitude. But of theſe matters yee had no feeling. Now, when a little money is wrung out of your private* *purſes, ye have thereof ſome ſenſe. God grant that the time come not hereafter, wherein yee ſhall acknowledge, that it was the very leaſt part of your miſery for which ye have ſhed theſe teares.* Thus diſcourſed *Hannibal* unto thoſe, who, taſting the bitter fruits of their own malicious counſell, repented when it was too late; and in ſtead of curſing their own diſorders, which had bred this grievous diſeaſe, accuſed the Phyſician, whoſe noble endevours had bin employed in procuring the remedie.

*Scipio* being to take leave of *Africk*, produced *Maſaniſſa*, and magnified him in preſence of the Armie, with high commendations not undeſervedly. To him alſo he conſigned over thoſe towns of King *Syphax*, which the *Romans* at that preſent held: wherein, to ſay truth, he gave him but his due; and that which otherwiſe he knew not well how to beſtow. But the love of the *Romans*, & friendſhip of *Scipio*, was fully anſwerable, now and hereafter, to all the deſervings of this *Numidian* King. About *Carthage* there reſted no more to be done. Wherefore the *Romans* embarqued themſelves for *Sicil*: where when they arrived at *Lilybæum*, *Scipio* with ſome part of his Army tooke his way home to *Rome* by land; and ſent the reſt before him thither by Sea. His journy through *Italy* was no leſſe glorious than any triumph: all the people thronging out of the Towns and Villages, to doe him honour as he paſſed along. He entred the Citie in Triumph: neither was there ever before, or after, any triumph celebrated with ſo great joy of the people, as was this of *Scipio*; though, in bravery of the pompe, there were others in time ſhortly following, that exceeded this. Whether *Syphax* were carried through the Citie in this Triumph, and died ſoone after in priſon; or whether he were dead a while before; it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be avowed, That it was a barbarous cuſtome of the *Romans*, to inſult over the calamities of mighty Princes, by leading them contumeliouſly in Triumph; yea, though they were ſuch, as had alwayes made faire and courteous warre. But hereof we ſhall have better example ere the ſame age paſſe. It was neither the perſon of *Syphax*, nor any other glory of the ſpectacle, that ſo much beautified the Triumph of *Scipio*; as did the contemplation of that grievous warre paſt, whereof the *Romans* had bin in a manner *without hope that ever they ſhould ſet Italy free.* This made them looke cheerefully upon the Author of ſo great a converſion; and filled them with more joy, than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gave to *Scipio* the Title of the *African*: ſtiling him by the name of that Province which he had ſubdued. This honourable kinde of ſurname, taken from a conquered Province, grew afterwards more common, and was uſurped by men of leſſe deſert: eſpecially by many of the *Cæſars*, who ſometimes arrogated unto themſelves the title of Countries, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if ſuch glorious Attributes could have made them like in vertue unto *Scipio* the *African*.

*Except. è Pol. lib 16.*

## CHAP. IV.

## *Of* Philip *the father of* Perſeus, *King of* Macedon: *his firſt Acts and War with the* Romans, *by whom he was ſubdued.*

### §. I.

*How the Romans grew acquainted in the Eaſt-Countries, and deſirous of warre there. The beginning of many Princes, with great Wars, at one time. The Ætolians over-run Peloponneſus.* Philip *and his Aſſociates make war againſt the Ætolians. Alteration of the State in Sparta. The Ætolians invade Greece and Macedon, and are invaded at home by* Philip.

*Plut. in vitâ Sertorii.*

OF the great ſimilitude found in worldly events, the limitation of *matter* hath bin aſſigned as a probable cauſe. For ſince Nature is confined unto a ſubject that is not unbounded; the workes of Nature muſt needs be finite, & many of them reſemble one the other. Now in thoſe actions, that ſeem to have their whole dependance upon the will of man, wee are leſſe to wonder, if we finde leſſe varietie: ſince it is no great portion of things which is obnoxious unto humane power; and ſince they are the ſame affections, by which the wills of ſundrie men are over-ruled, in managing the affaires of our daily life. It may be obſerved in the change of Empires, before thoſe times whereof we now write, how the *Aſſyrians* or *Chaldeans* invaded the Kingdome of the *Medes*, with two hundred thouſand Foot, and threeſcore thouſand Horſe: but failing in their intended conqueſt, they became ſubject within a while themſelves unto the *Medes* and *Perſians*. In like manner *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, fell upon the *Greekes* with ſuch number of men, as might have ſeemed reſiſtleſſe. But after that the *Perſians* were beaten home againe, their Empire was never ſecure of the *Greekes*: who at all times of leiſure from inteſtine Warre, deviſed upon that conqueſt thereof, which finally they made under the great *Alexander*. If *Nabuchodonoſon* with his rough old Souldiers, had undertaken the *Medes*: or *Cyrus* with his well-trayned Armie, had made attempt upon *Greece*; the iſſue might, in humane reaſon, have beene farre different. Yet would it then have beene expedient for them to employ the travell and vertue of their men, rather than the greatneſſe of their names, againſt thoſe people; that were no leſſe valiant, though leſſe renowned, than their owne. For the menacing words uſed by *Cyrus*, and ſome ſmall diſpleaſures done to the *Greekes* (in which kinde it may be, that *Nabuchodonoſor* likewiſe offended the *Medes* and *Perſians*) were not ſo availeable to victory, as to draw on revenge in the future. Great Kingdomes, when they decay in ſtrength, ſuffer as did the old Lyon, for the oppreſſion done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolfe, gored by the Bull, yea and kickt by the Aſſe. But Princes are often carried away from reaſon, by miſſe-underſtanding the language of Fame: and deſpiſing the vertue that makes little noyſe, adventure to provoke it againſt themſelves; as if it were not poſſible that their owne glorie ſhould be foiled by any of leſſe-noted excellence. Againſt the ſame ſtone, whereat *Xerxes*, and before him (as I take it) *Evilmerodach*, had ſtumbled; *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot* hath daſht his foot. He was not indeed the King of all *Greece*; though moſt of marke, and a better Souldier than any other *Greekiſh* King, when he entred into warre againſt the *Romans*. This warre he undertooke as it were for his minds ſake: having received no injurie; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the *Greekes* that ſerved under him, to prevaile ſo eaſily againſt the barbarous *Romans*, that they ſhould onely ſerve as a ſtep to his further intended conqueſts, of *Sicil* and *Africk*. But when the *Romans*, by their victory againſt *Pyrrhus*, had found their owne vertue to be of richer metall, than was the more ſhinning valour of the *Greekes*: then did all the bravery of the *Epyrot* (his Elephants and whatſoever elſe had ſerved to make him terrible) ſerve only to make the *Romans*, in time following, to thinke more highly of themſelves. * For ſince they had overcome the beſt Warriour in *Greece*, even Him, that, being thus beaten by them, could in a yeere after make himſelfe Lord of *Greece* and *Macedon*: what ſhould hinder them from the conqueſt of all thoſe unwarlike Provinces, which in compaſſe of 12. yeeres a *Macedonian* King of late memory had wonne? Certainly there was hereunto requiſite no more, than to bring to their owne devotion by ſome good meanes, the whole Country of *Greece*: all the reſt, this done, would follow of it ſelfe. How to deale with the *Greekes*, *Philip* and *Alexander* had ſhewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learne, by getting more acquaintance with the Nation.

* The King of *Spaines* pretended invincible Navie, being beaten out of the Brittiſh Seas, invited us to thoſe of *Spaine*: and having broken the greateſt Fleet that ever the *Spaniards* gathered together, we never made account of any of his preparations after that time.

When therefore the firſt Punicke warre was ended, which followed ſoone after the wars of *Pyrrhus* and of the *Tarentines*: then were the *Romans* at good leiſure to hearken after newes in *Greece*; and to entertaine any good occaſion, that ſhould be on that ſide preſented. They had alſo then a ſtrong Fleet: and were become, though not otherwiſe very ſkilfull Mariners, yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wiſhed, that the *Illyrian* Queene *Teuta* made at the ſame time cruell war upon the *Greekes*: waſting their Countrey, and ſacking their Townes, onely becauſe they were unable to reſiſt, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrell if the *Romans* were deſirous to enter; the Queene was not ſlow to give them cauſe. And their happy accompliſhing of that warre which they made with Her, was, in their own opinion, a matter not unworthy to make their Patronage to bee deſired by the *Greekes*. But no ſuch thing happened: though they ſent Embaſſadours, as it were to offer themſelves; by ſignifying, that for love of *Greece* they had undertaken this *Illyrian* warre. Thus beganne the firſt acquaintance betwixt the *Greekes* and *Romans*: which afterwards encreaſed very haſtily, through the indiſcretion of King *Philip* the *Macedonian*; whoſe buſineſſe

*Lib. 5. cap. 2. §. 7.*

with them, being now the ſubject of our ſtorie, it is meet that we ſhould relate (though ſomewhat briefly) the beginning of his reigne, and his firſt Actions. It was like to prove a buſie time in the world, when, within the ſpace of 4. yeers, new Kings began to reign in the moſt of all Countries knowne; and 3. of them young boyes, in 3. of the greateſt Kingdomes. This hapned from the third yeere of the hundred thirty ninth Olympiad, unto the third of the Olympiad following. For in this time died *Seleucus Ceraunus* King of *Aſia* and *Syria*, in whoſe roome ſucceeded his brother *Antiochus*, afterwards called *the Great*. *Ptolomy Philopater* ſucceded in the Kingdome of *Egypt* unto his father *Euergetes*. And *Philip* the ſonne of *Demetrius*, being 16. or 17. yeeres old, received the Kingdom of *Macedon*, together with the Patronage of the *Achæans* & moſt of the *Greekes*; by the deceaſe of his Uncle *Antigonus Doſon*, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About the ſame time alſo was the like change in *Cappadocia*, *Lacedæmon*, and the Countries about Mount *Taurus*. For *Ariarathes* then began his reigne in *Cappadocia*. *Lycurgus* found means to make himſelfe King over the *Lacedæmonians*, whoſe Commonweale, ſince the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headleſſe; and *Achæus*, a kinſman of *Antiochus*, but a Rebell unto him, occupied the Regions neere unto Mount *Taurus*, and kept a while the State of a mighty King. Laſtly, in the ſecond and third yeers of the 100. and fortieth Olympiad it was, that open war brake out between *Rome* & *Carthage*; and that *Hannibal* began his great Invaſion upon *Italy*. Thoſe troubles of the Weſterne world, which were indeed the greateſt, we have already followed unto an end: Of *Antiochus*, *Ptolomy*, & the reſt, we ſhall ſpeake hereafter, when the *Romans* find them out.

*Philip*, ſoone after the beginning of his reigne, came into *Peloponneſus*; greatly deſired of the *Achæans*, and many others his dependants. That Country, having freed it ſelfe by the helpe of *Antigonus* from the danger (accounted great) of an eaſie ſubjection unto *Cleomenes*: was now become no leſſe obnoxious to the *Macedonian*, than it ſhould have beene to the *Spartan*; & therewithall it lay open unto the violence of the *Aetolians*; who deſpiſed even the *Macedonian* Kings, that were Patrons thereof. The *Aetolians* were no men to be idle; nor were much addicted unto any other Art than war. Therefore wanting employment, they fell upon the *Meſſenians* that were their owne Clients, and (excepting the *Eleans*, that were anciently of their conſanguinity) the onely good friends which they had at the preſent in *Peloponneſus*. Their invaſion was no leſſe unexpected, than it was unjuſt: whereby with greater eaſe they made ſpoile of the Countrey; finding none prepared to make reſiſtance. The *Achæans*, were called by the *Meſſenians* to help: which they did the more willingly; becauſe the *Aetolians* paſſing without leave through their Territory, had (as was their manner) done what harme they liſted. Old *Aratus* could hardly abide theſe *Aetolians*; as both knowing well their nature, and remembring the injuries; wherewith moſt ingratefully they had requited no ſmall benefits done to them by the *Achæans*. He was therefore ſo haſtie to fall upon this their Army, that he could hardly endure to ſtay few daies untill the time of his owne Office came; being choſen Prætor of the *Achæans* for the yeere following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he ſhewed himſelfe a man fitter (as hath beene already noted of him) for any other ſervice, than leading of an Army. He ſuffered them to paſſe quietly along with their bootie, through a part of the Countrey, wherein he might very eaſily have diſtreſſed them; and afterwards preſſed them ſo neere, when they had recovered ground of advantage, that they eaſily defeated all his Armie. So they departed home rich, and well animated to returne againe. As for the *Achæans*, they got hereby onely the friendſhip of the *Meſſenians*: with whom, by licence of King *Philip*, they made Confederacy. Shortly after, the *Aetolians* invaded *Peloponneſus* againe; having no more to doe, than to paſſe over the narrow Streights of the *Corinthian* Bay, called now the Gulph of *Lepanto*, where they might land in the Countrey of the *Eleans*. There joyned with them, in this their ſecond invaſion, a great number of the *Illyrians*: who neglecting that Condition impoſed upon them by the *Romans*, of ſetting out no ſhips of war unto the coaſt of *Greece*: made bold to ſeek adventures againe, & did great miſchiefe. *Demetrius Pharius*, a creature of the *Romans*, commanded a part of theſe *Illyrians*: who ſhortly repented him of this his voyage; which cauſed him to loſe his Kingdome, as is ſhewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, & fell upon the Ilands of the *Cyclades* in the *Aegean* ſea: whence returning, he did ſome good offices for King *Philip*, or his friends. The reſt of the *Illyrians* under *Scerdilaidus*, or *Scerdiletus*, having gotten

Lib.5.cap.2.§.6.
ibid.

Chap.3.§.1.

gotten what they could elſe-where by roving at Sea, accompanied the *Ætolians* into *Peloponneſus*: who made greater havocke in the Countrey now, than in their former Expedition, aud returned home, without finding any reſiſtance.

Of theſe things great complaint was made unto *Philip*, when he came to *Corinth*: And becauſe men were deſirous to ſatisfie themſelves with ſome ſpeedy revenge: there were that urged to have ſome grievous puniſhment layd upon the *Lacedæmonians*; who were thought under-hand to have favoured the *Ætolians*, in meere deſpight of the *Achæans* and *Macedonians*, by whom themſelves had lately beene ſubdued. It is true, that the *Lacedæmanians* had been ſo affected: & (which was worſe) at the arrivall of *Philip*, they ſlew ſuch friends of his, as having checked their inclination, ſeemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durſt they well commit themſelves to judgement: but intreated the King, that he would abſtaine from comming to them with an Army: ſince their Towne was lately much diſquieted with civill diſcord, which they hoped ſoone to appeaſe, and meant alwayes to remaine at his devotion. *Philip* was eaſily ſatisfied with this: not for that he (or rather old *Aratus*, who then wholly governed him) did miſ-underſtand the *Lacedæmonians*: but for that a greater worke was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at *Corinth*, in preſence of the King, the Embaſſadours of the *Achæans*, *Bœotians*, *Epirots*, and *Acarnanians*: all complaining upon the *Ætolians*: and deſiring to have war decreed againſt them, by common aſſent. *Philip* ſent his letters unto the *Ætolians*, requiring them to make ready their anſwer in ſome convenient time: if they could alledge any thing in excuſe of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet ſhould be holden at *Rhium* for that purpoſe: whither if it pleaſed him to come, or ſend, he ſhould be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to have beene there at the day. But when the *Ætolians* underſtood this for certaine, they adjourned the Councell unto a further time: ſaying, That ſuch weighty matters ought not to be handled, ſave in the great Parliament of all *Aetolia*. This tricke of Law notwithſtanding, open war was proclaimed againſt them. And they, as it were to ſhew how wel they had deſerved it, made election of *Scopas* to be their Prætor, that was Author of theſe Invaſions made on *Peloponneſus*; and the onely man, in a ſort, upon whom they muſt have laid the blame of theſe actions, if they would have ſhifted it from the publike.

After this, *Philip* went into *Macedon*, where he prepared buſily for the warre againſt the yeere following. He alſo aſſayed the *Illyrian*, *Scerdilaidas*, with faire words and promiſes; whom he eaſily won from the *Ætolian* ſide, foraſmuch as the *Ætolians* had couzened him of his ſhare, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like ſort the *Achæans*, who had firſt of all others proclaimed the warre in their owne Countrey, ſent unto the *Acarnanians*, *Epirots*, *Meſſenians*, and *Lacedæmonians*: requeſting them forthwith to declare themſelves, and to denounce war unto the *Ætolians*; without ſtaying (as it were) to await the event. Hereunto they received divers anſwers according to the qualities of thoſe with whom they dealt. The *Acarnanians*, a free-hearted and valiant, though a ſmall Nation, and bordering upon the *Ætolians*, of whom they ſtood in continuall danger; ſaid, that they could not honeſtly refuſe to ſhew their faithfull meaning in that warre, which was concluded by generall aſſent. The *Epirots* that were more mighty, were neverthelesſe more cunning and reſerved: ſo that they ſtood upon a needleſſe point, and deſired to be held excuſed, untill *Philip* (of whoſe meaning they needed not to have made any doubt) ſhould firſt proclaime the war. The *Meſſenians*, for whoſe cauſe the warre was undertaken, excuſed themſelves, by reaſon of a Towne which the *Ætolians* held upon their borders, and ſaid, that they durſt not be over-bold, untill that bridle were taken out of their mouths. As for the *Lacedæmonians*, the chiefe of them ſtudied onely, how to mannage the treaſon, for which their City had beene ſo lately pardoned: and therefore diſmiſſed the Embaſſadours of the Confederates, without any anſwer at all. They had three yeeres together continued ſubject againſt their wills to the *Macedonians*, expecting ſtill when *Cleomenes* ſhould returne out of *Egypt* to reigne over them againe, and maintaine, as hee was wont, the honour of their City. In this regard they choſe not any Kings, but were contented with the rule of *Ephori*. Of theſe there were ſome, that thought the publike ſafety to conſiſt, in holding their faith with the *Macedonian* that had preſerved them. And hereto they referred all their counſailes: being perhaps a little moved with reſpect of the benefit, which might redound unto themſelves, by adhering firmely to thoſe which at the preſent bore rule over them. Others, and thoſe the greater part, were ſtill deviſing, how to make all ready for *Cleomenes* againſt his return; & ſought to joyne with the *Ætolians*, which were the moſt likely to give him ſtrong aſſiſtance. The *Macedonian* faction had the more authority, and durſt more freely ſpeake their mindes: but the contrary ſide was the more paſſionate, ad ſpared not by murders or any other violent courſes, to ſet forward their deſire. Neither did it ſuffice, that about theſe times there came certaine report of *Cleomenes* his death. For it was the liberty and honour of *Sparta*, which theſe intended: fancying unto themſelves the glory of their Anceſtors in ſuch Ages paſt, as were not like to come againe. *Cleomenes* was, they knew, the moſt able man to reſtore them unto their greatneſſe and luſtre; which once hee had in a manner performed: But ſince hee was dead, and that, without injury to his well-deſerving vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would have, and thoſe of the race of *Hercules*, as in former times; for that without ſuch helpes, they muſt continue little better than ſubjects unto the *Macedonian*, and farre leſſe by him reſpected, than were the *Achæans*. Thus were they tranſported by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the moſt working ſpirits among them, procured the *Ætolians* to ſend an Embaſſie to *Sparta*: which propounded the matter openly unto the people, whereof no one of the Citizens durſt have made himſelfe the Author. Much diſputation, and hot, there was, betweene thoſe of the *Macedonian* partie, and theſe their oppoſites: in ſuch wiſe that nothing could be concluded; untill by maſſacre or baniſhment of all, or the chiefe, that ſpake againſt the *Ætolians*, the diverſity of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded betweene the *Lacedæmonians* and *Ætolians*: without all regard of the *Macedonians* or *Achæans*, who had ſpared the Citie, when they might have deſtroied it. Then alſo they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was ſo nice, and ſo regardfull of their ancient Lawes, as touching the chooſing of the one King, that we may juſtly wonder, how they grew ſo careleſſe in making choyce of the other. In the one of their Royall Families they found *Ageſipolis*, the ſonne of *Ageſipolis*, the ſon of King *Cleombrotus*: and him they admitted to reigne over them, as heire apparent to his grandfather. This *Ageſipolis* was a yong Boy, ſtanding in neede of a Guardian: & had an Uncle, his Fathers brother, that was fit for the Government. Yet becauſe the Law required, that the ſonne, how yong ſoever, ſhould have his fathers whole right and title: the *Lacedæmonians*, though ſtanding in neede of a man, were ſo punctuall in obſervation of the Law, that they made this childe their King, and appointed his Uncle *Cleomenes* to be his Protector. But in the other branch of the Royall Family, though there was no want of heires: yet would not the people trouble themſelves about any of them, to examine the goodneſſe of his Claime, but made election of one *Lycurgus*, who having no manner of title to the Kingdome, beſtowed upon each of the *Ephori*, a Talent, and thereby made himſelfe be ſaluted King of *Sparta*, and a Gentleman of the race of *Hercules*. This *Lycurgus*, to gratifie his Partiſans, and to approve his worth by action, invaded the Countrey of the *Argives*: which lay open and unguarded, as in a time of peace. There he did great ſpoile, and won divers Townes; whereof two he retained, and annexed unto the State of *Lacedæmon*. After ſuch open hoſtility, the *Lacedæmonians* declared themſelves on the *Ætolian* ſide; and proclaimed warre againſt the *Achæans*.

Thus the beginnings of the warre fell out much otherwiſe, than the *Achæans* and their Confederates had expected, when they firſt made preparation. *Philip* was not ready: the *Epirots* gave uncertaine anſwer: the *Meſſenians* would not ſtirre: all the burden muſt lie upon themſelves and the poore *Acarnanians*, whom the *Ætolians*, by favour of the *Eleans*, could invade at pleaſure, as they were like to doe; and by helpe of the *Lacedæmonians*, could aſſaile on all parts at once. It was not long ere the *Ætolians*, paſſing over the Bay of *Corinth*, ſurpriſed the Towne of *Ægira*: which if they could have held, they ſhould thereby grievouſly have moleſted the *Achæans*, for that it ſtood in the mid-way between *Ægium* and *Sycion*, two of their principall Cities, and gave open way into the heart of all their Countrey. But as *Ægira* was taken by ſurpriſe: ſo was it preſently loſt againe, through greedineſſe of ſpoile; whileſt they that ſhould have made it their firſt care, to aſſure the place unto themſelves, by occupying the citadell and other peeces of ſtrength, fell heedleſly to ranſacke private houſes, and thereby gave the Citizens leave to make head; by whom they were driven with great ſlaughter backe unto their Fleet. About the ſame time, another *Ætolian* Army landing among the *Eleans*, fell upon the Weſterne Coaſt of *Achaia*; waſting all the Territory of the *Dymæans* and other people, that were firſt beginners of the *Achæan* Confederacie. The *Dymæans* and their neighbours made head againſt theſe Invaders; but were ſo well beaten, that the enemy grew bolder with them than before. They ſent for helpe unto their Prætor, and to all the Townes of their Society in vaine. For the *Achæans* having lately beene much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to do little of themſelves: neither could they get any ſtrength of Mercenaries; foraſmuch as at the end of *Cleomenes* his warre, they had covetouſly with-held part of their due from thoſe that ſerved them therein. So through this diſability of the *Achæans*, and inſufficiency of their Prætor; the *Dymæans*, with others, were driven to with-hold their contribution heretofore made for the publike ſervice, & to convert the money to their own defence. *Lycurgus* alſo with his *Lacedæmonians*, began to win upon the *Arcadians*, that were confederate with *Philip* & the *Achæans*.

*Philip* came to the borders of the *Ætolians*, whilſt their Army was thus employed a farre off in *Pelpoonneſus*. The *Epirots* joyned all their forces with him: and by ſuch their willing readines, drew him to the ſiege of a Frontier peece, which they deſired to get into their own hands; for that, by commodity thereof, they hoped ſhortly to make themſelves Maſters of *Ambracia*. There he ſpent forty dayes, ere he could end the buſines; which tended onely to the benefit of the *Epirots*. Had he entred into the heart of *Ætolia* at his firſt comming in, it was thought that he might have had an end of the war. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken upon ſmall Towns or Forts: and not ſeldome, that the importunity of Aſſociates, to have their own deſires fulfilled, converts the preparations of great Kings to thoſe uſes for which they never were intended; thereby hindering the proſecution of their maine deſignes. Thus was our King *Henrie* the eight led aſide, & quite out of his way, by *Maximilian* the Emperor to the ſiege of *Tournay*: at ſuch time as the *French* King *Lewis* the twelfth, hearing that the ſtrong City of *Terwin* was loſt, and that his Cavallerie, wherein reſted his chiefe confidence, two thouſand were beaten by the Earle of *Eſſex* with ſeven hundred *Engliſh*; was thinking to withdraw himſelfe into *Brittaine*, in feare that *Henrie* would have come to *Paris*.

The ſtay that *Philip* made at *Ambracus*, did wondrouſly embolden the *Ætolians*: in ſuch ſort, as their Prætor *Scopas* adventured to leade all their forces out of the Country; and therewith not onely to over-runne *Theſſalie*, but to make impreſſion into *Macedon*. He ranne as farre as to *Dium*, a City of *Macedon* upon the *Ægean* Sea: which, being forſaken by the Inhabitants at his comming, He tooke, and razed to the ground. He ſpared neither Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but overturned all: and among the reſt, he threw down the Statua's that were there erected, of the *Macedonian* Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Country-men at his returne; foraſmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to be growne terrible, not onely (as before) unto *Peloponneſus*, but even to *Macedon* it ſelfe. But this their pride was ſoone abated; and they rewarded ſhortly at home in their owne Countrey, for their paines taken at *Dium*. *Philip* having diſpatched his worke at *Ambracus*, made a ſtrong invaſion upon *Ætolia*. He tooke *Phoetiæ*, *Metropolis*, *Oeniade*, *Pæanium*, *Elæus*, and divers other Towns and Caſtles of theirs: of which he burnt ſome, and fortified others. He alſo beat the *Ætolians* in ſundry skirmiſhes; and waſted all the Countrie over, without receiving any harme. This done, while he was about to make a cut over the Streights into *Peloponneſus*, and to doe the like ſpoile in the Country of the *Eleans*, whereto he was vehemently ſolicited by the *Achæan* Embaſſadours; newes came out of *Macedon*, that the *Dardanians* were ready with a great Armie to fall upon the Countrey. Theſe *Dardanians* were a barbarous people, divided by Mount *Hæmus* from the Northerne part of *Macedon*, & were accuſtomed to ſeeke booty in that wealthy Kingdome, when they found their own times. Having therefore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a journey into *Peloponneſus*; they purpoſed in his abſence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could for themſelves in his Countrey; as had beene their manner upon the like advantages. This made the King to diſmiſſe the *Achæan* Embaſſadours, (whom he ſhould have accompanied home with his Armie) and to bid them have patience untill another yeere. So hee tooke his way homewards: and as hee was paſſing out of *Acarnania* into *Epirus*, there repaired unto him *Demetrius Pharius*, with no more than one Ship; that was newly chaſed out of his Kingdome by the *Romans*. This *Demetrius* had lately ſhewed himſelfe a friend to *Antigonus Doſon* in the warres of *Cleomenes*: and returning in his laſt Voyage from the *Cyclades*, was readie, at their firſt requeſt, to take part with *Philips* Captaines. Theſe, or the like conſiderations, made him welcome unto the *Macedonian* King: whoſe Counſailor he was ever after. The *Dardanians* hearing of the Kings returne, brake up their Army; and gave over for the preſent their invaſion of *Macedon*, towards which they were already on their way.

All that Summer following the King reſted at *Lariſſa* in *Theſſalie*, whileſt his people gathered in their Harveſt. But the *Ætolians* reſted not. They avenged themſelves upon the *Epirots*: whom for the harmes by them and *Philip* done in *Ætolia*, they requited with all extremities of warre, among which, the moſt notable was the ruine of the moſt famous Temple of *Dodona*. When Winter grew on, & all thought of war, untill another yeer, was laid aſide: *Philip* ſtole a journey into *Peloponneſus*, with five thouſand Foot, & about foure hundred Horſe. As ſoon as he was within *Corinth*; He commanded the gates to be ſhut, that no word ſhould be carried foorth of his arrivall. He ſent privily for old *Aratus* to come thither unto him: with whom he tooke order, when, and in what places, he would have the *Achæan* Souldiers ready to meete him. The Enemies were then abroad in the Countrie, with ſomwhat more than two thouſand Foot & an hundred horſe; little thinking to meete with ſuch oppoſition. Indeed they had little cauſe to feare: ſince the *Achæans* themſelves were not aware that the King was in their Land with his *Macedonians*; untill they heard, that theſe two thouſand *Eleans*, *Ætolians*, and their fellowes, were by him ſurpriſed, and all made priſoners, or ſlaine. By this exploit which he did at his firſt comming, *Philip* got very much reputation, and likewiſe he purchaſed both reputation and love, by divers actions immediately following. He won *Pſophis*, an exceeding ſtrong Towne, in the borders of *Arcadia*, which the *Eleans* and *Ætolians* then held. He won it by aſſault at his firſt comming: wherein it much availed him, that the Enemie, not beleeving that he would undertake ſuch a peece of worke at ſuch an unſeaſonable time of the yeer, was careleſſe of providing even ſuch ſtore of weapons, as might have ſerved to defend it. The Towne was preſerved by the King from ſacke; and given to the *Achæans*, of his own meere motion, before they requeſted it. Thence went he to *Laſion*, which yeelded for very feare, hearing how eaſily he had taken *Pſophis*. This Towne alſo he gave to the *Achæans*. The like liberality he uſed towards others, that had ancient title unto places by him recovered. Then fell he upon the Country of *Elis*, where was much wealth to bee gotten: for that the people were addicted to husbandrie, and lived abroad in Villages; even ſuch as were of the wealthier ſort among them. So he came to the Citie of *Olympia*: where having done ſacrifice to *Jupiter*, feaſted his Captaines, and refreſhed his Army three dayes; He proceeded on to the ſpoile of thoſe, that had taken pleaſure to ſhare with the *Ætolians*, in the ſpoiles of their otherwiſe-deſerving neighbours. Great abundance of Cattell he tooke, with great numbers of ſlaves, and much wealth of all ſorts, ſuch as could be found in rich villages. Then fell he in hand with the Townes, whereinto a great multitude of the Countrie-people were fled. Some of theſe were taken at the firſt aſſault. Some yeelded for feare. Some prevented the labour of his journey, by ſending Embaſſadours to yeeld before he came. And ſome that were held with Garriſons againſt their wills, tooke courage to ſet themſelves at liberty, by ſeeing the King ſo neere: to whoſe Patronage thenceforth they betooke themſelves. And many places were ſpoiled by the *Ætolian* Captains; becauſe they diſtruſted their ability to hold them. So the King won more Towns in the Country, than the ſharpneſſe of winter would ſuffer him to ſtay three dayes. Faine he would have fought with the *Ætolians*: but they made ſuch haſte from him, that he could not overtake them, till they had covered themſelves within the Towne of *Samicum*; where they thought to have beene ſafe. But *Philip* aſſaulted them therein ſo forcibly, that he made them glad to yeeld the place; obtaining licence to depart, with their lives and armes. Having performed ſo much in this expedition, the King repoſed himſelfe awhile in *Megalopolis*; and then removed to *Argos*, where he ſpent all the reſt of the Winter.

Before the Kings arrivall in *Peloponneſus*, the *Lacedæmonians*, with *Lycurgus* their new King, had gotten ſomewhat in *Arcadia*; & threatned to do great matters. But when they were admoniſhed, by the calamity that fell upon the *Eleans*, of the danger hanging over their owne heads, they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themſelves home.

This *Lycurgus*, as he had no other right to the Kingdome of *Sparta*, than that which he could buy with money: ſo was he neither free from danger of conſpiracies made againſt him; nor from thoſe jealouſies, with which Uſurpers are commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the Royall blood, that thinking himſelfe to have beſt right unto the Kingdome, purpoſed to make way thereunto by maſſacre of his oppoſites; & afterwards to confirme himſelfe, by propounding unto the multitude ſuch reformation of the State as was moſt popular: namely, by making an equall diſtribution of all the lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient inſtitution of that Commonwealth. He won to his partie ſome two hundred men; with whom he fell upon the *Ephori*, as they were together at ſupper, and ſlew them all. Then went he to *Lycurgus* his houſe: who perceiving the danger, ſtole away and fled. It remained that he ſhould give account of theſe doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their minds being not hereto prediſpoſed; they ſo little regarded his goodly offers, as even whileſt he was uſing his beſt perſwaſions, they were conſulting how to apprehend him. *Chilon* perceived whereabout they went, and ſhifted preſently away. So he lived afterwards among the *Achæans* a baniſhed man, & hated of his own people. As for *Lycurgus*, he returned home: & ſuſpecting thenceforth all thoſe of *Hercules* his race, found meanes to drive out his fellow-King young *Ageſipolis*; whereby he made himſelfe Lord alone. His doings grew to be ſuſpected, in ſuch ſort, as once he ſhould have beene apprehended by the *Ephori*. But though his actions hitherto might have beene defended; yet rather than to adventure himſelfe into judgement, hee choſe to flie for a time, and ſojourne among his friends the *Ætolians*. His wel-knowne vehemencie in oppoſition to the *Macedonians*, had procured unto him ſuch good liking among the people, that in his abſence they beganne to conſider the weakeneſſe of their owne ſurmiſes againſt him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Eſtate. But in time following, He took better heede unto himſelfe: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was ſo acknowledged) but by taking order, that it ſhould not be in the power of the Citizens to expell him when they liſted. By what actions he got the name of a Tyrant: or at what time it was, that he chaſed *Ageſipolis* out of the City; I do not certainly finde. Like enough it is, That his being the firſt of three uſurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to be placed in the ranke of Tyrants; which the laſt of the three very juſtly deſerved. Whatſoever he was toward ſome private Citizens: in the warre againſt *Philip*, He behaved himſelfe as a provident man, and carefull of his Countries good.

## §. II.

### *How* Philip *was miſadviſed by ill Counſailors: who afterwards wrought treaſon againſt him; and were juſtly puniſhed. He invadeth the Ætolians a ſecond time: and forceth them to ſue for peace: which is granted unto them.*

WHilſt the King lay at *Argos* deviſing upon his buſineſſe for the yeer following, ſome ambitious men that were about him, ſtudied ſo diligently for their own greatneſſe, as they were like to have ſpoiled all that he tooke in hand. *Antigonus Doſon* had left unto *Philip* ſuch Counſailors, as to him did ſeeme the fitteſt men for governing of his youth. The chiefe of theſe was *Apelles*; that had the charge of his perſon, & alſo the ordering of his Treaſures. This man, ſeeming to himſelf a great Politician, thought that he ſhould doe a notable peece of ſervice to his Prince, if hee could reduce the *Achæans* unto the ſame degree of ſubjection, wherein the *Macedonians* lived. To bring this to paſſe; during the late Expedition he had cauſed ſome of the *Macedonians* to thruſt the *Achæans* out of their lodgings, and to ſtrip them of the booty that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occaſion fell out, Hee was bold to chaſtiſe ſome of that Nation; cauſing his Miniſters to take and whippe them. If any of them offered (as there were ſome of them that could not refraine) to help their fellowes; them he laid by the heeles, and puniſhed as Mutiners. Hereby he thought to bring it to paſſe by little and little, that they ſhould be qualified with an habite of blind obedience; and thinke nothing unjuſt that pleaſed the King. But theſe *Achæans* were tenderly ſenſible in matters of liberty: whereof if they could have beene contented to ſuffer any little diminution, they needed not have troubled the *Macedonians* to helpe them in the war againſt *Cleomenes*. They bemoaned themſelves unto old *Aratus*; and beſought him to thinke upon ſome good order, that they might not bee oppreſſed by degrees. *Aratus* forthwith dealt earneſtly with the King; as in a matter more weighty than at firſt it might ſeeme. The King beſtowed gracious words upon thoſe that had beene wronged, and forbade *Apelles* to follow the courſe begunne. Hereat *Apelles* was inwardly vexed, though he diſſembled his choler for a time. He thought ſo well of his owne Project, that he could not endure to lay it aſide; being perhaps unable to doe the King any valuable ſervice, in buſineſſe of other nature. He purpoſed therefore hereafter to beginne at the head; ſince, in biting at the taile, the fiſh had ſhot away from his mouth. It could not otherwiſe be than that among the *Achæans* there were ſome, who bore no hearty affection to *Aratus*. Theſe he enquired out, and ſending for them, entertained them with words of Court; promiſing to become their eſpeciall friend, and commend them unto the King. Then brake he his purpoſe with the King himſelfe: letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of *Aratus*, he muſt be faine to deale preciſely with the *Achæans*, and as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleaſed, to give countenance unto thoſe others whom he himſelfe commended, then ſhould the *Achæans*, and all other *Peloponneſians*, be quickely brought to conforme themſelves unto the duty of obedient Subjects. By ſuch perſwaſions, he drew the King to be preſent at *Ægium*, where the *Achæans* were to hold election of a new Prætor. There with much more labour, than would have bin needfull in a buſineſſe of more importance, the King by faire words and threatnings together, obtained ſo much, That *Eperatus*, a very inſufficient man, but one of *Apelles* his new favourites, was choſen Prætor, in ſtead of one more worthy, for whom *Aratus* had laboured. This was thought a good introduction unto greater matters that ſhould follow. The King from thence paſſed along by *Patras* and *Dyma*, to a very ſtrong Caſtle held by the *Eleans*, which was called *Tichos*. The garriſon yeelded it up for feare, at his firſt comming: whereof he was glad, for that he had an earneſt deſire to beſtow it upon the *Dymæans*, as he preſently did.

The King thought it ſtrange, that all this while he heard of no meſſengers from the *Eleans*, to ſue for peace. For at his departure out of their Countrey the laſt Winter, he had let looſe one *Amphidamus* a Captaine of theirs, that was his priſoner; becauſe he found him an intelligent man, and one that undertooke to make them forſake their alliance with the *Ætolians*, and joyne with him upon reaſonable termes. This if they could be contented to doe, he willed *Amphidamus* to let them underſtand, That he would render unto them freely all priſoners which he had of theirs; That he would defend them from all forreine invaſion; & that they ſhould hold their liberty entire, living after their owne Lawes, without paying any manner of Tribute, or being kept under by any garriſon. Theſe conditions were not to be deſpiſed, if they had found credit as they might have done. But when *Philip* came to the Caſtle of *Tichos*, and made a new invaſion upon their Countrey: then beganne the *Eleans*, (that were not before over-haſtie to beleeve ſuch faire promiſes) to ſuſpect *Amphidamus* as a Traitour, and one that was ſet on worke for no other end, than to breede a mutuall diffidence betweene them and the *Ætolians*. Wherefore they purpoſed to lay hands upon him, and ſend him priſoner into *Ætolia*. But he perceived their intent, and got away to *Dyma*: in good time for himſelfe; in better for *Aratus*. For the King (as was ſaid) marvailing what ſhould be the cauſe, that hee heard no newes from the *Eleans*, concerning the offers which hee had made unto them by *Amphidamus*: *Apelles*, his Counſailor thereby tooke occaſion to ſupplant *Aratus*. He ſaid that old *Aratus*, and his ſonne together, had ſuch devices in their heads, as tended little to the Kings good: And long of them he ſaid it was, that the *Eleans* did thus hold out. For when *Amphidamus* was diſmiſſed home, the two *Arati*, (the father and the ſon) had taken him aſide and given him to underſtand, that it would be very prejudiciall to all *Peloponneſus*, if the *Eleans* once became at the devotion of the *Macedonian*: And this was the true cauſe, why neither *Amphidamus* was very carefull in doing this meſſage, nor the *Eleans* in hearkning to the Kings offers. All this was a falſe lye, deviſed by *Apelles* himſelfe, upon no other ground than his owne malice. *Philip* had no ſooner heard this tale, but in a great rage he ſent for the two *Arati*, and bade *Apelles* rehearſe it over againe to their faces. *Apelles* did ſo, and with a bold countenance, talking to them as to men already convicted. And when he had ſaid all the reſt, ere either *Philip* or they ſpake any word; He added this clauſe as it were in the Kings name: Since the King hath found you ſuch ungratefull wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the *Achæans*; & therein having made it known what ye are, to depart into *Macedon*, and leave you to your ſelves. Old *Aratus* gravely admoniſhed the King; That whenſoever he heard any accuſation, eſpecially againſt a friend of his owne, or a man of worth, He ſhould forbeare (a while to give credit, untill hee had diligently examined the buſineſſe. For ſuch deliberation was Kingly, and he ſhould never thereof repent him. At the preſent he ſaid there needed no more, than to call in thoſe that had heard his talke with *Amphidamus*, and eſpecially him that had brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a very abſurd thing, That the King ſhould make himſelfe the Author of a report in the open Parliament of *Achaia*, whereof there was none other evidence, than one mans *yea*, and anothers *no*. Hereof the King liked well; and ſaid that he would make ſufficient inquirie. So paſſed a few dayes: wherein whileſt *Apelles* delaied to bring in the proofe, which indeed he wanted, *Amphidamus* came from *Elis*, and told what had befalne him there. The King was not forgetfull, to examine him about the conſpiracie of the *Arati*: which when he found no better than a meere device againſt his honourable friends; He entertained them in loving maner as before. As for his love to *Apelles*, though it was hereby ſomewhat cooled; yet by meanes of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remiſſion therein could be diſcerned.

The unreſtfull temper of *Apelles*, having with much vehemencie brought nothing to paſſe; beganne (as commonly Ambition uſeth) to ſwell and grow venemous for want of his free motion. He betakes himſelfe to his cunning againe: and as before, being checkt in his doings with thoſe of the vulgar, he had prepared a ſnare for the *Arati*: ſo fayling of them; he thinkes it wiſedome to lay for the King himſelf, and for all at once which were about him. In ſuch manner ſometime, the Spider thought to have taken the Swallow which drave away Flies out of the chimnie; but was carried (net and all) into the Aire by the bird, that was too ſtrong to be caught and held by the ſubtile workemanſhip of a Cob-web. Of the foure that next unto *Apelles* were left by *Antigonus* in chiefe place about *Philip*; *Taurion*, his Lievtenant in *Peloponneſus*, and *Alexander* Captaine of the Guard, were faithfull men, and ſuch as would not be corrupted. The other two, *Leontius* Captain of the *Targettiers*, and *Megaleas* chiefe of the Secretaries, were eaſily won to be at *Apelles* his diſpoſition. This politician therefore ſtudied how to remove the other two from their places, and put ſome Creatures of his owne into their roomes. Againſt *Alexander* he went to worke the ordinary way, by calumniation and privie detraction. But for the ſupplanting of *Taurion* he uſed more fineneſſe; loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of war, and one, whom for his many vertues the King might ill ſpare from being alwayes in his preſence. By ſuch Art he thought to have removed him, as we ſay, *Out of Gods bleſſing into a warme Sunne*. In the meane ſeaſon *Aratus* retired himſelfe; and ſought to avoide the dangerous friendſhip of the King by forbearing to meddle in affaires of State. As for the new Prætor of *Achaia*, lately choſen by ſuch vehement inſtance of the King; He was a man of no diſpatch, and one that had no grace with the people. Wherefore a great deale of time was loſt, whilſt *Philip* wanted both the money and the Corne, wherewith he ſhould have beene furniſhed by the *Achæans*. This made the King underſtand his owne errour; which he wiſely ſought to reforme betimes. He perſwaded the *Achæans* to rejourne their Parliament from *Ægium*, to *Sycion*, the Towne of *Aratus*. There he dealt with the old man and his ſon, perſwading them to forget what was paſt; and laying all the blame upon *Apelles*, on whom thenceforth he intended to keepe a more diligent eye. So by the travell of theſe worthy men, He eaſily obtained what he would of the *Achæans*. Fifty talents they gave him out of hand; with great ſtore of Corne: & further decreed, That ſo long as he himſelfe in perſon followed the wars in *Peloponneſus*, he ſhould receive ten talents a moneth. Being thus enabled, he began to provide ſhipping, that ſo he might invade the *Ætolians*, *Eleans*, and *Lacedæmonians*, that were maritime people, at his pleaſure, and hinder their excurſions by Sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond meaſure, to ſee things go forward ſo well without his helpe; even by the miniſtery of thoſe whom he moſt hated. Wherefore he entred into conſpiracie with *Leontius* and *Megaleas*: binding himſelfe and them by Oath, to croſſe and bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King ſhould take in hand. By ſo doing, they thought to bring it to paſſe, that very want of ability to doe any thing without them; ſhould make him ſpeake them faire, and be glad to ſubmit himſelfe to their directions. The King it is like had ſtood in ſome awe of them whilſt he was a child; and therefore theſe wiſe men perſwaded themſelves, that, by looking bigge upon him, and imputing unto him all that fell out ill through their own miſgovernment of his affaires, they might rule him as a childe ſtill. *Apelles* would needs goe to *Chalcis*, there to take order for the proviſions, which were to come that way out of *Macedon:* The other two ſtaid behinde with the King, to play their parts; all more mindfull of their wicked oath, than of their dutie.

His Fleet and Army being in a readineſſe: *Philip* made countenance, as if he would have bent all his forces againſt the *Eleans*; to whoſe aid therfore the *Ætolians* ſent men, little fearing that the miſchiefe would have fallen, as ſoone after it did, upon themſelves. But againſt the *Eleans* and thoſe that came to helpe them, *Philip* thought it enough to leave the *Achæans*, with ſome part of his & their Mercenaries. He himſelfe with the body of his Army putting to Sea, landed in the Ile of *Cephallenia:* whence the *Ætolians*, dwelling over againſt it, uſed to furniſh themſelves of ſhipping, when they went to rove abroad. There he beſieged the Towne of *Palæa*, that had beene very ſerviceable to the Enemie againſt him and his Confederates; and might bee very uſefull to him, if hee could get it. Whileſt he lay before this Towne, there came unto him fifteene ſhippes of warre from *Scerdilaidas*; and many good Souldiers, from the *Epirots*, *Acarnanians*, and *Meſſenians*. But the Towne was obſtinate; and would not be terrefied with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts ſave one, on which ſide *Philip* carried a Mine to the wall, wherewith he overthrew two hundred foot thereof. *Leontius* Captaine of the *Targettiers*, was appointed by the King to make the aſſault. But he, remembring his covenant with *Apelles*, did both wilfully forbeare to doe his beſt; and cauſed others to do the like. So the *Macedonians* were put to foile, and many ſlaine, not of the worſt Souldiers; but ſuch as had gotten over the breach, and would have carried the Towne, if the Treaſon of their Captaine, and ſome by him corrupted, had not hindred the victory. The King was angry with this, but there was no remedie; and therefore he thought upon breaking up the ſiege. For it was eaſier unto the Towneſ-men to make up the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whileſt he ſtood thus perplexed and uncertaine what courſe to take: the *Meſſenians* and *Acarnanians* lay hard upon him, each of them deſirous to draw him into their owne Countrey. The *Meſſenians* alledged, that *Lycurgus* was buſie in waſting their Countrey: upon whom the King might come unawares in one day; the *Eteſian* windes which then blew, ſerving fitly for his Navigation. Hereto alſo *Leontius* perſwaded; who conſidered that thoſe windes, as they would eaſily carry him thither, ſo would they detaine him there perforce (blowing all the Dogge-dayes) and make him ſpend the Summer to ſmall or no purpoſe. But *Aratus* gave better counſaile, and prevailed. He ſhewed how unfitting it were, to let the *Aetolians* over-runne all *Theſſalie* againe, and ſome part of *Macedon*, whileſt the King withdrew his Armie farre off to ſeeke ſmall adventures. Rather, he ſaid that the time now ſerved well to carry the warre into *Aetolia*; ſince the Prætor was gone thence abroad on roving, with the one halfe of their ſtrength. As for *Lycurgus*; he was not ſtrong enough to doe much harme in *Peloponneſus*: and it might ſuffice, if the *Achæans* were appointed to make head againſt him. According to this advice, the King ſets ſayle for *Aetolia*, and enters the Bay of *Ambracia*, which divided the *Aetolians* from *Acarnania*. The *Acarnanians* were glad to ſee him on their borders; and joyned with him as many of them as could beare armes, to helpe in taking vengeance upon their bad neighbours. He marched up into the in-land Countrey: and taking ſome places by the way, which he filled with Garriſons to aſſure his Retrait; He paſſed on to *Thermum*, which was the Receptacle of the *Aetolians*, and ſureſt place of defence in all extremities. The Countrey round about was a great Faſtneſſe, environed with rockie Mountaines of very narrow, ſteepe, and difficult aſcent. There did the *Aetolians* uſe to hold all their chiefe meetings, their Faires, their election of Magiſtrates, and their ſolemne Games. There alſo they uſed to beſtow the moſt precious of their goods, as in a place of greateſt ſecurity. This opinion of the naturall ſtrength, had made them careleſſe in looking unto it. When *Philip* therefore had overcome the bad way, there was nothing elſe to do than to take ſpoile:

whereof he found ſuch plenty, that he thought the paines of his journey well recompenced. So he loaded his Armie: and conſuming all that could not be carryed away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the chiefe of all belonging unto the *Ætolians*; in remembrance of their like courteſie, ſhewed upon the Temples of *Dium* and *Dodona*. This burning of the Temple, might (queſtionleſſe) more for the Kings honour have beene forborne. But perhaps he thought, as *Monſieur du Gourgues* the French Captaine told the *Spaniards* in *Florida*, That they which had no faith, needed no Church. At his returne from *Thermum*, the *Ætolians* laid for him: which that they would doe, he beleeved before; and therefore was not taken unawares. Three thouſand of them there were that lying in ambuſh, fell upon his skirts: but he laid a Counter-ambuſh for them, of his *Illyrians*; who ſtaying behind the reſt, did ſet upon the backes of the *Ætolians*, whileſt they were buſily charging in Rere the Armie that went before. So with ſlaughter of the enemy, he returned the ſame way that he came: and burning downe thoſe places that he had taken before, as alſo waſting the Country round about him. He ſafely carried all that he had gotten aboard his fleet. Once the *Ætolians* made countenance of fight, iſſuing out of *Stratus* in great bravery. But they were beaten home faſter than they came, and followed to their very gates.

The joy of this victorious Expedition being every way complete, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any ſiniſter accident; it pleaſed the King to make a great feaſt unto all his friends and Captaines. Thither were invited among the reſt *Leontius*, with his fellow *Megaleas*. They came, becauſe they could not chooſe: but their heavie looks argued, what little pleaſure they tooke in the Kings proſperity. It grieved them to think, that they ſhould be able to give no better account unto *Apelles*, of their hindering the Kings buſineſſe; ſince *Apelles* himſelfe, as will be ſhewed anon, had played his own part with a moſt miſchievous dexteritie. Finding *Aratus* on the way home to his Tent: they fell to reviling him, throwing ſtones at him, ſo that they cauſed a great uprore; many running in (as happens in ſuch caſes) to take part with the one or the other. The King ſending to inquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had paſſed. Which made him ſend for *Leontius* and his fellowes. But *Leontius* was gotten out of the way: *Megaleas*, and another with him, came. The King began to rate them for their diſorder: and they, to give him froward anſwers: inſomuch, as they ſaid at length, That they would never give over, till they had rewarded *Aratus* with a miſchiefe as he deſerved. Hereupon the King committed them to ward. *Leontius* hearing of this, comes boldly to the King, with his *Targettiers* at his heeles: and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands upon *Megaleas*, yea and to caſt him into priſon? Why, ſaid the King, it was even I. This reſolute anſwer, which *Leontius* had not expected, made him depart both ſad and angrie; ſeeing himſelfe out-frowned, and not knowing how to remedy the matter. Shortly after *Megaleas* was called forth to his anſwer, and was charged by *Aratus* with many great crimes. Among which were, The hindrance of the Kings victory at *Palea*, and the Compact made with *Apelles*: matters no leſſe touching *Leontius*, that ſtood by as a looker on, than *Megaleas* that was accuſed. In concluſion, the preſumptions againſt him were ſo ſtrong, and his anſwers thereto ſo weake; that he, and *Crinon* one of his fellowes, were condemned in twenty Talents: *Crinon* being remanded back to priſon; and *Leontius* becomming Baile for *Megaleas*. This was done upon the way home-wards, as the King was returning to *Corinth*.

*Philip* diſpatched well a great deale of buſineſſe this yeere. For as ſoone as hee was at *Corinth*, he tooke in hand an Expedition againſt the *Lacedæmonians*. Theſe and the *Eleans* had done what harme they could in *Peloponneſus*, whileſt the King was abſent: The *Achæans* had oppoſed them as well as they could; with ill ſucceſſe, yet ſo, as they hindred them from doing ſuch harme as elſe they would have done. But when *Philip* came, he over-ran the Country about *Lacedæmon*: & was in a maner at the gates of *Sparta*, ere men could well beleeve that he was returned out of *Aetolia*. He tooke not in this Expedition any Cities, but made great waſte in the fields: and having beaten the enemie in ſome skirmiſhes, carried backe with him to *Corinth* a rich booty of cattell, ſlaves, and other Countrie-ſpoile. At *Corinth* he found attending him, Embaſſadors from the *Rhodians* and *Chians*, that requeſted him to ſet *Greece* at quiet, by granting peace unto the *Aetolians*. They had gracious audience: and he willed them to deale firſt with the *Aetolians*, who if they would make the ſame requeſt, ſhould not finde him unreaſonable. The

*Ætolians* had ſped ill that yeer: neither ſaw they any likely hopes for the yeeres following. The Army that they had ſent forth to waſte *Theſſaly* and *Macedon*, found ſuch oppoſition on the way, that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the meane ſeaſon they had beene grievouſly afflicted, as before is ſhewed, by *Philip* in the centre of their owne Countrey. All *Greece* and *Macedon* was up in armes againſt them, and their weake Allies the *Eleans* and *Lacedæmonians*. Neither was it certaine, how long the one or other of theſe their *Peloponneſian* friends ſhould be able to hold out, ſince they were not ſtrong enough to keepe the field, but had already ſuffered thoſe miſeries of war, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each to ſeeke their owne peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the *Ætolians* readily entertained this negotiation of Peace: and taking truce for thirty dayes with the King, dealt with him by interceſſion of the ſame Embaſſadors, to intreat his preſence at a Diet of their nation, that ſhould be held at *Rhium*; whither if he would vouchſafe to come, they promiſed that he ſhould find them conformable to any good reaſon.

Whileſt theſe things were in hand, *Leontius* and *Megaleas* thought to have terrefied the King, by raiſing ſedition againſt him in the Army. But this device ſorted to no good effect. The ſouldiers were eaſily and quickly incenſed againſt many of the Kings friends, who were ſaid to be the cauſe, why they were not rewarded with ſo much of the booty, as they thought to belong of right unto them. But their anger ſpent it ſelfe in a noiſe, and breaking open of doores, without further harme done. This was enough to informe the King (who eaſily pacified his men with gentle words) that ſome about him were very falſe. Yea the Souldiers themſelves, repenting of their inſolence, deſired to have the Authors of the tumult ſought out, and puniſhed according to their deſerts. The King made ſhew as if he had not cared to make ſuch inquiſition. But *Leontius* and *Megaleas* were afraid, leſt the matter would ſoone come out of it ſelfe to their extreme danger. Wherefore they ſent unto *Apelles*, the Head and Architect of their treaſon; requeſting him ſpeedily to repaire unto *Corinth*, where hee might ſtand betweene them and the Kings diſpleaſure. *Apelles* had not all this while beene wanting to the buſineſſe, undertaken by him and his treacherous companions. Hee had taken upon him, as a man that had the Kings heart in his owne hand: and thereby was hee growne into ſuch credit, that all the Kings Officers in *Macedon* and *Theſſalie* addreſſed themſelves unto him, and received from him their diſpatch in every buſineſſe. Likewiſe the *Greekes* in all their flattering Decrees, tooke occaſion to magnifie the vertue of *Apelles*, making ſlight mention (onely for faſhions ſake) of the King: who ſeemed no better than the Miniſter and Executioner of *Apelles* his will and pleaſure. Such was the arrogancie of this great man, in ſetting himſelfe out unto the people: but in managing the Kings affaires, hee made it his ſpeciall care, that money, and all things needfull for the publike ſervice, ſhould bee wanting. Yea hee enforced the King, for very neede, to ſell his owne Plate and houſhold veſſels: thinking to reſolve theſe and all other difficulties, by onely ſaying, *Sir, be ruled wholly by me, and all ſhall be as you would wiſh.* Hereto if the King would give aſſent, then had this Politician obtained his hearts deſire. Now taking his journey from *Chalcis* in the Iſle of *Eubœa*, to the City of *Corinth* were *Philip* then lay: he was fetcht in with great pompe and royalty, by a great number of the Captaines and Souldiers; which *Leontius* and *Megaleas* drew forth to meete him on the way. So entring the city with a goodly traine, he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings chamber. But *Philip* was well aware of his pride, and had vehement ſuſpicion of his falſehood. Wherefore one was ſent to tell him, that he ſhould wait a while, or come another time, for the King was not now at leiſure to be ſpoken with. It was a pretty thing, that ſuch a check as this made all his attendants forſake him, as a man in diſgrace; in ſuch ſort, that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him ſave his owne Pages. After this, the King vouchſafed him now and then ſome ſlender graces: but in conſultations, or other matters of privacie, he uſed him not at all. This taught *Megaleas* to looke to himſelfe, and run away betimes. Hereupon the King ſent forth *Taurion* his Lievtenant of *Peloponneſus*, with all the *Targettiers*, as it were to do ſome piece of ſervice, but indeed of purpoſe to apprehend *Leontius* in the abſence of his followers. *Leontius* being taken, diſpatched away a meſſenger preſently to his *Targettiers*, to ſignifie what was befallen him: and they forthwith ſent unto the King in his behalfe. They made requeſt, That if any other thing were objected againſt him, he might not be called forth to triall before their returne: as for the debt of *Megaleas*, if that were all the matter, they ſaid they were ready to make a purſe for his diſcharge. This affection of the ſouldiers made *Philip* more haſtie than elſe he would have beene, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere letters of *Megaleas* were intercepted, which hee wrote unto the *Ætolians*; vilifying the King with opprobrious words, and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out a while, for that *Philip* was even ready to ſinke under the burden of his owne poverty. By this the King underſtood more perfectly the falſhood, not only of *Megaleas*, but of *Apelles*; whoſe cunning head had laboured all this while to keepe him ſo poore. Wherefore he ſent one to purſue *Megaleas* that was fled to *Thebes*. As for *Apelles*, he committed both him, his ſonne, and another that was inward with him, to priſon; wherein all of them ſhortly ended their lives. *Megaleas* alſo, neither daring to ſtand to tryall, nor knowing whither to fly, was weary of his own life; and ſlew himſelfe about the ſame time.

The *Ætolians*, as they had begun this warre upon hope of accompliſhing what they liſted in the Nonage of *Philip*: ſo finding that the vigour of this young Prince, tempered with the cold advice of *Aratus*, wrought very effectually toward their overthrow; they grew very deſirous to make an end of it. Neverthelesſe being a turbulent Nation, and ready to lay hold upon all advantages, when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of *Apelles*, *Leontius*, and *Megaleas*, together with ſome indignation thereupon conceived by ſome of the Kings Targettiers, they began to hope anew, that theſe troubles would be long laſting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at *Rhium*. Of this was *Philip* nothing ſorry. For being in good hope throughly to tame this unquiet Nation; He thought it much to concerne his owne honour, that all the blame of the beginning and continuing the War ſhould reſt upon themſelves. Wherfore he willed his Confederates to lay aſide all thought of peace, and to prepare for War againſt the yeare following; wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his *Macedonian* Souldiers, by yeelding to let them winter in their owne Countrey. In his returne homeward, he called into judgement one *Ptolomie*, a companion with *Apelles* and *Leontius* in their Treaſons: who was therefore condemned by the *Macedonians*; and ſuffered death. Theſe were the ſame *Macedonians*, that lately could not endure to heare of *Leontius* his impriſonment; yet now they think the man worthy to die that was but his adherent. So vain is the confidence, on which Rebels uſe to build, in their favour with the Multitude.

During his abode in *Macedon*, *Philip* won ſome bordering Townes; from which the *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and other his ill neighbours, were accuſtomed to make rodes into his Kingdome: when he had thus provided for ſafety of his owne; the *Ætolians* might well know what they were to expect. But here came againe Embaſſadors from the *Rhodians* and *Chians*, with others from *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, and from the Citie of *Byzantium*, recontinuing the former ſolicitation about the Peace. This faſhion had been taken up in matters of *Greece*, ever ſince the Kings that reigned after *Alexander*, had taken upon them to ſet the whole Country at liberty: No ſooner was any Province or Citie in danger to bee oppreſſed and ſubdued by force of warre, but preſently there were found interceſſors, who pitying the effuſion of *Greekiſh* bloud, would importune the ſtronger to relinquiſh his advantage. By doing ſuch friendly offices in time of need, the Princes and States abroad ſought to binde unto them thoſe people, that were howſoever weake in numbers, yet very good ſouldiers. But hereby it came to paſſe, that the more froward ſort, eſpecially the *Ætolians*, whoſe whole Nation was addicted to falſehood and robbery; durſt enter boldly into quarrels with all their Neighbours: being well aſſured that if they had the worſt, *The love of Greece* would be ſufficient for to redeeme their quiet. They had, ſince the late Treaty of peace, done what harme they could in *Peloponneſus*: but being beaten by the *Achæans*, and ſtanding in feare to be more ſoundly beaten at home, they deſired now, more earneſtly than before, to make an end of the Warre as ſoone as they might. *Philip* made ſuch anſwer unto the Embaſſadours, as he had done the former yeare; That he gave not occaſion to the beginning of this Warre, nor was at the preſent affraid to continue it, or unwilling to end it: But that the *Ætolians*, if they had a deſire to live in reſt, muſt firſt be dealt withall, to ſignifie plainly their determination, whereto himſelfe would returne ſuch anſwer as he ſhould think fit.

*Philip* had at this time no great liking unto the Peace, being a yong Prince, and in hope to increaſe the honour which he daily got by the War. But it happened in the middeſt of this Negotiation, that he was advertiſed by letters out of *Macedon*, what a notable victory *Hannibal* had obtained againſt the *Romans* in the battell at *Thraſymene*. Theſe letters he communicated unto *Demetrius Pharius*: who greatly encouraged him to take part with *Hannibal*: and not to ſit ſtill, as an idle beholder of the *Italian* War. Hereby he grew more inclinable than before unto Peace with the *Ætolians*: which was concluded ſhortly in a meeting at *Naupactus*. There did *Agelaus* an *Ætolian* make a great Oration: telling, how happy it was for the *Greekes*, that they might at their owne pleaſure diſpute about finiſhing War betweene themſelves, without being moleſted by the *Barbarians*. For when once either the *Romans* or *Carthaginians* had ſubdued one the other; it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith look Eaſtward, and ſeek by all means to ſet footing in *Greece*. For this cauſe he ſaid it were good, that their Countrey ſhould be at peace within it ſelfe: and that *Philip*, if he were deſirous of War, ſhould lay hold on the opportunity, now fitly ſerving to enlarge his Dominion, by winning ſomewhat in *Italy*.

Such advice could the *Ætolians* then give, when they ſtood in feare of danger threatning them at hand: but being ſoone after weary of reſt, as being accuſtomed to enrich themſelves by pillage, they were ſo farre from obſerving and following their own good counſell, that they invited the *Romans* into *Greece*, whereby they brought themſelves and the whole Country (but themſelves before any other part of the Country) under ſervitude of ſtrangers. The Condition of this Peace was ſimple, That every one ſhould keepe what they held at the preſent, without making reſtitution, or any amends for damages paſt.

## §. III.

### Philip *at the perſwaſion of* Demetrius Pharius, *enters into League with* Hannibal, *againſt the Romans. The Tenour of the League between* Hannibal *and* Philip.

THis being agreed upon; the *Greekes* betooke themſelves to quiet courſes of life; and *Philip* to prepare for the buſineſſe of *Italy*, about which he conſulted with *Demetrius Pharius*. And thus paſſed the time away, till the great battell of *Canna*: after which he joyned in league with *Hannibal*, as hath been ſhewed before. *Demetrius Pharius* bore great malice unto the *Romans*; and knew no other way to be avenged upon them, or to recover his owne loſt kingdome, than by procuring the *Macedonian*, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counſell, to take part with their enemies. It had otherwiſe been farre more expedient for *Philip*, to have ſupported the weaker of thoſe two great Cities againſt the more mighty. For by ſo doing, he ſhould perhaps have brought them to peace upon ſome equall termes; and thereby, as did *Hiero*, a farre weaker Prince, have both ſecured his owne Eſtate, and cauſed each of them to be deſirous of chiefe place in his friendſhip. The iſſue of the counſell which he followed, will appeare ſoone after this. His firſt quarrell with the *Romans*; the trouble which they and the *Ætolians* did put him to in *Greece*; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, upon ſuch Conditions that might eaſily be broken: have been related in another place, as belonging unto the ſecond Punick War. Wherefore I will only here ſet down the tenour of the League between Him and *Carthage*: which may ſeeme not unworthy to be read, if only in regard of the forme it ſelfe then uſed; though it had been over-long to have been inſerted into a more buſie peece.

# The Oath and Covenants betweene *Hannibal* Generall of the Carthaginians, and *Xenophanes*, Embaſſador of *Philip* King of Macedon.

THIS *is the League ratified by oath, which* Hannibal *the Generall, and with him* Mago, Myrcal, *and* Barmocal, *as alſo the Senators of Carthage that are preſent, and all the Carthaginians that are in his Army, have made with* Xenophanes *the ſon of* Cleomachus *Athenian, whom King* Philip *the ſon of* Demetrius *hath ſent unto us, for himſelfe and the Macedonians, and his Aſſociates: Before* Jupiter, *and* Juno, *and* Apollo : *before* * The God of the Carthaginians, Hercules *and* Tolaus : *before* Mars, Triton, Neptune : *before* The Gods *accompanying Armes, the* Sunne, *the* Moone, *and the* Earth; *before* Rivers *and* Meddowes, *and* Waters; *before all the* Gods *that have power over Carthage; before all the* Gods *that rule over Macedon, and the reſt of Greece; before all the* Gods *that are Preſidents of Warre, and preſent at the making of this League.* Hannibal *the Generall hath ſaid, and all the Senators that are with him, and all the Carthaginians in his Army :* Be *it agreed betweene You and Us, that this Oath ſtand for friendſhip and loving affection, that We become friends, familiar, and brethren, Upon Covenant,* that *the ſafety of the Lords the Carthaginians, and of* Hannibal *the Generall, and thoſe that are with him, and of the Rulers of Provinces of the Carthaginians, uſing the ſame Lawes, and of the Uticans, and as many Cities and Nations as obey the Carthaginians, and of the Souldiers and Aſſociates, and of all Townes and Nations with which we hold friendſhip in Italy, Gaule, and Liguria, and with whom we ſhall hold friendſhip or make alliance hereafter in this Region; be preſerved by King* Philip *and the Macedonians, and ſuch of the Greeks as are their Aſſociates.* In like maner *ſhall King* Philip *and the Macedonians, and other the Greeks his Aſſociates, be ſaved and preſerved by the Carthaginian Armies, and by the Uticans, and by all Cities and Nations that obey the Carthaginians, and by their Aſſociates and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in Italy, Gaule, and Liguria, that are of our Alliance, or ſhall hereafter joyne with Us in Italy.* Wee *ſhall not take Counſell one againſt the other, nor deale fraudulently one with the other. With all readineſſe and good will, without deceit or ſubtlety, We ſhall be enemies unto the enemies of the Carthaginians, excepting thoſe Kings, Townes, and Havens, with which Wee have already league and friendſhip. We alſo ſhall be enemies to the enemies of King* Philip, *excepting thoſe Kings, Cities, & Nations, with which we have already league and friendſhip. The War that We have with the Romans, have Ye alſo with them, untill the Gods ſhall give us a new and happy end. Ye ſhall ayd Us with thoſe things whereof we have need, and ſhall do according to the Covenants betweene Us. But if the Gods ſhall not give unto You and Us their helpe in this War againſt the Romans and their Aſſociates; then if the Romans offer friendſhip,* We *ſhall make friendſhip in ſuch wiſe that Ye ſhall be partakers of the ſame friendſhip, With Condition,* That *they ſhall not have power to make War upon you : Neither ſhall the Romans be Lords over the Corcyræans, nor over thoſe of Apollonia, nor Dyrrachium, nor over Pharus, nor Dimalle, nor the Parthini, nor Atintania. They ſhall alſo render unto* Demetrius Pharius *all thoſe that belong unto him, as many as are within the Romans Dominions. But if the Romans (after ſuch peace made) ſhall make War upon Yee or Us; We will ſuccour one another in that War, as either ſhall have need. The ſame ſhall be obſerved in War made by any other, excepting thoſe Kings, Cities, and States, with whom we hold already league and friendſhip.* To this league *if We or Ye ſhall think fit to adde or detract, ſuch addition or detraction ſhall be made by our common conſent.*

* *Dæmon.*

## §. IIII.

*How* Philip *yeelded to his naturall vices, being therein ſoothed by* Demetrius Pharius. *His deſire to tyranniZe upon the free States his Aſſociates: With the troubles into which hee thereby fell, whileſt he bore a part in the ſecond Punick War. He poyſoneth* Aratus: *and grows hatefull to the Achæans.*

HItherto *Philip* had carried himſelfe as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wiſedome, hee might have offered his friendſhip to the *Romans*, that were like to be oppreſſed, than to the *Carthaginians*, who had the better hand: yet this his medling in the Punick War, proceeded from a royall greatneſſe of minde, with a deſire to ſecure and increaſe his owne eſtate, adding therewithall reputation to his Countrie. But in this buſineſſe he was guided (as hath been ſaid) by *Demetrius Pharius:* who, looking throughly into his nature, did accommodate himſelfe to his deſires: and thereby ſhortly governed him as he liſted. For the vertues of *Philip* were not indeed ſuch as they ſeemed. He was luſtfull, bloudy, and tyrannicall: deſirous of power to doe what he liſted, and not otherwiſe liſting to doe what he ought, than ſo farre forth, as by making a faire ſhew he might breed in men ſuch good opinion of him, as ſhould help to ſerve his turne in all that he took in hand. Before he ſhould buſie himſelfe in *Italy*, he thought it requiſite in good policie, to bring the *Greekes* that were his Aſſociates, under a more abſolute forme of ſubjection. Hereunto *Apelles* had adviſed him before: and he had liked reaſonably well of the courſe. But *Apelles* was a boyſterous Counſellor, and one that referring all to his owne glory, thought himſelfe deepely wronged if hee might not wholly have his owne way, but were driven to await the Kings opportunity at other times. *Demetrius Pharius* could well be contented to obſerve the kings humours: and guided, like a Coach-man with the reines in his hand, thoſe affections which himſelfe did onely ſeeme to follow. Therefore he grew daily more and more in credit: ſo as, without any manner of contention, he ſupplanted *Aratus*: which the violence of *Apelles* could never doe.

There aroſe about theſe times a very hot Faction among the *Meſſenians*, betweene the Nobility and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diverted (as happens often after a forreigne War) unto domeſticall objects, than allayed and reduced unto a more quiet temper. In proceſſe of no long time, the contention among them grew ſo violent, that *Philip* was intreated to compound the differences. He was glad of this: reſolving ſo to end the matter, that they ſhould not henceforth ſtrive any more about their Government: for that he would aſſume it wholly to himſelfe. At his comming thither, he found *Aratus* buſie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his owne ſecret purpoſe. Wherefore he conſulted not with this reverend old man: but talked in private with ſuch of the *Meſſenians* as repaired unto him. He asked the Governours, what they meant to ſtand thus diſputing: and whether they had not Lawes, to bridle the inſolence of the unruly Rabble: Contrariwiſe, in talking with the heads of the popular Faction, He ſaid it was ſtrange, that they being ſo many, would ſuffer themſelves to be oppoſed by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themſelves from Tyrants. Thus whileſt each of them preſumed on the Kings aſſiſtance; they thought it beſt to goe roundly to worke, ere that hee were gone that ſhould countenance their doings. The Governours therefore would have apprehended ſome ſeditious Orators, that were, they ſaid, the ſtirrers up of the multitude unto ſedition. Upon this occaſion, the people tooke Armes: and running upon the Nobility and Magiſtrates, killed of them in a rage, almoſt two hundred. *Philip* thought, it ſeemes, that it would be eaſie to worry the Sheepe, when the Dogs their guardians were ſlaine. But his falſhood and double dealing was immediately found out. Neither did the younger *Aratus* forbeare to tell him of it in publike, with very bitter and diſgracefull words. The King was angry at this. But having already done more than was commendable, or excuſable: and yet further intending to take other things in hand wherein hee ſhould need the help and countenance of his beſt friends; Hee was content to ſmother his diſpleaſure, and make as faire weather as he could. Hee ledde old *Aratus* aſide by the hand; and went up into the Caſtle of *Ithome*, that was over *Meſſene*. There he pretended to doe ſacrifice: and ſacrifice he did. But it was his purpoſe to keepe the place to his owne uſe; for that it was of notable ſtrength, and would ſerve to command the further parts of *Peloponneſus*, as the Citadel of *Corinth*, which he had already, commanded the entrance into that Country. Whileſt he was therefore ſacrificing, and had the entrals of the beaſt delivered into his hands, as was the manner; he ſhewed them to *Aratus*, and gently asked him, whether the tokens that he ſaw therein did ſignifie, That being now in poſſeſſion of this place, he ſhould quietly goe out of it, or rather keep it to himſelfe. He thought perhaps, that the old man would have ſoothed him a little; were it only for deſire to make amends for the angry words newly ſpoken by his ſon. But as *Aratus* ſtood doubtfull what to anſwer, *Demetrius Pharius* gave this verdict: *If thou be a ſoothſayer, thou maiſt goe thy waies, and let ſlip this good advantage; if thou be a King, thou muſt not neglect the opportunity, but hold the Oxe by both his horns.* Thus he ſpake; reſembling *Ithome* and *Acrocorinthus* unto the two horns of *Peloponneſus*. Yet would *Philip* needs heare the opinion of *Aratus*: who told him plainly, That it were well done to keep the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith unto the *Meſſenians*: But if, by ſeizing upon *Ithome*, He muſt loſe all the other Caſtles that he held, and eſpecially the ſtrongeſt Caſtle of all that was left unto him by *Antigonus*, which was his credit; then were it far better to depart with his ſouldiers, and keep men in duty, as he had done hitherto, by their own good wils, than by fortifying any ſtrong places againſt them, to make them of his friends become his enemies.

To this good advice *Philip* yeelded at the preſent: but not without ſome diſlike thenceforth growing betweene him and the *Arati*; whom he thought more froward than beſeemed them, in contradicting his will. Neither was the old man deſirous at all, to deale any longer in the Kings affaires, or be inward with him. For, as he plainly diſcovered his tyrannous purpoſes: ſo likewiſe he perceived, that in reſorting to his houſe, He had been diſhoneſt with his ſons wife. He therefore ſtaid at home: where at good leiſure he might repent, that in deſpight of *Cleomenes*, his owne Countri-man, and a temperate Prince, he had brought the *Macedonians* into *Peloponneſus*.

*Philip* made a Voyage out of *Peloponneſus* into *Epirus*, wherein *Aratus* refuſed to beare him company. In this journey he found by experience what *Aratus* had lately told him, That unhoneſt counſels are not ſo profitable in deed, as in appearance. The *Epirots* were his followers and dependants; and ſo they purpoſed to continue. But he would needs have them ſo to remaine, whether they purpoſed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious unto his Will, He ſeiſed upon their Towne of *Oricum*, and laid ſiege to *Apollonia*; having no good colour of theſe doings: but thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to doe what he liſted, and not ſeeing whence they ſhould procure friends to helpe them. Thus in ſtead of ſetling the Country, as his intended Voyage into *Italy* required: He kindled a fire in it which he could never quench, untill it had laid hold on his own Palace. Whileſt he was thus labouring to bind the hands that ſhould have fought for him in *Italy*: *M. Valerius* the *Roman* came into thoſe parts; who not only maintained the *Epirots* againſt him, but procured the *Ætolians* to breake the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that Warre; the occurrents whereof we have related before, in the place whereto it belonged. In mannaging whereof, though *Philip* did the offices of a good Captaine: yet when leiſure ſerved, He made it apparent that he was a vicious King. He had not quite left his former deſire, of oppreſſing the liberty of the *Meſſenians*; but made another journey into their Country, with hope to deceive them as before. They underſtood him better now than before; and therefore were not haſty to truſt him too farre. When he ſaw that his cunning would not ſerve, He went to worke by force; and calling them his enemies, invaded them with open Warre. But in that Warre he could doe little good; perhaps, becauſe none of his Confederates were deſirous to helpe him in ſuch an enterpriſe. In this attempt upon *Meſſene*, he loſt *Demetrius Pharius*; that was his Counſellor and Flatterer, not his Perverter; as appeares by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worſe that he ſped, the more angry he waxed againſt thoſe that ſeemed not to favour his injurious doings. Wherefore by the miniſtery of *Taurion*, his Lievtenant, he poyſoned old *Aratus*; and ſhortly after that he poyſoned alſo the yonger *Aratus*: hoping that theſe things would never have been knowne, becauſe they were done ſecretly, and the poyſons themſelves were more ſure than manifeſt in operation. The *Sicyonians*, and all the people of *Achaia*, decreed unto

*Aratus* more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymnes, and Proceſſions, to be celebrated every yeare twice, with a Prieſt ordained unto him for that purpoſe; as was accuſtomed unto the *Heroes*, or men, whom they thought to be tranſlated into the number of the gods. Hereunto they are ſaid to have been encouraged by an Oracle of *Apollo*: which is like enough to have been true, ſince the helpe of the Devill is never failing to the increaſe of Idolatry.

The loving memory of *Aratus* their Patron, and ſingular Benefactor, could not but worke in the *Achæans* a marvellous diſlike of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He ſhall therefore heare of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counſell for themſelves. At the preſent, the murder was not generally knowne or beleeved: neither were they in caſe to ſubſiſt, without his help that had committed it. The *Ætolians* were a moſt outragious people, great darers, and ſhameleſſe robbers. With theſe the *Romans* made a league: whereof the Conditions were ſoon divulged, eſpecially that maine point, concerning the diviſion of the purchaſe which they ſhould make, namely, That the *Ætolians* ſhould have the Country and Townes; but the *Romans* the ſpoyle, and carry away the people to ſell for ſlaves. The *Achæans*, who in times of greater quiet, could not endure to make ſtreight alliance with the *Ætolians*, as knowing their uncivill diſpoſition; were much the more averſe from them, when they perceived how they had called in the *Barbarians* (for ſuch did the *Greekes* acount all other Nations except their owne) to make havock of the Country. The ſame conſideration moved alſo the *Lacedæmonians* to ſtand off a while, before they would declare themſelves for the *Ætolians*; whoſe friendſhip they had embraced in the late War. The induſtry therefore of *Philip*, and the great care which he ſeemed to take of the *Achæans* his Confederates, ſufficed to retaine them: eſpecially, at ſuch time, as their owne neceſſity was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged unto himſelfe the *Dymæans*, by an ineſtimable benefit: recovering their Town, after it had bin taken by the *Romans* and *Ætolians*; and redeeming their people whereſoever they might bee found, that had been carried away Captive, and ſold abroad for ſlaves. Thus might he have blotted out the memory of offences paſt; if the malignity of his naturall condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and given men to underſtand, that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which cauſed him to make ſuch a ſhew of goodneſſe. Among other foule acts, whereof he was not aſhamed; He took *Polycratia* the wife of the yonger *Aratus*, and carried her into *Macedon*: little regarding how this might ſerve to confirme in the people their opinion, that he was guilty of the old mans death. But of ſuch faults he ſhall be told, when the *Romans* make War upon him the ſecond time: for, of that which happened in this their firſt Invaſion, I hold it ſuperfluous to make repetition.

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## §. V.

### *Of* Philopœmen *Generall of the Achæans: and* Machanidas, *Tyrant of Lacedæmon. A battell between them, wherein* Machanidas *is ſlain.*

IT happens often, that the deceaſe of one eminent man diſcovers the vertue of another. In the place of *Aratus* there ſtood up *Philopœmen*: whoſe notable valour, and great skill in Armes, made the Nation of the *Achæans* redoubtable among all the *Greekes*, and careleſſe of ſuch protection, as in former times they had needed againſt the violence of their neighbours. This is that *Philopœmen*: who being then a young man, and having no command; did eſpeciall ſervice to *Antigonus* at the battell of Sellaſia againſt *Cleomenes*. Thence forward untill now he had ſpent the moſt part of his time in the Ile of *Crete*: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and ſeldome or never at peace betweene themſelves; He bettered among them his knowledge, and practice in the Art of Warre. At his returne home, He had charge of the Horſe: wherein he carried himſelfe ſo ſtrictly, travelling with all the Cities of the Confederacie to have his followers well mounted, and armed at all pieces: as alſo he ſo diligently trained them up in all exerciſe of ſervice, that he made the *Achæans* very ſtrong in that part of their forces. Being afterward choſen Prætor or Generall of the Nation, Hee had no leſſe care to reforme their military diſcipline throughout, whereby his Countrie might be ſtrong enough to defend it ſelfe, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend upon the helpe of others. Hee perſwaded the *Achæans* to cut off their vaine expence of bravery, in apparell, houſhold-ſtuffe, and curious fare, and to beſtow that coſt upon their Armes: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by ſo much were they like to prove the better Souldiers, and ſutable in behaviour, unto the pride of their furniture. They had ſerved hitherto with little light Bucklers, and ſlender Darts, to caſt afar off; that were uſefull in skirmiſhing at ſome diſtance, or for ſurpriſes, or ſudden and haſtie Expeditions, whereto *Aratus* had bin moſt accuſtomed. But when they came to handie-ſtrokes, they were good for nothing, ſo long as they were wholly driven to rely upon the courage of their Mercenaries. *Philopœmen* altered this: cauſing them to arme themſelves more weightily, to uſe a larger kind of ſhield, with good ſwords, and ſtrong pikes, fit for ſervice at hand. He taught them alſo to fight in cloſe order, and altered the form of their embattelling: not making the Files ſo deep as had bin accuſtomed, but extending the Front, that he might uſe the ſervice of many hands.

Eight moneths were ſpent of that yeer, in which he firſt was Prætor of the *Achæans*; when *Machanidas* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon* cauſed him to make trial, how his ſouldiers had profited by his diſcipline. This *Machanidas* was the ſucceſſor unto *Lycurgus*, a man more violent than his foregoer. He kept in pay a ſtrong Army of mercenaries: and he kept them not onely to fight for *Sparta*, but to hold the Citie in obedience to himſelfe perforce. Wherefore it behoved him not to take part with the *Achæans*, that were favorers of liberty; but to ſtrengthen himſelfe by friendſhip of the *Ætolians*: who, in making Alliances, took no further notice of Vice or Vertue, than as it had reference to their own profit. The people alſo of *Lacedæmon*, through their inveterate hatred unto the *Argives*, *Achæans*, and *Macedonians*; were in like ſort (all or moſt of them) inclinable to the *Ætolian* Faction. Very unwiſely. For in ſeeking to take revenge upon thoſe, that had lately hindred them from getting the Lordſhip of *Peloponneſus*; they hindred themſelves thereby from recovering the Maſtry of their own Citie. This affection of the *Spartans*, together with the regard of his own ſecurity, and no ſmall hope of good that would follow, ſuffered not *Machanidas* to be idle; but alwaies made him ready to fall upon his neighbours backes, and take of theirs what he could, whileſt they were enforced, by greater neceſſity, to turne face another way. Thus had he often done, eſpecially in the abſence of *Philip*: whoſe ſudden comming into thoſe parts, or ſome other oppoſition made againſt him, had uſually made him faile of his attempts. At the preſent he was ſtronger in men, than were the *Achæans*, and thought his owne men better Souldiers than were theirs.

Whileſt *Philip* therefore was buſied elſe-where, he entred the Country of the *Mantinæans*: being not without hope to doe as *Cleomenes* had done before him; yea and perhaps to get the **Lordſhip of Peloponneſus*, as having ſtronger friends and weaker oppoſition, than *Cleomenes* had found. But *Philopœmen* was ready to entertain him at *Mantinæa*; where was fought between them a great battell. The Tyrant had brought into the field upon Carts a great many of engines, wherewith to beat upon the Squadrons of his Enemies, and put them in diſorder. To prevent this danger, *Philopœmen* ſent forth his light armature a good way before him; ſo as *Machanidas* was faine to doe the like. To ſecond theſe, from the one and the other ſide came in continuall ſupply; till at length all the Mercenaries, both of the *Achæans* and of *Machanidas*, were drawn up to the fight: being ſo farre advanced, each before their owne Phalanx, that it could no otherwiſe be diſcerned which preſſed forward, or which recoyled, than by riſing of the duſt. Thus were *Machanidas* his Engines made unſerviceable, by the interpoſition of his own men; in ſuch manner as the Cannon is hindred from doing execution, in moſt of the battels fought in theſe our times. The Mercenaries of the Tyrant prevailed at length: not onely by their advantage of number, but (as *Polybius* well obſerveth) by ſurmounting their oppoſites in degree of courage; wherein uſually the hired Souldiers of Tyrants exceed thoſe that are waged by free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant than they which live oppreſſed by Tyrannie, ſince the one, by doing their beſt in fight, have hope to acquire ſomewhat beneficiall to themſelves, whereas the other doe fight (as it were) to aſſure their owne ſervitude: ſo the Mercenaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruits of his proſperity, have as good cauſe to maintaine his quarrell as their own; whereas they that ſerve under a free State, have no other motive to doe manfully, than their bare ſtipend. Further than this, When a free State hath gotten the victory, many companies (if not all) of forrein Auxiliaries are preſently caſt;

* *Excerpt. è Pol. l. 11.*
*Plut. in vita Philopœmen.*

*Polyb. ibid.*

and therefore ſuch good fellowes, will not take much paines to bring the warre to an end. But the victory of a Tyrant, makes him ſtand in need of more ſuch helpers; becauſe that after it he doth wrong to more, as having more ſubjects; and therefore ſtands in feare of more, that ſhould ſeeke to take revenge upon him. The ſtipendiaries therefore of the *Achæans*, being forced to give ground, were urged ſo violently in their retrait by thoſe of *Machanidas*, that ſhortly they betooke themſelves to flight; and could not be ſtaid by any perſwaſions of *Philopœmen*, but ranne away quite beyond the battell of the *Achæans*. This diſaſter had beene ſufficient to take from *Philopœmen* the honour of the day; had he not wiſely obſerved the demeanour of *Machanidas*, and found in him that errour which might reſtore the victorie. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries gave chace unto thoſe that fled: leaving behind him in good order of battell his *Lacedæmonians*; whom he thought ſufficient to deale with the *Achæans*, that were alreadie diſheartned by the flight of their companions. But when this his raſhneſſe had carried him out of ſight, *Philopœmen* advanced towards the *Lacedæmonians* that ſtood before him. There lay betweene them athwart the Countrie a long ditch, without water at that time; and therefore paſſable (as it ſeemed) without much difficultie, eſpecially for Foot. The *Lacedæmonians* adventured over it; as thinking themſelves better ſouldiers than the *Achæans*; who had in a maner already loſt the day. But hereby they greatly diſordered their own Battell; and had no ſooner the foremoſt of them recovered the further banke, than they were ſtoutly charged by the *Achæans*, who drave them headlong into the ditch againe. Their firſt rankes being broken, all the reſt began to ſhrinke: ſo as *Philopœmen* getting over the ditch, eaſily chaced them out of the Field. *Philopœmen* knew better how to uſe his advantage, than *Machanidas* had done. He ſuffered not all his Army to diſband and follow the chace, but retained with him a ſufficient ſtrength, for the cuſtodie of a bridge that was over the ditch, by which he knew that the Tyrant muſt come back. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries returning from the chace, looked very heavily when he ſaw what was fallen out. Yet with a luſtie troupe of Horſe about him he made towards the bridge: hoping to find the *Achæans* in diſorder; and to ſet upon their backes, as they were careleſly purſuing their Victory. But when he and his Companie ſaw *Philopœmen* readie to make good the bridge againſt them; then began every one to looke, which way hee might ſhift for himſelſe. The Tyrant, with no more than two in his company, rode along the ditch ſide; and ſearched for an eaſie paſſage over. He was eaſily diſcovered by his purple Caſſock, and the coſtly trappings of his Horſe. *Philopœmen* therefore leaving the charge of the bridge unto another, coaſted him all the way as he rode; and falling upon him at length in the ditch it ſelfe, as he was getting over it, ſlew him there with his owne hand. There died in this Battell on the *Lacedæmonian* ſide about foure thouſand: and more than foure thouſand were taken priſoners. Of the *Achæan* Mercenaries, probable it is, that the loſſe was not greatly cared for; ſince that War was at an end, and for their money they might hire more when they ſhould have need.

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## §. VI.

Philip *having peace with* Rome, *and with all* Greece, *prepares againſt Aſia. Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and their Linages. Of the Galatians.*

BY this victorie the *Achæans* learned to thinke well of themſelves. Neither needed they indeed after a while (ſuch was their diſcipline and continuall exerciſe) to account themſelves in matter of war inferiour to any, that ſhould have brought againſt them no great oddes of number. As for the *Macedonian*, he made no great uſe of them. But when he had once concluded peace with the *Romans* and *Ætolians*, he ſtudied how to enlarge his Dominion Eaſtward; ſince the fortune of his friends the *Carthaginians* declined in the Weſt. He tooke in hand many matters together, or very nearely together, and ſome of them not honeſt: wherein if the *Achæans* would have done him ſervice, they muſt, by helping him to oppreſſe others that never had wronged him, have taught him the way how to deale with themſelves. He greatly hated *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, who had joyned with the *Romans* and *Ætolians* in warre againſt him.

This *Atalus*, though a King, was ſcarce yet a Nobleman, otherwiſe than as he was ennobled by his own, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune began in *Philetærus* his Uncle: who being guelded, by reaſon of a miſhap which he had when he was a childe, grew afterwards thereby to be the more eſteemed: as great men in thoſe times repoſed much confidence in Eunuches, whoſe affections could not be obliged unto wives or children. He was entertained into the family of *Docimus*, a Captaine following *Antigonus the firſt*; and after the death of *Antigonus*, he accompanied his Maſter, that betooke himſelfe to *Lyſimachus* King of *Thrace*. *Lyſimachus* had a good opinion of him; and put him in truſt with his money and accounts. But when at length he ſtood in feare of this King, that grew a bloudy Tyrant; he fled into *Aſia*, where he ſeized upon the Towne of *Pergamus*, and nine thouſand talents belonging to *Lyſimachus*. The Towne and money, together with his owne ſervice, he offered unto *Seleuchus the firſt*, that then was ready to give *Lyſimachus* battell. His offer was kindly accepted, but never performed; for that *Seleuchus*, having ſlaine *Lyſimachus*, dyed ſhortly after himſelfe, before he made uſe of *Philetærus* or his mony. So this Eunuch ſtill retained *Pergamus*, with the Country round about it; and reigned therein twenty years as an abſolute King. He had two brethren: of which the elder is ſaid to have bin a poor Carter; and the younger perhaps not much better, before ſuch time they were raiſed by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Philetærus* left his Kindome to the elder of theſe, or to the ſon of the elder, called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his Kingdome; making his advantage of the diſſention between *Seleuchus Calinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*, the ſons of the *ſecond Antiochus*. He fought a battell with *Hierax*, neere unto *Sardes*, and won the victory. At which time, to animate his men againſt the *Gaules* that ſerved under his Enemy, he uſed a pretty device. He wrote the word* *Victory* upon the hand of his Soothſayer, in ſuch colours as would eaſily come off: and when the hot liver of the beaſt that was ſacrificed, had cleanly taken the print of the letters, He publiſhed this unto his Army as a Miracle; plainly foreſhewing that the gods would be aſſiſtant in that Battell.

* *Jul. Front. Strat. l. 1. c. 11.*

After this Victory, he grew a dreadfull enemy to *Seleuchus*: who never durſt attempt to recover from him, by Warre, the Territory that he had gotten and held. Finally, when he had reigned two and twenty yeeres, he died by a ſurfeit of over-much drinke, and left his kingdome to *Attalus*, of whom we now entreat, that was ſon unto *Attalus* the youngeſt brother of *Philetærus*. *Attalus* was an undertaking Prince, very bountifull, and no leſſe valiant. By his owne proper forces he reſtored his friend *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian* into his Kingdome, whence he had been expelled. He was grievouſly moleſted by *Achæus*: who ſetting up himſelfe as king againſt *Antiochus the great*, reigned in the leſſer *Aſia*. He was beſieged in his own City of *Pergamus*: but by the helpe of the *Tectoſagæ*, a Nation of the *Gaules*, whom he called over out of *Thrace*, He recovered all that he had loſt. When theſe *Gaules* had once gotten footing in *Aſia*, they never wanted employment but were either entertained by ſome of the Princes reigning in thoſe quarters, or interpoſed themſelves, without invitation; and found themſelves worke in quarrels of their owne making. They cauſed *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia* to ceaſe from his war againſt *Byzantium*. Whereunto when he had condeſcended; they nevertheleſſe within a while after invaded his Kingdome. Hee obtained againſt them a great victory; and uſed it with great crueltie, ſparing neither age nor ſexe. But the ſwarme of them increaſing, they occupied the Region about *Helleſpont*: where, in ſeating themſelves, they were much beholding unto *Attalus*. Nevertheleſſe, preſuming afterwards upon their ſtrength, they forced their Neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute: in the ſharpe exaction whereof, they had no more reſpect unto *Attalus*, than to any that had worſe deſerved of them. By this they compelled him to fight againſt them: and Hee being victorious, compelled them to containe themſelves within the bounds of that Province, which tooke name from them in time following, and was called *Galatia*. Yet continued they ſtill to oppreſſe the weakeſt of their neighbours; and to fill up the Armies of thoſe, that could beſt hire them.

The Kings reigning in thoſe parts, were the poſterity of ſuch, as had ſaved themſelves and their Provinces, in the ſlothfull reigne of the *Perſians*; or in the buſie times of *Alexander*, and his *Macedonian* followers. The *Cappadocians* were very ancient. For the firſt of their line had married with *Atoſſa*, ſiſter unto the great King *Cyrus*. Their Countrey was taken from them by *Perdiccas*, as is ſhewed before. But the ſon of that king, whom

*Perdiccas* crucified, eſpying his time while the *Macedonians* were at civill warres among themſelves; recovered his dominion, and paſſed it over to his off-ſpring. The Kings of *Pontus* had alſo their beginning from the *Perſian* Empire; and are ſaid to have iſſued from the royall houſe of *Achamenes*. The *Paphlagonians* derived themſelves from *Pylæmenes*, a King that aſſiſted *Priamus* at the warre of *Troy*. Theſe, applying themſelves unto the times, were alwayes conformable unto the ſtrongeſt. The Anceſtors of *Pruſias* had begun to reigne in *Bythinia*, ſome few generations before that of *the great Alexander*. They lay ſomewhat out of the *Macedonians* way: by whom therefore, having other employment, they were the leſſe moleſted. *Calantus*, one of *Alexanders* Captains, made an expedition into their Country; where he was vanquiſhed. They had afterwards to doe with a Lievtenant of *Antigonus*, that made them ſomewhat more humble. And thus they ſhuffled, as did the reſt, untill the reigne of *Pruſias*, whom we have already ſometimes mentioned.

## §. VII.

*The Town of Cios taken by* Philip, *at the inſtance of* Pruſias, *King of Bythinia, and cruelly deſtroyed. By this and the like actions,* Philip *growes hatefull to many of the Greeks: and is warred upon by* Attalus *King of Pergamus, and by the Rhodians.*

PRuſias, as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with *Attalus*; whoſe greatneſſe he ſuſpected. He therefore ſtrengthened himſelfe, by taking to wife the daughter of *Philip*; as *Attalus*, on the contrary ſide, entred into a ſtrict Confederacie with the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other of the *Greekes*. But when *Philip* had ended his *Ætolian* warre, and was deviſing with *Antiochus* about ſharing betweene them two the Kingdome of *Egypt*, wherein *Ptolomie Philopater*, a friend unto them both, was newly dead; and had left his ſon *Ptol. Epiphanes*, a young childe, his heire: the *Bythinian* entreated this his Father-in-law to come over into *Aſia*, there to winne the Towne of the *Ciani*, and beſtow it upon him. *Pruſias* had no right unto the Towne, nor juſt matter of quarrell againſt it: but it was fitly ſeated for him, and therewithall rich. *Philip* came, as one that could not well deny to help his Son-in-law. But hereby he mightily offended no ſmall part of *Greece*. Embaſſadours came to him whileſt he lay at the ſiege, from the *Rhodians*, and divers other States: intreating him to forſake the enterpriſe. He gave dilatorie, but otherwiſe gentle anſwers: making ſhew as if he would condeſcend to their requeſt, when he intended nothing leſſe. At length he got the Towne: where, even in preſence of the Embaſſadours, of whoſe ſolicitation he had ſeemed ſo regardfull, Hee omitted no part of cruelty. Hereby he rendred himſelfe odious to his neighbours, as a perfidious and cruell Prince. Eſpecially his fact was deteſted of the *Rhodians*, who had made vehement interceſſion for the poore *Ciani*: and were advertiſed by Embaſſadours of purpoſe ſent unto them from *Philip*, That, howſoever it were in his power to winne the Towne as ſoone as he liſted, yet in regard of his love to the *Rhodians*, he was contented to give it over. And by this his clemency, the Embaſſadours ſaid, that he would manifeſt unto the world what ſlanderous tongues they were, which noyſed abroad ſuch reports, as went of his falſhood and oppreſſion. Whileſt the Embaſſadours were declaming at *Rhodes* in the Theater to this effect; there came ſome that made a true relation of what had hapned: ſhewing that *Philip* had ſacked and deſtroyed the town of *Cios*, and, after a cruell ſlaughter of the Inhabitants, had made ſlaves of all that eſcaped the ſword. If the *Rhodians* tooke this in great deſpite, no leſſe were the *Ætolians* inflamed againſt him: ſince they had ſent a Captain to take charge of the Towne; being warned before by his doings at *Lyſimachia* and *Chalcedon* (which he had withdrawn from their Confederacie to his owne) what little truſt was to be repoſed in the faith of this King. But moſt of all others was *Attalus* moved with conſideration of the *Macedonians* violent ambition, & of his own eſtate. He had much to loſe; and was not without hope of getting much if he could make a ſtrong Partie in *Greece*. He had already, as a new King, followed the example of *Alexanders* Captains, in purchaſing with much liberalitie the love of the *Athenians*; which were notable Trumpeters of other mens vertue, having loſt their owne. On the friendſhip of the *Ætolians* he had cauſe to preſume; having bound them unto him by good offices, many and great, in their late warre with *Philip*. The *Rhodians* that were mighty at Sea,and held very good intelligence with the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, and many other Princes and States,he eaſily drew into a ſtreight alliance with him, by their hatred newly conceived againſt *Philip*.

Upon confidence in theſe his friends, but moſt of all,in the ready aſſiſtance of the *Rhodians*, *Attalus* prepared to deale with the *Macedonian* by open war. It had bin unſeaſonable to procraſtinate,and expect whereto the doings of the enemy tended ; ſince his deſire to faſten upon *Aſia* was manifeſt,and his falſhood no leſſe manifeſt,than was ſuch his deſire. They met with him ſhortly not far from *Chios*,and fought with him a battell at Sea: wherin though *Attalus* was driven to run his own ſhip on ground,hardly eſcaping to land: though the Admirall of the *Rhodians* took his deaths wound:and though *Philip* after the battel took harbor under a Promontory,by which they had fought,ſo that he had the gathering of the wracks upon the ſhoare: Yet foraſmuch as he had ſuffered far greater loſſe of ſhips and men,than had the enemie ; and ſince he durſt not in few dayes after put forth to Sea,when *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to brave him in his Port ; the honour of the victory was adjudged to his Enemies. This notwithſtanding, *Philip* afterwards beſieged and won ſome towns in *Caria:* whether only in a bravery,and to deſpight his oppoſites; or whether upon any hopeful deſire of conqueſt,it is uncertain. The ſtratagem,by which he won *Prinaſſus*,is worthy of noting. He attempted it by a Mine:& finding the earth ſo ſtony,that it reſiſted his work ; he neverthleſſe commanded the Pioners to make a noiſe under ground ; and ſecretly in the night time he raiſed great mounts about the entrance of the Mine,to breed an opinion in the beſieged,that the work went marvellouſly forward. At length he ſent word to the Townſ-men, that by his undermining, two acres of their wall ſtood only upon woodden props, to which if he gave fire, and entred by a Breach, they ſhould expect no mercy. The *Prinaſſians* little thought, that he had fetcht all his earth and rubbiſh by night a great way off, to raiſe up thoſe heaps which they ſaw ; but rather that all had bin extracted out of the Mine. Wherefore they ſuffered themſelves to be out-faced, and gave up the Town as loſt, which the Enemy had no hope to win by force. But *Philip* could not ſtay to ſettle himſelf in thoſe parts. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* were too ſtrong for him at ſea,and compelled him to make haſt back into *Macedon*; whither they followed him all the way in maner of purſuit.

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## §. VIII.

*The Romans,after their Carthaginian war,ſeek matter of quarrell againſt* Philip. *The Athenians upon ſlight cauſe,proclaim war againſt* Philip ; *moved thereto by* Attalus ; *whom they flatter.* Philip *wins divers Towns ; and makes peremptory anſwer to the Roman Embaſſadour. The furious reſolution of the Abydeni.*

THeſe *Aſiatique* matters, which no way concerned the *Romans*, yet ſerved well to make a noyſe in *Rome*; and fill the peoples heads, if not with a deſire of making warre in *Macedon*, at leaſt with a conceit that it were expedient ſo to doe. The *Roman* Senate was perfectly informed of the ſtate of thoſe Eaſtern Countries ; and knew,that there was none other Nation than the *Greeks*, which lay betweene them and the Lordſhip of *Aſia*. Theſe *Greekes* were factious, and ſeldome or never at peace. As for the *Macedonian*;though length of time, and continuall dealings in *Greece* ever ſince the reignes of *Philip* and *Alexander*, had left no difference betweene him and the Naturalls: yet moſt of them abhorred his Dominion,becauſe he was originally forſooth a *Barbarian:* many of them hated him upon ancient quarrels: and they that had beene moſt beholding unto him, were nevertheleſſe weary of him, by reaſon of his perſonall faults. All this gave hope, that the affaires of *Greece* would not long detaine the *Roman* Armies: eſpecially ſince the diviſions of the Country were ſuch, that every petty Eſtate was apt to take counſell apart for it ſelfe; without much regarding the generality. But the poore Commonalty of *Rome* had no great affection to ſuch a chargeable enterpriſe. They were already quite exhauſted,by that grievous war with *Hannibal:* wherein they had given by Loane to the Republike, all their money : neither had they as yet received, neither did they receive untill fifteene or ſixteene yeers after this, their whole ſumme backe againe. That part of payment alſo which was already made, being not in preſent mony, but much of it in Land: it behoved them to reſt a while; and beſtow the more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the leſſe able to beſtow coſt. Wherefore they tooke no pleaſure to heare, that *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had ſent Embaſſadours to ſolicite them againſt *Philip*, with report of his bold attempts in *Aſia*: or that *M. Aurelius*, their Agent in *Greece*, had ſent letters of the ſame tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by ſetting out the preparations of this dangerous enemy, that ſolicited not onely the Townes upon the Continent, but all the Ilands in thoſe Seas, viſiting them in perſon, or ſending Embaſſadours, as one that meant ſhortly to hold warre with the *Romans* upon their owne ground. *Philip* had indeed no ſuch intent: neither was he much too ſtrong, either of himſelf, or by his alliance in *Greece*, to be reſiſted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*; eſpecially with the help of the *Ætolians* their good friends, and (in a manner) his owne profeſſed enemies. But ſuch things muſt be publiſhed abroad, if onely to prediſpoſe men unto the warre, and give it the more honeſt colour.

*Philip* was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thrive by intermedling in the affaires of thoſe that were more mighty than himſelfe. He was too unskilfull, or otherwiſe too unapt, to retaine his old friends: yet would he needs be ſeeking new enemies. And he found them ſuch, as he deſerved to have them: for he offered his helpe to their deſtruction, when they were in miſery, and had done him no harme. It behoved him therefore, either to have ſtrained his forces to the utmoſt in making warre upon them; or in deſiſting from that injurious courſe, to have made amends for the wrongs paſt, by doing friendly offices of his owne accord. But He, having broken that League of peace, which is of all other the moſt naturall, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, unleſſe they thinke themſelves juſtly provoked; was afterwards too fondly perſwaded, that he might well be ſecure of the *Romans*, becauſe of the *written* Covenants of peace betweene him and them. There is not any forme of oath, whereby ſuch Articles of peace can be held inviolable, ſave onely * *by the water of Styx*, that is, by *Neceſſitie*: which whileſt it binds one partie, or both unto performance, making it apparent, that he ſhall be a loſer who ſtarts from the Conditions; it may ſo long (and ſo long onely) be preſumed, that there ſhall be no breach. Till *Hannibal* was vanquiſhed, the *Romans* never hearkened after *Philip*: for neceſſity made them let him alone. But when once they had peace with *Carthage*, then was the river of *Styx* dryed up: and then could they ſwear as * *Mercurie* did in the Comedie, by their own ſelves, even by their good ſwords, that they had good reaſon to make war upon him. The voyage of *Sopater* into *Africk*, and the preſent war againſt *Attalus*, were matter of quarrell as much as needed: or if this were not enough; the *Athenians* helped to furniſh them with more.

*Sir Francis Bacon de ſap. Veterum.

*Plaut. Amphitr.

The *Athenians*, being at this time Lords of no more than their own barren Territory, tooke ſtate upon them neverthe leſſe, as in their ancient fortune. Two young Gentlemen of *Acarnania* entring into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the dayes of Initiation, (wherein were delivered the myſteries of Religion, or rather of idolatrous ſuperſtition, vainely ſaid to be availeable unto felicitie after this life) diſcovered themſelves by ſome impertinent queſtions, to be none of thoſe that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the Officers: and though it was apparent, that they came into the place by meere errour, not thinking to have therein done amiſſe; yet, as it had beene for ſome haynous crime, they were put to death. All their Countri-men at home took this in ill part; and ſought to revenge it as a publike injurie, by warre upon the *Athenians*. Procuring therefore of *Philip* ſome *Macedonians* to help them, they entred into *Attica*: who waſted it with fire and ſword; and carried thence a great booty. This indignitie ſtirred up the high-minded *Athenians*; and made them thinke upon doing more, than they had ability to performe. All which at the preſent they could doe, was to ſend Embaſſadours to King *Attalus*; gratulating his happy ſucceſſe againſt *Philip*, and intreating him to viſit their Citie. *Attalus* was hereto the more willing, becauſe he underſtood that the *Roman* Embaſſadours, hovering about *Greece* for matter of intelligence, had a purpoſe to be there at the ſame time. So he went thither, accompanied, beſides his own followers, with ſome of the *Rhodians*. Landing in the *Piræus*, he found the *Romans* there, with whom he had much friendly conference: they rejoycing that he continued enemy to *Philip*; and he being no leſſe glad, when he heard of their purpoſe to renew the war. The *Athenians* came out of their Citie, all the Magiſtrates, Prieſts, and Citizens, with their wives and children, in as ſolemne a pompe as they could deviſe, to meet and honour the King. They entertained the *Romans* that were with him, in very loving manner: but towards *Attalus* himſelfe they omitted no point of obſervance, which their flattery could ſuggeſt. At his firſt comming into the City they called the people to Aſſembly: where thy deſired him to honour them with his preſence, and let them heare him ſpeake. But he excuſed himſelfe; ſaying, That with an evill grace he ſhould recount unto them thoſe many benefits, by which he ſtudied to make them know what love he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that he ſhould deliver in writting, what he would have to be propounded. He did ſo. The points of his Declaration were; firſt, what he had willingly done for their ſake: then, what had lately paſſed betweene him and *Philip*: laſtly, an exhortation unto them, to declare themſelves againſt the *Macedonian*, whileſt he with the *Rhodians*, and the *Romans*, were willing and ready to take their part: which if they now refuſed to doe, he proteſted, that afterwards it would be vaine to crave his helpe. There needed little intreatie: for they were as willing to proclaime the warre, as he to deſire it. As for other matters, they loaded him with immoderate honours: and obtained, That unto the ten Tribes, whereof the body of their Citizens conſiſted, ſhould be added another, and called after his name; as if he were in part one of their Founders. To the *Rhodians* they alſo decreed a Crowne of Gold, in reward of their vertue; and made all the *Rhodians* free Citizens of *Athens*.

Thus began a great noiſe of warre, wherein little was left unto the *Romans* for their part; *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* taking all upon them. But while theſe were vainely miſſpending the time, in ſeeking to draw the *Ætolians* to their partie: that contrary to their old maner were glad to be at quiet: *Philip* wonne the Townes of *Maronea* and *Ænus*, with many other ſtrong places about the *Helleſpont*. Likewiſe paſſing over the *Helleſpont*, he laid ſiege unto *Abydus*; and wonne it, though he was faine to ſtay there long. The towne held out, rather upon an obſtinate reſolution, and hope of ſuccour from *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, than any great ability to defend it ſelfe againſt ſo mighty an enemy. But the *Rhodians* ſent thither only one *Quadrireme* Gallie: and *Attalus* no more than three hundred men, farre too weake an aide to make good the place. The *Roman* Embaſſadours wondred much at this great negligence of them that had taken ſo much upon them.

Theſe Embaſſadours *C. Claudius*, *M. Æmylius*, and *P. Sempronius*, were ſent unto *Ptolomy Epiphanes* King of Egypt, to acquaint him with their victory againſt *Hannibal* and the *Carthaginians*; as alſo to thank him for his favour unto them ſhewed in that war; and to deſire the continuance thereof, if they ſhould need it againſt *Philip*. This *Egyptian* King was now in the third or fourth yeere of his Reigne, which (as his Father *Philopater* had done before him) he beganne a very young boy. The courteſie for which the *Romans* were to thanke him, was, that out of *Egypt* they had lately beene ſupplied with Corne, in a time of Extreme Dearth; when the miſeries of War had made all their own Provinces unable to relieve them. This meſſage could not but bee welcome to the *Egyptian*: ſince it was well knowne, how *Philip* and *Antiochus* had combined themſelves againſt him, conſpiring to take away his Kingdome. And therefore it might in reaſon be hoped, that he, or his Councell for him, ſhould offer to ſupply the *Romans* with Corne: ſince this their *Macedonian* Expedition concerned his Eſtate no leſſe than theirs.

But as the errand was for the moſt part complementall: ſo had the Embaſſadors both leiſure and direction from the Senate, to looke unto the things of *Greece* by the way. Wherefore they agreed, that *M. Æmylius* the yongeſt of them ſhould ſteppe aſide, and viſit *Philip*, to try if he could make him leave the ſiege of *Abydus*; which elſe he was like to carry. *Æmylius*, comming to *Philip*, tels him, that his doings are contrary to the League that he had made with the *Romans*. For *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, upon whom he made warre, were Confederate with *Rome*: and the towne of *Abydus*, which he was now beſieging, had a kind of dependancie upon *Attalus*. Hereto *Philip* anſwered, That *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had made warre upon him: and that he did onely requite them with the like. *Doe you alſo* (ſaid *Æmylius*) *requite theſe poore Abydens with ſuch terrible Warre, for any the like Invaſion by them firſt made upon you?* The King was angry to heare himſelfe thus taken ſhort: and therefore he roundly made anſwer to *Æmylius*; *It is your youth, Sir, and your beauty, and (above all,) your being a* Roman, *that makes you thus preſumptuous. But I would wiſh yee to remember the League that ye have made with me, and to keepe it: If ye doe otherwiſe, I will make ye underſtand, that the Kingdome, and Name of*

*Macedon is in matter of Warre, no leſſe noble than the Roman*. So he diſmiſſed the Embaſſador; and had the Towne immediately yeelded to his diſcretion. The people had entertained a reſolution, to have died every one of them, and ſet their Towne on fire; binding themſelves hereto by a fearefull oath, when *Philip* denied to accept them upon reaſonable conditions. But having in deſperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, loſt the greateſt number of their Youth: it was thought meet by the Governours and Ancients of the City to change this reſolution; and take ſuch peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Silver to *Philip*: about which whilſt they were buſie, the memory of their oath wrought ſo effectually in the yonger ſort; that, by exhortation of the Prieſts, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themſelves. Hereof the King had ſo little compaſſion, that He ſaid, he would grant the *Abydeni* three daies leiſure to die: and to that end forbad his men to enter the towne; or hazzard themſelves in interrupting the violence of thoſe mad fooles.

## §. IX.

### *The Romans decree warre againſt* Philip, *and ſend one of their Conſuls into Greece, as it were in defence of the Athenians their Confederates. How poore the Athenians were at this time both in quality and eſtate.*

THis calamity of the *Abydeni*, was likened by the *Romans* unto that of the *Saguntines*: which indeed it neerely reſembled; though *Rome* was not alike intereſſed in the quarrell. But to helpe themſelves with pretence for the warre, they had found out another *Saguntum*, even the Citie of *Athens*: which if the *Macedonian* ſhould winne, then reſted there no more to doe, than that hee ſhould preſently embarke himſelfe for *Italy*, whither he would come, not as *Hannibal* from *Saguntum* in five moneths, but in the ſhort ſpace of five dayes ſayling. Thus *P. Sulpitius* the Conſul told the multitude, when he exhorted them to make warre upon *Philip*; which at his firſt propounding they had denied. The example of *Pyrrhus* was by him alledged; to ſhew, what *Philip*, with the power of a greater Kingdome, might dare to undertake: as alſo the fortunate voyage of *Scipio* into *Africk*; to ſhew the difference of making warre abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their owne Country. By ſuch arguments was the Commonalty of *Rome* induced to beleeve, that this war with the *Macedonian* was both juſt and neceſſary. So it was decreed: and immediatly the ſame Conſull haſted away towards *Macedon*, having that Province allotted unto him before, and all things in a readineſſe, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motives than the people muſt be acquainted with. Great thankes were given to the *Athenian* Embaſſadors, of their conſtancie (as was ſaid) in not changing their faith at ſuch times as they ſtood in danger of being beſieged. And indeed great thankes were due to them, though not upon the ſame occaſion. For the people of *Rome* had no cauſe to thinke it a benefit unto themſelves; that any *Greeke* Towne, refuſing to ſue unto the *Macedonian* for peace, requeſted their helpe againſt him. But the Senate, intending to take in hand the Conqueſt of the Easterne parts, had reaſon to gives thankes unto thoſe, that miniſtred the occaſion. Since therefore it was an untrue ſuggeſtion, That *Philip* was making readie for *Italy*: and ſince neither *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, nor any other State in thoſe quarters, deſired the *Romans* to give them protection: theſe buſie-headed *Athenians*, who falling out with the *Acarnanians*, and conſequently with *Philip*, a matter of May-game, (as was ſhewed before) ſent Embaſſadors into all parts of the World, even to *Ptolomy* of *Egypt*, and to the *Romans* as well as to *Attalus* and others their neighbours; muſt be accepted as cauſe of the warre, and Authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Nevertheleſſe as it loves to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence: the doings of *P. Sulpitius* the Conſul were ſuch, as might have argued *Athens* to be the leaſt part of his care. He ſailed not about *Peloponneſus*, but tooke the ready way to *Macedon*, and landing about the River of *Apſus*, betweene *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*, there began the Warre. Soone upon his comming, the *Athenian* Embaſſadours were with him, and craved his helpe: whereof they could make no benefit whileſt he was far from them. They bemoaned themſelves as men beſieged, and intreated him to deliver them. For which cauſe he ſent unto them *C. Claudius* with twenty gallies, and a competent number of men: but the maine of his forces he retained with him, for the proſecution of a greater deſigne. The *Athenians* were not indeed beſieged: onely ſome Rovers from *Chalcis*, in the Ile of *Eubœa*, and ſome bands of adventurers out of *Corinth*, uſed to take their ſhippes, and ſpoile their fields, becauſe they had declared themſelves againſt King *Philip*, that was Lord of theſe two townes. The robberies done by theſe Pyrats & Free-booters, were by the more eloquent than war-like *Athenians*, *in this declining Age of their* Fortune and Vertue, called a Siege. From ſuch detriment the arrivall of *Claudius*, and ſhortly after of three *Rhodian* Gallies, eaſily preſerved them. As for the *Athenians* themſelves, they that had beene wont, in ancient times, to undertake the conqueſts of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, and *Cicil*; to make warre upon the great *Perſian* King, and to hold ſo much of *Greece* in ſubjection, as made them redoubtable unto all the reſt; had now no more than three ſhips, and thoſe open ones, not much better than long boates. Yet thought they not themſelves a whit the worſe men, but ſtood as highly upon the glory and vertue of their Anceſtors, as if it had beene ſtill their owne.

## §. X.

*The Town of Chalcis in Eubœa, taken and ſackt by the Romans and their Aſſociates, that lay in Garriſon at Athens.* Philip *attempteth to take Athens by ſurprize: waſteth the Country about, and makes a journey into Peloponneſus. Of* Nabis *the Tyrant of Lacedæmon, and his wife.* Philip *offers to make warre againſt* Nabis *for the Achæans. He returneth home through Attica, which he ſpoileth againe: and provides againſt the Enemies. Some exploits of the Romans. Divers Princes joyne with them. Great labouring to draw the Ætolians into the warre.*

*Philip* returning home from *Abydus*, heard newes of the *Roman* Conſul his being about *Apollonia*. But ere he ſtirred forth to give him entertainment, or perhaps before he had well reſolved, whether it were beſt a while to ſit ſtill, and trie what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make oppoſition, and reſiſt theſe Invaders with all his forces: he received advertiſement from *Chalcis* of a grievous miſhap there befallen him, by procurement of the *Athenians*. For *C. Claudius* with his *Romans*, finding no ſuch worke at *Athens* as they had expected, or was anſwerable to the fame that went abroad, purpoſed to doe ſomewhat that might quicken the warre, and make his owne imployment better. He grew ſoone weary of ſitting as a Scarre-crow, to ſave the *Athenians* grounds from ſpoile; and therefore gladly tooke in hand a buſineſſe of more importance. The towne of *Chalcis* was very negligently guarded by the *Macedonian* Souldiers therein, for that there was no Enemy at hand: and more negligently by the Towneſ-men, who repoſed themſelves upon their Garriſon. Hereof *Claudius* having advertiſement, ſailed thither by night, for feare of being deſcried: and arriving there a little before breake of day, tooke it by Scalado. He uſed no mercy, but ſlew all that came in his way: and wanting men to keepe it, (unleſſe he ſhould have left the heartleſſe *Athenians* to their owne defence) He ſet it on fire; conſuming the Kings Magazines of Corne, and all proviſions for Warre, which were plenteouſly filled. Neither were He & his Aſſociates contented with the great abundance of ſpoile which they carried aboard their ſhips, and with inlarging all thoſe, whom *Philip*, as in a place of moſt ſecurity, kept there impriſoned: but, to ſhew their deſpight and hatred unto the King, they overthrew and brake in pieces the Statuaes to him there erected. This done, they haſted away towards *Athens*: where the newes of their exploit was like to be joyfully welcomed. The King lay then at *Demetrias* about ſome twenty miles thence; whither when theſe tidings or part of them, were brought him, though hee ſaw that it was too late to remedie the matter; yet he made all haſte to take revenge. He thought to have taken the *Athenians*, with their truſty friends, buſie at work in ranſacking the town, & loading themſelves with ſpoile: but they were gone before his comming. Five thouſand light-armed foot he had with him, and three hundred horſe: whereof leaving at *Chalcis* onely a few to bury the dead, He marched from thence away ſpeedily toward *Athens*: thinking it not unpoſſible to take his enemies, in the joy of their Victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken *Chalcis*. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a Foot-poſt that ſtood Scout for the City upon the borders, had not deſcried him a farre off, and ſwiftly carried word of his approach to *Athens*. It was mid-night when this Poſt came thither: who found all the Towne aſleepe, as fearleſſe of any danger. But the Magiſtrates, hearing his report, cauſed a trumpet out of their Citadell to ſound the Alarme, and with all ſpeede made ready for defence. Within a few houres *Philip* was there: who ſeeing the many lights, and other ſignes of buſie preparation uſuall in ſuch a caſe, underſtood that they had newes of his comming; and therefore willed his men, to repoſe themſelves till it were day. It is like, that the paucity of his followers did helpe well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though *Claudius* were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compaſſe about by ſea, and had no cauſe of haſte) yet having in the town ſome mercenarie Souldiers, which they kept, of their owne, beſides the great multitude of citizens; they adventured to iſſue forth at a gate, whereto they ſaw *Philip* make approach. The King was glad of this; reckoning all thoſe his owne, that were thus hardy. He therefore only willed his men to follow his example; & preſently gave charge upon them. In that fight he gave ſingular proofe of his valour: and beating downe many of the Enemies with his owne hands, drave them with great ſlaughter backe into the City. The heat of his courage tranſported him further than diſcretion would have allowed, even to the very gate. But he retired without harme taking; for that they which were upon the Towers over the gate, could not uſe their caſting weapons againſt him, without much indangering their owne people that were thronging before him into the City. There was a Temple of *Hercules*, a place of exerciſe, with a Grove, and many goodly Monuments beſides, neere adjoyning unto *Athens*: of which he ſpared none; but ſuffered the rage of his anger to extend, even unto the ſepulchres of the dead. The next day came the *Romans*, and ſome Companies of *Attalus* his men from *Aegina*; too late in regard of what was already paſt: but in good time to prevent him of ſatisfying his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed from thence to *Corinth*, and hearing that the *Achæans* held a Parliament at *Argos*, He came thither to them unexpected.

The *Achæans* were deviſing upon war: which they intended to make againſt *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*: who being ſtarted up in the room of *Machanidas*, did greater miſchiefe than any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly upon his mercenaries: and of his ſubjects had no regard. He was a cruell oppreſſor; a greedy extortioner upon thoſe that lived under him; and one that in his naturall condition ſmelt rankly of the Hangman. In theſe qualities, his wife *Apega* was very fitly matched with him, ſince his dexterity was no greater in ſpoiling the men, than hers in fleecing their wives; whom ſhe would never ſuffer to be at quiet, till they had preſented her with all their *jewels* and *apparell*. Her huſband was ſo delighted with her property, that he cauſed an Image to be made, lively repreſenting her; & apparelled it with ſuch coſtly garments as ſhe uſed to weare. But it was indeed an Engine, ſerving to torment men. Hereof he made uſe, when he meant to trie the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling unto him ſome rich man, of whoſe money he was deſirous; he would bring him into the roome where this Counterfeit *Apega* ſtood, and there uſe all his art of perſwaſion, to get what he deſired, as it were by good will. If he could not ſo ſpeed, but was anſwered with excuſes; then tooke he the refractory denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his Wife *Apega* (who ſate by in a Chaire) could perſwade more effectually. So he ledde him to the Image, that roſe up and opened the armes, as it were for imbracement. Thoſe armes were full of ſharpe yron nayles, the like whereof was alſo ſticking in the breaſts, though hidden with her clothes: and herewith ſhe griped the poore wretch, to the pleaſure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruell death. Such, and worſe (for it were long to tell all here that is ſpoken of him) was *Nabis* in his Governement. In his dealings abroad hee combined with the *Aetolians*, as *Machanidas* and *Lycurgus* had done before him. By theſe he grew into acquaintance with the *Romans*; and was comprehended in the League which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former warre. Of *Philopœmens* vertue he ſtood in feare; and therefore durſt not provoke the *Achæans*, as long as they had ſuch an able Commander. But when *Cycliades*, a farre worſe Captaine, was their Prætor, and all, or the greateſt part of their Mercenaries were diſcharged; *Philopœmen* being alſo gone into *Crete*, to follow his beloved occupation of Warre: then did *Nabis* fall upon their Territory; and waſting all the fields, made them diſtruſt their owne ſafety in the Townes.

*Liv. lib. 32.*

*Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 13.*

Againſt this Tyrant the *Achæans* were preparing for warre, when *Philip* came among them; and had ſet downe what proportion of Souldiers every City of their Corporation ſhould furniſh out. But *Philip* willed them not to trouble themſelves with the care of this buſineſſe; foraſmuch as he alone would eaſe them of this warre, and take the burden upon himſelfe. With exceeding joy and thankes they accepted of this kinde offer. But then he told them, That, whileſt he made warre upon *Lacedæmon*, He ought not to leave his owne Townes unguarded. In which reſpect he thought they would be pleaſed, to ſend a few men to *Corinth*, & ſome Companies into the Ile of *Eubœa*; that ſo he might ſecurely purſue the warre againſt *Nabis*. Immediatly they found out his device; which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his warre againſt the *Romans*. Wherefore their Prætor *Cycliadas* made him anſwer, That their Lawes forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than thoſe for which it was aſſembled. So paſſing the Decree, upon which they had agreed before, for preparing warre againſt *Nabis*, hee brake up the Aſſembly, with every mans good liking; whereas in former times, he had beene thought no better than one of the Kings Paraſites.

It grieved the King to have thus failed in his purpoſe with the *Achæans*. Nevertheleſſe he gathered up among them a few Voluntaries; and ſo returned by *Corinth* backe into *Attica*. There he met with *Philocles* one of his Captaines, that with two thouſand men had beene doing what harme he might unto the Countrie. With this addition of ſtrength, he attempted the Caſtle of *Eleuſine*, the Haven of *Pyreus*, and even the City of *Athens*. But the *Romans* made ſuch haſte after him by Sea, thruſting themſelves into every of theſe places; that he could no more than wreake his anger upon thoſe goodly Temples, with which the Land of *Attica* was at that time ſingularly beautified. So he deſtroyed all the works of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble; which they had in plenty, of their owne; or, having long agoe beene maſters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where beſt choyce was found. Neither did he only pull all downe: but cauſed his men to breake the very ſtones, that they might be unſerviceable to their reparation. His loſſe at *Chalcis* being thus revenged upon *Athens*, He went home into *Macedon*: and there made proviſion, both againſt the *Roman* Conſul that lay about *Apollonia*; and againſt the *Dardanians*, with other his bad neighbours, which were likely to infeſt him. Among his other cares he forgot not the *Ætolians*: to whoſe Parliament, ſhortly to be held at *Naupactus*, he ſent an Embaſſage, requeſting them to continue in his friendſhip. Thus was *Philip* occupied.

*Sulpitius* the *Roman* Conſul encamped upon the River of *Apſus*. Thence he ſent forth *Apuſtius* his Lievtenant, with part of the Army, to waſte the borders of *Macedon*. *Apuſtius* tooke ſundry Caſtles and Townes; uſing ſuch extremity of ſword and fire at *Antipatria*, the firſt good Towne which he wonne by force, that none durſt afterwards make reſiſtance, unleſſe they knew themſelves able to hold out. Returning towards the Conſul with his ſpoile, he was charged in Rere, upon the paſſage of a brooke, by *Athenagoras* a *Macedonian* Captain: but the *Romans* had the better, & killing many of theſe enemies, tooke priſoners many more, to the increaſe of their booty, with which they arrived in ſafety at their camp. The ſucceſſe of this Expedition, though it were not great, yet ſerved to draw into the *Roman* friendſhip, thoſe that had formerly no good inclination to the *Macedonian*. Theſe were *Pleuratus*, the ſon of *Scerdilaidas* the *Illyrian*: *Aminander* King of the *Athamanians*, and *Bato* the ſonne of *Longarus*, a Prince of the *Dardanians*. They offered their aſſiſtance unto the Conſul, who thanked them: and ſaid, That he would ſhortly make uſe of *Pleuratus* and *Bato*, when he entred into *Macedon*: but that the friendſhip of *Aminander*, whoſe Country lay betweene the *Ætolians* and *Theſſaly*, might be perhaps availeable with the *Ætolians*, to ſtirre them up againſt *Philip*.

So the preſent care was wholly ſet upon the *Ætolian* Parliament at hand. Thither came Embaſſadours from the *Macedonian*, *Romans*, & *Athenians*. Of which, the *Macedonian* ſpake firſt, and ſaid: That as there was nothing fallen out, which ſhould occaſion the breach of peace betweene his maſter aad the *Ætolians*: ſo was it to be hoped, that they would not ſuffer themſelves, without good cauſe, to be carried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to conſider, how the *Romans* heretofore had made ſhew, as if their warre in *Greece* tended only to the defence of the *Ætolians*, and yet notwithſtanding had been angry, that the *Ætolians*, by making peace with *Philip*, had no longer need of ſuch their Patronage. What might it be that made them ſo buſie, in obtruding their protection upon thoſe that needed it not? Surely it was even the generall hatred, which theſe *Barbarians* bore unto the *Greeks*. For even after the ſame ſort had they lent their help to the *Mamertines*: and afterwards delivered *Syracuſe*, when it was oppreſſed by *Carthaginian* tyrants, but now both *Syracuſe* and *Meſſana*, were ſubject unto the Rods and Axes of the *Romans*. To the ſame effect he alleaged many examples, adding, That in like ſort it would happen to the *Ætolians*: who if they drew ſuch maſters into *Greece*, muſt not looke hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their owne, wherein to conſult about Warre and Peace: the *Romans* would eaſe them of this care, and ſend them ſuch a Moderator, as went every yeere from *Rome* to *Syracuſe*. Wherefore he concluded, that it was beſt for them, whileſt as yet they might, and whileſt one of them as yet could helpe the other, to continue in their League with *Philip*: with whom if at any time, upon light occaſion, they happened to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three yeers agoe made the peace which ſtill continued; although that the very ſame *Romans* were then againſt it, who ſought to breake it now. It would have troubled the *Romans*, to frame a good anſwer to theſe objections. For the *Macedonian* had ſpoken the very truth, in ſhewing whereunto this their Patronage, which they offered with ſuch importunity, did tend. Wherefore the *Athenians* were ſet on by them to ſpeake next: who had ſtore of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough, to make *Philip* odious. Theſe affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the *Macedonian* Embaſſadour, to call the *Romans* by the name of *Barbarians*: knowing in what barbarous manner his owne King had, in few daies paſt, made Warre upon the gods themſelves, by deſtroying all their Temples in *Attica*. Herewithall they made a pittifull rehearſall of their owne calamities: and ſaid, that if *Philip* might have his will, *Ætolia*, and all the reſt of *Greece*, ſhould feele the ſame that *Attica* had felt; yea that *Athens* it ſelfe, together with *Minerva*, *Jupiter*, *Ceres*, and other of the gods, were like to have felt, if the walls and the *Roman* armes had not defended them.

Then ſpake the *Romans*: who excuſing, as well as they could, their owne oppreſſion of all thoſe, in whoſe defence they had heretofore taken Armes, went roundly to the point, in hand. They ſaid, that they had of late made Warre in the *Ætolians* behalfe, and that the *Ætolians* had without their conſent made peace: whereof ſince the *Ætolians* muſt excuſe themſelves, by alledging that the *Romans*, being buſied with *Carthage*, wanted leiſure to give them aide convenient: ſo this excuſe being now taken away, and the *Romans* wholly bent againſt their common Enemy, it concerned the *Ætolians* to take part with them in their war and victory, unleſſe they had rather periſh with *Philip*.

It might eaſily be perceived, that they which were ſo vehement, in offring their help ere it was deſired, were themſelves carried unto the warre by more earneſt motives, than a ſimple deſire to helpe thoſe friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may have been the cauſe, why *Dorymachus* the *Ætolian* Prætor ſhifted them off a while with a dilatory anſwer: though he told his country-men, That by reſerving themſelves, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with thoſe that had the better fortune. His anſwer was, firſt, in generall termes; That overmuch haſte was an enemy to good counſaile: for which cauſe they muſt further deliberate, ere they concluded. But comming neerer to the matter in hand, He paſſed a Decree, *That the Prætor might at any time call an Aſſembly of the States, and therein conclude upon this buſineſſe; any Law to the contrary notwithſtanding*: whereas otherwiſe it was unlawfull to treat of ſuch affaires, excepting two of their great Parliaments, that were held at ſet times.

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## §. XI.

### *The meeting of* Philip *with the* Romans, *and skirmiſhing with them on his borders. The* Ætolians *invade his Dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of* Attalus *and the* Roman *Fleet.*

PHilip was glad to heare, that the *Romans* had ſped no better in their ſolicitation of the *Ætolians*. Hee thought them hereby diſappointed in the very beginning, of one great helpe; and meant himſelfe to diſappoint them of another. His ſonne *Perſeus*, a very boy, was ſent to keep the Streights of *Pelagonia* againſt the

*Dardanians*; having with him ſome of the Kings Councell, to governe both him & his Army. It was judged, as may ſeeme, that the preſence of the Kings ſon, how yong ſoever, would both encourage his followers, and terrefie the enemies, by making them at leaſt beleeve, that hee was not weakely attended. And this may have beene the reaſon, why the ſame *Perſeus*, a few yeeres before this, was in like manner left upon the borders of *Ætolia* by his father; whom earneſt buſineſſe called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand: it was thought, that the *Macedonian* Fleet under *Heraclides*, would ſerve to keepe *Attalus*, with the *Rhodians* and *Romans*, from doing harme by Sea, when the Kings backe was turned: who tooke his journey Weſtward againſt *Sulpicius* the Conſul.

The Armies met in the Country of the *Deſſaretii*, a people in the utmoſt borders of *Macedon* towards *Illyria*, about the mountaines of *Candavia*; that running along from *Hæmus* in the North untill they joyne in the South with *Pindus*, incloſe the Weſterne parts of *Macedon*. Two or three dayes they lay in ſight the one of the other, without making offer of battaile. The Conſul was the firſt that iſſued forth of his Campe into the open field. But *Philip* was not confident in the ſtrength which hee had then about him; and therefore thought it better to ſend forth ſome of his light-armed Mercenaries, and ſome part of his horſe, to entertaine them with skirmiſh. Theſe were eaſily vanquiſhed by the *Romans*, and driven backe into their Campe. Now although it was ſo, that the King was unwilling to hazzard all at firſt upon a Caſt, and therefore ſent for *Perſeus* with his Companies, to increaſe his owne forces: yet being no leſſe unwilling to loſe too much in reputation; He made ſhew a day after, as if he would have fought. He had found the advantage of a place fit for ambuſh, wherein hee beſtowed as many as he thought meet of his Targettiers: and ſo gave charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his Captains, to provoke out the *Romans* to fight; inſtructing both him and the Targettiers, how to behave themſelves reſpectively, as opportunity ſhould fall out. The *Romans* had no miſtruſt of any ambuſh, having fought upon the ſame ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might have ſuſtained ſome notable detriment, if the Kings directions had beene well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall backe, they charged him ſo hotly, that they drave him to an haſty flight, and purſued him as hard as they were able. But the Captaines of the Targettiers, not ſtaying to let them runne into the danger, diſcovered themſelves before it was time; and thereby made fruſtrate the worke, to which they were appointed. The Conſul hereby gathered, that the King had ſome deſire to trie the fortune of a battaile: which he therefore preſented the ſecond time; leading forth his Army, and ſetting it in order, with Elephants in the front: a kinde of help which the *Romans* had never uſed before, but had taken theſe of late from the *Carthaginians*. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was ſcarce above fourescore yeeres ere this, that *Pyrrhus* carried Elephants out of *Greece* into *Italy*, to affright the *Romans*, who had never ſeene any of thoſe beaſts before. But now the ſame *Romans* (whileſt poſſibly ſome were yet alive, which had known that Expedition of *Pyrrhus*) come into *Macedon*, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the *Macedonians* and *Greeks* have none. *Philip* had patience to let the Conſul brave him at his Trenches: wherein he did wiſely: for the *Roman* had greater need to fight, than He. *Sulpicius* was unwilling to loſe time: neither could he without great danger, lying ſo neere the Enemy, that was ſtrong in Horſe, ſend his men to fetch in corne out of the fields. Wherefore he removed eight miles off: preſuming that *Philip* would not adventure to meet him on even ground; and ſo the more boldly he ſuffered his Forragers to over-runne the Countrey. The King was nothing ſorry of this; but permitted the *Romans* to take their good pleaſure: even till their preſumption, and his owne ſuppoſed feare, ſhould make them careleſſe. When this was come to paſſe, he tooke all his horſe, and light-armed foot, with which he occupied a place in the mid-way, betweene the Forragers and their Campe. There he ſtayed in Covert with part of his forces; to keepe the paſſages that none ſhould eſcape. The reſt he ſent abroad the Countrey, to fall upon the ſtragglers: willing them to put all to the ſword, and let none run home with newes to the Campe. The ſlaughter was great: and thoſe which eſcaped the hands of them that were ſent abroad to ſcowre the fields, lighted all or moſt of them upon the King and his companies in their flight: ſo as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Campe had newes of this. But in the end there eſcaped ſome: who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went; yet by telling what had happened to themſelves, raiſed a great tumult. *Sulpicius* hereupon ſends forth all his horſe, and bids them helpe their fellowes where they ſaw it needfull: He himſelfe with the Legions followed. The companies of Horſe divided themſelves, accordingly as they met with advertiſements upon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was moſt of the danger. Such of them as lighted upon *Philips* Troupes, that were canvaſſing the field, tooke their taſke where they found it: But the maine bulke of them fell upon the King himſelfe. They had the diſadvantage; as comming fewer, and unprepared, to one that was ready for them. So they were beaten away: as their fellowes alſo might have beene, if the King had well bethought himſelfe, and given over in time. But while, not contented with ſuch an harveſt, he was too greedy about a poore gleaning; the *Roman* Legions appeared in ſight: which emboldened their horſe to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparent, enforced the *Macedonians* to look to their own ſafetie. They ran which way they could: & (as men that lie in waite for others, are ſeldome heedfull of that which may befall themſelves) to eſcape the Enemy, they declined the faireſt way; ſo as they were plunged in Mariſhes and Bogges, wherein many of them were loſt. The Kings horſe was ſlaine under him: and there had he beene caſt away, if a loving ſubject of his had not alighted; mounted him upon his own horſe; and delivered him out of perill, at the expence of his owne life, that running on foot was overtaken and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with improvident raſhnes; and the Conſul, with as much dulneſſe, for his dayes ſervice. A little longer ſtay would have delivered the King from theſe enemies without any blow: ſince when all the fields about them were waſted, they muſt needes have retired backe to the Sea. On the other ſide, it was not thought unlikely, That if the *Romans* following the King, had ſet upon his Campe, at ſuch time as he fled thither, halfe amazed with feare of being either ſlaine or taken, they might have won it. But that Noble Hiſtorian, *Livie*, (as is commonly his maner) hath judiciouſly obſerved, That neither the one, nor the other, were much too blame in this dayes worke. For the maine body of the Kings Army lay ſafe in his Campe; and could not be ſo aſtoniſhed with the loſſe of two or three hundred horſe, that it ſhould therefore have abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himſelfe, he was advertiſed, that *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian*, and the *Dardanians*, were fallen upon his Country; when they found the paſſage thereinto open, after *Perſeus* was called away from cuſtody of the Streights. This was it which made him adventure to do ſomwhat betimes; that he might ſet the *Romans* going the ſooner, & afterwards looke unto his troubleſome neighbours. In conſideration of this, *Philip* was deſirous to cleere himſelfe of the *Romans*, as ſoone as hee might. And to that purpoſe hee ſent unto the Conſul; requeſting a day of truce for buriall of the dead. But in ſtead of ſo doing, hee marched away by night, and left fires in his Camp to beguile the enemy, as if he had not ſtirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not ſlow to follow him. He overtook the *Macedonians* in a place of ſtrength, which they had fenced (for it was a wooddy ground) by cutting downe trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was moſt open. In making of ſuch places good, the *Macedonian Phalanx* was of little uſe; being a ſquare battell of pikes, not fit for every ground. The Archers of *Crete* were judged, and were indeed, more ſerviceable in that caſe. But they were few; and their arrows were of ſmall force againſt the *Roman* ſhields. The *Macedonians* therefore helped them by flinging of ſtones. But to no purpoſe. For the *Romans* got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This victory (ſuch as it was) layd open unto the Conſull ſome poore Townes thereabout; which partly were taken by ſtrong hand, partly yeelded for feare. But the ſpoile of theſe, and of the fields adjoyning, was not ſufficient to maintaine his Army; and therefore he returned backe to *Apollonia*.

The *Dardanians*, hearing that *Philip* was come backe, withdrew themſelves apace out of the Countrey. The King ſent *Athenagoras* to waite upon them home; whileſt he himſelfe went againſt the *Ætolians*. For *Damocritus* the Prætor of the *Aetolians*, who had reſerved himſelfe and his Nation unto the event of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once & again: as alſo that *Pleuratus* & the *Dardanians* were fallen upon *Macedon*; grew no leſſe buſie on the ſudden, than before he had beene wiſe. He perſwaded his Nation to take their time: and ſo, not ſtaying to proclaime warre, joyned his forces with *Aminander* the *Athamanian*; and made invaſion upon *Theſſaly*. They tooke and cruelly ſacked a few Townes: whereby they grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might do what they liſted. But *Philip* came upon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay diſperſed, was like to have taken their Camp, if *Aminander* more warie than the *Ætolians*, had not helped at need, and made the Retrait through his owne mountainous Countrey.

About the ſame time the *Roman* Fleet, aſſiſted by *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, had taken ſome ſmall Ilands in the *Aegean* Sea. They tooke likewiſe the Towne of *Oreum* in the Iſle of *Eubœa*; and ſome other places thereabout. The Towns were given unto *Attalus*, after the ſame Compact that had formerly beene made with the *Aetolians*: the goods therein found were given unto the *Romans*; and the people, for ſlaves. Other attempts on that ſide were hindred; either by foule weather at Sea, or by want of daring, and of meanes.

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## §. XII.

### Villius *the Roman Conſul waſtes a yeere to no effect. Warre of the Gaules in Italy. An Embaſsie of the Romans to Carthage*, Maſaniſſa, *and* Vermina. *The Macedonian prepares for defence of his Kingdome: and* T. Quintius Flaminius *is ſent againſt him.*

THus the time ran away: and *P. Villius* a new Conſul, tooke charge of the War in *Macedon*. He was troubled with a mutiny of his oldeſt Souldiers: whereof two thouſand, having ſerved long in *Sicil* & *Afriek*, thought themſelves much wronged, in that they could not be ſuffered to look unto their owne eſtates at home. They were (belike) of the Legions that had ſerved at *Cannæ*: as may ſeeme by their complaint, of having been long abſent from *Italy*; whither faine they would have returned, when by their Colonels they were ſhipped for *Macedon*. How *Villius* dealt with them, it is uncertaine. For the Hiſtory of his yeare is loſt: whereof the miſſe is not great, ſince he did nothing memorable. *Valerius Antius*, as we finde in *Livie*, hath adorned this *Villius* with Liv. lib. 32. a great exploit againſt *Philip*. Yet ſince *Livie* himſelfe, an Hiſtorian to whom few of the beſt are matchable, could finde no ſuch thing recorded in any good Author; we may reaſonably beleeve, that *Villius* his yeare was idle.

In the beginning of this *Macedonian* War, the *Romans* found more trouble than could have beene expected with the *Gaules*. Their Colonie of *Placentia*, a goodly and ſtrong Towne, which neither *Hannibal*, nor after him *Aſdrubal*, had been able to force; was taken by theſe Barbarians, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like ſort *Cremona* was attempted; but ſaved her ſelfe, taking warning by her neighbours calamity. *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, that ſtayed behinde *Aſdrubal* or *Mago*, in thoſe parts; was now become Captaine of the *Gaules*, in theſe their enterpriſes. This when the *Romans* heard, they ſent Embaſſadors to the *Carthaginians*: giving them to underſtand, That if they were not wearie of the peace, it behooved them to call home, and deliver up, this their Citizen *Amilcar*, who made war in *Italy*. Hereunto it was added (perhaps leſt the meſſage might ſeeme otherwiſe to have ſavoured a little of ſome feare) That of the Fugitive ſlaves belonging to the *Romans*, there were ſome reported to walke up and downe in *Carthage*: which if it were ſo, then ought they to be reſtored back to their Maſters; as was conditioned in the late Peace. The Embaſſadours that were ſent on this errand, had further charge to treat with *Maſaniſſa*, as alſo with *Vermina* the ſonne of *Syphax*. Unto *Maſaniſſa*, beſides matter of complement, they were to ſignifie what pleaſure he might doe them, by lending them ſome of his *Numidian* Horſe, to ſerve in their Warre againſt the *Macedonian*. *Vermina* had entreated the Senate, to vouchſafe unto him the name of *King*: and promiſed thereafter to deſerve it, by his readineſſe in doing them all good offices. But they were ſomewhat ſcrupulous in the matter: and ſaid, That having beene, and being ſtill (as they tooke it) their Enemy, He ought firſt of all to deſire peace; for that the name of *King*, was an honour which they uſed not to conferre upon any, ſave onely upon ſuch as had royally deſerved it at their hands. The authority to make peace with him, was wholly committed unto theſe Embaſſadours, upon ſuch termes as they ſhould thinke fit; without further relation to the Senate and People. For they were then buſied with greater cares. The *Carthaginians* made a gentle anſwer, That they wholly diſclaimed *Amilcar*: baniſhing him, and confiſcating his goods. As for the Fugitives: they had reſtored as many as they could finde; and would in that point, as farre as was requiſite, give ſatisfaction to the Senate. Herewithall they ſent a great proportion of Corn to *Rome*; and the like unto the Army that was in *Macedon*. King *Maſaniſſa* would have lent unto the *Romans* two thouſand of his *Numidian* horſe: but they were contented with halfe the number; and would accept no more. *Vermina* met with the Embaſſadours, to give them entertainement, on the borders of his Kingdome; and without any diſputation, agreed with them upon termes of peace.

Thus were the *Romans* buſied in taking order for their *Macedonian* Warre, that they might purſue it ſtrongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his *Gaules*: they laide ſiege unto *Cremona*; where *L. Furius* a *Roman* Prætor came upon them, fought a battaile with them, and overcame them. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* died in this battaile: and the fruit of the victory was ſuch, as both made amends for loſſes paſt, and left the worke eaſie to thoſe, that afterwads ſhould have the managing of warre among thoſe *Gaules*. So was there good leiſure to thinke upon the buſineſſe of *Macedon*: where *Philip* was carefully providing to give contentment unto his Subjects, by puniſhing a bad Counſailour whom they hated; as alſo to aſſure unto himſelf the *Achæans*, by rendring unto them ſome Townes that he held of theirs; and finally to ſtrengthen his Kingdome, not onely by exerciſing and training his people, but by fortifying the paſſages that led thereinto out of *Epirus*. This was in doing, when *Villius*, having unprofitably laboured to finde way into *Macedon*, taking a journey (as *Sulpicius* had done before him) wherein he could not be ſupplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new courſe. But then came advertiſement, that *T. Quintius Flaminius* was choſen Conſull, and had *Macedon* allotted him for his Province; whoſe comming was expected; and he very ſhortly arrived at the Army.

## §. XIII.

*The Romans begin to make war by negotiation.* T. Quintius *winnes a paſſage againſt* Philip. *Theſſaly waſted by* Philip, *the Romans, and Ætolians. The Achæans forſaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treaty of peace, that was vaine.* Philip *delivers Argos to* Nabis *the Tyrant, who preſently enters into League with the Romans.*

THe *Romans* had not beene wont in former times, to make Warre after ſuch a trifling manner. It was their uſe, to give battaile to the Enemie, as ſoone as they met with him. If he refuſed it, they beſieged his Townes: and ſo forced him to trie the fortune of a day, with his diſadvantage in reputation, when he had long forborne it (as it would be interpreted) upon knowledge of his owne weakneſſe. But in this their Warre with *Philip*, they began to learne of the ſubtle *Greekes*, the art of Negotiation: wherein hitherto they were not growne ſo fine, as within a little while they proved. Their Treaſury was poore, & ſtood indebted,* many yeers after this, unto private men, for part of thoſe monies that had beene borrowed in the ſecond Punicke Warre. This had made the Commonalty averſe from the *Macedonian* warre; and had thereby driven the Senators, greedy of the enterprize, to make uſe of their cunning. Yet being weary of the ſlow pace wherewith their buſineſſe went forward, they determined to increaſe their Army, that they might have the leſſe need to relie upon their Confederates. So they levied eight thouſand Foot, and eight hundred Horſe (the greater part of them of the *Latines*) which they ſent with *T. Quintius Flaminius*, the new Conſul, into *Macedon*. Their Navie, and other meanes could well have ſerved, for the ſetting forth and tranſportation of a greater Armie: but by ſtraining themſelves to the moſt of their ability, they ſhould (beſides other difficulties incident unto the ſuſtenance of thoſe that are too many and too farre from home) have bred ſome jealouſie in their friends of *Greece*, and thereby have loſt ſome friends, yea, perhaps have increaſed the number of their enemies, more than of their owne Souldiers. This preſent augmentation of the forces was very requiſite; for that *Attalus*, about the ſame time, excuſed himſelfe unto them, by his Embaſſadours; requeſting that either they would undertake the defence of his Kingdome againſt *Antiochus*, who invaded it; or elſe that they would not take it uncourteouſly, that hee quitted the Warre with *Philip*, and returned home, to looke unto that which more concerned him. Their anſwer was remarkeable. They ſaid, That it was not their manner to uſe the aide of their friends, longer than their friends had good opportunitie, and could alſo bee well contented to affoord it;

* *Liu. lib.* 34.

That they could not honeſtly take part with *Attalus*, their good friend though he were; againſt *Antiochus*, whom they held in the like account; but, That they would deale with *Antiochus* by Embaſſadours, and ( as common friends unto both of the Kings ) doe their beſt to perſwade an attonement betweene them. In ſuch loving faſhion did they now carry themſelves, towards their good friend the King *Antiochus*; who reciprocally at their intreaty, withdrew his Army from the Kingdome of *Attalus*. But how little they regarded theſe termes of friendſhip, after that once they had made an end with *Philip*, it will very ſoone appeare.

*T. Quintius* haſting away from *Rome*, came betimes into his Province, with the ſupply decreed unto him; which conſiſted, for the moſt part, of old Souldiers, that had ſerved in *Spaine* and *Africk*. He found *Villius* the old Conſul, (whom at his comming he preſently diſcharged) and King *Philip* of *Macedon*, encamped one againſt the other, in the Streights of *Epirus*; by the river of *Apſus* or *Aous*. It was manifeſt, that either the *Romans* muſt fetch a compaſſe about, and ſeek their way into *Macedon*, through the poore Countrey of the *Daſſaretians*; or elſe winne, by force, that paſſage which the King defended. In taking the former way; they had already two yeers together miſ-ſpent their time, and beene forced to returne backe without profit, for want of victualls: whereof they could neither carry with them ſtore ſufficient, nor finde it on the way. But if they could once get over theſe Mountains, which divided the South of *Epirus* from *Theſſaly*, then ſhould they enter into a plentifull Country; and, which by long dependance on the *Macedonian*, was become (in a maner) part of his Kingdome, whereof it made the South border. Nevertheleſſe, the deſire of winning this paſſage, was greater than the likelihood. For the River of *Apſus*, running along through that valley which alone was open betweene the Mountaines, made it all a deep, *Mariſh* and unpaſſable Bogge: a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the maine rocke by mans hand. Wherefore *Quintius* aſſailed to climbe in the Mountaines: but finding himſelfe diſappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his enemie, who neglected not the guard of them that was very eaſie; he was compelled to ſit ſtill, without doing any thing for the ſpace of forty dayes.

This long time of reſt gave hope unto *Philip*, that the war might bee ended by compoſition, upon ſome reaſonable termes. He therefore ſo dealt with ſome of the *Epirots*, (among whom he had many friends) that Hee and the Conſull had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Conſull would have him to ſet all Townes of Greece at liberty; and to make amends for the injuries, which he had done to many people in his late Warres. *Philip* was contented to give liberty to thoſe whom he had ſubdued of late: but unto ſuch, as had beene long ſubject unto him and his Anceſtors, He thought it againſt all reaſon, that he ſhould relinquiſh his claime and dominion over them. He alſo ſaid, That as farre forth as it ſhould appeare that he had done wrong unto any Towne or people whatſoever, He could well be pleaſed to make ſuch amends, as might ſeeme convenient in the judgement of ſome free State, that had not beene intereſſed in thoſe quarrells. But herewithall *Quintius* was not ſatisfied. There needed ( he ſaid ) no judgement or compromiſe; foraſmuch as it was apparent, that *Philip* had alwayes beene the Invader; and had not made warre, as one provoked, in his owne defence. After this altercation, when they ſhould come to particulars: and when the Conſul was required to name thoſe Towns, that hee would have to be ſet at liberty; the firſt that hee named were the *Theſſalians*: Theſe had beene ſubjects ( though conditionall ) unto the *Macedonian* Kings, ever ſince the dayes of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Philip* his Father. Wherefore, as ſoone as *Flaminius* had named the *Theſſalians*; the King in a rage demanded what ſharper condition Hee would have laid upon him, had he beene but vanquiſhed. And herewithall abruptly he flang away; refuſing to heare any more of ſuch diſcourſe.

After this the Conſull ſtrove in vaine two or three dayes together, to have prevailed againſt the difficulties of that paſſage which *Philip* kept. When he had well wearied himſelfe, and could not reſolve what courſe to take: there came to him an Heardſ-man ſent from *Charopus* a Prince of the *Epirots* that favoured the *Romans*, who having long kept beaſts in thoſe Mountaines, was throughly acquainted with all by-paths, and therefore undertooke to guide the *Romans*, without any danger, to a place where they ſhould have advantage of the Enemy. This guide, for feare of treacherous dealing, was faſt bound: and being promiſed a great reward, in caſe he made good his word, had ſuch Companies as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They travailed by night (it being then about the full of the Moone) and reſted in the day-time, for feare of being diſcovered. When they had recovered the hill-tops, and were above the *Macedonians*, (though undiſcovered by them, becauſe at their backs) they raiſed a great ſmoke, whereby they gave notice of their ſucceſſe unto the Conſul. Some ſkirmiſhes, whileſt theſe were on they journy, *T. Quintius* had held with the *Macedonian*; thereby to avert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he ſaw the ſmoke ariſe more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained unto the place whither they were ſent, he preſſed as neere as he could unto the Enemies Campe, and aſſailed them in their ſtrength. He prevailed as little as in former times, untill the ſhoutings of thoſe that ran downe the hill, and charged *Philip* on the backe, aſtoniſhed ſo the *Macedonians*, that they betooke themſelves to flight. The King, upon firſt apprehenſion of the danger, made all ſpeed away to ſave himſelfe. Yet anon conſidering, that the difficulty of the paſſage muſt needes hinder the *Romans* from purſuing him: he made a ſtand at the end of five miles, and gathered there together his broken troups, of whom he found wanting no more than two thouſand men. The greateſt loſſe was of his Campe and proviſions: if not rather perhaps of his reputation; for that now the *Macedonians* began to ſtand in feare, leſt being driven from a place of ſuch advantage, they ſhould hardly make good their party againſt the Enemy, upon equall ground. Neither was *Philip* himſelfe much better perſwaded. Wherefore he cauſed the *Theſſalians*, as many of them as in his haſtie retrait he could viſit, to forſake their Townes and Countrie, carrying away with them as much as they were able, and ſpoiling all the reſt. But all of them could not be perſwaded, thus to abandon (for the pleaſure of their King) their ancient habitations, and all the ſubſtance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly reſiſted him; which they might the better doe, for that he could not ſtay to uſe any great compulſion. He alſo himſelfe tooke it very grievouſly, that he was driven to make ſuch waſte of a moſt pleaſant and fruitfull Countrey, which had ever been well affected unto him: ſo that a little hinderance did ſerve, to make him breake off his purpoſe, and withdraw himſelfe home into his Kingdome of *Macedon*.

The *Ætolians* and *Athamanians*, when this fell out, were even in a readineſſe to invade *Theſſalie*; whereinto the wayes lay more open, out of their ſeverall Countries. When therefore they heard for certainty, that *Philip* was beaten by the *Romans*: they foreſlowed not the occaſion, but made all ſpeed, each of them to lay hold upon what they might. *T. Quintius* followed them within a little while: but they had gotten ſo much before his comming, that he, in gleaning after their harveſt, could not finde enough to maintaine his Army. Thus were the poore *Theſſalians*, of whoſe liberty the *Romans* a few dayes ſince had made ſhew to be very deſirous, waſted by the ſame *Romans* and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turne themſelves, or whom to avoide. *T. Quintius* wonne *Phaleria* by aſſault: *Metropolis* and *Piera* yeelded unto him. *Rhage* he beſieged: and having made a faire breach, yet was unable to force it; ſo ſtoutly it was defended both by the Inhabitants, and by a *Macedonian* garriſon therein. *Philip* alſo at the ſame time, having ſomewhat recollected his ſpirits, hovered about *Tempe* with his Army, thruſting men into all places, that were like to be diſtreſſed. So the Conſull, having well-neere ſpent his victuals, and ſeeing no hope to prevaile at *Rhage*; brake up his ſiege, and departed out of *Theſſaly*. He had appointed his ſhips of burden to meete him at *Anticyra*, an Haven Towne of *Phocis*, on the Gulph of *Corinth*: which Countrey being friend to the *Macedonian*, he preſently invaded; not ſo much for hatred unto the people, as becauſe it lay conveniently ſeated betweene *Theſſaly* and other regions, wherein he had buſineſſe, or was ſhortly like to have. Many Townes in *Phocis* he wonne by aſſault: many were yeelded up unto him for feare; and within ſhort ſpace he had (in effect) maſtered it all.

In the meane time *L. Quintius* the Conſuls brother, being then Admirall for the *Romans* in this warre, joyned with King *Attalus* and the *Rhodian* Fleet. They wonne two Cities in *Eubœa*; and afterward laid ſiege unto *Cenchree*, an Haven and Arcenall of the *Corinthians* on their Eaſterne Sea. This enterpriſe did ſomewhat helpe forward the *Achæans*, in their deſire to leave the part of *Philip*: ſince it might come to paſſe, that *Corinth* it ſelfe, ere long time were ſpent; and that *Cenchree*, with other places appertaining to *Corinth*, now very ſhortly ſhould be rendred unto their Nation, by favour of the *Romans*.

But there were other motives, inducing the *Achæans* to preferre the friendſhip of the *Romans*, before the patronage of *Philip*; whereto they had been long accuſtomed. For this King had ſo many waies offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the beſt courſe to rid their hands of him; whileſt being intangled in a dangerous War, he wanted meanes to hinder the execution of ſuch counſell as they ſhould hold the ſafeſt. His tyrannous practiſes to make himſelfe their abſolute Lord: his poyſoning of *Aratus* their old Governour: His falſe dealing with the *Meſſenians*, *Epirots*, and other people their Confederates, and his owne dependants: together with many particular outrages by him committed; had cauſed them long ſince to hold him as a *neceſſary evill*, even whileſt they were unable to be without his aſſiſtance. But ſince by the vertue of *Philopœmen*, they were grown ſomewhat confident in their own ſtrength, ſo as without the *Macedonians* helpe they could as well ſubſiſt, as having him to friend: then did they onely think how *evill* he was; and thereupon rejoyce the more, in that he was become no longer *neceſſary*. It angred him to perceive how they ſtood affected: and therefore he ſent murderers to take away the life of* *Philopœmen*. But failing in this enterpriſe; and being detected, he did thereby onely ſet fire to the Wood, which was throughly dry before, and prepared to burn. *Philopœmen* wrought ſo with the *Achæans*, that no diſcourſe was more familiar with them, than what great cauſe they had to withdraw themſelves from the *Macedonian*. *Cycliadas*, a principall man among them, and lately their Prætor, was expelled by them, for ſhewing himſelfe paſſionate in the cauſe of *Philip*; and *Ariſtænus* choſen Prætor, who laboured to joyne them in ſociety with the *Romans*.

*Plut. in vit. Philopœm. Iuſt. l. 29.*

Theſe newes were very welcome to *T. Quintius*. Embaſſadors were ſent from the *Romans*, and their Confederates, King *Attalus*, the *Rhodians* and *Athenians*, to treat with the *Achæans*, making promiſe, that they ſhould have *Corinth* reſtored unto them, if they would forſake the *Macedonian*. A Parliament of the *Achæans* was held at *Sycion*, to deliberate and reſolve in this weighty caſe. Therein the *Romans* and their adherents deſired the *Achæans* to joyne with them in making Warre upon *Philip*. Contrariwiſe, the Embaſſadors of *Philip*, whom he had alſo ſent for this buſineſſe, admoniſhing the *Achæans* of their Alliance with the King, and of their faith due unto him; requeſted them, that they would be contented to remaine as Neuters. This moderate requeſt of *Philips* Embaſſadors did no way advance their Maſters cauſe. Rather it gave the *Achæans* to underſtand, That he, who could be ſatisfied with ſo little at their hands, knew himſelfe unable to gratifie them in any reciprocall demand. Yet were there many in that great Councell; who remembring the benefits of *Philip* and *Antigonus*, laboured earneſtly for the preſervation of the ancient League. But in fine, the ſenſe of late injuries, and expectation of like or worſe from him in the future; prevailed againſt the memory of thoſe old good turnes, which he (and *Antigonus* before him) had partly ſold unto them, and partly had uſed as baites, whereby to allure them into abſolute ſubjection. Neither was it perhaps of the leaſt importance; That the *Romans* were ſtrong, and likely to prevaile in the end. So after much altercation, the Decree paſſed, That they ſhould thenceforward renounce the *Macedonian*, and take part with his enemies in this War. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, they forthwith entred into ſociety: with the *Romans* (becauſe no League would be of force, untill the Senate and people had approved it) they forbore to decree any ſociety at the preſent, untill the returne of thoſe Embaſſadors from *Rome*, which they determined to ſend thither of purpoſe. The *Megalopolitans*, *Dymeans*, and *Argives*, having done their beſt for the *Macedonian*, as by many reſpects they were bound; roſe up out of the Councell, and departed before the paſſing of the Decree; which they could not reſiſt, nor yet with honeſty thereto give aſſent. For this their good will, and greater, which they ſhortly manifeſted, the *Argives* had ſo little thanke; that all the reſt of the *Achæans* may be the better held excuſed, for eſcaping how they might, out of the hands of ſo fell a Prince.

Soone after this, upon a ſolemne day at *Argos*, the affection of the Citizens diſcovered it ſelfe ſo plainely, in the behalfe of *Philip*, that they which were his Partiſans within the Towne, made no doubt of putting the Citie into his hands, if they might have any ſmall aſſiſtance. *Philocles* a Lievtenant of the Kings, lay then in *Corinth*, which he had manfully defended againſt the *Romans* and *Attalus*. Him the Conſpirators drew to

*Argos*; whither comming on a ſudden, and finding the multitude ready to joine with him, He eaſily compelled the *Achæan* Garriſon to quit the place.

This getting of *Argos*, together with the good defence of *Corinth*, and ſome other Townes, as it helped *Philip* a little in his reputation, ſo they gave him hope to obtaine ſome good end by Treaty, whileſt as yet with his honour he might ſeeke it: and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Conſul would ſhortly be choſen; who ſhould take the worke out of *Titus* his hands, if it were not concluded the ſooner. *Titus* had the like reſpect unto himſelfe; and therefore thought it beſt, ſince more could not bee done, to pre-diſpoſe things unto a Concluſion, for his owne reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sea-ſhore, in the *Bay* then called the *Malian* or *Lamian Bay*, now (as is ſuppoſed) the *Gulfe of Ziton*, in the *Ægæan Sea*, or *Archipelago*. Thither came *Titus* with *Aminander* the *Athamanian*; an Embaſſador of *Attalus*; the Admiral of *Rhodes*; and ſome Agents for the *Ætolians* and *Achæans*. *Philip* had with him ſome few of his owne Captaines, and *Cycliadas*, lately baniſhed for his ſake out of *Achaia*. He refuſed to come on ſhore: though fearing (as he ſaid) none but *the immortall Gods*: yet miſdoubting ſome treacherie in the *Ætolians*. The demands of *Titus* in behalfe of the *Romans*, were, That he ſhould ſet all Cities of *Greece* at liberty; deliver up to the *Romans* and their Confederates, all priſoners which he had of theirs, and Renegadoes; likewiſe whatſoever he held of theirs in *Illyria*: and whatſoever about *Greece* or *Aſia* he had gotten from *Ptolomy* then King of *Egypt*, after his fathers death. *Attalus* demanded reſtitution to be made, entire of Ships, Townes, and Temples by him taken and ſpoyled in the late War between them. The *Rhodians* would have againe the Country of *Peræa*, lying over againſt their Iland; as alſo that he ſhould withdraw his Garriſons out of divers Townes about the Helleſpont, and other Havens of their friends. The *Achæans* deſired reſtitution of *Argos* and *Corinth*: about the one of which they might, not unjuſtly, quarrell with him; the other had beene long his owne by their conſent. The *Ætolians* took upon them angerly, as Patrons of *Greece*: willing him to depart out of it, even out of the whole Countrey, leaving it free; and withall to deliver up unto them, whatſoever he held that had at any time been theirs. Neither were they herewithall content: but inſolently declaymed againſt him, for that which he had lately done in *Theſſaly*; corrupting (as they ſaid) the rewards of the Victors, by deſtroying, when hee was vanquiſhed, thoſe Townes, which elſe they might have gotten. To anſwer theſe malapart *Ætolians*, *Philip* commanded his Gallie to be rowed nearer the ſhore. But they began to plie him afreſh: telling him that he muſt obey his betters, unleſſe he were able to defend himſelfe by force of Armes. He anſwered them (as he was much given to gybing) with ſundry ſcoffes; and eſpecially with one, which made the *Roman* Conſul underſtand, what manner of companions theſe *Ætolians* were. For he ſaid, That he had often dealt with them; as likewiſe the beſt of the *Greeks*; deſiring them to abrogate a wicked Law, which permitted them *to take ſpoyle from ſpoyle*: yet could he get no better an anſwer, than *that they would ſooner take* Ætolia *out of* Ætolia. *Titus* wondred what might be the meaning of this ſtrange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable cuſtome, as often as Warre happened betweene their friends, to hold up the quarrell by ſending Voluntaries to ſerve on both ſides, that ſhould ſpoyle both the one and the other. As for the liberty of *Greece*, Hee ſaid it was ſtrange that the *Ætolians* ſhould bee ſo carefull thereof, ſince divers Tribes of their owne, which he there named, were indeed no *Grecians*: wherefore hee would faine know, whether the *Romans* would give him leave to make ſlaves of thoſe *Ætolians*, which were no *Greekes*. *Titus* hereat ſmiled, and was no whit offended, to heare the *Ætolians* well ratled up; touching whom he began to underſtand, how odious they were in all the Country. As for that generall demand of ſetting all *Greece* at liberty, *Philip* acknowledged, that it might well beſeeme the greatneſſe of the *Romans*; though he would alſo conſider, what might beſeeme his owne dignity. But that the *Ætolians*, *Rhodians*, and other pettie Eſtates, ſhould thus preſume, under countenance of the *Romans*, to take upon them, as if by their great might hee ſhould bee thereunto compelled: it was, hee ſaid, a ſtrange and ridiculous inſolence. The *Achæans* hee charged with much ingratitude; reciting againſt them ſome Decrees of their owne; wherein they had loaden both *Antigonus* and him, with more than humane honours. Neverthleſſe he ſaid, that he would render *Argos* unto them: but as touching *Corinth*, that he would further deliberate with *Titus* himſelfe.

*Excerpt. è Polyb. lib.* 17.

Thus he addreſſed himſelfe wholly to the *Roman* Generall; unto whom if he could give ſatisfaction, he cared little for all the reſt. With *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, his late War (he ſaid) was onely defenſive; they having beene the offerers: or if he gave them any occaſion, it was onely in helping *Pruſias*, his ſonne-in-law; neither did he ſee why they ſhould rather ſeeke amends at his hands, that he at theirs. For whereas they complayned, that, ſpoyling a Temple of *Venus*, he had cut downe the Grove, and pleaſant walkes thereabouts: what could he doe more, than ſend Gardners thither with young plants; if one King of another would ſtand to aske ſuch recompence? Thus he jeſted the matter out: but offered nevertheleſſe, in honour of the *Romans*, to give backe the Region of *Peræa* to the *Rhodians*; as likewiſe to *Attalus*, the Ships and Priſoners of his, whereof hee had then poſſeſſion. Thus ended that dayes conference, becauſe it was late: *Philip* requiring a nights leiſure to thinke upon the Articles, which were many, and he ill provided of Counſell, wherewith to adviſe about them. *For your being ſo ill provided of Counſell* (ſaid *Titus*) *you may even thanke your ſelfe; as having murdered all your friends, that were wont to adviſe you faithfully.* The next day *Philip* came not, untill it was late at night; excuſing his long ſtay by the weightineſſe of the things propounded, whereon he could not ſuddenly tell how to reſolve. But it was beleeved, that he thereby ſought to abridge the *Ætolians* of leiſure to raile at him. And this was the more likely, for that he deſired conference in private with the Roman Generall. The ſumme of his diſcourſe, as *Titus* afterward related it, was, That he would give the *Achæans* both *Argos* and *Corinth*; as alſo that he would render unto *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, what he had promiſed the day before; likewiſe to the *Ætolians*, that he would grant ſome part of their demands; and to the *Romans*, whatſoever they did challenge. This when *Titus* his aſſociates heard, they exclaymed againſt it, ſaying, That if the King were ſuffered to retaine any thing in *Greece*, he would ſhortly get poſſeſsion of all which he now rendred up. The noyſe that they made came to *Philips* eare: who thereupon deſired a third day of meeting; and proteſted, that if he could not perſwade them, he would ſuffer himſelfe to bee perſwaded by them. So the third day they met early in the morning: at what time the King intreated them all, that they would with ſincere affection hearken unto good offers of peace; and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of thoſe Conditions which he had already tendred; or otherwiſe, that they would make truce with him for the preſent, and let him ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*, where he would referre himſelfe to the courteſie of the Senate.

This was even as *Quintius* would have it: who ſtood in doubt, leſt a new Conſul might happen to defraud him of the honour, which he expected by ending of the Warre. So he eaſily prevailed with the reſt, to aſſent hereunto: foraſmuch as it was Winter, a time unfit for ſervice in the War; and ſince, without authority of the Senate, he ſhould be unable to proceed reſolvedly either in Warre or Peace. Further he willed them to ſend their ſeverall Embaſſadors to *Rome*, which intimating unto the Senate what each of them required, ſhould eaſily hinder *Philip* from obtaining any thing to their prejudice. Among the reſt, he perſwaded King *Aminander* to make a journey to *Rome* in perſon: knowing well, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of ſo many Embaſſadors, would ſerve to make his owne actions more glorious in the City. All this tended to procure that his own Command of the Army in *Greece* might be prorogued. And to the ſame end had he dealt with ſome of the Tribunes of the people at *Rome*: who had already (though as yet he knew not ſo much) obtained it for him, partly by their authority, partly by good reaſons which they alledged unto the Senate.

The Embaſſadours of the *Greekes*, when they had audience at *Rome*, ſpake bitterly againſt the King, with good liking of the Senate; which was more deſirous of victory, than of ſatisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpoſe of the *Romans*, in undertaking to ſet *Greece* at liberty. But this (they ſaid) could never be effected; unleſſe eſpeciall care were taken, that the King ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*. In this point they were ſo vehement, producing a Map of the Country, and making demonſtration how thoſe places held all the reſt in ſervility; that the Senate agreed to have it even ſo as they deſired. When therſore the Embaſſadors of *Philip* were brought in, and began to have made a long Oration; they were briefly cut off in the middeſt of their Preface, with this one demand: *Whether their Maſter would yeeld up Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias.* Hereto they made anſwer, That concerning thoſe places, the

King had given them no direction or commiſſion what to ſay or doe. This was enough. The Senate would no longer hearken to *Philips* deſire of peace; wherein they ſaid he did no better than trifle. Yet might his Embaſſadors have truly ſaid, That neither the *Ætolians, Achæans*, nor any of their fellowes, had in the late Treaty required by name, that *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* ſhould be yeelded up. For which of them indeed could make any claime to either of theſe Towns? As for *Corinth*, whereto the *Achæans* had ſome right; (though their right were no better, than that, having ſtolne it from One *Macedonian* king in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargaine unto an Other) *Philip* had already condeſcended to give it back unto them. And this perhaps would have been alledged, even againſt the *Greeks*, in excuſe of the King, by ſome of *T. Quintius* his friends; that ſo he might have had the honor to conclude the war, if a ſucceſſor had been decreed unto him. But ſince he was appointed to continue Generall: neither his friends at *Rome*, nor he himſelfe, after the returne of the Embaſſadors into *Greece*, cared to give eare unto any talke of peace.

*Philip*, ſeeing that his *Achæans* had forſaken him, and joyned with their common enemies; thought even to deale with them in the like manner, by reconciling himſelfe unto *Nabis*, whom they hated moſt. There were not many yeares paſt, ſince the *Lacedæmonians* under *Cleomenes*, with little other helpe than their owne ſtrength, had been almoſt ſtrong enough both for the *Macedonians* and *Achæans* together. But now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis* his force conſiſted, in a manner, wholly in his Mercenaries: for he was a Tyrant, though ſtiling himſelfe King. Yet he ſorely vexed the *Achæans*: and therefore ſeemed to *Philip* one likely to ſtand him in great ſtead, if he could be won. To this purpoſe it was thought meet, that the Town of *Argos*, which could not otherwiſe be eaſily defended, ſhould bee conſigned over into his hands; in hope, that ſuch a benefit would ſerve to tie him faſt unto the *Macedonian*. *Philocles* the Kings Lievtenant, who was appointed to deale with *Nabis*, added further, That it was his Maſters purpoſe to make a ſtreight alliance with the *Lacedæmonian*, by giving ſome daughters of his owne in marriage unto *Nabis* his ſons. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made ſome ſcruple in accepting the Towne of *Argos*; unleſſe by decree of the Citizens themſelves hee might be called into it. Hereabout *Philocles* dealt with the *Argives*: but found them ſo averſe, that, in open aſſembly of the people, they deteſted the very name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. *Nabis* hearing of this, thought he had thereby a good occaſion to rob and fliece them. So he willed *Philocles*, without more adoe, to make over the Town which he was ready to receive. *Philocles* accordingly did let him with his Army into it by night; and gave him poſſeſſion of the ſtrongeſt places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the *Argives*: who for very love had forſaken the *Achæans*, to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himſelf Maſter of all the Gates. A few of the principall men, underſtanding how things went, fled out of the City at the firſt tumult. Wherefore they were all baniſhed, and their goods confiſcated. The reſt of the chiefe Citizens that ſtayed behinde, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Silver. Alſo a great impoſition of money was laid upon all thoſe that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were diſmiſſed without more adoe. But if any ſtood long upon the matter: or played the theeves in purloyning their owne goods; they were put to the whip, and beſides loſſe of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular Lawes: namely, ſuch as might ſerve to make him gracious with the raſcall multitude: abrogating all debts, and dividing the Lands of the rich among the poore. By ſuch art of oppreſſing the great ones, it hath been an old cuſtome of Tyrants, to aſſure themſelves of the Vulgar for a time.

As ſoon as *Nabis* had gotten *Argos*, He ſent the newes to *T. Quintius*; and offered to joyne with him againſt *Philip*, *Titus* was glad of it: ſo as he tooke the pains to croſſe over the Streights into *Peloponneſus*, there to meet with *Nabis*. They had ſoon agreed (though King *Attalus*, who was preſent with the Conſul, made ſome cavill touching *Argos*) and the Tyrant lent unto the *Roman*, ſixe hundred of his Mercenaries of *Crete*: as alſo he agreed with the *Achæans*, upon a Truce for foure moneths, reſerving the finall concluſion of peace between them untill the War of *Philip* ſhould be ended; which after this continued not long.

## §. XIIII.

### *The battell at Cynoſcephalæ, wherein* Philip *was vanquiſhed by* T. Quintius.

*Titus Quintius*, as ſoone as he underſtood that he was appointed to have Command of the Army, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleaſure of the Senate; made all things ready for diligent purſuit of the Warre. The like did *Philip:* who having failed in his negotiation of peace, and no leſſe failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to friend in that War; meant afterwards wholly to relie upon himſelfe.

*Titus* had in his Army about ſixe and twenty thouſand: and *Philip* a proportionable number. But neither of them knew the others ſtrength, or what his Enemy intended to doe. Onely *Titus* heard that *Philip* was in *Theſſaly*, and thereupon addreſſed himſelfe to ſeeke him out. They had like to have met unawares, neare unto the City of *Pheræ:* where the vant-currers on both ſides diſcovered each other; and ſent word thereof unto their ſeverall Captains. But neither of them were over haſty to commit all to hazzard upon ſo ſhort warning. The day following each of them ſent out three hundred Horſe, with as many light armed Foot, to make a better diſcovery. Theſe met, and fought a long while: returning finally back into their ſeverall Camps, with little advantage unto either ſide. The Country about *Pheræ* was thick ſet with Trees: and otherwiſe full of Gardens and mud-walles; which made it unproper for ſervice of the *Macedonian Phalanx.* Wherefore the King diſlodged, intending to remove back into *Scotuſa*, in the Frontier of *Macedon*; where he might be plentifully ſerved with all neceſſaries. *Titus* conceived aright his meaning: and therefore purpoſed alſo to march thitherwards; were it onely to waſte the Country. There lay betweene them a great ledge of hils, which hindered the one from knowing what courſe the other took. Neverthelesſe they encamped not farre aſunder, both the firſt and the ſecond night; though neither of them underſtood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempeſtuous; and forced each of them to take up his lodging where hee found it by chance. Then ſent they forth diſcoverers againe, in greater number than before. Theſe meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at firſt the *Macedonians* had the worſe. But *Philip* anon ſent in ſuch ſtrong ſupply; that if the reſiſtance of the *Ætolians* had not been deſperate, the *Romans* their fellowes had been driven back into their Camp. Yet all reſiſtance notwithſtanding, the *Macedonians* prevailed: ſo that *Titus* himſelfe was faine to bring forth his Legions, that were not a little diſcouraged, by the defeat of all their Horſe, to animate thoſe which were in flight.

Plut.in vit.T.Q. Flam.

It was altogether beſides the Kings purpoſe to put the fortune of a battell in truſt that day, with ſo much of his Eſtate as might thereon depend. But the newes came to him thick and tumultuouſly, how the enemies fled, and how the day was his owne, if hee could uſe an occaſion, the like whereof he ſhould not often finde. This cauſed him to alter his purpoſe: inſomuch as he embattelled his men; and climbed up thoſe hils, which, for that the knops thereon had ſome reſemblance unto Dogs heads, were called, by a word ſignifying as much, *Cynoſcephalæ.* As ſoone as he was on the hill-top; it did him good to ſee that they of his owne light armature were buſie in fight, almoſt at the very Campe of the Enemies; whom they had repelled ſo farre. Hee had alſo liberty to chooſe his ground, as might ſerve beſt his advantage: foraſmuch as the *Romans* were quite driven from all parts of the Hill. But of this commodity he could make no great uſe: the roughneſſe of the place among thoſe *Dogs heads*, as they were called, ſerving nothing aptly for his *Phalanx.* Neverthelesſe hee found convenient roome, wherein to marſhall the one part of his Army: and gave order unto his Captaines, to follow with the reſt; embattelling them as they might. Whileſt hee was doing this: He perceived that his Horſemen and light armature began to ſhrinke; as being fallen upon the *Roman* Legions, by force whereof they were driven to recoyle. He ſets forward to helpe them: and they no leſſe haſtily draw unto him for ſuccour; having the *Romans* not far behinde them.

As the Legions began to climbe the Hill; *Philip* commanded thoſe of his *Phalanx* to charge their pikes, and entertaine them. Here *Titus* found an extreme difficult piece of worke. For this *Phalanx* being a great ſquare battell of armed pikes, like in all points to thoſe which are now uſed in our moderne Warres: and being in like manner uſed, as are ours; was not to be reſiſted by the *Roman* Targettiers, as long as the *Phalanx* it ſelfe held together undiſſolved. The *Macedonians* were embattelled in very cloſe order: ſo that two of them ſtood oppoſite to one of the *Romans*; as alſo the pikes of the firſt ranke had their points advanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherefore it is no marvell if the *Romans* gave back: every one of them being troubled (as it were) with tenne enemies at once; and not able to come nearer to the next of them, than the length of a doozen foot or thereabout. *Titus* finding this, and not knowing how to remedie it; was greatly troubled: for that ſtill the *Phalanx* bare downe all which came in the way. But in the meane while he obſerved, That they which were appointed by *Philip* to make his left wing, were not able through the much unevenneſſe of the ground, to put themſelves in order: ſo as either they kept their places on the Hil-tops; or elſe (which was worſe) upon deſire either of beholding the paſtime, or of ſeeming to be partakers in the work, ran fooliſhly along by the ſide of their fellowes, which were occupied in fight.

Of this their diſorder Hee made great and preſent uſe. He cauſed the right wing of his Battell to march up the Hill againſt theſe ill-ordered troupes: his Elephants leading the way, to increaſe the terrour. The *Macedonians* were readier to diſpute what ſhould be done in ſuch a caſe, than well adviſed what to doe; as having no one man appointed, to command that part in chiefe. Indeed if they ſhould have done their beſt, it could not have ſerved; ſince the ground whereon they ſtood, made their weapons unuſefull. For let it be ſuppoſed, that *Philip* having ſixe and twenty thouſand in his Armie (as he is ſaid to have been equall to the Enemy in number) had foure thouſand Horſe, foure thouſand Targettiers, and foure thouſand light-armed: ſo ſhall there remaine fourteene thouſand Pikes; whereof he himſelfe had embattelled the one halfe in a *Phalanx*; the other halfe in the left wing, are they whom *Quintius* is ready now to charge. The *Phalanx* having uſually ſixteene in File, muſt, when it conſiſted of ſeven thouſand, have welneare foure hundred and forty in ranke: but foure hundred would ſerve, to make a Front long enough; the other forty or ſeven and thirty Files might bee cut off, and reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as *Polybius* doth, to every man of them three foote of ground: this Front muſt have occupied twelve hundred foote, or two hundred and forty paces; that is, very neare a quarter of a mile in length. Such a ſpace of open Champaine, free from incumberance of Trees, Ditches, Hillockes, or the like impediments, that muſt of neceſſity diſ-joyne this cloſe battell of the *Phalanx*; was not every where to bee found. Here at *Cynoſcephalæ Philip* had ſo much roome, as would onely ſuffice for the one halfe of his men; the reſt were faine to ſtand ſtill and looke about them, being hindered from putting themſelves in order, by the roughneſſe of the *Dogges heads*. But the *Romans*, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindred from comming up unto them; nor found any difficulty in maſtering thoſe enemies, whoſe feet were in a manner bound by the diſcommodity of the place. The very firſt impreſſion of the Elephants, cauſed them to give backe; and the comming on of the Legions, to betake themſelves to flight. A *Roman* Tribune or Colonel, ſeeing the victory on that part aſſured, left the proſecution of it unto others: and being followed by twenty Enſignes or Maniples, that is, (as they might fall out) by ſome two thouſand men, tooke in hand a notable piece of worke; and mainely helpefull to making of the victory compleate. Hee conſidered that *Philip*, in purſuing the right wing of the *Romans*, was run on ſo farre: as that himſelfe with his fellowes, in mounting the hill to charge the left wing of the *Macedonians*, was already gotten above the Kings head. Wherefore hee turned to the left hand, and making downe the hill after the Kings *Phalanx*, fell upon it in the Rere. The hindermoſt rankes of the *Phalanx*, all of them indeede ſave the firſt five, were accuſtomed, when the battels came to joyning, to carry their pikes upright; and with the whole weight of their bodies to thruſt on their fore-men: and ſo were they doing at the preſent. This was another great inconvenience in the *Macedonian Phalanx*. That it ſerved neither for offence nor defence, except onely in front. For though it were ſo, that *Alexander*, when hee was to fight with *Darius* in *Meſopotamia*, arranged his *Phalanx* in ſuch order, that all the foure ſides of it were as ſo many fronts looking ſundry

*Excerpt. è Polyb. lib.* 17.

wayes,becauſe he expected that he ſhould be encompaſſed round: yet is it to be underſtood,that herein he altered the uſuall forme; as alſo at the ſame time he embattailed his men in looſe order, that ſo with eaſe they might turne their weapons which way need ſhould require. Likewiſe it is to be conſidered,That *Alexanders* men being thus diſpoſed,were fit onely to keep their owne ground; not being able to follow upon the enemy, unleſſe their hindmoſt rankes could have marched backwards. But in this preſent caſe of *Philip*,there was no ſuch proviſion for reſiſtance. Therefore his men,being otherwiſe unable to help themſelves,threw down their weapons & fled. The king himſelf had thought untill now,that the fortune of the battell was every where alike,and the day his own. But hearing the noiſe behind him, and turning a little aſide with a troup of horſe,to ſee how all went; when he beheld his men caſting downe their weapons, and the *Romans* at his back on the higher ground; he preſently betook himſelfe to flight. Neither ſtaid he afterwards in any place(except only a ſmall while about *Tempe*, there to collect ſuch as were diſperſed in this overthrow)untill he was gotten into his own kingdome of *Macedon*.

There died of the *Roman* Armie in this battell,about ſeven hundred: of the *Macedonians* about eight thouſand were ſlaine; and five thouſand taken priſoners.

## §. XV.

T. Quintius *falleth out with the Ætolians, and grants truce unto* Philip,*with conditions upon which the peace is ratified. Liberty proclaimed unto the Greekes. The Romans quarrell with* Antiochus.

THe *Ætolians* wonderfully vaunted themſelves; and deſired to have it noyſed through all *Greece*, that the victory at *Cynoſcephalæ* was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the moſt of the bootie by ſacking the *Macedonian* Camp,whileſt the *Romans* were buſied in the chaſe. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vain-glory,& at their ravenous condition;purpoſed to teach them better maners,by regarding them as ſlightly,as they thought highly of themſelves. He alſo well perceived, That by uſing them with any extraordinary favour, he ſhould greatly offend the reſt of his confederates in *Greece*; who deteſted the *Ætolians* much more vehemently, than ever they had done the *Macedonians*. But this diſpleaſure brake not forth yet a while.

After the battell *Titus* made haſte unto *Lariſſa*,a Citie in *Theſſalie*, which he preſently tooke. Before his comming, *Philip* had ſent thither one of his Courtiers to burne all his letters, and paſſages whatſoever in writing,betwixt him and others: of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of ſo much adverſitie, he forgot not to provide for the ſafetie of his friends. Yet by his thus doing, they of *Lariſſa* might well perceive, that he gave them as already loſt. Wherefore we finde not that they,or any of their Neighbors,did make delay of opening their gates to *Titus*. At the ſame time, the town of *Leucas*,bordering upon *Acarnania*,was taken by the *Roman* Fleet, and very ſoone after, all the *Acarnanians*, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the *Ætolians* ever true to *Philip*; gave up themſelves unto the *Romans*,hearing of the victory at *Cynoſcephalæ*. The *Rhodians* alſo were then in hand with the conqueſt of *Peræa*,a Region of the Continent over againſt the Iland; whereof they had demanded reſtitution, in the late Treaty of Peace. They did herein more manly, than any other of the *Greeks*: foraſmuch as they awaited not the good leaſure of the *Romans*; but with an Army of their own,and ſome helpe which they borrowed of the *Achæans* and other their friends,gave battell to *Dinocrates* the kings Lievtenant,wherein they had the victory,and conſequently recovered the whole Province. It angred *Philip* worſe than all this,that the *Dardanians* gathered courage out of his affliction, to invade his kingdome; waſting and ſpoyling,as if all had bin abandoned to their diſcretion. This made him gather an Armie in all haſte of ſix thouſand foot and five hundred horſe: wherewith comming upon them, he drave them,with little or no loſſe of his owne, and great ſlaughter of theirs,haſtily out of the kingdome. Which done he returned to *Theſſalonica*.

In this one enterpriſe He had ſucceſſe anſwerable to his deſire: but ſeeing what bad fortune accompanied his affaires, in all other parts at the ſame time, he thought it wiſedome to yeeld unto neceſſity; and therefore ſent in all haſte *Limnæus* and *Demoſthenes* with *Cycliadas* the baniſhed *Achæan*, in whom he repoſed much confidence, Embaſſadors unto *Titus*. Theſe had conference a long while in private, with *Titus* and ſome of his *Roman* Colonels: by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wiſe diſmiſſed. It ſeemes that they had Commiſſion, to referre all unto *Titus* his owne diſcretion; as *Philip* himſelfe in few dayes after did. There was granted unto him a Truce for fifteene dayes: in which time, the King himſelfe might come and ſpeake with the *Roman* Generall. In the mean ſeaſon many ſuſpicious rumours went of *Titus*, as if he had beene corrupted with great rewards from the King, to betray the *Greeks* his Confederates. Of theſe bruits the *Ætolians* were chiefe authors: who being wont to regard neither friendſhip nor honeſtie, where profit led them a wrong way, judged alike of all men elſe. But againſt the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* had ſent letters unto his Aſſociates; willing them to have their Agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of *Tempe*, where the Treaty ſhould be held. There when they were all aſſembled, they entred into conſultation before the Kings arrivall, what ſhould be moſt expedient for the common benefit of them all, and for every eſtate in particular. The poor king *Aminander* beſought them all, & eſpecially the *Romans*, that they would thinke upon him; and, conſidering his weakeneſſe which he confeſſed, make ſuch proviſion, that after the *Romans* had turned their backs, and were gone home, *Philip* might not wreake his anger upon him who was not able to reſiſt. Then ſpake *Alexander*, one of the *Ætolians*: who commending *Titus* forſomuch as he had thus aſſembled the Confederates to adviſe upon their own good, and had willed them to deliver their minds freely: added, That in the maine of the purpoſe which he had in hand, he was utterly deceived: for that by making peace with *Philip*, he could neither aſſure the *Romans* of their quiet, nor the *Greeks* of their liberty. There was, he ſaid, none other end to be made of the war, which could agree either with the purpoſe of the Senate and people of *Rome*, or with the faire promiſes made by *Titus* himſelfe unto the *Greeks*, than the chaſing of *Philip* quite out of his kingdome. And to this effect he made a long diſcourſe. But *Titus* anſwered, That this *Ætolian* was ill acquainted, either with the good pleaſure of the Senate and people of *Rome*, or with the laudable cuſtomes which they generally held: for that it was not the manner of the *Romans*, to ſeeke the utter deſtruction of any King or Nation, at ſuch time as they firſt made warre with them; untill by ſome rebellion they found it a matter of neceſſity, to take ſuch a rigorous courſe. And hereof he alledged the *Carthaginians* as a notable example: adding, That victory, to generous minds, was onely an inducement to moderation. As concerning the publike benefit of *Greece*, it was (he ſaid) expedient, that the kingdome of *Macedon* ſhould be greatly weakened and brought low; not that it ſhould be utterly deſtroyed: foraſmuch as it ſerved as a barre to the *Thracians*, *Gaules*, and a multitude of other ſalvage Nations, which would ſoone over-flow the whole continent of *Greece*, if this kingdome were not interpoſed. Wherefore he concluded, that if *Philip* would yeeld unto thoſe demands, wherewith he had preſſed him in the former Treaty; then was there no reaſon to deny him peace. As for the *Ætolians*: if they thought otherwiſe, it ſhould be at their owne pleaſure, to take counſell apart for themſelves as they thought good. Then began *Phaneas*, another of the *Ætolians*, to ſay, that all was come to nothing; for that ere long, *Philip* would trouble all the *Greekes*, no leſſe than he had done in time before. But *Titus* interrupted him, and bad him leave his babbling; ſaying, That himſelfe would take ſuch order, as that *Philip*, were he never ſo deſirous, ſhould thenceforth not have it in his power to moleſt the *Greekes*.

The next day King *Philip* came thither: whom *Titus* uſed friendly: and ſuffering him to repoſe himſelfe that night, held a Councell the day following; wherein the King yeelded unto all that had beene required at his hands; offring yet further to ſtand to the good pleaſure of the Senate, if they would have more added to the Conditions. *Phaneas* the *Ætolian*, inſulting over him, ſaid it was to be hoped, that he would then at length give up to the *Ætolians* a many of Townes, (which he there named) bidding him ſpeake whether he would or no. His anſwer was, that they might take them all. But *Titus* interpoſing himſelfe, ſaid it ſhould be otherwiſe. Theſe were *Theſſalian* Townes, and ſhould be all free: one of them onely excepted, which not long agoe had refuſed to commit it ſelf to the faith of the *Romans*, and therefore ſhould now be given to the *Ætolians*. Hereat *Phaneas* cried out, that it was too great an injury, thus to be defrauded of the

Townes that had ſometime belonged unto their Common-weale. Rather he willed *Titus* to conſider, that by an ancient Covenant between him and the *Romans*, all the towns taken ought to be their own, and the *Romans* to have nothing ſave the pillage & captives. It is true, that there had bin ſuch a condition in the former war: but it ceaſed to be of any validitie, as ſoon as the *Ætolians* made peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gave them to underſtand; aſking them whether they thought it reaſonable, that all the towns in *Greece*, which had let in the *Romans* by compoſition, ſhould be delivered into ſubjection of the *Ætolians*. The reſt of the Confederates were very much delighted with theſe angry paſſages between the *Roman* and the *Ætolians*: neither had they great reaſon to feare any hard meaſure; ſince *Titus* was ſo earneſt in behalfe of thoſe *Theſſalians*, to give them liberty, though they had ſtood out againſt him, even till very fear made them open their gates. Wherefore they oppoſed not themſelves; but gave their conſent willingly unto a Truce for foure Moneths.

The chiefe cauſe that moved *Titus* to grant peace ſo readily to the *Macedonian*, beſides that laudable cuſtome by him before alledged, was, the fame of *Antiochus* his comming with an army from *Syria*, and drawing neere toward *Europe*. Hee had alſo perhaps yet a greater motive; even the conſideration that his ſucceſſor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the war ſhould happen to be protracted. And he was in the right. For when his letters, together with Embaſſadors from the *Macedonian*, and ſundry States of *Greece*, came unto *Rome*, new Conſuls were choſen: who (eſpecially the one of them) ſtood very earneſtly againſt the peace; alledging frivolous matter of their owne ſuſpition, in hope to get the honour of concluding the war. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, between the Embaſſadours of *Philip*, offring to ſtand to whatſoever was demanded; and the letters of *Titus*, preſſing them to accept this offer, on the one ſide; and the importunitie of the Conſul on the other; who ſaid, that all theſe goodly ſhewes were fraudulent, and that the King would rebell, as ſoone as the Army was called out of *Greece*. But the matter was taken out of the Senators hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Aſſembly of the People; by whoſe ſoveraigne authority it was concluded, that Peace ſhould be granted to the King. So ten Embaſſadors were ſent from *Rome* over into *Greece*: in which number were they that had bin Conſuls before *Titus*: and it was ordained by their advice, that *Titus* ſhould goe through with the buſineſſe of Peace. Theſe would very faine have retained thoſe three important Cities of *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*, untill the eſtate of *Greece* were ſomewhat better ſettled. But finally, *Titus* prevailed ſo, that *Corinth* was (though not immediately) rendred unto the *Achæans*; and all the other *Greek* towns which *Philip* held, as well in *Aſia* as in *Greece*, reſtored unto liberty.

The Conditions of the Peace granted unto *Philip*, were, That before the celebration of the next * *Iſthmian Games*, He ſhould withdraw his Garriſons out of all the *Greeke* townes which he held, and conſigne them over to the *Romans*: That he ſhould deliver up unto them all Captives that he had of theirs, and all Renegado's: Likewiſe all his ſhips of warre, reſerving to himſelfe onely five of the leſſer ſort, and one of extraordinary greatneſſe, wherein ſixteene men laboured at every oare: Further, that he ſhould pay a thouſand talents, the one halfe in hand, the other in ten yeeres following, by even portions. Hereto * *Livie* addes, That he was forbidden to make warre out of *Macedon*, without permiſſion of the Senate. But I finde not that he obſerved this Article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Four hundred talents he had already delivered to *Titus*, together with his younger ſon *Demetrius*, to remaine as hoſtage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, at ſuch time as he lately ſent his Embaſſadors to *Rome*: when it was promiſed, that the money, and his ſonne, ſhould be reſtored backe unto him, if the Senate were not pleaſed with the agreement. Whether this money were reckoned as part of the thouſand talents, I cannot finde: and it ſeemeth otherwiſe, foraſmuch as young *Demetrius*, who, together with thoſe foure hundred talents, was given for hoſtage, remained ſtill in cuſtody of the *Romans*, as a part of the bargaine which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters alſo were then ſent by *Titus* unto *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*: giving him to underſtand, what agreement was made with *Philip* in behalfe of the *Greeks*; and how the Senate held it reaſonable, that the *Ciani*, moſt miſerably ſpoyled and oppreſſed by *Philip*, to gratifie this *Bithynian* his ſon-in-law, ſhould be reſtored to liberty, and permitted to enjoy the ſame benefit of the *Romans*, which other of their nation did. What

* *Excerpt. è Pol. Legat.9.*

* *Liv.lib.33.*

effect theſe letters wrought, it was not greatly materiall; ſince the *Romans* were ſhortly buſied with *Antiochus*, in ſuch wiſe, that they had not leaſure to examine the conformity of *Pruſias* to their will.

All *Greece* rejoyced at the good bargain which *Titus* had made with *Philip*. Only the *Ætolians* found themſelves agreeved that they were utterly neglected: which was to the reſt no ſmall part of their contentment. The *Bœotians* continued to favour the *Macedonian*; and thereby occaſioned much trouble unto themſelves. There were ſome among them well affected to the *Romans*: who, ſeeing how things were like to goe, made their complaint unto *Titus*; ſaying, that they were no better than loſt, for the good will which they had borne unto him; unleſſe at this time, when he lay cloſe by them with his Armie, their Prætor, which was head of the oppoſite Faction, might be made away. *Titus* refuſed to have a hand in the execution, yet nevertheleſſe did animate them in their purpoſe. So they committed the fact, and hoped to have kept themſelves undiſcovered. But when the murder came out, and ſomewhat was confeſſed by thoſe which were put to torture: the hatred of the people brake out violently againſt the *Romans*; in ſuch wiſe, that howſoever they durſt not take Armes againſt them, yet ſuch of them as they found ſtraggling from their Campe, they murdered in all parts of the Countrey. This was detected within a while, and many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon *Titus* requires of the *Bœotians*, to have the murderers delivered into his hands; and for five hundred ſouldiers, which he had loſt by them, to have paid unto him five hundred Talents. In ſtead of making any ſuch amends, they paid him with excuſes; which he would not take as good ſatisfaction. He ſends Embaſſadours to the *Achæans* and *Athenians*, informing them what had happed: and requeſted them not to take it amiſſe, though he dealt with theſe their friends as they had deſerved. Herewithall he falls to waſting their country; and beſiegeth two ſuch towns of theirs, as did ſeeme to be moſt culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embaſſadors of the *Achæans* and *Athenians* (eſpecially of the *Achæans*, who offered, if he needed them, to help him in this war; yet beſought him rather to grant peace unto the *Bœotians*) prevailed ſo far with him, that he was pacified with thirty Talents, and the puniſhment of ſuch as were known offenders.

In like ſort, though not ſo violently, were many States of *Greece* diſtracted: ſome among them rejoicing that they were free from the *Macedonian*; others greatly doubting that the *Romane* would prove a worſe neighbour. The *Ætolian* would have bin glad of any Commotion; and therefore publiſhed rumours abroad, That it was the purpoſe of the *Romans*, to keepe in their own hands all thoſe places, wherein *Philip* lately had his Garriſons. Little did they, or the reſt of the *Greekes*, conceive, that this *Macedonian* war ſerved as an introduction to the War to be made in *Aſia* againſt King *Antiochus*; where grew the fruit, that was to be reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to ſtay the progreſſe of bad rumors, when the *Iſthmian games* were held, which in time of peace were never without great ſolemnity and concourſe; *Titus* in that great aſſembly of all *Greece*, cauſed proclamation to be made by ſound of Trumpet to this effect, That the Senate and people of *Rome*, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius* the General, having vanquiſhed King *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, did will to be at libertie, free from Impoſitions, free from Garriſons, and living at their own Lawes, the *Corinthians*, *Phocians*, *Locrians*, *Eubœans*, *Achæans* of *Phthiotis*, *Magneſians*, *Theſſalians*, and *Perrhæbians*. The ſuddenneſſe of this Proclamation aſtoniſhed men: ſo as though they applauded it with a great ſhout, yet preſently they cried out to heare it again, as if they durſt ſcarce credit their own ears. The *Greeks* were Crafts-maſters in the Art of giving thankes, which they rendred now to *T. Quintius* with ſo great affection, as that they had well-neere ſmothered him, by thronging officiouſly about him.

This good will of the *Greeks*, was like to be much more availeable unto the *Romans* in their warre againſt *Antiochus*, than could have beene the poſſeſſion of a few Townes, yea or of all thoſe Provinces which were named in the Proclamation. Upon confidence hereof, no ſooner were the *Iſthmian games* at an end, than *Titus*, with the *Romans* that were of his Councell, gave audience to *Hageſianax* and *Lyſias*, king *Antiochus* his Embaſſadours: whom they willed to ſignifie unto their Lord, That he ſhould doe well to abſtain from the free cities in *Aſia*, and not vexe them with war: as alſo to reſtore whatſoever he had occupied, belonging to the Kings, *Ptolomy* or *Philip*. Moreover they willed him by theſe his Embaſſadors, that he ſhould not paſſe over his Army into *Europe*;

adding, That ſome of them would viſit him in perſon ere it were long, to talke with him further concerning theſe points. This done, they fell to accompliſhing their promiſes unto the *Greeks*; to the reſt they gave what they had promiſed. But the *Phocians* and *Locrians* they gave unto the *Ætolians*; whom they thought it no wiſedome to offend overmuch, being ſhortly to take a greater work in hand. The *Achæans* of *Phthiotis* they annexed unto the *Theſſalians*; all ſave the town of *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*, the ſame which had bin abandoned by *T. Quintius* to the *Ætolians* in the laſt Treaty with *Philip*. The *Ætolians* contended very earneſtly about *Pharſalus* and *Leucas*. But they were put off with a dilatory anſwer, and rejected unto the Senate: for howſoever ſomewhat the Councell might favor them, yet was it not meet that they ſhould have their will, as it were in deſpight of *Titus*. So the *Achæans* were reſtored *Corinth*, *Triphylia*, & *Herea*. So the *Corinthians* were made free indeed, (though the *Romans* yet a while kept the *Acrocorinthus*) for that all which were partakers of the *Achæan* common-wealth, enjoyed their liberty in as abſolute maner as they could deſire. To *Pleuratus* the *Illyrian* were given one or two places, taken by the *Romans* from *Philip*: and upon *Aminander* were beſtowed thoſe Caſtles, which he had gotten from *Philip* during this war; to reign in them & the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his *Athamanians*. The *Rhodians* had bin their owne Carvers. *Attalus* was dead a little before the Victory; and therefore loſt his ſhare. Yet many that were with *Titus* in Councell, would have given the towns of *Oreum* and *Eretria*, in the *Ile* of *Eubœa*, to his ſon and ſucceſſor King *Eumenes*. But finally it was concluded, that theſe as well as the reſt of the *Eubæans*, ſhould be ſuffered to enjoy their liberty. *Oreſtis*, a little Province of the kingdome of *Macedon*, bordering on *Epirus*, and lying towards the *Ionian* Sea, had yeelded unto the *Romans* long ere this, and ſince continued true to them: for which cauſe it was alſo ſet at liberty, and made a free eſtate by it ſelf.

Theſe buſineſſes being diſpatcht, it remained, that all care ſhould be uſed, not how to avoid the war with King *Antiochus*, but how to accompliſh it with moſt eaſe and proſperity. Wherefore Embaſſadours were ſent, both to *Antiochus* himſelfe, to pick matter of quarrell; and about unto others, to pre-diſpoſe them unto the aſſiſting of the *Romans* therein. What ground and matter of Warre againſt this King the *Romans* now had, or ſhortly after found: as alſo how their Embaſſadors and Agents dealt and ſped abroad; I referre unto another place.

# CHAP. V.

## *The Warres of the* Romans *with* Antiochus *the Great, and his Adherents.*

### §. I.

### *What Kings of the races of* Seleucus *and* Ptolomie *reigned in Aſia and Egypt before* Antiochus *the Great.*

SEleucus *Nicator*, the firſt of his race, King of *Aſia* and *Syria*, dyed in the end of the hundred twenty and fourth *Olympiad*. He was trecherouſly ſlaine by *Ptolomie Ceraunus*, at an Altar called *Argos*; having (as is ſaid) been warned before by an Oracle, to beware of *Argos*, as the fatall place of his death. But I never have read that any mans life hath beene preſerved, or any miſchance avoyded by the predictions of ſuch Divelliſh Oracles. Rather I beleeve, that many ſuch predictions of the Heathen Gods, have beene ante-dated by their Prieſts; or by others which deviſed them after the event.

*Antiochus Soter*, the ſonne and heire of this *Seleucus*, was dearely beloved of his Father: who ſurrendred unto him his owne wife *Stratonica*, when he underſtood how much the young Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore *Ptolomie Ceraunus* had great cauſe to feare, that the death of *Seleucus* would not be unrevenged by this his Succeſſor.

But *Antiochus* was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps only with faire words, containing himſelfe within *Aſia*; and letting *Ceraunus* enjoy that quietly, which he had purchaſed in *Europe* with the bloud of *Seleucus*. It is ſaid of this *Antiochus*, that although he married with the Queene *Stratonica* in his Fathers life, yet out of modeſty he forbore to imbrace her, till his Father was dead. So that perhaps his inceſtuous love was partly, if not chiefly, the cauſe of his not proſecuting that revenge; whereunto Nature ſhould have urged him. Afterwards he had wars with *Antigonus Gonatas*, and with *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia*. Alſo *Lutarius* and *Leonorius*, Kings or Captaines of the *Gaules*, were ſet upon him by the ſame *Nicomedes*. With theſe he fought a great battel: wherein, though otherwiſe the enemies had all advantage againſt him, yet by the terrour of his Elephants, which affrighted both their horſes and them, he won the Victory. He tooke in hand an enterpriſe againſt *Ptolomie Philadelphus*: but finding ill ſucceſſe in the beginning, he ſoon gave it over. To this king *Antiochus Soter* it was, that *Beroſus* the *Chaldæan* dedicated his Hiſtory of *Aſſyria*; the ſame which hath ſince bin excellently falſified by the Frier *Annius*. He left behind him one ſonne, called *Antiochus Theos*; and one daughter, called *Apame*, that was married unto the King of *Cyrene*. So he died about the end of the hundred twentie & ninth *Olympiad*, or the beginning of the *Olympiad* following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth yeer of *the kingdom of the Greeks*, when he had reigned nineteene yeeres.

*Genebrard l.2.*
*Juſt.Mart.in*
*Paræn.*

*Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Theos*, or the *god*, had this vaine and impious title given to him, by flattery of the *Mileſians*; whom he delivered from *Timarchus*, a Tyrant that oppreſſed them. He held long and difficult, but fruitleſſe, warre with *Ptolomie Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolomie*.

Of theſe two Kings, and of this Lady *Berenice*, S. *Hierome* and other Interpreters have underſtood that Prophecie of *Daniel*: *The Kings daughter of the South ſhall come to the King of the North to make an agreement*; and that which followeth.

Dan. 11. 6.

*Ptolomie Philadelphus* was a great lover of Peace and Learning; and (ſetting apart his inceſtuous marriage with his owne ſiſter *Arſinoe*) a very excellent Prince: howſoever, the worthieſt of all that race. It was He, that built, and furniſhed with Bookes, that famous Librarie in *Alexandria*: which to adorne, and to honour the more, He ſent unto *Eleazar*, then high Prieſt of the *Jewes*, for the Bookes of *Moſes* and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King unto the *Jewes* had formerly beene very great: for he had ſet at libertie as many of them, as his Father held in ſlavery throughout all *Egypt*; and he had ſent unto the * Temple of God in *Jeruſalem* very rich Preſents. Wherefore *Eleazar*, yeelding to the Kings deſire, preſented him with an *Hebrew* coppie: which *Ptolomie* cauſed to be tranſlated into *Greek*, by ſeventy two of the moſt grave and learned perſons that could be found among all the Tribes. In this number of the 72. Interpreters, or (as they are commonly called) the *Seventie*, *Jeſus* the ſonne of *Syrach*, is thought by *Genebrard* to have beene one: who that he lived in this Age, it ſeemes to me very ſufficiently proved by *Janſenius*, in his Preface unto *Eccleſiaſticus*. The whole paſſage of this buſineſſe betweene *Philadelphus* and the High Prieſt, was written (as [h] *Joſephus* affirms) by *Ariſteus* that was employed therein. Fortie yeers *Ptolomie Philadelphus* was King; reckoning the time wherein he joyntly reigned with his Father. He was exceedingly beloved of his people; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towards his end he grew more voluptuous, than he had beene in his former yeers: in which time he boaſted, that he alone had found out the way how to live for ever. If this had bin referred unto his honourable deeds, it might have ſtood with reaſon: otherwiſe, the Gowt, with which he was often troubled, was enough to teach him his owne errour. He was the firſt of the Kings, derived from *Alexanders* Succeſſors, that entred into League with the *Romans*: as alſo his Off-ſpring was the laſt among thoſe Royall Families, which by them was rooted up.

* *Aug. de Civ. Dei l.18. c 42.*

[h] *Joſ. ant. l.12. c.2.*

Concerning that Booke which now goes under the name of *Ariſtæus*; many learned men, and among the reſt *Lodovicus Vives*, hold ſuſpicion that it is counterfeit, and the invention of ſome late Author. Surely if it were to be ſuſpected in the time of *Vives*; it may be now much more juſtly ſuſpected: ſince a new Edition of it is come forth, *purged from faults*, (as the Papiſts terme thoſe books, wherein they have changed what they pleaſe) and ſet forth by *Middendorpius* at *Colen*, An. Dom. 1578.

*Antiochus Theos* had another wife, called *Laodice*, at ſuch time as he married with *Berenice* the daughter of this *Ptolomie*. After his ſecond marriage, he uſed his firſt wife with no better regard, than if ſhee had beene his Concubine. *Laodice* hated him for this: yet adventured not to ſeeke revenge, untill her owne ſonne *Seleucus Callinicus* was of ability to be king. This was two or three yeers after the death of *Ptolomie Philadelphus*: at what time ſhe poyſoned her husband *Theos*; and, by permiſſion of *Seleucus* her ſon, murdered

*Berenice*, together with a ſonne that ſhe had borne to *Antiochus*. *Juſtine* reports, that *Berenice* ſaved her ſelfe, together with the yong Prince her childe, a while in the Sanctuary at *Daphne*: and that not only ſome Cities of *Aſia* prepared to ſuccour her, but her brother *Ptolomy Euergetes*, King of *Egypt*, came to reſcue her with an Army; though too late, for ſhe was ſlaine before. *Juſt.lib.27.*

With ſuch cruelties *Seleucus Callinicus*, ſucceeding unto his Father, that had fifteene yeares beene King, began his reigne. His ſubjects were highly offended at his wicked nature; which they diſcovered in his firſt entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his Eſtate would have beene much endangered, if *Ptolomy Euergetes*, who came againſt him, had not been drawne backe into his owne Countrey, by ſome Commotions there in hand. For there were none that would beare armes againſt *Ptolomie*, in defence of their owne King: but rather they ſided with the *Egyptian*; who tooke *Laodice* the Kings mother, and rewarded her with death as ſhe had well deſerved. Wherefore *Seleucus*, being freed from this invaſion, by occaſion of thoſe domeſticall troubles which recalled *Euergetes* home into *Egypt*; went about a dangerous piece of worke, even to make Warre upon his owne ſubjects, becauſe of their bad affection towards him; when as it had bin much better, by well deſerving, to have changed their hatred into love. A great Fleet he prepared: in furniſhing and manning whereof he was at ſuch charges, that he ſcarce left himſelfe any other hope, if that ſhould miſcarry. Herein he embarqued himſelfe; and putting to Sea, did meet with ſuch a tempeſt, as devoured all ſave himſelfe, and a very few of his friends that hardly eſcaped. This calamity, having left him nothing elſe in a manner than his naked body, turned nevertheleſſe to his great good; as anon after it ſeemed. For when his ſubjects underſtood in what ſort the gods (as they conceived it) had puniſhed him for his offences: they had commiſeration of his Eſtate; and, preſuming that he would thenceforth become a new man, offered unto him their ſervice with great alacritie. This revived him, and filled him with ſuch ſpirit; as thinking himſelfe well enough able to deale with the *Egyptian*, he made ready a mighty Army for that purpoſe. But his fortune was no better at Land, than it had beene at Sea. Hee was vanquiſhed by *Ptolomy* in a great battel: whence he eſcaped hardly; no better attended, than after his late ſhipwracke. Haſting therefore backe to *Antioch*, and fearing that the enemy would ſoone be at his heeles; He wrote unto his brother *Antiochus Hierax*, who lay then in *Aſia*, praying him to bring ſuccour with all ſpeed; and promiſing, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of *Aſia*. *Antiochus* was then but fourteene yeares old, but extremely ambitious; and therefore glad of ſuch an occaſion to make himſelfe great. Hee levied a mighty Army of the *Gaules*; wherewith he ſet forward to help his brother, or rather to get what he could for himſelfe. Hereof *Ptolomie* being advertiſed: and having no deſire to put himſelfe in danger more than he needed; tooke Truce with *Seleucus* for tenne yeares. No ſooner was *Seleucus* freed from this care of the *Egyptian* War, but his brother *Antiochus* came upon him, and needs would fight with him, as knowing himſelfe to have the better Army. So *Seleucus* vvas vanquiſhed againe; and ſaved himſelfe vvith ſo few about him, that he vvas verily ſuppoſed to have periſhed in the battell. Thus dids Gods Juſtice take revenge of thoſe murders by vvhich the Crowne vvas purchaſed; and ſetled (as might have beene thought) on the head of this bloudy King. *Antiochus* vvas very glad to heare of his brothers death, as if thereby hee had purchaſed his hearts deſire. But the *Gaules*, his Mercenaries, were gladder than hee. For vvhen he led them againſt *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, being in hope to get honour by making a Conqueſt in the beginning of his Reigne: theſe perfidious Barbarians tooke counſell againſt him, and deviſed how to ſtrippe him of all that he had. They thought it very likely, that if there vvere none of the Royall houſe to make head againſt them; it vvould be in their power, to doe vvhat ſhould be beſt pleaſing to themſelves, in the lower *Aſia*. Wherefore they laid hands on *Antiochus*; and enforced him to ranſome himſelfe vvith money, as if he had beene their lawfull Priſoner. Neither were they ſo contented; but made him enter into ſuch Compoſition with them, as tended but little to his honour. In the meane while *Seleucus* had gathered a new Armie; and prepared once more to try his fortune againſt his brother. *Eumenes* hearing of this, thought the ſeaſon fit for himſelfe, to make his profit of their diſcord. *Antiochus* fought vvith him, and vvas beaten: vvhich is no great marvell, ſince he had great reaſon to ſtand in no leſſe feare of the *Gaules*, his own ſouldiers, But *Antiochus* was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps only with faire words, containing himſelfe within *Aſia*; and letting *Ceraunus* enjoy that quietly, which he had purchaſed in *Europe* with the bloud of *Seleucus*. It is ſaid of this *Antiochus*, that although he married with the Queene *Stratonica* in his Fathers life, yet out of modeſty he forbore to imbrace her, till his Father was dead. So that perhaps his inceſtuous love was partly, if not chiefly, the cauſe of his not proſecuting that revenge; whereunto Nature ſhould have urged him. Afterwards he had wars with *Antigonus Gonatas*, and with *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia*. Alſo *Lutarius* and *Leonorius*, Kings or Captaines of the *Gaules*, were ſet upon him by the ſame *Nicomedes*. With theſe he fought a great battel: wherein, though otherwiſe the enemies had all advantage againſt him, yet by the terrour of his Elephants, which affrighted both their horſes and them, he won the Victory. He tooke in hand an enterpriſe againſt *Ptolomie Philadelphus*: but finding ill ſucceſſe in the beginning, he ſoon gave it over. To this king *Antiochus Soter* it was, that *Beroſus* the *Chaldæan* dedicated his Hiſtory of *Aſſyria*; the ſame which hath ſince bin excellently falſified by the Frier *Annius*. He left behind him one ſonne, called *Antiochus Theos*; and one daughter, called *Apame*, that was married unto the King of *Cyrene*. So he died about the end of the hundred twentie & ninth *Olympiad*, or the beginning of the *Olympiad* following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth yeer of *the kingdom of the Greeks*, when he had reigned nineteene yeeres.

*Genebrard l. 2. Juſt. Mart. in Paræn.*

*Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Theos*, or the *god*, had this vaine and impious title given to him, by flattery of the *Mileſians*; whom he delivered from *Timarchus*, a Tyrant that oppreſſed them. He held long and difficult, but fruitleſſe, warre with *Ptolomie Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolomie*.

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* *Aug. de Civ. Dei l. 18. c. 42.*

[h] *Joſ. ant. l. 12. c. 2.*

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In the ſecond battell, fought betweene the brethren, *Seleucus* had the upper hand: and *Antiochus Hierax* or *the Hawke*, (which ſurname was given him, becauſe he ſought his prey upon every one, without care whether he were provoked or not) ſoared away as farre as he could, both from his brother, and from his owne *Gaules*. Having fetcht a great compaſſe through *Meſopotamia* and *Armenia*, He fell at length in *Cappadocia*; where his father-in-law King *Artamenes* tooke him up. He was entertained very lovingly in outward ſhew; but with a meaning to betray him. This he ſoone perceived: and therefore betooke him to his wings againe; though he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length he reſolved to beſtow himſelfe upon *Ptolomy*; his owne conſcience telling him, what evill he had meant unto *Seleucus* his brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelity can finde no ſure harbour. *Ptolomy* well underſtood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this *Hierax*. Wherefore he laid him up in cloſe priſon: whence though by meanes of an harlot, he got out; yet flying from his keepers, he fell into the hands of theeves, by whom he was murthered. Neere about the ſame time died *Seleucus*. The *Parthians* and *Bactrians* had rebelled againſt him, during his wars with his brother. He therefore made a journy againſt *Arſaces* founder of the *Parthian* Kingdome: wherein his evill fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered ſo cloſely to him, that he was taken priſoner. *Arſaces* dealt friendly with him, and diſmiſſed him, having every way given him royall entertainment: but in returning home, he brake his neck by a fall from his horſe, and ſo ended his unhappy reigne of twenty years. He had to wife *Laodice*, the ſiſter of *Andromachus*, one of his moſt truſty Captains: which was father unto that *Achæus*, who making his advantage of this affinity, became ſhortly after (as he ſtiled himſelfe) a King; though rather indeed, a great troubler of the World in thoſe parts. By *Laodice* he had two ſons; *Seleucus* the third, ſurnamed *Ceraunus*; and *Antiochus* the third, called afterwards *the Great*.

*Seleucus Ceraunus* reigned only three years; in which time he made War upon *Attalus* the firſt, that was king of *Pergamus*. Being weak of body through ſickneſſe, and in want of mony, He could not keep his men of War in good order: and finally he was ſlaine by treaſon of *Nicanor* and *Apaturius* a *Gaule*. His death was revenged by *Achæus*, who ſlew the Traitors, and tooke charge of the Army: which he ruled very wiſely, and faithfully a while; *Antiochus* the brother of *Seleucus* being then a Child.

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## §. II.

*The beginning of the Great* Antiochus *his reigne. Of* Ptolomy Euergetes, *and* Philopater, *Kings of Egypt. War between* Antiochus *and* Philopater. *The rebellion of* Molo: *an expedition of* Antiochus *againſt him. The recontinuance of* Antiochus *his Egyptian war: with the paſſages between the two Kings: the victory of* Ptolomy, *and peace concluded. Of* Achæus, *and his rebellion; his greatneſſe, and his fall.* Antiochus *his expedition againſt the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians, Somewhat of the Kings reigning in India, after the death of the Great* Alexander.

A*Ntiochus* was ſcarcely fifteene years old, when he began his reigne, which laſted ſixe and thirty years. In his Minority, He was wholly governed by one *Hermias*, an ambitious man, and one which maligned all vertue, that he found in any of the Kings faithfull ſervants. This vile quality in a Counſellor of ſuch great place, how harmfull it was unto his Lord, and finally unto himſelfe; the ſucceſſe of things will ſhortly diſcover.

Soon after the beginning of *Antiochus* his reigne, *Ptolomy Euergetes* King of *Egypt* died; and left his heire *Ptolomy Philopater*, a yong Boy likewiſe, as hath elſewhere been remembred. This was that *Euergetes*, who releeved *Aratus* & the *Achæans*: who afterwards took part with *Cleomenes*; and lovingly entertained him, when he was chaſed out of *Greece* by *Antigonus Gonatas*. He annexed unto his Dominion the Kingdome of *Cyrene*; by taking to wife *Berenice*, the daughter of King *Magas*. He was the third of the *Ptolomies*; and the laſt good king of that race. The name of *Euergetes*, or *the doer of good*, was given to him by the *Egyptians*; not ſo much for the great ſpoyles which he brought home, after his victories in *Syria*; as for that he recovered ſome of thoſe Images or Idols, which *Cambyſes*, when he conquered *Egypt*, had carried into *Perſia*. He was ready to have made War upon the *Jewes*, for that *Onias* their high Prieſt, out of meer covetouſneſſe of mony, refuſed to pay unto him his yearly tribute of 20. talents: but he was pacified by the wiſdome of *Joſephus a Jew*, to whom afterwards he let in farme the Tributes and Cuſtomes that belonged unto him in thoſe parts of *Syria* which he held. For *Cœloſyria*, with *Palæſtina*, and all thoſe parts of the Country that lay neareſt unto *Egypt*, were held by the *Egyptian*; either as having fallen to the ſhare of *Ptolomy* the firſt, at ſuch time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquiſhed and ſlaine in the battell at *Ipſus*; or as being won by this *Euergetes*, in the troubleſome and unhappy reigne of *Seleucus Callinicus*. The victories of this *Euergetes* in *Syria*, with the contentions that laſted for many ſucceeding ages betweene the *Ptolomies* and the *Seleucidæ*; were all foretold by *Daniel* in the Prophecie before cited; which is expounded by *S. Hierome*. This *Ptolomy Euergetes* reigned ſix and twenty years; and dyed towards the end of the hundred thirty and ninth Olympiad. It may ſeeme by that which we finde in the Prologue unto *Jeſus* the ſon of *Syrach* his book, that he ſhould have reigned a much longer time. For *Siracides* there ſaith that he came into *Egypt* in the eight and thirtieth yeare, when *Euergetes* was King. It may therefore be, That either this King reigned long together with his father: or that thoſe eight and thirty years were the yeares of *Jeſus* his owne age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the *Jewes* did otherwhiles reckon) from ſome notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of *Euergetes*, *Hermias* the Counſellor, and in a manner the Protector of King *Antiochus*, incited his Lord unto War againſt the *Egyptian*; for the recovery of *Cœloſyria* and the Countries adjoyning. This counſell was very unſeaſonably given, when *Molo*, the Kings Lievtenant in Media, was broken out into rebellion, and ſought to make himſelfe abſolute Lord of that rich Country. Nevertheleſſe *Hermias*, being more froward than wiſe, maintained ſtiffely, that it was moſt expedient, and agreeable with the Kings honour, to ſend forth againſt a rebellious Captaine, other Captaines that were faithfull; whileſt He in perſon made Warre upon one, that was like himſelfe, a King. No man durſt gaine-ſay the reſolution of *Hermias*; who therefore ſent *Xenœtas* an *Achæan*, with ſuch forces as he thought expedient, againſt the Rebell; whileſt in the meane ſeaſon an Army was preparing for the Kings expedition into *Cœloſyria*. The King having marched from *Apamea* to *Laodicea*, and ſo over the Deſarts into the Vally of *Maſſyas*, between the Mountaines of *Libanus* and *Anti-libanus*; found his way there ſtopped by *Theodotus* an *Ætolian*, that ſerved under *Ptolomy*. So he conſumed the time there a while to none effect: and then came newes, that *Xenœtas*, his Captain, was deſtroyed with his whole Army; and *Molo* thereby become Lord of all the Country, as far as unto *Babylon*.

*Xenœtas*, whileſt he was yet on his journy, and drew neare to the River of Tygris; received many advertiſements, by ſuch as fled over unto him from the Enemy, That the followers of *Molo* were, for the moſt part, againſt their wils, drawne by their Commander to beare armes againſt their King. This report was not altogether falſe; but *Molo* himſelfe ſtood in ſome doubt leſt his followers would leave him in time of neceſſity. *Xenœtas* therefore making ſhew, as if he had prepared to paſſe the River by Boats in face of his Enemie; left in the night time ſuch as he thought meet to defend his Campe; and with all the floure of his Army went over Tygris, in a place tenne miles lower than *Molo* his Campe. *Molo* heard of this, and ſent forth his horſe to give impediment: but hearing that *Xenœtas* could not ſo bee ſtopped, Hee himſelfe diſlodged, and tooke his journey towards *Media*; leaving all his baggage behinde him in his Campe. Whether he did this, as diſtruſting the faith of his owne ſouldiers: or whether thereby to deceive his Enemy; the great folly of *Xenœtas* made his ſtratagem proſperous. For *Xenœtas*, having borne himſelfe proudly before, upon the countenance of *Hermias*, by whom he was advanced unto this charge; did now preſume that all ſhould give way to his authority, without putting him to much trouble of uſing the ſword. Wherefore he ſuffered his men to feaſt with the proviſions which they found ready in the forſaken Campe: or rather he commanded them ſo to doe, by making Proclamation, That they ſhould cheriſh up themſelves againſt the journy, which he intended to take the next day, in purſuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the ſame purpoſe he buſied himſelfe, in tranſporting the remainder of his Army, which he had left on the other ſide of Tygris. But *Molo* went no further that day, than he could eaſily returne the ſame night. Wherefore underſtanding what good rule the Kings men kept: he made ſuch haſte backe unto them, that he came upon them early in the morning; whileſt they were yet heavie with the Wine and other good cheare that they had ſpent at ſupper. So *Xenætas* and a very few with him, died fighting in defence of the Campe: the reſt were ſlaughtered without making reſiſtance; and many of them ere they were perfectly awake. Likewiſe the Camp on the other ſide of Tygris, was eaſily taken by *Molo*: the Captains flying thence, to ſave their own lives. In the heat of this victory, the Rebell marched unto *Seleucia*, which he preſently took: and, maſtering within a little while the Province of *Babylonia*, and all the Country downe to the red-Sea, or Bay of *Perſia*, He haſted unto *Suſa*; where at his firſt comming, he won the Citie: but failing to take the Caſtle that was exceeding ſtrong, returned back to *Seleucia*, there to give order concerning this buſineſſe.

The report of theſe things comming to *Antiochus*, whileſt he lay (as is ſaid before) in the Vale of *Marſyas*; filled him with great ſorrow, and his Campe with trouble. He tooke counſell what to doe in this needfull caſe; and was well adviſed by *Epigenes*, the beſt man of Warre he had about him, to let alone this enterpriſe of *Cœloſyria*; and bend his forces thither, where more need required them. This counſell was put in execution with all convenient haſte. Yet was *Epigenes* diſmiſſed by the way, and ſoon after ſlaine, by the practice of *Hermias*; who could not endure to heare good counſell given, contrary to his owne good liking and allowance. In the journey againſt *Molo*, the name and preſence of the King was more availeable, than any oddes which he had of the Rebell in ſtrength. *Molo* diſtruſted his owne followers: and thought, that neither his late good ſucceſſe, nor any other conſideration, would ſerve to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience; if once they beheld his perſon. Wherefore he thought it ſafeſt for him to aſſaile the Kings Campe in the night time. But going in hand with this, He was diſcovered by ſome that fled over from him to the King. This cauſed him to returne backe to his Campe: which by ſome errour, tooke alarme at his returne; and was hardly quieted, when *Antiochus* appeared in ſight. The King was thus forward in giving battell to *Molo*, upon confidence which he had that many would revolt unto him. Neither was he deceived in this his beliefe. For not a few men, or Enſignes: but all the left wing of the enemy, which was oppoſite unto the King, changed ſide forthwith as ſoon as ever they had ſight of the Kings perſon; and were ready to doe him ſervice againſt *Molo*. This was enough to have won the victory: but *Molo* ſhortned the work, by killing himſelfe; as did alſo divers of his friends, who for feare of torments, prevented the Hang-man with their owne ſwords.

After this Victory came joyfull newes, that the Queene *Laodice*, daughter of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was married unto *Antiochus* a while before, had brought forth a ſonne. Fortune ſeemed bountifull unto the King: and therefore he purpoſed to make what uſe hee could of her friendly diſpoſition while it laſted. Being now in the Eaſterne parts of his Kingdome, He judged it convenient to viſit his frontiers, were it only to terrefie the *Barbarians*, that bordered upon him. Hereunto his Counſellor *Hermias* gave aſſent: not ſo much reſpecting the Kings honour, as conſidering what good might thereby happen to himſelfe. For if it ſhould come to paſſe, that the King were taken out of the world by any caſualty: then made he no doubt of becomming Protector to the yong Prince; and thereby of lengthening his owne Governement. *Antiochus* therefore went againſt *Artabazanes*, who reigned among the *Atropatians*; having the greateſt part of his kingdome ſituate betweene the *Caſpian* and *Euxine* Sea. This barbarous King was very old and fearefull; and therefore yeelded unto whatſoever conditions it pleaſed *Antiochus* to lay upon him. So in this journey *Antiochus* got honour, ſuch as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Upon the way, a Phyſician of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*; informing him truely how odious he was to the people; and how dangerous he would be ſhortly unto the Kings owne life. *Antiochus* beleeved this, as having long ſuſpected the ſame *Hermias*; but not daring for fear of him to utter his ſuſpicions. It was therefore agreed, that he ſhould be made away on the ſudden: which was done, he being trained forth by a ſleight, a good way out of the Campe, and there killed without warning or diſputation. The King needed not to have uſed ſo much art in ridding his hands of a man ſo much deteſted. For howſoever he ſeemed gracious whileſt he was alive: yet they that for feare had beene moſt obſequious to him, whileſt he was in caſe to doe them hurt, vvas as ready as the foremoſt, to ſpeake of him as he had deſerved, when once they were ſecure of him: Yea, his wife and children, lying then at *Apamea*, were ſtoned to death by the vvives and children of the Citizens; whoſe indignation brake forth the more outrageouſly, the longer that it had beene concealed.

About theſe times, *Achæus* (of whom we ſpake before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to periſh in ſome of theſe expeditions which hee tooke in hand; was bold to ſet a Diademe upon his owne head, and take upon him as a King. His purpoſe was to have invaded *Syria*: but the fame of *Antiochus* his returning thitherwards, made him quit the enterpriſe; and ſtudie to ſet ſome handſome colour on his former preſumption. It is very ſtrange, that *Antiochus* neither went againſt *Achæus*; nor yet diſſembled the notice which he had taken of theſe his traiterous purpoſes: but wrote unto him, ſignifying that he knew all, and upbraiding him with ſuch infidelity, as any offender might know to be unpardonable. By theſe meanes he emboldned the Traytor: who being already detected, might better hope to maintaine his former actions by ſtrong hand, than to excuſe them or get pardon by ſubmiſſion. *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement deſire to recover *Cœloſyria*, or what elſe hee could, of the Dominions of *Ptolomie Philopater* in thoſe parts. He began with *Seleucia*, a very ſtrong Citie neare to the mouth of the River *Orontes*; which ere long he wonne, partly by force, partly by corrupting with bribes the Captaines that lay therein. This was that *Seleucia*, whereto *Antigonus the Great*, who founded it, gave the name of *Antigonia*: but *Seleucus* getting it ſhortly after, called it *Seleucia*; and *Ptolomy Euergetes* having lately wonne it, might if it had ſo pleaſed him, have changed the name into *Ptolemais*. Such is the vanity of men, that hope to purchaſe an endleſſe memoriall unto their names, by workes proceeding rather from their greatneſſe, than from their vertue; which therefore no longer are their owne, than the ſame greatneſſe hath continuance. *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, he that before had oppoſed himſelfe to *Antiochus*, and defended *Cœloſyria* in the behalfe of *Ptolomy*; was now growen ſorry, that he had uſed ſo much faith & diligence, in ſervice of an unthankful and luxurious Prince. Wherefore as a Mercenary, he began to have regard to his owne profit: which thinking to finde greater, by applying himſelfe unto him that was (queſtionleſſe) the more worthy of theſe two Kings; He offered to deliver up unto *Antiochus*, the Cities of *Tyrus* and *Ptolemais*. Whileſt he was deviſing about this treaſon, and had already ſent meſſengers to king *Antiochus*: his practice was detected, and he beſieged in *Ptolemais* by one of *Ptolomies* Captaines, that was more faithfull than himſelfe. But *Antiochus* haſting to his reſcue, vanquiſhed this Captaine who met him on the way: and afterwards got poſſeſſion, not onely of *Tyrus* and *Ptolemais*, with a good Fleet of the *Egyptian* Kings that was in thoſe Havens: but of ſo many other Townes in that Countrie, as emboldned him to thinke upon making a journey into *Egypt* it ſelfe. *Agathocles* and *Soſibius* bore all the ſway in *Egypt* at that time: *Ptolomie* himſelfe being loth to have his pleaſures interrupted, with buſineſſe of ſo ſmall importance, as the ſafety of his Kingdome. Wherefore theſe two agreed together, to make proviſion as haſtily, and yet as ſecretly as might be, for the Warre: and neverthleſſe, at the ſame time, to preſſe *Antiochus* with daily Embaſſadors to ſome good agreement. There came in the heate of this buſineſſe, Embaſſadors from *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, and *Cyzicus*, as likewiſe from the *Ætolians*; according to the uſuall courteſie of the *Greeks*, deſiring to take up the quarrell.

Theſe were all entertained in *Memphis*, by *Agathocles* and *Soſibius*: who intreated them to deale effectually with *Antiochus*. But whileſt this treaty laſted, great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the Warre: wherein theſe two Counſellors perſwaded themſelves reaſonably, that the victory would be their own; if they could get, for mony, a ſufficient number of the *Greeks* to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard only what was done at *Memphis*, and how deſirous the Governours of *Egypt* were to be at quiet: whereunto he gave the readier beliefe, not onely for that he knew the diſpoſition of *Ptolomie*, but becauſe the *Rhodians*, and other Embaſſadors, comming from *Memphis*, diſcourſed unto him all after one maner; as being all deceived by the cunning of *Agathocles* and his fellow: *Antiochus* therefore having wearied himſelfe, at the long ſiege of a Town called *Dura*, which he could not win: and being deſirous to refreſh himſelfe and his Army in *Seleucia*, during the winter which then came on; granted to the *Egyptian* a Truce for foure moneths, with promiſe that he would be ready to hearken unto equall Conditions, when they ſhould be offered. It was not his meaning to be ſo courteous, as he would faine have ſeemed, but onely to lull his enemies aſleepe, whileſt he took time to refreſh himſelfe; and to bring *Achæus* to ſome good order, whoſe treaſon daily grew more open and violent. The ſame negligence which he thought the *Egyptian* would have uſed, He uſed himſelfe; as preſuming, that when time of the year better ſerved, little force would be needfull; for that the Townes would voluntarily yeeld unto him, ſince *Ptolomie* provided not for their defence. Neverthleſſe, he gave audience to the Embaſſadors, and had often conference with thoſe that were ſent out of *Egypt*: pleaſing himſelfe well, to diſpute about the juſtice of his quarrell; which he purpoſed ſhortly to make good by the ſword, whether it were juſt or no. He ſaid, that it was agreed between *Seleucus* his Anceſtor, and *Ptolomie* the ſonne of *Lagi*, That all *Syria*, if they could winne it from *Antigonus*, ſhould be given in poſſeſſion to *Seleucus*: and that this bargaine was afterwards ratified, by generall conſent of all the Confederates, after the battell at *Ipſus*. But *Ptolomies* men would acknowledge no ſuch bargaine. They ſaid that *Ptolomie* the ſonne of *Lagi*, had wonne *Cœloſyria*, and the Provinces adjoyning, for himſelfe: as alſo that he had ſufficiently gratified *Seleucus*, by lending him forces to recover his Province of *Babylon*, and the Countries about the River of *Euphrates*. Thus whileſt neither of them greatly cared for peace; they were in the end of their diſputation, as farre from concluding, as at the beginning. *Ptolomie* demanded reſtitution; *Antiochus* thought, that he had not as yet gotten all that was his owne: Alſo *Ptolomy* would needs have *Achæus* comprehended in the League betweene them, as one of their Confederates; But *Antiochus* would not endure to heare of this, exclaiming againſt it as a ſhamefull thing, that one King ſhould offer to deale ſo with another, as to take his Rebell into protection, and ſeek to joyn him in Confederacy with his owne Soveraigne Lord. When the Truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the field againe: contrary to his expectation, he was informed, That *Ptolomy*, with a very puiſſant Army, was comming up againſt him out of *Egypt*. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemy, he was encountred on the way by thoſe Captaines of *Ptolomy*, that had reſiſted him the yeare before. They held againſt him the paſſages of *Libanus*, whence neverthleſſe he drave them: and proceeding onward in his journey, wonne ſo many places, that he greatly encreaſed his reputation; and thereby drew the *Arabians*, with divers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two Kings drew neare together: many Captaines of *Ptolomy* forſook his pay, and fled over to *Antiochus*. This notwithſtanding, the *Egyptian* had the courage to meet his enemy in the field. The battell was fought at *Raphia*: where it was not to be decided, whether the *Egyptians* or *Aſiatiques* were the better Souldiers (for that the ſtrength of both Armies conſiſted in Mercenaries, chiefly of the *Greekes*, *Thracians*, and *Gaules*) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolomy*, with *Arſinoe* his Siſter and Wife, rode up and downe encouraging his men; the like did *Antiochus* on the other ſide: each of them rehearſing the brave deeds of his Anceſtors; as not having of their owne, whereby to value themſelves. *Antiochus* had the more Elephants, as alſo his, being of *Aſia*, had they been fewer, would have beaten thoſe of *Africke*. Wherefore by the advantage of thoſe beaſts, He drave the Enemies before him, in that part of the battell wherein he fought himſelfe. But *Ptolomy* had the better men: by whoſe valour he brake the Groſſe of his Enemies battell, and won the victory; whileſt *Antiochus* was heedleſly following upon thoſe, whom he had compelled to retire. *Antiochus* had brought into the field above ſeventy thouſand foot, and ſixe thouſand horſe; whereof though he loſt ſcarce ten thouſand foot, and not foure hundred horſe; yet the fame of his overthrow took from him all thoſe places which he had lately won. When therefore he was returned home to *Antioch*: He began to ſtand in feare, leſt *Ptolomie* and *Achæus*, ſetting upon him both at once, ſhould put him in danger of his whole Eſtate. This cauſed him to ſend Embaſſadors to the *Egyptian*, to treate of peace; which was readily granted; it being much againſt the nature of *Ptolomy* to vexe himſelfe thus with the tedious buſineſſe of Warre. So *Ptolomy* having ſtaied three moneths in *Syria*, returned home into *Egypt*, clad with the reputation of a Conqueror; to the great admiration of his ſubjects, and of all thoſe that were acquainted with his voluptuous and ſlothfull condition.

*Achæus* was not compriſed in the league betweene theſe two Kings: or if hee had been beene included therein; yet would not the *Egyptian* have taken the paines, of making a ſecond expedition for his ſake. The beſt was, that he thought himſelfe ſtrong enough, if fortune were not too much againſt him, to deale with *Antiochus*. Neither was he confident without great reaſon: for beſides his many victories, whereby he had gotten all that belonged unto *Antiochus* on this ſide of *Taurus*, he had alſo good ſucceſſe againſt *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; that was an able man of warre, and commanded a ſtrong Armie. Neither was he, as *Molo* the Rebell had beene, one of meane regard otherwiſe, and carried beyond himſelfe by apprehending the vantage of ſome opportunitie: but Couſin-german to the King, as hath beene ſhewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a younger daughter of the ſame *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, which was alſo called *Laodice*, as was her ſiſter the Queene, *Antiochus* his wife. Theſe things had added majeſtie unto him, and had made his followers greatly to reſpect him, even as one to whom a Kingdome was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, That King *Ptolomie* of *Egypt* held him in the nature of a friend: and that King *Antiochus* was now lately vanquiſhed in the battell at *Raphia*; and had thereby loſt all his gettings in *Syria*. But all theſe hopes and likelihoods came to nothing: for the King of *Pontus*, if he would meddle in that quarrell betweene ſonnes-in-law, had no reaſon to take part againſt the more honourable. As for the *Egyptian*, he was not onely ſlothfull, but hindred by a rebellion of his owne ſubjects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of *Egypt*, of whom *Ptolomie*, contrary to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to ſerve in the late expedition; beganne to entertaine a good opinion of their owne valour, thinking it not inferiour to the *Macedonian*. Hereupon they refuſed to ſuffer as much as formerly they had done: ſince they leſs eſteemed, than they had done, the force of the Kings mercenarie *Greekes*; which had hitherto kept them in ſtreight ſubjection. Thus brake out a warre betweene the King and his ſubjects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the multitude was finally broken; yet King *Ptolomie* thereby waſted much of his ſtrength, and much of his time, that might have beene ſpent, as he thought, much better in revelling; or, as others thought, in ſuccouring *Achæus*. As for *Antiochus*, He had no ſooner made his peace with the *Egyptian*, than he turned all his care to the preparation of war againſt *Achæus*. To this purpoſe he entred into League with *Attalus*; that ſo he might diſtract the forces of his Rebell, and finde him worke on all ſides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were ſuch, that within a while he had pent up *Achæus* into the Citie of *Sardes*; where he held him about two yeeres beſieged. The Citie was very ſtrong, and well victualled: ſo as there appeared not, when the ſecond yeere came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the firſt yeeres ſiege. In the end, one *Lagoras* a *Cretan* found meanes how to enter the Towne. The Caſtle it ſelfe was upon a very high Rocke, and in a manner impregnable; as alſo the Towne-wall adjoyning to the Caſtle, in that part which was called *the Sawe*, was in like manner ſituate upon ſteepe Rockes, and almoſt inacceſſible; that hung over a deepe bottome, whereinto the dead carkaſes of Horſes, and other beaſts, yea, and ſometimes of men, uſed to be thrown. Now it was obſerved by *Lagoras*, that the Ravens and other birds of prey, which haunted that place by reaſon of their food which was there never wanting, uſed to flie up unto the top of the Rocks, and to pitch upon the walls, where they reſted without any diſturbance. Obſerving this often, he reaſoned with himſelfe, and concluded, that thoſe parts of the Wall were left unguarded, as being thought unapproachable. Hereof he informed the king: who approved his judgment, and gave unto him the leading of ſuch men, as he deſired for the accompliſhing of the enterpriſe. The ſucceſſe was agreeable to that which *Lagoras* had afore conceived: and though with much labour, yet without reſiſtance, he ſcaled thoſe rocks, and (whileſt a generall aſſault was made) entred the towne in that part, which was at other times unguarded, then unthought upon. In the ſame place had the *Perſians*, under *Cyrus*, gotten into *Sardes*; when *Crœſus* thought himſelfe ſecure on that ſide. But the Citizens tooke not warning by the example of a loſſe many ages paſt: and therefore out of memorie. *Achæus* held ſtill the Caſtle: which not onely ſeemed by nature impregnable, but was very well ſtored with all neceſſaries, and manned with a ſufficient number, of ſuch as were to him well aſſured. *Antiochus* therefore was conſtrayned to waſte much time about it: having none other hope to prevaile, than by famiſhing the incloſed. Beſides the uſuall tediouſneſſe of expectation, his buſineſſe called him thence away into the higher *Aſia*, where the *Ba-*

ctrians, and *Parthians* with the *Hyrcanians*, had erected kingdomes taken out of his Dominions, upon which they ſtill incroached. But he thought it not ſafe, to let *Achæus* breake looſe againe. On the other ſide there were ſome Agents of *Ptolomie* the *Egyptian*, and good friends unto *Achæus*; that made it their whole ſtudie, how to deliver this beſieged Prince. If they could reſcue his perſon, they cared for no more: but preſumed that when he ſhould appeare in the Countreyes under *Taurus*, he would ſoone have an Armie at command, and be ſtrong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardly to worke as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolis* a *Cretan*, that was acquainted well with all the wayes in the Countrey, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult paſſages among thoſe Rockes, whereon the Caſtle of *Sardes* ſtood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he ſhould receive at the hands of *Ptolomie*, as well as of *Achæus*; to doe his beſt for performance of their deſire. He undertook the buſineſſe, and gave ſuch likely reaſons of bringing all to good effect, that they wrote unto *Achæus*, by one *Arianus*, a truſtie meſſenger, whom *Bolis* found meanes to conveigh into the Caſtle. The faith of theſe Negotiators *Achæus* held moſt aſſured. They alſo wrote unto him in privie Characters, or Ciphers, wherewith none ſave he and they were acquainted: whereby he knew, that it was no fained device of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the meſſenger, he was a truſtie fellow, and one whom *Achæus* found, by examination, heartily affected unto their ſide. But the Contents of the Epiſtle, which were, That he ſhould be confident in the faith of *Bolis*, and of one *Cambylus* whom *Bolis* had wonne unto the buſineſſe, did ſomewhat trouble him. They were men to him unknowne: and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*; under whom he had the command of thoſe *Cretans*, which held one of the Forts that blocked up the Caſtle of *Sardes*. Nevertheleſſe other way to eſcape he ſaw none, than by putting himſelf to ſome adventure. When the meſſenger had therefore paſſed often to and fro, it was at length concluded, That *Bolis* himſelfe ſhould come ſpeak with *Achæus*, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the reſt, ſave onely by *Bolis* and *Cambylus*; which were *Cretans*, and (as all their Countrimen, *ſome few excepted, have beene, and ſtill are) falſe knaves. Theſe two held a conſultation together, that was, as [a] *Polybius* obſerves it, rightly *Cretical*: neither concerning the ſafety of him whoſe deliverance they undertooke, nor touching the diſcharge of their own faith; but only how to get moſt with leaſt adoe and danger to themſelves. Briefly they concluded, That firſt of all they would equally ſhare betweene them ten Talents, which they had already received in hand: and then, That they would reveale the matter to *Antiochus*; offering to deliver *Achæus* unto him, if they might be well rewarded both with preſent money, and with promiſe of conſideration anſwerable to the greatneſſe of ſuch a ſervice, when it ſhould be diſpatched. *Antiochus* hearing this promiſe of *Cambylus*, was no leſſe glad, than were the friends of *Achæus* well pleaſed with the comfortable promiſes of *Bolis*. At length when all things were in readineſſe on both ſides, and that *Bolis* with *Arianus* was to get up into the Caſtle, and conveigh *Achæus* thence: He firſt went with *Cambylus* to ſpeake with the King, who gave him very private audience; and confirmed unto him by word of mouth the aſſurance of his liberall promiſes. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honeſt man, and of one that was faithfull unto *Ptolomie*, whom he had long ſerved, he accompanied *Arianus* up into the Caſtle. At his comming thither, hee was lovingly entertained; yet queſtioned at large by *Achæus*, touching all the weight of the buſineſſe in hand. But he diſcourſed ſo well, and with ſuch gravity; that there appeared no reaſon of diſtruſting either his faith or judgement. Hee was an old Souldier, had long beene a Captaine under *Ptolomie*, and did not thruſt himſelfe into this buſineſſe; but was invited by honourable and faithfull men. Hee had alſo taken a ſafe courſe, in winning (as it ſeemed) that other Countriman of his, who kept a Fort that ſtood in their way; and thereby had already ſundry times given ſafe paſſage and repaſſage unto *Arianus*. But againſt all theſe comfortable hopes, the importance of ſo great an adventure ſtirred up ſome diffidence. *Achæus* therefore dealt wiſely, and ſayd, That he would yet ſtay in the Caſtle a little longer: but that hee meant to ſend away with *Bolis* three or foure of his friends; from whom when hee received better advertiſement, concerning the likelihood of the enterpriſe, then would he iſſue forth himſelfe. Hereby he took order, not to commit himſelf wholly unto the faith of a man unknowne. But as *Polybius* well notes, he did not conſider that

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* Among theſe few I doe not except one, calling himſelf *Eudæmon*. *John Andrew* a *Cretan*, who in one of his late ſhameleſſe Libels, wherein he traduceth our King, Religion, and Countrey, with all the good and worthy men of whom he could learn the names, hath, by inſerting my name twice, belied me; in calling me a *Puritan*, and one that have been dangerous unto my Soveraigne. It is an honour to be ill ſpoken of by ſo diligent a ſupporter of Treaſons, and Architect of Lies: in regard whereof I may not denie him the commendation of Creticiſme no leſſe voluminous, than he in multiplicity of name is beyond any the *Cretians* in elder times, that were alwaies Lyars, evill beaſts, and ſlow bellies.

[a] *Pol. hiſt. l. 8.*

he playd the *Cretian* with a man of *Crete*: which is to ſay, That he had to doe with one, whoſe knavery could not be avoided by circumſpection. *Bolis* and *Cambilus* had layd their plots thus, That if *Achæus* came forth alone, then ſhould he eaſily be taken by the ambuſh prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then ſhould *Arianus* be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it oft; and *Bolis* following behinde, ſhould have an eye upon *Achæus* to prevent him, not onely from eſcaping in the tumult, but from breaking his owne necke, or otherwiſe killing himſelfe: to the end that being taken alive, he might be to *Antiochus* the more welcome Preſent. And in ſuch order came they now forth: *Arianus* going before as Guide; the reſt following, as the way ſerved, and *Bolis* in the Rere. *Achæus* made none acquainted with his purpoſe, till the very inſtant of his departure. Then ſignified he the matter to his Wife *Laodice*; and comforting her with hope as well as he could, appointed foure of his ſpecial friends to beare him companie. They were all diſguiſed: and one of them alone tooke upon him to have knowledge of the *Greek* tongue; ſpeaking and anſwering as need ſhould require for all, as if the reſt had beene *Barbarians*. *Bolis* followed them, craftily deviſing upon his buſineſſe, and much perplexed. For (ſaith *Polybius*) *Though he were of Crete, and prone to ſurmiſe any thing to the miſchiefe of another*; yet could he not ſee in the darke, nor know which of them was *Achæus*, or whether *Achæus* himſelfe were there. The way was very uneaſie, and in ſome places dangerous; eſpecially to thoſe that knew it not. Wherefore they were faine to ſtay in divers places, and helpe one another up or downe. But upon every occaſion they were all of them very officious towards *Achæus*; lending him their hands, and taking ſuch care of him, as eaſily gave *Bolis* to underſtand, that he was the man: and ſo by their unſeaſonable duty, they undid their Lord. When they came to the place where *Cambylus* lay in wait, *Bolis* whiſteled, and preſently claſped *Achæus* about the middle, holding him faſt that he could not ſtirre. So they were all taken by the Ambuſh, and carried forthwith to *Antiochus*; who ſate up watching in his Pavilion, expecting the event. The ſight of *Achæus*, brought in bound unto him, did ſo aſtoniſh the king, that he was unable to ſpeake a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was he before informed of the plot, which might have kept him from admiration: as alſo the next morning betimes, aſſembling his friends together, he condemned *Achæus* to a cruell death: which argues, that he was not moved with pity towards this unhappy man. Wherefore it was the generall regard of calamities, incident unto great fortunes, that wrung from him theſe teares: as alſo the rarity of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it be ſo, that ſuch a courſe as this of his, in employing two miſchievous knaves againſt one Traitor, doth not rarely ſucceed well; according to that *Spaniſh* Proverb, *A un traydor dos allevoſos*. The death of *Achæus* brought ſuch aſtoniſhment upon thoſe which held the caſtle, that after a while they gave up the place & themſelves unto the King; whereby he got entire poſſeſſion of all to him belonging in the leſſer *Aſia*.

Some yeeres paſſed after this, ere *Antiochus* was ready for his expedition againſt the *Parthians* and *Hyrcanians*. The *Parthians* were a little Nation of obſcure beginnings, and commonly ſubject unto thoſe that ruled in *Media*. In the great ſhuffling for Provinces, after the death of *Alexander*, the Governement over them was committed by *Antipater* to one *Philip*, a man of ſmall regard: ſhortly they fell to *Eumenes*; then to *Antigonus*: and from him, together with the *Medes*, to *Seleucus*; under whoſe poſterity they continued untill the Reigne of *Seleucus Callinicus*, being ruled by Lievtenants of the *Syrian* Kings. The luſtfull inſolencie of one of theſe Lievtenants, together with the misfortune of *Callinicus*, that was vanquiſhed and thought to be ſlain by the *Gaules*; did ſtirre up *Arſaces*, a Noble man of the Countrey, to ſeeke revenge of injuries done, and animate them to rebell. So he ſlue the Kings Lievtenant; made himſelfe King of the *Parthians*, and Lord of *Hyrcania*; fought proſperouſly with thoſe that diſturbed him in his beginnings; and tooke *Seleucus Callinicus* priſoner in battell, whom hee royally entertained and diſmiſſed. Hereby he wonne reputation as a lawfull King: and by good governement of his Country, procured unto himſelfe ſuch love of his Subjects, that his name was continued unto his ſucceſſours; like as that of the *Ptolomies* in *Egypt*, and that of the *Cæſars* afterwards in *Rome*. Much about the ſame time the *Bactrians* rebelled: though theſe at length, and all belonging unto the *Seleucidæ* beyond *Euphrates*, increaſed the *Parthians* dominion. Now *Antiochus* went againſt them with ſo ſtrong an army, that they durſt not meet him in plaine field; but kept themſelves in woods, or places of ſtrength, and defended the Streights and paſſages of mountaines. The reſiſtances they made availed them not. For *Antiochus* had with him ſo great a multitude, and ſo well ſorted, as he needed not to turne out of the way, from thoſe that lay fortified againſt him, in Woods and Streights between their mountains; it being eaſie to ſpare out of ſo great a number, as many as fetching a compaſſe about, might either get above the enemies heads; or come behinde, and charge them on the backe. Thus did hee often imploy againſt them his light armature: wherewith he cauſed them to diſlodge, and give way unto his Phalanx; upon which they durſt not adventure themſelves in open ground. *Arſaces*, the ſecond of the name, (for his father was dead before this) was then King of *Parthia*: who though he was confident in the fidelity of his owne ſubjects; yet feared to encounter with ſo mighty an Invader. His hope was, that the bad wayes and Deſarts would have cauſed *Antiochus*, when he was at *Ecbatane* in *Media*, to give over the journey, without proceeding much further. This not ſo falling out: Hee cauſed the Wells and Springs in the Wilderneſſe, through which his Enemy muſt paſſe, to bee dammed up and ſpoyled. By which meanes, and the reſiſtance before ſpoken of, when he could not prevaile, He withdrew himſelfe out of the way; ſuffering the Enemy to take his pleaſure for a time, in waſting the Countrey: wherein without ſome victory obtained, hee could make no long abode. *Antiochus* hereby found, That *Arſaces* was nothing ſtrongly provided for the War. Wherefore he marched through the heart of *Parthia*: and then forward into *Hyrcania* where he wanne *Tambrace*, the chiefe City of that Province. This indignity, and many other loſſes, cauſed *Arſaces* at length, when he had gathered an Army that ſeemed ſtrong enough, to adventure a battell. The iſſue thereof was ſuch as gave to neither of the Kings hope of accompliſhing his deſires, without exceeding difficulty. Wherefore *Arſaces* craved peace, and at length obtained it: *Antiochus* thinking it not amiſſe, to make him a friend, whom he could not make a ſubject.

The next expedition of *Antiochus*, was againſt *Euthydemus* King of the *Bactrians*; one that indeed had not rebelled againſt him or his Anceſtors: but having gotten the Kingdome from thoſe that had rebelled, kept it himſelfe. With *Euthydemus* hee fought a battell by the River *Arius*, where he had the victory. But the victory was not ſo greatly to his honour, as was the teſtimony which he gave of his owne private valour, in obtaining it. He was thought that day to have demeaned him more courageouſly, than did any one man in all his Army. His horſe was ſlaine under him; and he himſelfe received a wound in his mouth, whereby he loſt ſome of his teeth. As for *Euthydemus*, He withdrew himſelfe back unto the furthermoſt parts of his Kingdome, and afterwards protracted the War, ſeeking how to end it by compoſition. So Embaſſadors paſſed betweene the Kings: *Antiochus* complaining, That a Countrey of his was unjuſtly uſurped from him: *Euthydemus* anſwering, That he had won it from the children of the Uſurpers: and further, That the *Bactrians*, a wilde Nation, could hardly be retained in order, ſave by a King of their owne; for that they bordered upon the *Scythians*, with whom if they ſhould joyne, it would bee greatly to the danger of all the Provinces that lay behinde them. Theſe allegations, together with his owne wearineſſe, pacified *Antiochus*, and made him willing to grant Peace, upon reaſonable Conditions. *Demetrius*, the ſon of *Euthydemus*, being a goodly gentleman, and employed by his father, as Embaſſador in this Treaty of Peace, was not a little availeable unto a good concluſion: for *Antiochus* liked him ſo well, that he promiſed to give him in marriage, one of his owne daughters; and therewithall permitted *Euthydemus* to retaine the Kingdome, cauſing him neverthleſſe to deliver up all his Elephants; as alſo to bind himſelfe by oath, to ſuch Covenants as he thought requiſite.

So *Antiochus* leaving the *Bactrian* in quiet, made a journey over Caucaſus, and came to the borders of *India*, where he renewed with *Sophagaſenus*, King of the *Indians*, the ſociety that had been between their Anceſtors. The *Indians* had remained ſubject unto the *Macedonians* for a little while, after *Alexanders* death. *Eumenes* in his Warre againſt *Antigonus*, raiſed part of his forces out of their Countrey. But when *Antigonus* (after his victory) turned Weſtward, and was over-buſied in a great civill Warre: then did one *Sandrocottus*, an *Indian*, ſtirre up his Country-men to rebellion; making himſelfe their Captaine, and taking upon him, as protector of their liberty. This Office and Title he ſoone changed, though not without ſome contention, into the Name and Majeſtie of a King. Finally he got unto himſelfe (having an Army of ſixe hundred thouſand men) if not all *India*, yet as much of it as had bin *Alexanders*. In this eſtate he had well confirmed himſelf, ere *Seleucus Nicator* could find leiſure to call him to account. Neither did he faint, or humble himſelf at the comming of *Seleucus*: but met him in the field, as ready to defend his owne; ſo ſtrongly and well appointed, that the *Macedonian* was contented to make both peace and affinity with him, taking only a reward of fifty Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the *Indian* and *Syrian* kingdomes, was continued by ſome Offices of love between their children, and now renewed by *Antiochus*: whoſe number of Elephants were increaſed thereupon, by the *Indian* king, to an hundred and fiftie: as alſo he was promiſed, to have ſome treaſure ſent after him; which he left one to receive. Thus parted theſe two great kings. Neither had the *Indians*, from this time forwards, in many generatiõs, any buſineſs worthy of remembrance with the weſtern Countries. The poſteritie of *Sandrocottus* is thought to have retained that kingdome unto the dayes of *Auguſtus Cæſar*: to whom *Porus*, then reigning in *India*, ſent Embaſſadors with preſents, and an Epiſtle written in *Greek*, wherein, among other things, He ſaid, That he had command over ſixe hundred kings. There is alſo found, ſcattered in ſundrie Authors, the mention of ſome which held that kingdome, in divers Ages, even unto the time of *Conſtantine the Great*: being all peradventure of the ſame race. But *Antiochus*, who in this Treatie with *Sophagaſenus* carried himſelfe as the worthier perſon, receiving Preſents; and after marching home through *Drangiana* and *Carmania*, with ſuch reputation, that all the Potentates, not only in the higher *Aſia*, but on the hither ſide of *Taurus*, humbled themſelves unto him, & called him *The Great*: ſaw an end of his own greatneſſe within few yeeres enſuing, by preſuming to ſtand upon points with the *Romans*; whoſe Greatneſſe was the ſame indeed, that his was only in ſeeming.

## §. III.

*The lewd reign of* Ptolomie Philopater *in Egypt: with the tragicall end of his favorites, when he was dead.* Antiochus *prepares to war on the young childe* Ptolomie Epiphanes, *the ſon of* Philopater. *His irreſolution in preparing for divers wars at once. His voyage towards the Helleſpont. He ſeeks to hold amitie with the Romans, who make friendly ſhew to him; intending nevertheleſſe to have war with him. His doings againſt the Helleſpont; which the Romans made the firſt ground of their quarrell to him.*

THis expedition being finiſhed, *Antiochus* had leiſure to repoſe himſelfe a while; and ſtudie which way to convert the terrour of his puiſſance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three yeers *Ptolomie Philopater* died: leaving his ſon *Ptolomie Epiphanes*, a young Boy, his ſucceſſor in the kingdome; unlikely by him to be well defended againſt a neighbour ſo mighty and ambitious. This *Ptolomie* ſurnamed *Philopater*, that is to ſay, *a lover of his Father*, is thought to have had that ſurname given him in meere deriſion; as having made away both his Father and Mother. His young yeeres being newly paſt, his childhood when he began to reigne, may ſeeme to diſcharge him of ſo horrible a crime, as his Fathers death: yet the beaſtlineſſe of all his following life, makes him not unlike to have done any miſchiefe, whereof hee could be accuſed. Having won the battell at *Raphiah*; He gave himſelfe over to ſenſuality; and was wholly governed by a Strumpet called *Agathoclea*. At her inſtigation Hee murdered his owne wife and ſiſter; which had adventured her ſelfe with him, in that onely dangerous Action by him undertaken and performed with honour. The Lieutenantſhips of his Provinces, with all Commands in his Armie, and Offices whatſoever, were wholly referred unto the diſpoſition of this *Agathoclea*, and her brother *Agathocles*, and *Oenanthe* a filthy Bawd that was mother unto them both. So theſe three governed the Realme at their pleaſure, to the great griefe of all the Countrey, till *Philopater* died: who having reigned ſeventeene yeeres, left none other ſonne than *Ptolomie Epiphanes*, a childe of five yeers old, begotten on *Arſinoe* that was his ſiſter and wife. After the Kings death, *Agathocles* began to take upon him, as Protector of young *Epiphanes*, and Governor of the Land. He aſſembled the *Macedons* (which were the Kings ordinary forces in pay, not all borne in *Macedonia*, but the race of thoſe that abode in *Egypt* with *Ptolomie the firſt*, and would not be accounted *Egyptians*; as neither would the Kings themſelves) and bringing forth unto them his ſiſter *Agathoclea*, with the young King in her armes; began a ſolemne oration. He told them, That the deceaſed father of this their King, had committed the childe into the armes of his ſiſter, but unto the faith of them: on whoſe valiant right hands, the whole ſtate of the kingdome did now relye: He beſought them therefore that they would be faithfull, and, as great need was, defend their King againſt the treaſon of one *Tlepolemus*, an ambitious man; who traiterouſly went about to ſet the Diademe upon his owne head, being a meere ſtranger to the Royall bloud. Herewithall he produced before them a witneſſe, that ſhould juſtifie his accuſation againſt *Tlepolemus*. Now though it were ſo, that he delivered all this with a fained paſſion of ſorrow, and counterfeiting teares: yet the *Macedons* that heard him, regarded not any word that he ſpake; but ſtood laughing, and talking one to another, what a ſhameleſſe diſſembler he was, to take ſo much upon him, as if he knew not how greatly he was hated. And ſo brake up the Aſſembly: he that had called it, being ſcarce aware how. *Agathocles* therefore, whom the old Kings favour had made mighty, but neither wiſe nor well qualified, thought to goe to worke, as had formerly been his manner, by uſing his authority, to the ſuppreſſion of thoſe that he diſtruſted. He haled out of a Temple the mother-in-law of *Tlepolemus*; and caſt her into priſon. This filled *Alexandria* with rumors, and made the people (though accuſtomed to ſuffer greater things, whileſt they were committed in the old kings name) to meet in knots together, and utter one to another their mindes; wherein they had conceived extreme hate, againſt theſe three pernicious Miſ-governours of the old King. Beſides their conſideration of the preſent injurie done to *Tlepolemus*, they were ſomewhat alſo moved with feare of harme; which, in way of requitall, *Tlepolemus* was likely to doe unto the Citie. For he was, though a man moſt unapt for Government, as afterwards he proved, yet no bad Souldier, and well beloved of the Armie. It was alſo then in his power, to ſtop the proviſion of victuals which was to come into *Alexandria*. As theſe motives wrought with the people, ſo by the remedy which *Agathocles* uſed, were the *Macedons* more haſtily, and more violently ſtirred unto uproare. He ſecretly apprehended one of their number, whom he ſuſpected of conſpiracie againſt him; & delivered him unto a follower of his own, to be examined by torture. This poore Souldier was carried into an inner roome of the Palace, and there ſtripped out of all his apparell to be tormented. But whileſt the whippes were brought forth, and all thnigs even in a readineſſe for that purpoſe, there was brought unto the miniſter of *Agathocles*, a ſad report of *Tlepolemus* his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the roome; leaving *Moeragenes* the Souldier alone by himſelfe, and the doors open. He perceiving this, naked as he was, conveighed himſelfe out of the Palace, and got unto the *Macedonians*; of whom he found ſome in a Temple there by at dinner. The *Macedonians* were as fierce in maintenance of their Priviledges, as are the *Turkes Janizars*. Being aſſured therefore that one of their fellowes had thus beene uſed, they fell to Armes in a great rage, and began to force the Palace: crying out, That they would ſee the King, and not leave him in poſſeſſion of ſuch a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the Citie, with lowd clamours, made no leſſe adoe than the Souldiers, though to leſſe effect. So the old Bawd *Oenanthe* fled into a Temple: her Sonne and Daughter ſtayed in the Court, untill the King was taken from them; and they, by his permiſſion which he eaſily gave, and by appointment of thoſe that now had him in their hands, delivered up to the furie of the people. *Agathocles* himſelfe was ſtabbed to death, by ſome which therein did the office of friends; though in manner of enemies. His ſiſter was dragged naked up and downe the ſtreets; as was alſo his mother, with all to them belonging: the enraged multitude committed upon them a barbarous execution of juſtice; biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in pieces.

Theſe troubles in *Egypt*, ſerved vvell to ſtir up King *Antiochus*; who had very good leaſure, though he vvanted all pretence, to make vvarre upon young *Ptolomie*. *Philip* of *Macedon* had the ſame deſire to get vvhat part he could of the childes eſtate. But it happened vvell, that *Ptolomie Philopater* in the *Punicke* Warre, vvhich vvas now newly ended, had done many good offices unto the *Romans*. Unto them therefore the *Egyptians* addreſſed themſelves, and craved helpe againſt theſe two kings: vvho though they ſecretly maligned one the other, yet had entred into covenant to divide betweene them all that belonged unto this *Orphan*; whoſe Father had beene Confederate with them both. So[*] *M. Lepidus* was ſent from *Rome*, to protect from all violence the King of *Egypt*; eſpecially againſt *Antiochus*. As for the *Macedonian*; He was very ſoone found buſied, with war at his owne doores. Alſo *Scopas* the *Ætolian*, being a Penſioner to the *Egyptian*, was ſent into *Greece* to raiſe an Armie of Mercenaries. What *Lepidus* did in *Egypt*, I doe not finde: and therefore thinke it not improbable, that he was ſent thither only one of the three Embaſſadors, [o] in the beginning of the Warre with *Philip*, as hath beene ſhewed before. As for *Scopas*; He ſhortly after went up into *Syria* with his Army: where winning many places, among the reſt of his Acts, he ſubdued the *Jewes*; who ſeeme to have yeelded themſelves a little before unto *Antiochus*, at ſuch time as they ſaw him prepare for his War, & deſpaired of receiving helpe from *Egypt*. But it was not long, ere all theſe victories of *Scopas* came to nothing. For the very next yeere following, which was (according to *Euſebius*) the ſame yeer that *Philip* was beaten at *Cynoſcephalæ*; *Antiochus* vanquiſhed *Scopas* in battaile, and recovered all that had bin loſt. Among the reſt, the *Jewes* with great willingneſſe returned under his obedience; and were therefore by him very gently entreated.

The Land of *Egypt* this great King did forbeare to invade; and gave it out, that he meant to beſtow a daughter of his owne in marriage unto *Ptolomy*: either hoping, as may ſeem, that the Country would willingly ſubmit it ſelfe unto him, if this yong child ſhould happen to miſcarry; or elſe that greater purchaſe might be made in the Weſterne parts of *Aſia*, whileſt *Philip* was held over-laboured by the *Romans*. It appeares that he was very much diſtracted; hunting (as we ſay) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrels betweene *Attalus*, *Philip*, and the *Greeks*, promiſed to affoord him great advantage, if he ſhould bring his Army to the *Helleſpont*. On the other ſide, the ſtate of *Egypt* being ſuch as hath beene declared, ſeemed eaſily to bee ſwallowed up at once. One while therefore he tooke what he could get in *Syria*: where all were willing (and the *Jewes* among the reſt, though hitherto they had kept faith with the *Egyptian*) to yeeld him obedience. Another while, letting *Egypt* alone, He was about to make invaſion upon *Attalus* his Kingdome; yet ſuffered himſelfe eaſily to bee perſwaded by the *Roman* Embaſſadours, and deſiſted from that enterpriſe. Having thus farre gratified the *Romans*; He ſends Embaſſadours to the Senate, to conclude a perfect amity betweene him and them. It is not lightly to be overpaſſed, That theſe his Embaſſadours were lovingly entertained at *Rome*; and diſmiſſed, with a Decree and anſwer of the Senate, altogether to the honour of King *Antiochus*. But this anſwer of the *Romans* was not ſincere; being rather framed according to regard of the Kings good liking, than of their owne intent. They had not yet made an end with *Philip*: neither would they gladly bee troubled with two great wars at once. Wherfore, not ſtanding much upon the nice examination of what belonged unto their honour, they were content to give good words for the preſent. In the meane time *Antiochus* fights with *Scopas* in *Syria*, and ſhortly prepares to winne ſome Towns elſewhere, belonging unto *Ptolomy*; yet withall he ſends an Army Weſtward, intending to make what profit he can of the diſtractions in *Greece*. Likewiſe it is conſiderable, as an argument of his much irreſolution, How notwithſtanding his attempts upon both of their Kingdomes, he offered one of his daughters to *Ptolomy*, and another to *Eumenes* the ſon of *Attalus*, newly King of *Pergamus*: ſeeking each of their friendſhips, at one and the ſame time, when he ſought to make each of them a ſpoile. Thus was he acting and deliberating at once; being carried with an inexplicable deſire of repugnancies, which is a diſeaſe of great, and over-ſwelling fortunes. Howſoever it was, He ſent an Army to *Sardes* by Land, under two of his ſonnes: willing them there to ſtay for him; whileſt he himſelfe with a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other veſſels, intended to paſſe along by the Coaſts of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, taking in ſuch places as held for the *Egyptian*. It was a notable Act of the *Rhodians*, that, whilſt the warre of *Philip* lay yet upon their hands, they adventured upon this great *Antiochus*. They ſent unto him a proud Embaſſage: whereby they gave him to underſtand, That if he paſſed forward beyond a certaine Promontorie in *Cilicia*, they would meet him and fight with him; not for any quarrell of theirs unto him; but becauſe he ſhould not joyne with *Philip* their enemy, and helpe him againſt the *Romans*. It was inſolently done of them, neither ſeemed it otherwiſe, to preſcribe ſuch limits unto the King: yet he tempered himſelfe, and without any ſhew of indignation gave a gentle anſwer; partly himſelfe to their Embaſ-

[*] *Juſt. lib.* 30.

[o] *Liv. lib.* 31.

*Vide Joſeph. Ant. Jud. lib.* 12. *c.* 3.

ſadours; partly unto their whole city,by Embaſſadors which he thither ſent. He ſhewed his deſire to renew the ancient Confederacies between his Anceſtors and them:and willed them not to be afraid,leſt his comming ſhould tend unto any hurt,either of them,or of their confederates. As touching the *Romans* whom they thought that he would moleſt: they were (he ſaid) his very good friends; whereof, he thought there needed no better proofe, than the entertainement and anſwer by them newly given to his Embaſſadors.

The *Rhodians* appeare to have been a cunning people, and ſuch as could foreſee what weather was like to happen. This anſwer of the King, and the relation of what had paſſed between his Embaſſadours and the Senate,moved them not a whit; when they were informed ſhortly after,that the *Macedonian* warre was ended at the battaile of *Cynoſcephalæ*. They knew that *Antiochus* his turne would be next; and prepared to be forward on the ſtronger ſide. Wherefore they would not be contented to ſit ſtill; unleſſe the Townes on the South Coaſt of *Aſia*, belonging to *Ptolomy* their friend and Confederate, were ſuffered to be at quiet. Herein alſo they did well; for that they had ever beene greatly beholding to all the race of the *Ptolomies*.They therefore,in this time of neceſſity, gave what aide they could unto all the ſubjects of the *Egyptian* in thoſe parts. In like manner did King *Eumenes*,the ſonne of *Attalus*, prognoſticate as concerning the war that followed, betweene *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. For when King *Antiochus* made a friendly offer,to beſtow one of his daughters upon him in marriage: He excuſed himſelf, and would not have her. *Attalus* and *Philetærus*, his brethren, wondred at this. But he told them, that the *Romans* would ſurely make war upon *Antiochus*; and therein finally prevaile. Wherefore he ſaid, That by abſtaining from this affinitie, it ſhould be in his power to joyne with the *Romans*, and ſtrengthen himſelfe greatly with their friendſhip. Contrariwiſe,if he leaned to *Antiochus*: as he muſt be partaker in his overthrow; ſo was he ſure to be oppreſſed by him, as by an over-mighty neighbour, if he happened to win the victory.

*Antiochus* himſelfe wintered about *Epheſus*: where he took ſuch order as he thought convenient, for the reducing of *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* to obedience; that had uſurped their liberty, and obſtinately ſtrove to maintaine it, in hope that the *Romans* would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring he ſailed unto the *Helleſpont*: where having won ſome Townes that *Philip* had gotten not long before this, he paſſed over into *Europe* ſide; and in ſhort ſpace maſtered the *Cherſoneſus*. Thence went he to *Lyſimachia*: which the *Thracians* had gotten & deſtroied,when *Philip* withdrew his garriſon thence, to imploy it in the *Roman* war. The *Ætolians* objected as a crime unto *Philip*,in the conference before *T. Quintius*, that he had oppreſſed *Lyſimachia*, by thruſting thereinto a garriſon. Hereupon *Philip* made anſwer, that his garriſon did not oppreſſe the town,but ſave it from the *Barbarians*: who tooke and ſackt it, as ſoone as the *Macedonians* were gone. That this anſwer was good & ſubſtantiall, though it were not acceptable as ſuch; might appeare by the miſerable caſe, in which *Antiochus* found *Lyſimachia* at his comming thither. For the town was utterly razed by the *Barbarians*; and the people carried away into ſlavery. Wherefore the King tooke order to have it re-edified: as alſo to redeeme thoſe that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens, as were diſperſed in the Country thereabout. Likewiſe he was carefull to allure thither, by hopefull promiſes, new inhabitants, and to repleniſh the Citie with the wonted frequencie. Now to the end that men ſhould not be terrefied from comming thither to dwell, by any feare of the neighbour *Thracians*: he tooke a journey in hand againſt thoſe barbarous people, with the one halfe of his Army; leaving the other halfe to repair the City. Theſe paines he tooke; partly in regard of the convenient ſituation, & former glory of *Lyſimachia*; partly for that he thought it highly redounding unto his owne honour, to recover and eſtabliſh the dominion in thoſe parts which his fore-father *Seleucus Nicator* had won from *Lyſimachus*, and thereby made his Kingdome of greater extent, than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he ſhall dearely pay: and as after that victory againſt *Lyſimachus*, the death of King *Seleucus* followed ſhortly; ſo ſhall a deadly wound of the Kingdome founded by *Seleucus* enſue very ſpeedily, after the reconqueſt of the ſame Countrie, which was the laſt of *Seleucus* his purchaſes.

## §. IIII.

*The Romans hold friendly correſpondence with* Antiochus, *during their warre with* Philip: *after which they quarrell with him. The doings of* Hannibal *at Carthage: whence he is chaſed by his enemies, and by the Romans: His flight unto the King* Antiochus. *The Ætolians murmure againſt the Romans in Greece. The warre of the Romans and Achæans, with* Nabis *the Tyrant of Lacedæmon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece.* T. Quintius *his Triumph. Peace denied to* Antiochus *by the Romans.*

FOr the *Romans*, though they were unable to ſmother their deſire of warre with *Antiochus*, whereof notice was already taken both by their friends and by their enemies: yet was it much againſt their will to keepe the rumour on foot, which they meant ſhortly to make good, of this intended warre, ſo long as they wanted matter of quarrell; whereof they were furniſhed, by this enterpriſe of the Kings about *Lyſimachia*. It was not long, ſince King *Attalus*, a friend and helper of the *Romans* in their warre with *Philip*, could obtaine of them none other helpe againſt *Antiochus*, than Embaſſadors to ſpeake for him; becauſe the one of theſe Kings was held no leſſe a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards paſſe between them any other offices, than very friendly. *Antiochus* at the requeſt of their Embaſſadours, withdrew his Invaſion from the Kingdom of *Pergamus*: alſo very ſhortly after he ſent Embaſſadors to them, to make a perfect League of amitie between them. This was whileſt as yet they were buſied with *Philip*, and therefore had reaſon to anſwer his good will with good acceptation: as they did in outward ſhew. But when the *Macedonian* war was at an end, and all, or moſt of all the States in *Greece*, were become little better than Clients unto the *Romans*: then was all this good correſpondence changed into termes of worſe, but more plaine meaning. For *T. Quintius*, with his ten Counſailors ſent from *Rome*, required (as hath bin * ſhewed before) with a commination of war, this Kings gratulation of their victory; as alſo his long-profeſſed amitie, and deſire to continue in the ſame.

*Chap. 4. §. ult.*

Theſe ten Counſailors were able to informe *T. Quintius*, and acquaint him with the purpoſe of the Senate: whereof yet it ſeemes that he was not ignorant before; ſince, in regard of *Antiochus*, he was the more inclinable unto peace with *Philip*. It was therefore agreed, when they divided themſelves to make progreſſe through divers quarters of *Greece* for the execution of their late Decree, That two of them ſhould viſit King *Antiochus*; and the reſt, where occaſion ſerved, uſe diligence to make a partie ſtrong againſt him. Neither was the Senate at *Rome* unmindfull of the buſineſſe: wherein leſt *T. Quintius*, with his ten Aſſiſtants, ſhould happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging; *L. Cornelius* was ſent from *Rome*, of purpoſe to deale with the King about thoſe controverſies, that were betweene him and *Ptolomy*. What other private inſtructions *Cornelius* had; we may conjecture by the mannaging of this his Embaſſage. For comming to *Selymbria*: and there underſtanding that *P. Villius* and *L. Terentius*, having bin ſent by *Titus*, were at *Lyſimachia*, He haſtened thither; whither alſo came *P. Lentulus* (another of the ten Counſailors) from *Bargillæ*, to be preſent at the Conference. *Hegeſianax* and *Lyſias* were alſo there; the ſame, who had lately brought from *Titus* thoſe peremptorie Conditions, which the Embaſſadours preſent ſhall expound unto their Maſter. After a few daies *Antiochus* returned from his *Thracian* Expedition. The meeting and entertainement betweene him and theſe *Romans*, was in appearance full of love. But when they came to treat of the buſineſſe in hand; this good mood was quite altered. *L. Cornelius*, in two or three words, briefly delivered his errand from *Rome*: which was, That *Antiochus* had reaſon to deliver backe unto *Ptolomy* thoſe Townes of his, whereof he had lately gotten poſſeſſion. Hereunto hee added, and that very earneſtly, That he muſt alſo give up the Townes of late belonging unto *Philip*; and by him newly occupied. For what could be more abſurd, than ſuch folly in the *Romans*, as to let *Antiochus* enjoy the profit of that warre, wherein they had laboured ſo much, and he done nothing? Further he warned the King, that he ſhould not moleſt thoſe Cities that were free: and finally he demanded of him, upon what reaſon he was come over with ſo great an Armie into *Europe*; for that other cauſe of his journey there was none probable, than a purpoſe to make warre upon the *Romans*? To this the King made anſwer, That hee wondred why the *Romans* ſhould ſo trouble themſelves, with thinking upon the matters of *Aſia*: wherewith hee prayed them to let him alone; even as hee, without ſuch curioſity, ſuffered them to doe in *Italy* what they thought good. As for his comming over into *Europe*: they ſaw well enough what buſineſſe had drawne him thither; namely, the warre againſt the barbarous *Thracians*: the rebuilding of *Lyſimachia*, and the recovery of Townes to him belonging, in *Thrace*, & *Cherſoneſus*. Now concerning his title unto that countrie, He derived it from *Seleucus*: who made conqueſt thereof, by his victory againſt *Lyſimachus*. Neither was it ſo, that any of the places in controverſie betweene him and the other Kings, had beene ſtill of old belonging to the *Macedonians* or *Egyptians*; but had beene ſeized on by them, or by others from whom they received them, at ſuch time as his Anceſtors, being Lords of thoſe Countries, were hindred by multiplicitie of buſineſſe, from looking unto all that was their owne. Finally he willed them, neither to ſtand in fear of him, as if he intended ought againſt them from *Lyſimachia*; ſince it was his purpoſe to beſtow this citie upon one of his ſons, that ſhould reigne therein: nor yet to be grieved with his proceedings in *Aſia*; either againſt the free cities, or againſt the King of *Egypt*; ſince it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding unto himſelfe, and to joyne ere long with *Ptolomy*, not onely in friendſhip, but in a bond of neere affinitie. *Cornelius* having heard this, and being perhaps unable to refute it; would needs heare further, what the Embaſſadours of *Smyrna* and of *Lampſacus*, whom he had there with him, could ſay for themſelves. The Embaſſadours of *Lampſacus* being called in, began a tale; wherein they ſeemed to accuſe the King before the *Romans*, as it were before competent Judges. *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace, foraſmuch as hee had not choſen the *Romans*, but would rather take the Citizens of *Rhodes*, to be Arbitrators betweene him and them.

Thus the Treatie held ſome few daies, without any likelihood of effect. The *Romans*, having not laid their complaints in ſuch ſort, as they might be a convenient foundation of the warre by them intended: nor yet having purpoſe to depart well ſatisfied, & thereby to corroborate the preſent peace, were doubtfull how to order the matter, in ſuch wiſe as they might neither too rudely, like boiſtrous *Gallo-Greeks*, pretend onely the goodneſſe of their ſwords; nor yet over-modeſtly, to retaine among the *Greeks* an opinion of their juſtice, forbeare the occaſion of making themſelves great. The King on the other ſide was wearie of theſe tedious gueſts; that would take none anſwer, and yet ſcarce knew what to ſay. At length came news, without any certaine author, That *Ptolomy* was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the *Romans*, would take notice, though each of them were deſirous to haſten into *Egypt*: *Antiochus*, to take poſſeſſion of the Kingdome, and *L. Cornelius*, to prevent him thereof, and ſet the Countrie in good order. *Cornelius* was ſent from *Rome* Embaſſadour, both to *Antiochus* and to *Ptolomy*: which gave him occaſion to take leave, and prepare for his *Egyptian* voyage. Both he, and his fellow Embaſſadours, had good leave to depart all together: and the King foorthwith made ready, to be in *Egypt* with the firſt. To his ſonne *Seleucus* he committed his Army, and left him to overſee the building of *Lyſimachia*: but all his Sea-forces he tooke along with him, and ſailed unto *Epheſus*. Thence he ſent Embaſſadours to *T. Quintius*: whom he requeſted to deale with him in this matter of peace, after ſuch ſort as might ſtand with honeſtie and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his voyage, he was perfectly informed that *Ptolomy* was alive. This made him beare another way from *Egypt*: and afterwards a tempeſt, with a grievous ſhipwracke, made him without any further attempt on the way, glad to have ſafely recovered his Port of *Seleucia*. Thence went he to *Antiochia*, where he wintred: ſecure, as might appeare, of the *Roman* warre.

But the *Romans* had not ſo done with him. During the Treaty at *Lyſimachia*, (at leaſtwiſe not long before or after it) one of their Embaſſadours that had beene ſent unto the *Macedonian*, gave him counſaile, as in a point highly tending to his good; not to reſt contented with the Peace which was granted unto him by the *Romans*, but to deſire ſociety with them, whereby they ſhould be bound to have the ſame friends and enemies. And this he adviſed him to doe quickly, before the Warre brake out with *Antiochus*; leſt otherwiſe he might ſeeme, to have awaited ſome fit occaſion of taking Armes againe. They who dealt thus plainly, did not meane to be ſatisfied with weake excuſes. In like manner ſome of the *Greekes* were ſolicited; and particularly the *Aetolians*, That conſtantly and faithfully they ſhould abide in the friendſhip of the people of *Rome*. It was needleſſe to ſay plainly whereto this entreatie tended: the froward anſwer made by the *Aetolians*, declares them to have well underſtood the purpoſe. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the *Romans* after the victory, as they had beene during the Warre. They that ſo complained were the moſt moderate of them. Others cried out that they had beene wronged, and defrauded of what was promiſed unto them: upbraiding withall the *Romans*, as men to them beholding; not onely for their victory over *Philip*, but even for helping them to ſet foot in *Greece*, which elſe they never could have done. Hereto the *Roman* gave gentle anſwers: telling them that there was no more to doe, than to ſend Embaſſadors to the Senate, and utter their griefes; and then ſhould all be well.

Such care tooke the *Romans* in *Greece*, for their Warre intended againſt *Antiochus*. The fame hereof arriving at *Carthage*, gave matter unto the enemies of *Hannibal*, wherewith both to picke a thanke of the *Roman* Senate, and to chaſe out of their citie this honourable man, whom they ſo greatly hated. He had of late exerciſed his vertue againſt them in the Civill adminiſtration; and given them an overthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Judges at that time bore all the ſway in *Carthage*: holding their places during life; and having ſubject unto them, the lives, goods, and fame of all the reſt. Neither did they uſe this their power with moderation: but conſpired in ſuch wiſe together, that who ſo offended any one of them, ſhould have them all to be his enemies; which being once knowne, He was ſure to be ſoone accuſed and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the citie, *Hannibal* was choſen Prætor. By vertue of which Office, though he was ſuperiour unto them during that yeere: yet had it not beene their manner to beare much regard unto ſuch an annuall Magiſtrate, as at the yeeres end muſt bee accountable to them, if ought were laid unto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore ſending for one of the Quæſtors, or Officers of the Treaſurie, to come and ſpeake with him: the proud Quæſtor ſet lightly thereby, and would not come. For he was of the adverſe Faction to *Hannibal*; and men of his place were to be choſen into the Order of Judges: in contemplation whereof, he was filled already with the ſpirit of future Greatneſſe. But hee had not to doe with ſuch a tame Prætor, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* ſent for him by a Purſivant; and having thus apprehended him, brought him into judgement before a publique aſſembly of the people. There he not onely ſhewed, what the undutifull ſtubborneneſſe of this Quæſtor had beene; but how unſufferable the inſolencie of all the Judges at the preſent was: whoſe unbridled power made them to regard neither Laws nor Magiſtrates. To this Oration when hee perceived that all the Citizens were attentive and favourable; Hee forthwith propounded a Law, which paſſed with the generall good liking; That the Judges ſhould be choſen from yeere to yeere, and no one man be continued in that Office two yeeres together. If this Law had beene paſſed, before he paſſed over *Iberus*: it would not perhaps have beene in the power of *Hanno*, to have brought him unto neceſſity of reforming another grievance, concerning the *Roman* Tribute. This Tribute the *Carthaginians* were faine to levie by Taxation laid upon the whole Commonaltie, as wanting money in their publique Treaſurie, wherewith to defray either that, or divers other needfull charges. *Hannibal* conſidering this, beganne to examine the publique Revenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the Treaſurie, by wayes and meanes whatſoever; and in what ſort it was thence laid out. So he found, That the ordinary charges of the Common-wealth did not exhauſt the Treaſurie: but that wicked Magiſtrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greateſt part of the monies to their owne uſe, were thereby faine to loade the people with needleſſe burdens. Hereof he made ſuch plaine demonſtration, that theſe Robbers of the common Treaſure were compelled to reſtore, with ſhame, what they had gotten by knaverie: and ſo the *Carthaginians* were freed from the neceſſitie of making ſuch poore ſhifts, as formerly they had uſed, when they knew not the value of their owne Eſtate. But as the vertue of *Hannibal* was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: ſo they of the *Roman* Faction, which had, ſince the making of the peace untill now, little regarded him, beganne to rage extremely; as being by him ſtript of their ill-gotten goods, and ill-employed authority, both at once, even when they thought themſelves to have been in full poſſeſſion of the vanquiſhed *Carthage*. Wherefore they ſent letters to their friends at *Rome*: wherein they complained, as if the *Barchine* Faction grew ſtrong againe, and *Hannibal* would ſhortly be in armes. Queſtionleſſe, if oppreſſing the City by injuſtice, and robbing the Treaſurie, were the only way to hold *Carthage* in peace with *Rome*: theſe Enemies to the *Barchines* might well crie out, That having done their beſt already to keepe all in quiet, they ſaw none other likelihood than of Warre. But having none other matter to alledge, than their owne inventions: they ſaid, That *Hannibal* was like unto a wilde beaſt, which would never be tamed: That ſecret meſſages paſt betweene him, and King *Antiochus*: and that he was wont to complaine of idleneſſe, as if it were harmefull to *Carthage*; with what elſe to like effect they could imagine. Theſe accuſations they directed not unto the Senate: but addreſſing their letters craftily, every one to the beſt of his owne friends at *Rome*, and ſuch as were Senators; they wrought ſo well, that neither publike notice of their Conſpiracie was taken at *Carthage*; nor the authoritie of the *Roman* Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpoſe. Onely *P. Scipio* is ſaid to have admoniſhed the *Fathers*, that they ſhould not thus diſhonourably ſubſcribe, and become Seconds to the accuſers of *Hannibal*: as if they would oppreſſe, by ſuborning or countenancing falſe witneſſes againſt him; the man, againſt whom in warre they had not of long time prevailed, nor uſed their Victory in ſuch baſe manner, when they obtained it. But the *Romans* were not all ſo great-minded as *Scipio*: they wiſhed for ſome ſuch advantage againſt *Hannibal*; and were glad to have found it. Three Embaſſadours they ſent over to *Carthage*, *C. Servilius*, *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*: whoſe very names import ſufficient cauſe of bad affection to *Hannibal*. Theſe having paſt the Sea, were entertained by thoſe that had procured their comming; and, being by them inſtructed how to carry themſelves, gave out, That they were ſent to end ſome controverſies, between the *Carthaginians* and *Maſaniſſa*. But *Hannibal* had kept ſuch good eſpiall upon the *Romans*, that he knew their meaning well enough: againſt which he was never unprepared. It were enough to ſay, That he eſcaped them by flight: but in the actions of ſo famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearſe the particularities. Having openly ſhewed himſelfe, as was his manner, in the place of Aſſembly, He went forth of the Towne when it began to waxe darke, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination; though ſuch as he might well truſt. He had appointed Horſes to be in a readineſſe at a certaine place: whence riding all night, Hee came to a Tower of his owne by the Sea-ſide. There had he a Ship furniſhed with all things needfull; as having long expected the neceſſitie of ſome ſuch journey. So hee bade *Africk* farewell; lamenting the misfortune of his Countrey, more than his owne. Paſſing over to the Ile of *Cercina*; hee found there in the Haven ſome Merchants ſhippes of *Carthage*. They ſaluted him reſpectively: and the chiefe among them began to enquire, whither he was bound. Hee ſaid, Hee went Embaſſadour to *Tyre*: and that he entended there in the Iland to make a ſacrifice; whereto he invited all the Merchants, and Maſters of the Ships. It was hot weather: and therefore he would needes hold his Feaſt upon the ſhore; where, becauſe there wanted covert, He made them bring thither all their ſailes and yards to be uſed in ſtead of Tents. They did ſo; and feaſted with him till it was late at night: at which time he left them there aſleepe: and putting to Sea, held on his courſe to *Tyre*. All that night, and the day following, He was ſure not to be purſued. For the Merchants did neither make haſte to ſend any newes of him to *Carthage*, as thinking him to be gone Embaſſadour: neither could they, without ſome loſſe of time, ſuch of them as made moſt ſpeed homeward, get away from *Cercina*; being buſied awhile in fitting their tackle. At *Carthage*, the miſſe of ſo great a perſon was diverſly conſtrued. Some gheſſed aright, That he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the *Romans* had made him away. At length came newes where he had beene ſeene: and then the *Roman* Embaſſadours, having none other errand thither, accuſed him (with an evill grace) as a troubler of the Peace; whereby they onely diſcovered the miſchiefe by them intented againſt him, and the malice of their Senate; miſſing the while their purpoſe, and cauſing men to underſtand, that hee fled not thus without great reaſon.

*Hannibal* comming to *Tyre*, the Mother-City of *Carthage*, was there entertained Royally: as one, in whoſe great worth and honour the *Tyrians*, by reaſon of affinitie betweene their Cities, thought themſelves to have intereſt. Thence went he to *Antioch*; and, finding the King departed, viſited his ſon in *Daphne*: who friendly welcommed him, and ſent him unto his Father at *Epheſus*, that exceedingly rejoyced at his comming.

As *Antiochus* had cauſe to be glad, in that he had gotten *Hannibal:* ſo had the *Romans* no great cauſe to be therefore ſorrie; otherwiſe than as they had much diſgraced themſelves, by diſcoverie of their impotent malice, in chaſing him thus out of his Countrie. For it would not prove alike eaſie unto this great Commander, to make ſtout Souldiers of baſe *Aſiatiques*; as it had bin by his training and diſcipline, to make very ſerviceable and ſkilfull men of Warre of the *Spaniards*, *Africans*, *Gaules*, and other Nations, that were hardie, though unexperienced. Or were it ſuppoſed, that one mans worth, eſpecially being ſo extraordinary, could alter the nature of a cowardly people: yet was it therewithall conſiderable, that the vanities of *Antiochus*, the pride of his Court, the baſeneſſe of his Flatterers, and a thouſand other ſuch vexations, would bee farre more powerfull in making unprofitable the vertue of *Hannibal*, now a deſolate and baniſhed man, than had bin the villanie of *Hanno* and his Complices, hindering him in thoſe actions wherein he had the high Command, and was ſeconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great *Carthaginian*, would onely help to ennoble the *Roman* Victory: or if it further ſerved to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him leſſe carefull to avoid the war; then ſhould it further ſerve, to juſtifie the *Romans* in their quarrell. And it ſeemes indeed that it was no little part of their care, to get a faire pretence of making warre. For *Antiochus*, as is ſaid before, having newly ſent Embaſſadors to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable, that he had any meaning to take Armes; unleſſe by meere violence he were thereto enforced. Onely the *Ætolians* were greatly ſuſpected, as a turbulent people, deſirous of innovation, and therefore practiſing with his Great King; whom they wiſhed to ſee among them in *Greece*. In this regard, and to appeaſe them; they had of late beene anſwered with gentle words by one of the ten Counſailours, That the Senate would grant them whatſoever with reaſon they ſhould aske. But this promiſe was too large, and unadviſed. For when their Embaſſadors came to *Rome*, the Senate would grant them nothing; but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who favoured them leaſt. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themſelves: otherwiſe than by ſpeaking ſuch words, as might haſten the *Romans* out of *Greece* for very ſhame; who had no deſire to be thence gone.

The daily talke at *Rome* was of war with *Antiochus*; but in *Greece*, when the *Romans* would leave the Countrie. For the *Ætolians* were wont to upbraid the reſt of the *Greeks* with the vain libertie which the *Romans* had proclaimed, ſaying, That theſe their Deliverers had laid heavier fetters upon them, than formerly they did weare; but yet brighter & fairer, than thoſe of the *Macedonians*: likewiſe, that it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the legs of the *Greeks* their chaine, & tie it about their necks. There was indeed no cauſe of tarrying longer in *Greece*, if the *Romans* had no other meaning than what they pretended. For *Philip* had made no delay, in accompliſhment of that which was laid upon him: all the Townes of *Greece* were at liberty, and the whole Countrie at peace, both with the *Romans*, and within it ſelfe. As for *Antiochus*; He made it his daily ſuit, That the Peace between him and *Rome*, ſuch as it was, might be confirmed, and ſtrengthened by a League of more aſſurance. Nevertheleſſe, *T. Quintius* would needs feare that *Antiochus* meant forthwith to ſeize upon *Greece*, as ſoone as he and his Armie were thence departed. And in this regard, He retained ſtill in his owne hands *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and the *Acrocorinthus:* by benefit of which Townes, he might the better withſtand the dangerous Invaſion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Suteable unto the doings of *Quintius* were the reports of the ten Embaſſadours, that had beene ſent over to aſſiſt him; when they returned backe into the Citie. *Antiochus*, they ſaid, would queſtionleſſe fall upon *Greece*: wherein he ſhould finde not only the *Ætolians*, but *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, ready to give him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to do ſomewhat againſt theſe their ſuſpected enemies: eſpecially againſt *Nabis*, who could worſt make reſiſtance; whileſt *Antiochus* was farre away in *Syria*, and not intentive to his buſineſſe. Theſe reports went not onely current through the City, among the Vulgar; but found ſuch credit with the chiefe of the Senate, that in the following yeere, againſt which time it was expected that *Antiochus* ſhould be ready to take his great enterpriſe in hand; *P. Cornelius Scipio* the *African*, deſired, and obtained, a ſecond Conſulſhip, with intention to be Generall in the Warre, againſt the King and his

*Hannibal*. For the preſent, the buſineſſe with *Nabis* was referred unto *Titus*; to deale with him as he thought good. This would be a faire colour of his longer tarriance in *Greece*. Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereof alſo he knew that many of the *Greekes* would not be ſorry; though for his owne part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabis* had entred into friendſhip with him, two or three yeeres before this, as is already ſhewed, whileſt he had warre with *Philip*: and had further beene contented for the *Romans* ſake to be at peace with the *Achaeans*; neither ſince that time had he done any thing, whereby he ſhould draw upon himſelfe this Warre. He was indeed a deteſtable Tyrant, and hated of the *Achaeans*; as one, that beſides his owne wicked Conditions, had formerly done to them great miſchiefe. *Titus* therefore had a plauſible Theme, whereon to diſcourſe before the Embaſſages of all the Confederate Cities; Which he cauſed to meet for that purpoſe at *Corinth*. He told them, That in the war with *Philip*, not only the *Greeks*, but the *Romans* themſelves, had each their motives apart (which he there briefly rehearſed) that ſhould ſtirre them up, and cauſe them to be earneſt. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning *Nabis*, the *Romans* had none other intereſt, than onely the making perfect of their honour, in ſetting all *Greece* at liberty: which noble Action was in ſome ſort maimed, or incompleat, whileſt the noble City of *Argos* was left in ſubjection to a Tyrant, that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged unto them, the *Greekes*, duely to conſider, whether they thought the deliverance of *Argos* a matter worthy to be undertaken; or whether otherwiſe to avoid all further trouble, they could be well contented to leave it as it was. This concerned them, and not the *Romans*: who in taking this worke in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the *Greeks* themſelves. The *Athenian* Embaſſadour made anſwer hereunto very eloquently, and as pleaſing as he could deviſe. He gave thankes to the *Romans* for what was paſt; extolled their vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their Propoſition: wherein unrequeſted they freely made offer to continue that bounty, which at the vehement requeſt of their poore Aſſociates, they had already of late extended unto the *Greeks*. To this he added, That great pittie it was to heare, ſuch notable vertue & high deſerts ill ſpoken of by ſome: which took upon them, out of their owne imagination, to foretell what harme theſe their Benefactors meant to doe hereafter: when as Thankefulneſſe rather would have required an acknowledgement of the benefits and pleaſures already received. Every one found the meaning of this laſt clauſe, which was directly againſt the *Ætolians*. Wherefore *Alexander* the *Ætolian* roſe up, and told the *Athenians* their owne: putting them in minde of their ancient glory, in thoſe times when their City had beene the Leader of all *Greece*, for defence and recovery of the liberty generall: from which honour they were now ſo farre falne, that they became Paraſites unto thoſe whom they thought moſt mighty; and by their baſe aſſentation, would leade all the reſt into ſervitude. Then ſpake hee againſt the *Achaeans*, Clients that had beene a long time unto the *Macedonian*; and Souldiers of *Philip*, untill they ranne away from his adverſity. Theſe, he ſaid, had gotten *Corinth*, and muſt now have warre be made for their ſakes, to the end that they might alſo bee Lords of *Argos*: whereas the *Ætolians*, that had firſt made warre with *Philip*, and alwayes beene friends unto the *Romans*, were now defrauded of ſome places, anciently to them belonging. Neither did he thus containe himſelfe, but objected unto the *Romans*, fraudulent dealing: foraſmuch as they kept their Garriſons in *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and the *Acrocorinth*; having beene alwayes wont to profeſſe, That *Greece* could never be at liberty, whileſt thoſe places were not free. Alſo now at laſt, what elſe did they ſeeke by this diſcourſe of warre with *Nabis*, than buſineſſes wherewith to finde themſelves occupied, that ſo they might have ſome ſeeming cauſe of abiding longer in the Country? But they ſhould doe well, if they meant as they ſpake, to carry their Legions home out of *Greece*: which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for *Nabis*; the *Ætolians* themſelves did promiſe, & would undertake, That they would either cauſe him to yeeld to reaſon, and relinquiſh *Argos* freely, withdrawing thence his Garriſon; or elſe compell him by force of Armes, to ſubmit himſelfe to the good pleaſure of all *Greece*, that was now at unity. Theſe words had beene reaſonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common liberty wrought ſo much with theſe *Ætolians*; as did their owne ravenous deſire of oppreſſing others, and getting unto themſelves, that worſe would uſe it, the whole Dominion in *Greece*, which *Philip* had loſt. Neither could they well diſſemble this; making it no ſmall part of their grievance, That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had beene covenanted, That the *Romans* ſhould enjoy the ſpoile of all, but leave the Townes and Lands in poſſeſſion of the *Ætolians*. This, and the remembrance of a thouſand miſchiefes by them done in former times, made the whole aſſembly, eſpecially the *Achæans*, crie out upon them: entreating the *Romans* to take ſuch order before they went, that not onely *Nabis* might be compelled to doe right; but the *Ætolian* theeves be enforced to keepe home, and leave their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleaſure of *Titus*: who ſaw, that by diſcountenancing the *Ætolians*, He was become the more gracious with all the reſt. But whether it pleaſed him ſo well that *Antiochus* his Embaſſadors did preſently after lie hard upon him, to draw the peace to ſome good concluſion, it may bee greatly doubted. He caſt them off with a ſleight anſwer: telling them, That the ten Embaſſadors or Counſailours which had beene ſent unto him from *Rome*, to be his aſſiſtants in theſe matters of weight, were now returned home; and that, without them, it was not in his power to conclude upon any thing.

Now concerning the *Lacedæmonian* warre; it was very ſoone ended. For *Titus* uſed the helpe of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation againſt *Nabis*, both by Land and Sea, as if he ſhould have had to doe with *Philip*. Beſides the *Roman* forces, King *Eumenes* with a Navie, and the *Rhodian* Fleet, were invited to the ſervice: as alſo *Philip* of *Macedon* ſent aid by Land; doing therein poorely, whether it were to get favor of the *Romans*, or whether to make one among the number, in ſeeking revenge upon *Nabis*; that had done him injurie. But the moſt forward in this Expedition were the *Achæans*, who ſet out ten thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe. As for the *Ætolians*: rather to hold good faſhion, and ſound their diſpoſitions, than in hope to ſpeed, their helpe was required; whereof they excuſed themſelves as well as they thought beſt. Thus are the *Achæans* now become the prime friends of the *Romans* in *Greece*; having removed the *Ætolians* from that degree of favour: like as they themſelves hereafter (though not in all haſte) ſhall be ſupplanted of the ſame *Lacedæmonians*, againſt whom they are now marching.

Some of the *Argives*, more bold than wiſe, began a conſpiracie againſt the *Lacedæmonians* that held their Town; meaning to open their gates unto the *Roman*. But ere *Titus* drew neere, they were all detected and ſlaine: excepting a very few, that eſcaped out of the Towne. The fame of this Commotion, cauſed the Army to march apace toward *Argos*; with hope to be there, before things were at quiet. But there was no ſtir within the Walls: the execution done upon the firſt movers, having terrefied all the reſt of the Citizens. *Titus* then thought it better, to aſſaile *Nabis* in the head of his ſtrength at *Lacedæmon*, than to conſume time about other places; eſpecially at *Argos*: for the freedome whereof ſince the Warre was made, pitie it were, that the calamities of the warre ſhould thereon fall moſt heavily.

*Nabis* had in readineſſe an Army of fifteene thouſand, wherewith to defend himſelfe againſt theſe Invaders. Five thouſand of them were Mercenaries: the reſt, of his owne Countrie; but ſuch as were of all others the worſt, as manumiſed ſlaves, malefactors and baſe peaſants, unto whom his Tyranny was beneficiall. Of the good and worthy Citizens he ſtood in doubt; and ſince he could not hope to win their love, his meaning was to hold them quiet by feare. He called them all to an aſſembly: and compaſſing them round in with his Army, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themſelves; they might, he ſaid, hope the better to withſtand the common Enemie. But foraſmuch as turbulent heads were invited by light occaſions, to raiſe tumults, and worke dangerous treaſon: it ſeemed unto him the ſafeſt, and (withall) the mildeſt courſe, to arreſt before-hand, and put in ward, all thoſe whom he found moſt reaſon to ſuſpect. So ſhould he keepe them innocent perforce; and thereby preſerve not onely the City and his own perſon from danger, but them alſo from the puniſhment, which elſe they might have incurred. Hereupon he cytes and apprehends about foureſcore of them; whom he leades away to priſon, and the next night putteth them all to death. Thus was he ſure that they neither ſhould offend, nor yet breake looſe. As for the death of them, if it ſhould happen to be noiſed abroad: what could it elſe doe than terrefie the people; who muſt thereby underſtand, that it was a mortall crime to be ſuſpected? And to the ſame purpoſe his cruelty extended it ſelfe unto ſome poore wretches: whom he accuſed of a meaning to flie to the Enemy. Theſe were openly whipt through all the ſtreets, and ſlaine. Having thus affrighted the Citizens: He turned the more freely, all his thoughts toward the Enemie, that came on apace. He welcommed them with a ſallie: wherein, as commonly happens, the Souldiers of the Towne had the better at firſt; but were at length repelled with loſſe. *Titus* abode not many dayes before *Sparta*: but over-ranne the Countrey; hoping belike to provoke the Tyrant forth to battaile. The *Roman* Fleet at the ſame time, with King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, laid ſiege unto *Gytheum*, the onely or principall Town that *Nabis* had. Likely they were to have taken it by force, when there appeared hope of getting it by treaſon. There were two Governours within the Towne equall in authority: whereof the one, either for feare, or deſire of reward, had a purpoſe to let in the *Romans*. But the other finding what was in hand, and being ſomewhat more faithfull, ſlue the Traitor; after whoſe death, he himſelfe alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quintius* with part of his Armie came thither to *Gytheum*: this Captaine of the Towne had not the heart to abide the uttermoſt, and await what either Time or his Maſter might doe for him, but was contented to give up the place; yet upon Condition, to depart in ſafety to *Sparta* with his Garriſon. *Pythagoras*, the ſonne-in-law of *Nabis*, and brother unto his wife, was come from *Argos*, whereof he had the Governement, with a thouſand Souldiers Mercenaries, and two thouſand *Argives*: it being (as may ſeeme) the Tyrants purpoſe, to relieve *Gytheum*: which he thought would have held longer out. But when they heard that it was loſt, then began they to thinke upon finiſhing the warre, by ſome reaſonable Compoſition. *Pythagoras* therefore was ſent his Embaſſadour to *Titus*: requeſting onely that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and ſpeak with him. This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyrant ſpake very reaſonably for himſelfe: proving, that he ſuffered wrong, and had done none, and that by many good arguments; whereof the ſumme was, That whatſoever they now did, or could object unto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon he inferred, That neither for his keeping the Towne of *Argos*, nor for any other cauſe by them alledged, they ought to make warre upon him; ſince *Argos*, and all other their allegations whatſoever, had not hindered them, in time of their more need of him, from entring into that League with him; which was never broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But *Quintius* was not herewith ſatisfied. He charged him with Tyranny; & gave inſtance, as eaſily he might, of divers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points foraſmuch as they knew this *Nabis* to be guiltie, before they made Peace and Confederacie with him; it was expedient, that ſome other cauſe of this Invaſion ſhould by alledged. Wherefore he ſaid further, That this Tyrant had occupied *Meſſene*, a Towne Confederate with the *Romans*: That he had bargained to joyne with *Philip*; when he was their enemy; not onely in League, but alſo in affinity: and that his Fleet had robbed many of their ſhips, about the Cape of *Malea*. Now touching this Pyracie, ſince in the Articles by *Titus* propounded unto *Nabis*, there was no reſtitution mentioned, other than of ſhips, by him taken from the *Greeks* his neighbours, with whom he had long held warre: it may ſeeme to have beene objected, onely by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of thoſe complaints, that were otherwiſe very frivolous. As for *Meſſene*, and the bargaine of Alliance made with *Philip*: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made betweene the *Romans* and this Tyrant; and therefore not to have beene mentioned. All this it ſeems that *Ariſtænus*, the Prætor of the *Achæans*, very well perceived: who therefore doubting leſt the *Romans*, (that were wont to talke ſo much of their owne juſtice, honour, and faithfull dealing) ſhould now relent, and forbeare to moleſt him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their Confederate, and had never done them wrong; framed his diſcourſe to another end. He entreated *Nabis* to conſider well of his owne eſtate; & to ſettle his fortunes, whileſt he might do it without hazzard: alledging the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, and therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to ſurrender their Eſtates, and lived in great ſecurity, honour, and happineſſe, as private men. Thus they diſcourſed untill night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to relinquiſh *Argos*; and requeſted them, to deliver unto him in writing their other demands, that he might take counſaile with his friends. The iſſue of all was, That, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates muſt be, for maintenance of an Army to lie in Leaguer all that Winter (as there was no hope of making ſhort worke) before the City of *Sparta:* they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, upon ſuch Conditions as *Titus* ſhould thinke meet. Beſides the reſtitution of *Argos*, and all the places thereon depending; *Titus* propounded many other Conditions to *Nabis*, and ſome of them very grievous. He would not ſuffer the *Lacedæmonian* to have ought to doe in the Ile of *Crete*; no, nor to make any Confederacies, nor warre, either in that Iland or elſe-where; not to build any Towne or Caſtle upon his owne Lands; not to keepe any other ſhipping, than two ſmall Barkes; beſides many other troubleſome injunctions; with impoſition of an hundred talents in ſilver to be paid out of hand, and fifty talents yeerly, for eight yeeres next enſuing. For obſervance of theſe Covenants he demanded five hoſtages, ſuch as he himſelfe ſhould name; and one of them to be the Tyrants owne ſonne. If it had beene the meaning of *Titus*, to withdraw the warre from *Nabis*, becauſe it was not grounded upon juſtice: then had it beene enough, if not more than enough, to take *Argos* from him; which he himſelfe did offer, though it were for feare, to deliver up. But if it were thought reaſonable, to diſpenſe a little with the *Roman* faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound unto the ſtate of their beſt friends in *Greece*, by the extirpation of this Tyranny: then ſhould this enterpriſe, when once it was taken in hand, have bin proſecuted unto the very utmoſt. As for this middle courſe which the *Romans* held: as it was not honourable unto them, to enrich themſelves by the ſpoile of one that had not offended them: nor pleaſing to the *Achæans*, who judged it ever after a great blemiſh to the noble acts of *Titus*; ſo did it miniſter unto the *Ætolians*, and to ſuch as curiouſly pried into the faults of thoſe which tooke upon them to be Patrons of *Greece*, no barren Subject of malicious diſcourſe. For ſince *Philip*, a King, and deſcended of many famous Kings, might not be ſuffered by theſe Maſterly *Romans*, to hold any one of thoſe Countries or Townes in *Greece*, that had belonged unto his Anceſtors: it was thought very ſtrange, that *Lacedæmon*, once the moſt famous Citie among all the *Greeks*, was by the ſame *Romans* left in poſſeſſion of a Tyrant, that had uſurped it but yeſterday: and he therein rooted by their authority, as their friend and Confederate. *Nabis* on the other ſide thought himſelfe unmercifully dealt withall, by the ſelfe-ſame *Romans*, whoſe amity he had preferred in time of a doubtfull warre, before the love and affinity of the *Macedonian* King, that had committed the City of *Argos* into his hands. But falſly had he dealt with the *Macedonian*: and falſly was he dealt with by thoſe, to whom he did betake himſelfe. Among theſe Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleaſed him; ſave onely that for the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*; (of whom a great number were in the *Roman* Campe; having among them *Ageſipolis* the naturall King of *Sparta*, that being a young childe was driven out by *Lycurgus* the firſt of the Tyrants) there was made no proviſion, to have them reſtored unto their Citie and Eſtates; but onely leave required for as many of their wives, as would be ſo contented, to live abroad with them in baniſhment. Wherefore he forbore to give conſent unto theſe demands: and ſuſtained an aſſault or two; hoping belike that the enemies would ſoone bee wearie. But his fearefull nature ſhortly overcame the reſolution, which the ſenſe of theſe injuries had put into him. So yeelding unto all that had been propounded, He delivered the hoſtages; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at *Rome* by the Senate and People. From this time forward, He thought the *Romans* farre more wicked than himſelfe; and was ready upon the firſt advantage, to doe them all the miſchiefe that he could.

The *Argives* had heard newes that *Lacedæmon* was even at point of being taken. This erected them, and gave them heart to thinke upon their owne good. So they adventured to ſet upon the Garriſon; which was much weakened, by the remove of the three thouſand carried thence by *Pythagoras* to helpe the Tyrant at *Sparta*. There needed unto their liberty no more, than that all of them joyntly ſhould ſet their hands to the getting of it; which no ſooner they did than they obtained it. Preſently after this came *T. Quintius* to *Argos*, where he was joyfully welcommed. He was deſervedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Citizens had layed hold without ſtaying for him: and that he might the better entitle himſelfe thereto, he cauſed the liberty of the *Argives* to be proclaimed at the *Nemæan* games; as ratifying it by his authority. The Citie was annexed againe to the Councell of *Achaia*; whereby the *Achæans* were not more ſtrengthened, than the *Argives* themſelves were ſecured from danger of relapſe, into the ſame extremities out of which they had newly eſcaped.

After this, *Titus* found little buſineſſe or none wherewith to ſet on worke his Army in *Greece*. *Antiochus* was about to ſend another Embaſſage to *Rome*, deſiring peace and friendſhip of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance wholly diſpoſed unto quiet, *Scipio* the *African*, that was choſen Conſul at *Rome*, could not have his deſire, of being ſent Commander into *Greece*. The un-ſyncere meaning of *Antiochus*, and the tumultuous diſpoſition of the *Aetolians*, were held as conſiderations worthy of regard: yet not ſufficient cauſes of making War. Neither appeared there any more honeſt way, of confuting the *Aetolians*, & of throughly perſwading all the *Greekes* (which was not to be neglected, by thoſe that meant to aſſure unto themſelves the patronage of *Greece*) that the good of the Countrie was their ſole intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leaving the Nation unto it ſelfe, till occaſion ſhould be ripe, and call them over againe. Wherefore after *Titus* had ſpent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at any neere diſtance appearing; he called an Aſſembly of Delegates, from all parts of *Greece* to *Corinth*: where he meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted unto them all that had paſſed ſince his comming into thoſe parts; and willed them to value the *Roman* friendſhip, according to the difference of eſtate, wherein the *Romans* found and left them. Hereto he added ſome wholeſome counſell; touching the moderate uſe of their liberty, & the care which they ought to have of living peaceably, and without faction. Laſtly he gave up *Acrocorinthus* to the *Achæans*; withdrawing thence the *Roman* Garriſon, and promiſing to do the like (which very ſoone he did) at *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; that ſo it might be knowne, what lyers the *Aetolians* were, who had accuſed the *Romans*, of a purpoſe to retaine thoſe places. With joyfull acclamations did the *Greekes* teſtifie their good liking of that which *Titus* had ſaid and done: as alſo (at his requeſt) they agreed, to ranſome and enlarge all *Romans*, that had been ſold into their Countrey by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* crowned his actions in *Greece* with an happy end: and by leaving the Countrie before his departure was urged, left therein behinde him the memory of his vertue and benefits, untainted by jealouſie and ſuſpition of any evill meaning. At his comming to the City, He had the honour of a Triumph; which was the goodlieſt of all that *Rome* had untill that day beheld. Three dayes together the ſhew of his pomp continued: as being ſet out with the ſpoiles of a Countrie, more aboundant in things worthy of ſuch a ſpectacle, than any wherein the *Romans* had before made Warre. All ſorts of Armes, with Statues and curious pieces of Braſſe or Marble, taken from the Enemie, were carried in the firſt dayes Pageant. The ſecond day, was brought in, all the treaſure of Gold and Silver: ſome in the rude Maſſe unwrought, ſome in divers ſorts of Coine; and ſome in Veſſels of ſundry kindes, that were the more highly prized by the workemanſhip. Among theſe were tenne ſhields, all of Silver; and one of pure Gold. The third day *Titus* himſelfe entred the City in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and foureteen Crownes of Gold, beſtowed upon him by divers Cities. There were alſo led the beaſts for Sacrifice; the Priſoners, and the hoſtages: among which, *Demetrius* the ſonne of King *Philip*, and *Armenes* the ſon of *Nabis*, were principall. After him followed his Army; and (which added much grace, and good liking to the ſhew) the *Roman* Captives, by his procurement redeemed from ſlaverie in *Greece*.

Not long after this Triumph, He procured audience of the Senate for many Embaſſages, that were come out of *Greece* and *Aſia*. They had all very favourable anſwers, excepting thoſe of King *Antiochus*: whom the Senate would not heare, but referred over to *T. Quintius*, and the ten that had bin his Counſailors; becauſe their buſineſſe was ſaid to be ſomewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embaſſadors wondred. They ſaid unto *Titus* and his Aſſociates, That they could not diſcern wherein conſiſted any perplexity of their meſſage. For all Treaties of peace and friendſhip, were either betweene the Victor and the vanquiſhed; between thoſe, that having warred together, were upon equall termes of advantage; or betweene thoſe that had lived alwayes in good agreement, without any quarrell. Unto the Victor, they ſaid, that the vanquiſhed muſt yeeld; and patiently endure the impoſition of ſome Covenants, that elſe might ſeeme unreaſonable. Where Warre had beene made, and no advantage gotten: there was it uſuall to demand and make reſtitution of things and places claimed, gotten, or loſt; accordingly as both parts could agree. But betweene thoſe which had never fallen out, there ought no Conditions of eſtabliſhing friendſhip to be propoſed: ſince it was reaſonable, that each part ſhould hold their owne; and neither carry it ſelfe as ſuperiour to the other, in preſcribing ought that might be troubleſome. Now of this laſt kind, was the league and friendſhip that had beene ſo long in concluſion, betwixt *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. Which being ſo: they held it ſtrange, that the *Romans* ſhould thus inſiſt on points no way concerning them, and take upon them to preſcribe unto the King, what Cities of *Aſia* he ſhould ſet at liberty; from what cities they would give him leave to exact his wonted Tributes; either putting or not putting his Garriſons into them, as the Senate ſhould thinke fit. Hereto *Quintius* anſwered, that ſince they went ſo diſtinctly to worke, He would alſo doe the like. Wherefore he propounded unto them two Conditions, and gave them their choyce whether to accept: Either that it ſhould be lawfull for the *Romans* to take part in *Aſia* with any that would ſeek their friendſhip; Or if King *Antiochus* miſliked this, and would have them forbeare to meddle in *Aſia*, that then he ſhould abandon whatſoever he had gotten in *Europe*. This was plaine dealing, but no reaſonable nor pertinent anſwer, to that which the Kings Embaſſadors had propounded. For if the *Romans* might be hired to abſtaine from *Aſia*, by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately won in *Europe*: then did not the affaires of *Smyrna*, *Lampſacus*, or any other *Aſiatiques*, whom they were pleaſed to reckon as their Confederates, binde them in honour to make Warre vvith a King that ſought their love, and had never done them injury. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great ſhame be ſo baſe, as to deliver up unto them the Citie of *Lyſimachia*, whereon of late he had beene at ſo much coſt; in building it up even from the foundation, and repeopling it vvith Inhabitants, that had all beene diſperſed, or captive to the *Barbarians*. And ſo much the Embaſſadors with great indignation alledged: ſaying, That *Antiochus* deſired friendſhip of the *Romans*; but ſo, as it might ſtand with his honour. Now in point of honour, the *Romans* tooke upon them as if their cauſe were far the ſuperiour. For it was, they ſaid, their purpoſe to ſet at liberty thoſe Towns, which the King would oppreſſe and hold in ſubjection: eſpecially ſince thoſe Townes were of *Greekiſh* bloud and language; and fell, in that regard, under the patronage which *Rome* had affoorded unto all *Greece* beſides. By this colour they might ſoon have left *Antiochus* King of not many ſubjects on the hither ſide of *Euphrates*. Neither did they forbeare to ſay, That unleſſe he would quit what he held in *Europe*, it was their meaning not onely to protect thoſe which relyed upon them in *Aſia*, but therein to make new Alliances: namely (as might be underſtood) with ſuch as were his ſubjects. Wherefore they urged his Embaſſadors to come to a point, and tell them plainly which of theſe two Conditions their King would accept. For lacke of a pleaſing anſwer, which the Embaſſadors could not hereto make; little wanted of giving preſently defiance to the King. But they ſuffered themſelves to be entreated, & were contented once againe to ſend over *P. Villius*, & others that had bin already with the king at *Lyſimachia*; by whom they might receive a finall anſwer, whether theſe demands made by *Quintius* and his Aſſociates would be accepted, yea, or no. By this reſpite of time, and the fruitleſſe Treaties enſuing, *Antiochus* got the leiſure of two yeares, or thereabouts, to prepare for War; finding in the *Romans* all that while, no diſpoſition to let him live in peace.

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## §. V.

*Of the long Wars which the Romans had with the Gaules, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of* M. Porcius Cato. *Injuries done by* Maſaniſſa *to the Carthaginians, that ſue to the Romans for juſtice in vaine.*

THe *Inſubrians*, *Bojians*, and other of the *Ciſalpine Gaules*, together with the *Ligurians*; made often and (in a manner) continuall Warre upon the *Romans* in *Italy*, even from ſuch time as *Hannibal* and his brother *Mago* departed thence, untill ſuch time as they themſelves were utterly ſubdued: which was not, before the *Romans* were almoſt at the very height of their Empire. Theſe Nations, having ſerved under *Mago* for vvages, and afterwards having gotten *Amilcar* a *Carthaginian*, to be Leader unto them all, as hath beene already ſhewed; by this their fellowſhip in

Armes, grew to be ſuch willing partakers each of others fortune, that ſeldome afterwards either the *Gaules* or *Ligurians* did ſtir alone; but that their Companions, hearing it, were ready to ſecond them. How the *Romans* firſt prevailed, and got large poſſeſſions in *Gallia Ciſalpina*, now called *Lumbardie*; it hath been long ſince rehearſed between the firſt and ſecond *Punick* Wars. As alſo it hath ſince appeared, how they loſt the greateſt part of their hold in that Country, by meanes of *Hannibal* his paſſage there-through. Neither is it likely that the re-conqueſt would have been more difficult or tedious unto the *Romans*, than was the firſt purchaſe: if, beſides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed unto this War, had not been diſtracted by the *Ligurians*; that alwayes made them to proceed warily, having an eye to the danger at their backes. The *Ligurians* were a ſtout Nation, light and ſwiſt of body; well practiſed in laying ambuſhes, and not diſcouraged with any overthrow, but forthwith ready to fight againe. Their Country was mountainous, rough, wooddie, and full of ſtraight and dangerous paſſages. Few good Townes they had; but many Caſtles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: ſo as without much labour, they could neither bee taken nor beſieged. They were alſo very poor; and had little or nothing that might give contentment unto a victorious Army that ſhould ſpoyle their Land. In theſe reſpects, they ſerved excellently well to traine up the *Roman* Souldiers to hardneſſe and military patience: teaching them (beſides other exerciſes of Warre) to endure much, and live contented with a little. Their quarrell to *Rome*, grew partly from their love unto the *Gaules*, their neighbours and companions; partly from their delight in robbing and ſpoiling the Territory of their borderers, that were ſubject unto *Rome*. But their obſtinate continuance in the Warre which they had begun, ſeemes to have been grounded upon the Condition of all Salvages; To be friends or foes, by cuſtome, rather than by Judgement: and to acknowledge no ſuch vertue in Leagues, or formall concluſions of Peace, as ought to hinder them from uſing their advantage, or taking revenge of injuries when they returne to minde. This quality is found in all, or moſt of the Weſt-Indians: who, if they be demanded a reaſon of the Warres betweene them and any of their neighbours, doe uſe commonly this anſwer, *It hath ſtill beene the cuſtome for us and them, to fight one againſt the other.*

Ch.2.§.8. of this Booke.

Divers overthrowes, though none that vvere great, theſe *Ligurians* gave unto the *Romans*: but many more, and greater, they received. Often they ſought peace, vvhen they found themſelves in diſtreſſe; and brake it againe as often, vvhen they thought it profitable ſo to do. The beſt vvas, that as their Country was a good place of exerciſe unto the *Romans*, ſo out of their own Country they did little harme: not ſending any great Armies far from home; perhaps, becauſe they knew not how to make Warre, ſave on their owne ground.

The Countrey of *Spaine*, as it was the firſt part of the Continent out of *Italy* that became ſubject unto the *Romans*: ſo was it the laſt of all their Provinces, which was wholly and throughly by them ſubdued. It is likened in figure by ſome Geographers unto an Oxe-hide: and the *Romans* found in it the property of that Oxe-hide vvhich *Calanus* the *Indian* ſhewed unto the Great *Alexander*, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For treading upon any ſide of it, the further parts vvould riſe from the ground. And thus vvas it vvith *Spain*. Seldome did it happen that thoſe parts from vvhich the *Roman* Armies lay furtheſt, vvere not up in rebellion. The *Spaniards* vvere a very hardy Nation, and eaſily ſtirred up to armes; but had not much knowledge in the art of War, nor any good Captaines. They vvanted alſo (vvhich vvas their principall hinderance) good intelligence among themſelves: and being divided into many ſmall Signiories, that had little other communion than of language, they ſeldome or never provided in generall for the common good of their Country; but made it their chiefe care, each of them to look unto their owne Territory. Such private reſpects made them often to fall aſunder, vvhen many had united themſelves together, for chaſing out of the *Romans*. And theſe vvere the cauſes of their often overthrowes: as deſire of liberty, rather than complaint of any vvrong done to them, vvas the cauſe of their often taking armes.

The *Carthaginians* had beene accuſtomed, to make evacuation of this Cholericke *Spaniſh* humour; by employing, as Mercenaries in their Warres abroad, thoſe that vvere moſt likely to be unquiet at home. They had alſo taken Souldiers from one part of the Countrey, and uſed them in another: finding meanes to pay them all, out of the profits which they raiſed upon the whole Countrey; as being far better husbands, and of more dexterity than were the *Romans*, in that kinde. But contrariwiſe, the *Romans*, uſing the ſervice of their owne Legions, and of their ſure friends the *Latines*, had little buſineſſe for the *Spaniards*; and therefore were fain to have much buſineſſe with them. *Spaine* was too far diſtant, and withall too great for them to ſend over Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the courſe that they took in *Italy*. Wherefore it remained, that they ſhould alwaies maintain ſuch Armies in the Country, as might ſerve to hold it in obedience perforce; and ſuch heedfull Captains, as might be ſtill ready to oppoſe the *Barbarians* in their firſt Commotion. This they did; and thereby held the Countrey; though ſeldome in peace.

Very ſoone after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raiſed Warre in *Spaine* againſt the *Romans*, even upon the ſame generall ground, that was the foundation of all the *Spaniſh* Warres following. It was thought unreaſonable, that the *Spaniards* ſhould one while helpe the *Carthaginians* againſt the *Romans*, and another while the *Romans* againſt the *Carthaginians*; baſely forgetting to help themſelves againſt thoſe that were ſtrangers, yet uſurped the Dominion over them. But the forces which *Scipio* had left behinde him in that Countrey, being well acquainted with the manner of Warre in thoſe parts, ſuppreſſed this Rebellion by many victories: and, together with ſubjection, brought peace upon the Countrey; which laſted five yeares. This Victory of the *Romans*, though it happily ended the Warre: yet left it ſtill remaining the cauſe of the Warre; which after five yeares brake out againe. The *Spaniards* fought a battell with the *Roman* Proconſull, whom they ſlew; and had a great Victory, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happy ſucceſſe of their Warres in *Greece*, made the *Romans* thinke it enough to ſend thither two Prætors, and with each of them ſome two Legions. Theſe did ſomewhat: yet not ſo much, but that *M. Porcius Cato*, who was Conſull the year following, and ſent into that Province; found at his comming little leſſe to doe, than the reconquering of all *Spaine*. But it fell out happily, that all the *Spaniards* were not of one minde: ſome were faithfull to *Rome*; and ſome were idle beholders of the paines that others tooke. Yet when *Cato* had wonne a great Victory upon the chiefeſt of them; they roſe againſt him in many parts of the Countrey, and put him unto much new trouble. Whileſt he was about to make a journey againſt thoſe that were as yet unſubdued: ſome of the lately vanquiſhed, were even ready to rebell. Hee therefore diſarmed them: which they tooke ſo heavily, that many of them ſlew themſelves for very griefe. Hearing of this, and well underſtanding, that ſuch deſperation might worke dangerous effects; Hee called unto him the principall among them: and commending unto them peace and quietneſſe, which they never had diſturbed but unto their owne great loſſe, He prayed them to deviſe what courſe might be taken, for holding them aſſured unto *Rome*, without further trouble. None of them could, or would give counſell in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their invention barren in this kinde of Subject; He gave expreſſe charge, That upon a day appointed they ſhould throw downe the walls of all their Townes. Afterwards hee carried the Warre about from place to place; and with ſingular induſtry finiſhed it in ſhort time. Neither thought he it any diſgrace to him or to *Rome*, in this time of danger, to imitate the *Carthaginians*, and hire an army of the *Celtiberians*, againſt other of their Countrimen: excuſing the indignity, ſuch as it ſeemed, with a jeſt, That if he were vanquiſhed and ſlaine, then ſhould he need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victory, He could pay them with the enemies money. Finally, He brought the Warre to ſo good end, that in long time after, though *Spaine* were often troubleſome, yet was it in no danger of being loſt. He increaſed alſo the publike Revenues in that Province, by cauſing ſome Mines of Iron and Silver to be wrought, that had before laine unregarded. Herein he did benefit the Common-wealth by a vertue much agreeable to his owne peculiar diſpoſition.

For this *M. Cato* was not onely very notable in the Art of War, which might well be then termed the occupation of the *Romans*; but ſo well furniſhed with all other uſefull qualities, that very little was wanting in him, which might ſeeme requiſite to the accompliſhment of a perfect man. He was very ſkilfull in the *Roman* Lawes, a man of great Eloquence, and not unprofitable in any buſineſſe either private or publike. Many books he wrote: whereof the principall were, of the *Roman* antiquities, & of husbandry. In matter of husbandry he was notable, and thereby moſt increaſed his ſubſtance; being of meane birth, and the firſt of his Houſe. Strong of bodie he was, and exceeding temperate: ſo as he lived in perfect health to very old age. But that which moſt commended him unto the better ſort of the *Romans*, was his great ſincerity of life, abſtinence from bribes, and faſhioning himſelfe to the ancient laudable Cuſtomes of the Citie. Herein hee had merited ſingular commendations, if the vehemencie of his nature had not cauſed him to maligne the vertue of that Noble *Scipio* the *African*, and ſome other worthy men; that were no leſſe honeſt than himſelfe, though farre leſſe rigid, and more gallant in behaviour. Otherwiſe, He was a very good Citizen, and one of ſuch temper, that he could faſhion himſelfe to all occaſions; as if he were never out of his Element. He loved buſineſſe ſo well, or rather hated vice ſo earneſtly; that even unto the end of his life, He was exerciſed in defending himſelfe or accuſing others. For at the age of foureſcore and ſix years, he pleaded in his owne defence: and foure yeares after, he accuſed *Sergius Galba* unto the people. So began the Nobility of *Cato* his family; which ended in his great grand-child *M. Cato* the *Utican*: one that being of like vertue and fervencie, had all his good purpoſes daſht, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of ſuch Nobility and Greatneſſe as this his Anceſtor had continually vexed.

The *Spaniſh* Warres, after *Cato* his departure out of the Countrie, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many; and the Countrie ſeldome free from inſurrection, in one part or other. The *Roman* Prætors therefore, of which two every yeare were ſent over Commanders into *Spaine* (that was divided into Governments) did rarely faile of ſuch worke, as might affoord the honour of Triumph. One ſlew thirteene thouſand *Spaniards* in a battell: another tooke fifty Townes; and a third enforced many States of the Countrey to ſue for peace. Thus every one of them, or moſt of them, did ſome laudable ſervice; and yet ſo, that commonly there were of men, townes, and people, new that rebelled, in ſtead of the old that were ſlaine, taken, or reclaimed. At the cauſes hereof, I have already pointed; and therefore think it enough to ſay, That the buſineſſe in *Spaine* required not the imployment of a *Roman* Conſul, from ſuch time as *Cato* thence departed, untill the *Numantian* Warre broke out, which was very long after.

In all other Countries to the Weſt of the *Ionian* Seas, the *Romans* had peace; but ſo had not the *Carthaginians*. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the enemies of the *Barchine* Houſe promiſed all felicity which *Rome* could grant, unto themſelves and their obedient City: *Maſaniſſa* fell to diſputing with the ſword, about the title to the beſt part of their Lands. He began with *Emporia*, a fruitfull Region about the leſſer *Syrtis*: wherein, among other Cities, was that of *Leptis*, which daily paid a Talent unto *Carthage* for Tribute. This Country the *Numidian* challenged; and by winning ſome part of it, ſeemed to better his claime unto the whole. Hee had a great advantage: for that the *Carthaginians* might not make any Warre, without leave obtained from their Maſters the *Romans*. They had none other way of redreſſe, than by ſending to *Rome* their Complaint of his doings. And ſurely they wanted not good matter to alledge, if the Judges had beene impartiall. For beſides that *Scipio*, in limiting out to them their bounds, had left them the poſſeſſion of this Country: *Maſaniſſa* himſelfe, now very lately purſuing a Rebell that fled out of his Kingdome, deſired leave of the *Carthaginians*, for himſelfe to paſſe through it in his way to *Cyrene*: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwiſe been queſtionable) that the Country was theirs. This notwithſtanding, *Maſaniſſa* had wherewith to juſtifie his proceedings, eſpecially unto the *Roman* Senate. He gave the *Fathers* to underſtand by his Embaſſadors, what faithleſſe people the *Carthaginians* were, and how ill affected to the State of *Rome*. There had lately been ſent unto them from *Hannibal*, one that ſhould perſwade them to take part with *Antiochus*. This man they had examined upon ſome ſuſpicion of his errand; yet neither arreſting him nor his ſhip, had thereby affoorded him means to eſcape. Hence the *Numidian* concluded, That certainely it was their purpoſe to rebell; and therefore good policie to keepe them downe.

As for the Country of *Emporia*: it had alwaies, he ſaid, beene theirs that were able to hold it by ſtrong hand: and ſo belonged ſometime unto the *Numidian* Kings; though now of late it was in poſſeſſion of the *Carthaginians*. But if the truth were knowne, the Citizens of *Carthage* had not any very warrantable title unto any more ground, than that whereon their City ſtood; or ſcarcely to ſo much. For they were no better than ſtrangers in *Africk*, that had gotten leave there to build upon ſo much ground, as they could encompaſſe with an Oxe-hide cut into ſmall thongs. Whatſoever they held without ſuch a compaſſe, was purchaſed by fraud, and wrongfull encroachments. This conſidered, *Maſaniſſa* requeſted of the Senate, That they would not adjudge unto ſuch uſurpers, the Country ſometimes appertaining to the Anceſtors of him their aſſured friend. The *Romans* having heard theſe allegations on both ſides, found the matter ſo doubtfull, that they could not on the ſudden tell what to determine. Wherfore, becauſe they would doe nothing raſhly; they ſent over three Embaſſadors, of whom *P. Scipio* the *African* was one and the chiefe, to decide the controverſie: yet ſecretly giving them inſtructions, to leave all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embaſſadors followed their directions, and left all doubtfull. So was it likely, that *Maſaniſſa* with a ſtrong Army ſhould quickly prevaile againſt thoſe that could no more than talke of their right, and exclaime againſt the wrong. By ſuch Arts were the *Carthaginians* held, not only from ſtirring in favour of King *Antiochus*, if they had thereto any diſpoſition; but were prepared by little and little unto their finall deſtruction: that came upon them, when the *Romans* had leiſure to expreſſe the utmoſt of their hatred.

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## §. VI.

*The Ætolians labour to provoke* Antiochus, Philip, *and* Nabis *to War upon the Romans, by whom they hold themſelves wronged and diſgraced.* Nabis *beſiegeth Gyttheum, and waſteth ſome part of Achæa. The exact ſkill of* Philopœmen *in advantage of ground: whereby hee utterly vanquiſheth* Nabis. Antiochus *being denied peace by the Romans, joynes with the Ætolians. The Ætolians ſurprize Demetrias; and by killing* Nabis, *their Confederate, ſeize upon Sparta. But they are driven out by the Citizens: who at* Philopœmen *his perſwaſions annexe themſelves to the Achæans.*

ALL *Greece* being at peace, and the *Roman* Armies thence departed: it grieved much the *Ætolians* to thinke, that they who had promiſed unto themſelves the whole ſpoile of *Philip*, and the higheſt reputation among the *Greeks*, were not only diſappointed of their covetous hopes, but quite forſaken by their ancient dependants; and of all other the moſt unregarded. Yet was there made a great acceſſe to their Eſtate; by adding much unto them, of that which had been taken from the *Macedonian*. This might well have ſufficed them, if their deſires had not been immoderate; and their indignation more vehement, than their deſire. But they were not ſo pleaſed with that which they had, ſince they thought it no more than part of their due: as they were vexed with the deniall of that which they claimed, and with finding themſelves to be wholly diſeſteemed, wherein they thought that they had unſufferable wrong. Wherefore they deviſed, in a Parliament which they ſhortly held, by what meanes they beſt might right themſelves; and give the *Romans* a ſorrowfull knowledge of the difference between their enmity and friendſhip. To this purpoſe they ſoon agreed, as concurring all in one affection; That they would not onely perſwade *Antiochus* to make War upon the *Romans*, as one to whom the *Romans* had long refuſed Peace; but that they would deale with the King of *Macedon* their ancient enemy, and with *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, to joyne all together in a new Confederacy: whoſe joynt forces could not in all likelihood, but far ſurmount thoſe of the *Romans*, *Achæans*, *Rhodians*, and King *Eumenes*, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterpriſe, which the *Ætolians* took in hand; and well beſeeming them, for they were great darers. They ſent Embaſſadors to all theſe Kings, with perſwaſions, as they thought moſt forcible. But *Philip* was irreſolute; and *Antiochus* willing to try firſt all other courſes. *Nabis* the *Lacedæmonian*, who neither (as *Philip*) had loſt much, nor (as *Antiochus*) was in feare of any War; yet ſhewed himſelfe of all other the moſt forward: and not ſtaying ſo much as to ſeeke any good pretence, began immediately to lay ſiege unto *Gyttheum*, that had been lately taken from him by the *Romans*. The *Achæans*, to whoſe care chiefly *Titus* at his departure had commended the affaires of *Peloponneſus*, were not ſlow to admoniſh *Nabis* of his duty: neither would they have ſtaid long from repreſſing his violence by open War, had not ſome of them thought it wiſedome to aske Counſell of the *Romans*, and particularly of *T. Quintius*, before they engaged themſelves in a buſineſſe of ſuch importance. Whilſt thus they ſpent the time in ſending Embaſſadors, and were adviſed by *Quintius* to let all alone, and to wait for the comming of the *Roman* forces, that would ſhortly be amongſt them: *Nabis* was bold to give them juſter cauſe of complaint, by waſting their owne Territory.

*Philopœmen* was then Pretor of the *Achæans*, who had long bin abſent in *Crete*, making War there for his minds ſake and recreation. Unto him the *Achæans* referred themſelves, giving him leave to order the War at his pleaſure; either ſtaying till the *Romans* came, or doing otherwiſe, as he ſhould thinke beſt. He made all haſte to relieve *Gyttheum* by Sea; fearing leſt the Towne, and the *Achæan* Garriſon within it, ſhould be loſt, if he uſed any delay. But *Philopœmen* was ſo bad a Sea-man, that hee knew not a ſtrong Ship from a rotten. He made a *Quadrireme* Gally his Admirall, that had fourescore yeares agoe beene counted a gallant Veſſell, in the Navie of *Antigonus Gonatas*. Neither was the reſt of his Fleet ſo good, as might encounter with that of the *Lacedæmonian*. Onely it fell out well, that he committed himſelfe to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with her wings, than with her talons. For his Admirall Gally was ſtemmed at the firſt; and being rotten with age, ſprang ſo many leakes, and tooke in water ſo faſt, that ſhe was faine to yeeld without further reſiſtance. When the reſt of the Fleet ſaw what was become of their Admirall, all were preſently diſcouraged, and ſaved themſelves with what ſpeed they could. But *Philopœmen* was not herewith daunted. If he had failed in Sea-ſervice, which was none of his Occupation, He ſaid, that he would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Army from the ſiege of *Gyttheum*, to ſtop the *Achæans* if they ſhould invade his Countrey. But upon theſe which were placed in guard of *Laconia*, *Philopœmen* came unexpected; fired their Camp, and put all, ſave a very few of them, to the ſword. Then marched hee with all his Army towards *Lacedæmon*: within ten miles whereof he was when the Tyrant met him, that had already taken *Gyttheum*. It was not expected that *Nabis* would have beene ready for them ſo ſoon. Or if he ſhould come from *Gyttheum*, with any part of his forces: yet was it thought that he muſt overtake them, and charge them in Rere. They marched therefore almoſt ſecurely, in a long Troupe reaching ſome five miles; having their Horſe, and the greateſt part of their Auxiliaries at their backs, to beare off any ſudden impreſſion. But *Nabis*, who formerly underſtood, or at leaſt ſuſpected, what courſe they would take, appeared in the front of them with all his Army; encamped there where they meant to have lodged. It was the cuſtome of *Philopœmen*, when he walked or travelled abroad with his friends, to marke the ſituation of the Countrey about him; and to diſcourſe what might befall an Army marching the ſame way. He vvould ſuppoſe, That having with him there ſuch a number of Souldiers, ordered and ſorted in ſuch manner, and marching towards ſuch a place; he were upon that ground encountred by a greater Army, or better prepared to the fight. Then vvould he put the queſtion, Whether it vvere fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a ſtand? vvhat piece of ground it vvere meet for him to ſeize upon? and in vvhat manner he might beſt do it? in vvhat ſort he ſhould order his men? vvhere beſtow his carriages, and under vvhat Guard? in vvhat ſort encampe himſelfe? and vvhich vvay march the day following? By ſuch continuall meditation, Hee vvas growne ſo perfect, that he did never meet vvith any difficultie, vvhence he could not explicate himſelfe and his followers. At this time hee made a ſtand: and having drawne up his Rere, Hee encamped neere unto the place vvhere he vvas; within halfe a mile of the Enemy. His baggage, with all thereto belonging, he beſtowed on a Rocke; encompaſſing them round vvith his Souldiers. The ground vvas rough, the vvayes bad, and the day almoſt quite ſpent; ſo as *Nabis* could not at the preſent greatly moleſt him. Both Armies were to vvater at one Brook; vvhereto the *Achæans* lay the neerer. This vvatering therefore was like to miniſter the firſt occaſion of skirmiſh. *Philopœmen* underſtood this; and laid an ambuſh in place convenient; whereinto the Mercenaries of *Nabis* fell, and were ſlaughtered in great numbers. Preſently after this, he cauſed one of his owne Auxiliaries to goe to the Tyrant, as a fugitive, and tell him, that the *Achæans* had a purpoſe to get between him and *Lacedæmon*; whereby they vvould both debarre his returne into the Citie, and vvithall encourage the people to take Armes for the recovery of their freedome. The Tyrant hearing this, marched haſtily away; and left his Campe, which hardly otherwiſe would have beene forced.

Some companies he made to ſtay behind, and ſhew themſelves upon the Rampart, thereby to conceale his departure. But *Philopœmen* was not ſo to be beguiled. He eaſily won the Camp, and gave chaſe to *Nabis*: whoſe followers being overtaken, had no courage to turn about & make head. The enemies being thus diſperſed, and fled into woods where they lay in covert all that day: *Philopœmen* conceived aright, that their fear and neceſſity would teach them to creep homewards, and ſave themſelves, when it grew dark. Wherefore in the Evening, when he had gathered together all thoſe of his light-armature, which had followed the chaſe whileſt it was day, he led forth the reſt that had well refreſhed themſelves, and occupied the two moſt ordinary paſſages unto *Lacedæmon*. So *Nabis* his men, when it was darke night, perceiving in *Philopœmens* Campe great ſtore of lights; thought that all had bin at reſt: and therefore adventured to make an eſcape home. But they were ſo way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into *Sparta*. Thirty dayes together after this, did *Philopœmen* waſt the Country round about, whileſt *Nabis* durſt not iſſue forth of his town; and then returned home, leaving the Tyrant in a manner without forces.

The *Roman* Embaſſadors were then in *Greece*, and *T. Quintius* among them, labouring to make their partie ſtrong againſt *Antiochus* and *Nabis*, whom they knew to be ſolicited by the *Ætolians*. Very faire countenance they alſo made unto *Philip*; and with comfortable promiſes drew him to make ſhew, whatſoever he thought, of good correſpondence. They promiſed to reſtore unto him his ſonne: and were contented to let him hope, that he ſhould receive other favours at their hands; and regaine poſſeſſion of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the *Romans* prepare for warre againſt *Antiochus* in *Greece*, whileſt their Embaſſadours that were with him in *Aſia*, denied otherwiſe to grant him Peace, than if he would yeeld unto one of the Conditions, by them ſo often propounded. The long abſence of this King in *Syria*, where he had accompliſhed the marriage betweene *Ptolomie* and his daughter; together with the death of young *Antiochus* the Kings ſonne, which happened during the Treatie, and hindered, or ſeemed to hinder the King from giving audience in perſon to the Embaſſadours; cauſed them to returne home to *Rome*; as uncertain of their anſwer as at their ſetting forth. One thing that might have beene, and partly was, beneficiall unto them, they brought to paſſe during their abode at *Epheſus*; either by cunning, or (as *Livie* rather thinkes) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there, they diſcourſed often with him, and blamed him for having thus fled unto *Antiochus*, upon a cauſeleſſe ſuſpition wherein he held the *Romans*; that honoured his vertue, and intended him no harme. Many have affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of theſe Embaſſadours; and that he, among other diſcourſes with *Hannibal*, demanded once, *Which of all the famous Captaines that had lived*, Hannibal *judged the moſt worthy?* So *Hannibal* gave to *Alexander* of *Macedon* the firſt place: to *Pyrrhus* the ſecond: and the third he challenged unto himſelfe. But *Scipio*, who thought his own title better, than that it ought to be ſo forgotten, asked yet further, What wouldeſt thou have ſaid then, *Hannibal*, if thou hadſt vanquiſhed me? To whom the *Carthaginian* replied, Then would not I have given the firſt place to *Alexander*, but have claimed it as due unto my ſelfe. Now whether this were ſo, or otherwiſe, the often and friendly conference of *Hannibal* with the *Roman* Embaſſadors, made him ſuſpected of *Antiochus*; who therefore did forbeare a while to uſe his counſell. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceived this change in the King, and plainely deſiring him to tell the cauſe thereof, heard what it was; he eaſily recovered his former grace and credit. For hee told how his Father had cauſed him to ſweare at the Altars, when he was a little boy, That he never ſhould be friend unto the *Romans*. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vaine ſurmiſes: but to know thus much, That ſo long as he thought upon warre with *Rome*, ſo long would *Hannibal* doe him all good ſervice: whereas contrariwiſe, if he intended to make peace, then ſhould it behoove him to uſe the counſell of ſome other man.

The *Ætolians*, and their friends, were no leſſe buſie all this while, in making their partie ſtrong againſt the *Romans*, than were the *Romans* in muſtering up their friends in *Greece*. They had ſo often dealt with *Antiochus*, vaunting much of their own forces, and arrogating to themſelves the honour of the victory againſt *Philip*, that finally they prevailed with him; eſpecially when the *Roman* Embaſſadors had left him without hope of peace, unleſſe he would buy it at too deare a rate. They dealt in like ſort with the *Macedonian*.

But in vaine. He underſtood the *Romans*, and himſelfe, too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improve their owne forces to the uttermoſt: as knowing, that all the burthen muſt lie upon *Antiochus* and themſelves, without helpe from any, ſave onely from ſome few that were diſcontented in *Greece*. Whileſt they were about this, and had with them an Embaſſador of the King *Antiochus*, that animated them to reſolution, the *Athenian* Embaſſadours, whom *Titus* had requeſted to be at their meeting, ſtayed their vehemencie a little; by exhorting them, not to conclude raſhly, without firſt hearing the *Romans*, that lay neere at hand. For want of a ready anſwer hereto, they were contented to approve the motion. *Titus* hearing this, thought the buſineſſe worthy of his preſence. For ſince *Antiochus* had now declared himſelfe againſt the *Romans*, it would be no ſmall piece of ſervice, to withdraw from his friendſhip, thoſe by whoſe encouragement he had made the adventure. Wherefore he came to their *Panætolium*, or great Aſſembly of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might ſerve to appeaſe them. He willed them to conſider the weight of the enterpriſe which they took in hand; whereby *Greece* was like to become a Champaigne-field, on which, to the ruine of the Country, the *Romans* and King *Antiochus*, that commanded no ſmall part of the World, ſhould fight for the Maſterie: the *Ætolians*, as Maſters in that kind of Fence, ſetting them on, and becomming ** the Sticklers*. As for thoſe grievances which did thus exaſperate them, and urge them to ſuch violent courſes, he willed them to conſider how ſlight they were, and how much better they might doe, to ſend Embaſſadours to *Rome*, that ſhould either pleade their right in the Senate, or (if their right unto the places which they claimed, were not good) make requeſt to have what they deſired: than thus to ſet the world in an uproare, and be afterwards the firſt that ſhould repent it. But what he ſaid, or could ſay, it skilled not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embaſſador of the King, whoſe helpe they had ſought, wait ſo long for an anſwer, and ſtay doubting what good end they ſhould make with the *Romans*. Neither was it newes unto them, to heare thoſe comfortable words, That, by ſending to *Rome*, they might happen to obtain what they deſired; either as their right, or elſe by way of favour. For with ſuch Termes had they bin feaſted once already: and were by the Senate rejected unto *Titus*: who, having it in his owne power, gave them no ſatisfaction; yet would now againe referre them to the Senate. This were only loſſe of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Wherefore without more adoe they made a Decree, That King *Antiochus the Great* ſhould be intreated to come over into *Greece*, as well to ſet the Country at liberty, as alſo to decide the controverſies depending between the *Romans* and *Ætolians*. Such a Decree they would not have made, had they not underſtood the Kings minde before. Having made it, they forgot no point of bravery, whereby to vaunt themſelves to the Kings Embaſſadours, and againſt the *Romans*. *Titus* deſired of their Prætor, to let him ſee a Copie of this new Decree. The Prætor anſwered, That then he had other things to doe: but that this Decree, and their further anſwer, they would ſhortly let him know, if he came to their Camp in *Italy* upon the river of *Tibris*. Gentler words would have done better, as the *Ætolians* are like to underſtand hereafter. But having thus begun, they meant henceforth to goe roundly to work. The care of the warre they referred unto the more private Councell of their Nation; that no occaſion might ſlip, in waiting for the Authority of a generall aſſembly. The *Apocleti* (ſo were the Privie Councell of *Ætolia* called) went as hotly to worke as any of the youngeſt heads could have done. They laid a plot, how to get into their hands at one time the Townes of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias*, and *Sparta*: to each of which they ſent men for the purpoſe. *Demetrias* they took upon the ſudden; entring ſome of them as friends, to conduct home a principall man of the Citie: who for ſpeaking words againſt *T. Quintius*, had been driven to flee thence; but was, by interceſſion of thoſe that loved him, again re-called. His *Ætolian* companions, that were not many, ſeized upon a Gate; whereat they let in a Troupe which they had left not far behind them: and ſo fell to murdering the chief of the *Roman* Faction. At *Chalcis* they ſped not ſo well. Thither alſo they had a baniſhed man to bring home: but they came ſo ſtrong, that their purpoſe was diſcovered, and the Town prepared to defend it ſelfe againſt them. Being therefore demanded the cauſe of this hoſtility, they gave a gentle anſwer, ſaying, That they came not thither as enemies, but onely to deliver the Town from the *Romans*; who more inſolently domineered over it, than ever the *Macedonians* had done. By which Rhetoricke they prevailed no more, than they could doe by plaine force.

**Liv.l.35.admiſſis Ætolis,forte, laniſtis.*

force. For the Towneſ-men replied, That they neither found any abridgement of their libertie,nor needed any Garriſon to keep them from the *Romans*, from whom they neither feared any danger,nor received injurie. So this buſineſſe was daſht. The attempt upon *Sparta* was more ſtrange and deſperate. *Nabis* their good friend, was Lord of the Town; ſtyling himſelfe King: but more truely by all men called Tyrant. He had welneere loſt all, by means of the overthrow which *Philopœmen* had lately given him: ſince he durſt not ſtirre abroad; and daily expected the miſchiefe, that on all ſides threatned him. Wherefore he ſent meſſengers, one after another, to the *Ætolians*; requeſting them, That as he had not beene ſlow to ſtirre in their behalfe, but adventured himſelfe upon the utmoſt of danger, when all others were backward; ſo they would be pleaſed to ſend him what helpe they might, ſince his bad fortune had cauſed him preſently to need it. It hath beene often ſaid, That the ravenous *Ætolians* were only true to themſelves, and regarded neither faith nor friendſhip, otherwiſe, than as it might conduce to their owne ends. And ſo dealt they now. For ſince *Nabis* his mercenarie forces, which upheld his Tyranny, were in a manner conſumed: they thought it expedient for their Eſtate,to put him out of the way;and,by ſo doing,to aſſure *Lacedæmon* unto themſelves. To this purpoſe, they ſent thither *Alexamenus*, one whom they thought a man fit for ſuch a worke. To him they gave a thouſand Foot, and thirtie Horſe, choſen for the purpoſe. Theſe thirtie were by *Democritus* the Prætor brought into the Councell of the *Apocleti*,where they were commanded to be no wiſer than they ſhould be, nor to thinke that they were ſent to make warre with the *Achæans*, or to doe ought elſe, ſave onely what *Alexamenus* ſhould command them; which were it never ſo deſperate, and in ſeeming againſt all reaſon; yet muſt they underſtand, that unleſſe they performed it, they ſhould have no good welcome home. So *Alexamenus* came to the Tyrant, whom he encouraged with brave words: telling him that *Antiochus* was already in *Europe*, and would be anon in *Greece*, meaning to cover all the Land and Sea with his mighty Armies; and that the *Romans* were like to finde other manner of worke, than of late with *Philip*: ſince the Elephants of this great King,without other help,would ſuffice to tread them downe. As for the *Ætolians*, he ſaid, that if need ſhould ſo require, they would preſently ſend away to *Lacedæmon* all the forces that they could raiſe: But that they were very deſirous at the preſent, to make as goodly a muſter as they could,before the great king;which cauſed them to ſend him thither afore with no greater company. Hereupon he willed *Nabis* to take heart; bring forth his men,that had bin long pent up in the Citie; and traine them without the wals: as if ſhortly he ſhould employ them in work of conqueſt, rather than defence. *Nabis* was glad of this: and daily exerciſed his men in the field; riding up and downe with this *Alexamenus*, and no more than three or foure horſe about him,from one point to another,to order and behold them. During this time of exerciſe, *Alexamenus* made it his faſhion, to ſtep aſide alone to his *Ætolians*,and ſay ſomewhat as he thought fit: which done,he ſtill returned againe to *Nabis*. But when he ſaw time for the great work which he had in hand;he then went aſide to his thirty horſemen, and bade them remember the taske enjoyned them at their ſetting forth; telling them, that they were all in caſe of baniſhed men, unleſſe they would anon come up to him, and helpe him to finiſh that which they ſhould ſee him take in hand. Herewithall the Tyrant beganne to draw neere them: and *Alexamenus* making towards him, charged him on the ſudden, and ſtrucke him downe. The thirtie *Ætolians* never ſtood to deliberate upon the matter, but all flew in; and, before any ſuccour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Preſently upon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercenaries ran unto the dead body: where, in ſtead of ſeeking revenge, they ſtood fooliſhly gazing as beholders. *Alexamenus* with his *Ætolians* haſted into the Citie, and ſeized on the Palace: where he fell to ranſacking the Treaſure; and troubled himſelfe with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his followers as were diſperſed in the Towne, did alſo the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens: who ſeeing themſelves free by the death of the Tyrant, could not indure to ſee thoſe that had ſlaine him,beginne to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the town was ſhortly in Armes: and for lacke of another Captaine, they tooke a little Boy of the Royall ſtocke, that had beene brought up with *Nabis* his children; whom they mounted upon a good Horſe, and made him their Chiefe. So they fell upon the *Ætolians* that were idly ſtraggling about; and put them all to the ſword. *Alexamenus* with not many of his Company, were ſlaine in keeping the Citadel: and thoſe few that eſcaped thence into *Arcadia*, were taken by the Magiſtrates; who ſold them all as bondſlaves. In this doubtfull Eſtate of things at *Lacedæmon*, *Philopœmen* came thither: who calling out the chiefe of the Citie, and ſpeaking ſuch words unto them, as *Alexamenus* ſhould have done after he had ſlaine the Tyrant; eaſily perſwaded them for their owne good and ſafety, to incorporate themſelves with the *Achæans*. Thus by the enterpriſe, no leſſe diſhonourable than difficult, of the *Ætolians*; and the ſmall, but effectuall, travell of *Philopœmen*, the *Achæans* made a notable purchaſe: and *Lacedæmon*, that had hitherto bin governed either by Kings, or by Tyrants that called themſelves Kings, became the member of a Common-wealth, whereof the name had ſcarce any reputation, when *Sparta* ruled over all *Greece*.

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## §. VII.

Antiochus, *perſwaded by* Thoas *the Ætolian, comes over into Greece ill attended. Sundry paſſages between him, the Ætolians, Chalcidians, and others. He wins Chalcis, and thereby the whole Ile of Eubœa. The vanity of the Kings Embaſſadors and the Ætolians, with the civill anſwer of* Titus *to their diſcourſe, before the Achæans. That it concerned the Greekes to have deſired peace betweene the Romans and* Antiochus, *as the beſt aſſurance of their owne libertie. Of many petty Eſtates that fell to the King. Of* Aminander; *and an idle vanity, by which King* Philip *was loſt.* Hannibal *gives good counſell in vaine. Some Towns won in Theſſalie. The King retires to Chalcis, where he marrieth a young wife, and revels away the reſt of Winter. Upon the comming of the Roman Conſull all forſake* Antiochus. *He with two thouſand Ætolians keeps the Streights of Thermopylæ. He is beaten, and flies into Aſia: leaving all in Greece unto the Victors.*

ANtiochus was troubled much in *Aſia* with *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus*, that would not hearken to any Compoſition. He thought it neither ſafe nor honourable, to leave them Enemies behind him; and to win them by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was he deſirous, with all ſpeed convenient, to ſhew himſelfe in *Greece*; where he had bin told, that his preſence would effect wonders. It was ſaid, That in all the country there was a very ſmall number, which bore hearty affection unto the *Romans*: That *Nabis* was already up in arms: That *Philip* was like a Bandog in a chain, deſiring nothing more, than to breake looſe; and that the *Ætolians*, without whom the *Romans* had done nothing, nor nothing could have done, were ready to conferre upon him the greatneſſe, which they had unworthily beſtowed upon inſolent *Barbarians*. Of all this the leaſt part was true. Yet that which was true made ſuch a noiſe, as added credit unto all the reſt. Whileſt therefore the king was thinking to ſend *Hannibal* into *Africk*, there to moleſt the *Romans*, and ſo give him the better leiſure of uſing his own opportunities in *Greece*: *Thoas* the *Ætolian* came over to him, and bad him lay all other care aſide; for that his Countrymen had already taken *Demetrias*, a Town of main importance, that ſhould give him entertainment, whence he might proceed as became the greatneſſe of his vertue & fortune. This did ſerve to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*, *Thoas* was bold to tel the king, firſt, That it was not expedient for him to divide his forces at ſuch a time, when the very reputation of his numbers, brought into *Greece*, might ſerve to lay open unto him all places, without need of uſing violence: and ſecondly, That in any ſuch great enterpriſe there could not be choſen a more unfit man to be employed in the kings ſervice, than was that famous *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*. For he ſaid, That the king ſhould as greatly feele the loſſe of a Fleet or Army, periſhing under ſuch a notable Commander if his fortune were bad, as if the ſame had miſcarried under one of meaner qualitie: whereas nevertheleſſe if *Hannibal* prevailed, *Hannibal* alone ſhould have all the honor, and not *Antiochus*. In this regard he was of opinion, That ſuch a renowned Warriour ſhould be alwayes neere unto the Kings perſon, to give advice: which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good ſucceſſe would wholly redound unto the honour of him that had the ſoveraigne Command; even of the King himſelfe. *Antiochus* gladly hearkened unto this admonition; being jealous of the vertue, that ſhined brighter than the Majeſtie of his own fortune. And thereupon he laid aſide the determination, which tended more to the advancement of his deſires, than did any thing elſe by him then or after thought upon.

Preſently after this, He made ready for *Greece*. Before his ſetting forth, in a frivolous pompe of ceremony, he went up from the Sea-ſide to *Ilium*; there to doe ſacrifice to *Minerva* of *Troy*. Thence paſſing over the *Aegean* Sea, He came to *Demetrias*. *Eurylochus* the *Magnetian*, the ſame whom the *Aetolians* had lately waited on home, when by that pretext they won *Demetrias*; was now the chiefe man, and Ruler of his Nation. He therefore with his Countrimen, in great frequencie, came to doe their duties to the King *Antiochus*, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this: and tooke it as a ſigne of good lucke, to be ſo entertained at the beginning. But it may be ſuſpected, that the *Magnetians* found not the like cauſe of joy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Army ſomewhat like to that of *Xerxes*: they ſaw three hundred ſhips; of which, no more than fortie were ſerviceable for the Warres, with an Armie of ten thouſand Foot, five hundred Horſe, and ſixe Elephants. The *Ætolians* no ſooner heard of his comming, than they called a Parliament, and made a Decree, whereby they invited him into their country. He knew before that they would ſo doe; and was therefore well onward on his way towards them, when they met him that brought the Decree. At his comming to *Lamia*, the *Ætolians* gave him as joyfull entertainment as they could deviſe. Being brought into their Councell, he made an Oration: wherein he deſired them to hold him excuſed, that he came not followed with a greater Armie. This was, he ſaid, in true eſtimation, a ſigne of his good will: in that he ſtaid not to make all things ready, but haſted unto their aide, even whileſt the ſeaſon was unfit for navigation. Yet it ſhould not be long, ere the hope of all thoſe which had expected him, would be ſatisfied unto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all *Greece* with Armies, and all the Sea-coaſt with his Fleets. Neither would he ſpare for any charge, travell, or danger, to follow the buſineſſe which he had undertaken: even to drive the *Romans* and their authority out of *Greece*; leaving the Country free indeed, and the *Ætolians* therein the chiefe. Now as the Armies that were following him, ſhould be very great; ſo was it his meaning, that all proviſions to them belonging ſhould be correſpondent; becauſe he would not be any way burdenſome unto his Confederates. But at the preſent he muſt needs intreat them, having thus haſtily come over unto their aide, unprovided of many neceſſaries, that they would helpe him with Corne and other victuals, whereof he ſtood in need. So he left them to their conſultation: the concluſion whereof was, after a little diſpute, (for a vaine motion was made by ſome, that the differences between the *Romans* and them, ſhould be put by Compromiſe to the deciſion of *Antiochus*) That they would yeeld unto the Kings deſire, and aſſiſt him with all their forces. Here we may obſerve, how vaine a thing it is for an abſolute Prince to engage himſelfe, as did *Antiochus*, in a buſineſſe of dangerous importance, upon the promiſed aſſurance of a State that is meerely popular. For if the vehemencie of *Thoas*, and ſome other of that Faction, had not prevailed in this Councell: the *Ætolians*, for gaine of two or three Townes, yea, for hope of ſuch gaine that might have deceived them, were like to have abandoned this King their friend, unto the diſcretion of the *Romans*. And what remedy had there beene, if this had ſo fallen out? He could have bemoaned himſelf to *Thoas*, and complained of the wrong: but he muſt have beene contented with this anſwer, That the fault was in thoſe of the oppoſite ſide; whom *Thoas* would therefore have pronounced to be very wicked men. It happened much better for the preſent, though in the future it proved much worſe, both for him, and for the *Ætolians*. He was choſen Generall of all their forces: and thirty Commiſſioners were appointed to be about him, as a Councell of Warre for the Nation. Theſe armed ſuch as readily they could, whileſt it was in diſpute where they ſhould begin the Warre. *Chalcis* was thought the meeteſt place to be firſt undertaken: whither if they came ſuddenly, they ſhould not peradventure need to uſe much force. The King had brought with him into *Ætolia* but a thouſand Foot, leaving the reſt behinde him at *Demetrias*. With theſe he haſted away directly toward *Chalcis*; being overtaken by no great number of the *Ætolians*, which accompanied him thither. At his comming, the Magiſtrates, and ſome of the chiefe Citizens, iſſued forth to parle with him. There the *Ætolians* began, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the *Romans* had onely in words and falſe ſemblance, ſet *Greece* at libertie. But ſuch libertie, as might be true and uſefull, they ſaid, would never be obtained; untill by removing the neceſſity of obeying their pleaſure that were moſt mightie, every ſeverall Eſtate had where to finde redreſſe of any preſſure. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither; a King well able to counterpoiſe, yea to overweigh the *Romans*: who nevertheleſſe deſired them onely, ſo to joyne with him in League, as that if either the *Romans* or he ſhould offer them wrong, they might keep it in their power, to ſeek redreſſe at the others hands. The *Chalcidians* made here to the ſame anſwer, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedome was not imaginarie, but abſolute; for which they were to thanke the *Romans*; without whoſe good liking, they would enter into no new confederacie. That which they ſpake of themſelves, they could likewiſe affirme of all the *Greeks*: foraſmuch as none of them paid any Tribute, was kept under by any Garriſon, or lived otherwiſe than by their owne *Lawes*, and without being tied unto conditions which diſpleaſed them. Wherefore they wondred, why the King ſhould thus trouble himſelfe, to deliver Cities that were already free. But ſince he, and the *Ætolians*, requeſted their friendſhip, they beſought both him and the *Ætolians*, to doe a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leaving them in ſuch good caſe as they were. With this anſwer the King departed: for he was not, as then, ſtrong enough to force them. But very ſoon after, he brought thither a greater power, which terrefied them, and made them yeeld: before all the ſuccours could arrive, which *Titus* had ſent for their defence.

The chiefe Citie of *Eubœa* being thus gotten, all the reſt of the Iland ſhortly yeelded to *Antiochus*. Foure or five hundred *Roman* Souldiers, that came over-late to have defended *Chalcis*, repoſed themſelves at *Delium*, a little town of *Bœotia*, lying over againſt the Iland; where was a Temple and Grove, conſecrated unto *Apollo*, that had the priviledge of an inviolable Sanctuary. In this place were ſome of them walking, and beholding the things there to be ſeen, whileſt others were buſied as they found cauſe: without feare of any danger; as being in ſuch a place, and no warre hitherto proclaimed. But *Menippus*, one of *Antiochus* his Captains, that had wearied himſelfe in many vain Treaties of peace, took advantage of their careleſneſſe, and uſed them with all extremity of war. Very few of them eſcaped: fiftie were taken, and the reſt ſlain. Hereat *Quintius* was grieved: yet ſo, as it pleaſed him well to conſider, that his *Romans* had now more juſt cauſe than before, to make war upon the King.

*Antiochus* liked wel theſe beginnings, and ſent Embaſſadors into all quarters of *Greece*; in hope, that his reputation ſhould perſwade very many to take his part. The wiſer ſort returned ſuch anſwer, as the *Chalcidians* had done. Some reſerved themſelves untill he ſhould come among them: knowing that either, if he came not, he muſt hold them excuſed for not daring to ſtirre; or, if he came, the *Romans* muſt pardon their juſt feare, in yeelding to the ſtronger. None of thoſe that lay farre off, joyned with him in true meaning, ſave the *Eleans*, that alwayes favoured the *Ætolians*, and now feared the *Achæans*. Little reaſon there was, that he ſhould think to draw the *Achæans* to his partie. Nevertheleſſe he aſſayed them, upon a vain hope, that the envie which *Titus* was ſaid to beare unto *Philopœmens* vertue, had bred a ſecret diſlike between that Nation and the *Romans*. Wherefore both he and the *Ætolians* ſent Embaſſadours to the Councell at *Ægium*; that ſpared not brave words, if the *Achæans* would have beene ſo taken. The Kings Embaſſadour told of great Armies and Fleets that were comming; reckoning up the *Dahans*, *Medians*, *Elimæans*, and *Caducians*; names that were not every day heard of, & therefore as he thought, the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the *Sydonians*, *Tyrians*, *Aradians*, and *Pamphylians* were; ſuch indeed as could not be reſiſted. Now concerning money and all warlike furniture: it was, he ſaid, well knowne, that the Kingdomes of *Aſia* had alwayes thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceived: who conſidering the late warre made againſt *Philip*, did thinke that this with *Antiochus* would prove the like: the caſe was too farre different. Yet this moſt powerfull King, that for the liberty of *Greece* was come from the utmoſt parts of the Eaſt; requeſted no more of the *Achæans*, than that they would hold themſelves as neutrall, and quietly looke on, whileſt he took order with the *Romans*. To the ſame effect ſpake the *Ætolian* Embaſſador, and further added, that in the battell at *Cynoſcephalæ*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a Generall, nor the *Romans* of good Souldiers: but that both he and his Army had bin there deſtroyed, had they not beene protected by vertue of the *Ætolians*, which carried the day: *Titus* was preſent at the Councell, and heard all this: to which he made as fit anſwer, as could have beene deſired. He told the *Achæans*, That neither the Kings Embaſſadour, nor the *Ætolian*, did ſo greatly labour to perſwade thoſe unto whom they addreſſed their Orations; as to vaunt themſelves the one unto the other. So as a man might well diſcerne, what good correſpondence in vanity it was, that had thus linked the King and the *Aetolians* together. For even ſuch bragges as here they made before the *Achæans*, who knew them to be lyars, had the *Ætolians* alſo made unto King *Antiochus*: proclaiming the victory over *Philip* to be meerely their Act: and the whole Countrey of *Greece* to be dependant on them. Interchangeably had they beene feaſted by the King, with ſuch tales as his Embaſſador told even now; of *Dahans*, and *Aradians*, and *Elimæans*, and a many others: that were all but a company of *Syrians*, ſuch as were wont to be ſold about for bond-ſlaves, and good for little elſe. Theſe divers names of raſcall people were, he ſaid, like to the diverſity of Veniſon, wherewith a friend of his at *Chalcis* (no ſuch vaunter as were theſe Embaſſadors) had ſometime feaſted him. For all that variety, whereat he wondred, was none other, as his Hoſt then merrily told him; than ſo many pieces of one tame ſwine, dreſt after ſeverall faſhions, with variety of ſawces. Setting therefore aſide this vanity of idle pompe: it were good to make judgement of the great King, by his preſent doings. He had, notwithſtanding all this great noyſe, no more than tenne thouſand men about him: for which little Army hee was faine in a manner to begge victuals of the *Aetolians*; and take up money at uſurie, to defray his charges. And thus he ranne up and downe the Countrey; from *Demetrias* to *Lamia*; thence back to *Chalcis*; and being there ſhut out, to *Demetrias* againe. Theſe were the fruits of lyes: wherewith, ſince both *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* had each deluded other; meet it was that they ſhould, as perhaps already they did, repent, whileſt wiſer men took heed by their example. To a favourable Auditory much perſwaſion is needleſs. The *Achæans* did not love ſo well the *Ætolians*, as to deſire that they ſhould become Princes of *Greece*: but rather wiſhed to ſee them, of all other, made the verieſt abjects. Wherefore they ſtood not to hearken after newes, what *Antiochus* did, how he ſped in *Eubœa*, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaimed Warre againſt him, and againſt the *Ætolians*.

How the hatred betweene theſe two Nations grew inveterate,; ſufficiently appeares in the ſtory foregoing. Now have they gotten each their Patrons; the one, the *Romans*; the other, King *Antiochus*. Herein did each of them unwiſely: though far the greater blame ought to be laid on the turbulent ſpirits of the *Aetolians*. For when the *Romans* departed out of *Greece*, and left the Country at reſt: there was nothing more greatly to have beene deſired, than that they might never finde occaſion to returne with an Army thither againe. And in this reſpect ought the *Greekes* to have ſought, not how *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* might recover their liberty (which had never been held a matter worth regarding, untill now of late) but how the powers of the Eaſt and Weſt, divided and kept aſunder by their Countrey, as two Seas by an *Iſthmus*, or neck of land, might bee kept from overflowing the barre that parted them. Neither had the *Romans* any better pretence for their ſeeking to make free thoſe baſe *Aſiatiques*, who originally were *Greekiſh*, than the generall applauſe, wherewith all the nation entertained this their loving offer. Yet were *Lyſimachia*, and the Townes in *Thrace*, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pretended as a very great cauſe of feare, that ſhould move them to take armes even in their owne defence. But if all *Greece* would have made interceſſion, and requeſted that things might continue as they vvere, promiſing joyntly to aſſiſt the *Romans*, with their whole forces both by Land and Sea, vvhenſoever King *Antiochus* ſhould make the leaſt offer to ſtirre againſt them: then had not onely this quarrell beene at an end; but the *Roman* Patronage over the Countrey, had been far from growing, as ſoon after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The *Achæans* were at this time, in a manner, the only Nation of *Greece*, that freely and generouſly declared themſelves altogether for the *Romans*, their friends and benefactors. All the reſt gave doubtfull anſwers of hope unto both ſides: or if ſome few, as did the *Theſſalians*, were firm againſt *Antiochus*; yet helped they not one another in the quarrell, nor ſhewed themſelves his enemies, till he preſſed them with open force. The *Bœotians* vvillingly received him, as ſoone as he entred upon their borders, not ſo much for feare of his power, as in hatred of *Titus* and the *Romans*, by vvhom they had bin ſomewhat hardly uſed. *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, beſides his old friendſhip with the *Aetolians*, vvas caught with a bait, which it may be doubted, whether he did more fooliſhly ſwallow, or *Antiochus* caſt out. He had married the daughter of an *Arcadian*, that was an idle-headed man, and vaunted himſelfe to be deſcended from *Alexander* the Great: naming his two ſons, in that regard, *Philip* and *Alexander*. *Philip*, the elder of theſe brethren, accompanied his ſiſter to the poore Court of *Athamania*: where having made his folly knowne, by talking of his Pedigree; He was judged by *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, a man fit for their turns. They made him beleeve, that in regard of his high parentage, and the famous memory of *Alexander* his forefather; it was their purpoſe, to doe their beſt for the conqueſt of *Macedon* to his behoofe: ſince no man had thereto ſo good title as he. But for the enabling of them hereunto; it behooved him to draw *Aminander* to their party, that ſo they might the ſooner have done with the *Romans*. *Philip* was highly pleaſed herewith; and by perſwaſions of himſelf, or of his ſiſter, effected as much as they deſired. But the firſt piece of ſervice done by this imaginary King (vvhether it proceeded from his owne phrenzie in hope to get love of the *Macedonians* that ſhould be his ſubjects: or vvhether from ſome vanity in King *Antiochus* that employed him) vvrought more harm to his friends, than he and *Aminander* vvere able to do good. There vvere two thouſand men committed to his leading: with vvhich he marched unto *Cynoſcephalæ*, there to gather up the bones of the ſlaughtered *Macedonians*; whom their King had ſuffered all this while to lie unburied. The *Macedons* troubled not themſelves to think on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all: but King *Philip* took it in high indignation; as intended meerely unto his deſpight. Wherefore he preſently ſent unto the *Romans*; and gave them to underſtand, that he was ready with all his power to aid them wherein ſoever they ſhould be pleaſed to uſe him.

The *Aetolians*, *Magnetians*, *Eubœans*, *Bœotians*, and *Athamanians*, having now all joyned with him; *Antiochus* tooke counſell of them about the proſecution of the Warre in hand. The chiefe queſtion was, Whether it were meet for him to invade Theſſalie, that would not hearken to his perſwaſions; or whether to let all alone untill the Spring: becauſe it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and ſome another; confirming each his owne ſentence, with the weightieſt reaſons which he could alledge; as in a matter of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting: who had long been caſt aſide, as a veſſell of no uſe; but was now required to deliver his opinion. Hee freely told the king, That what he ſhould now utter, was even the ſame which he would have ſpoken, had his counſell at any time before been asked ſince their comming into *Greece*. For the *Magnetians*, *Bœotians*, and other their good friends, which now ſo willingly tooke their parts: what were they elſe than ſo many poore Eſtates, that wanting force of their owne, did adjoyne themſelves for feare unto him, that was ſtrongeſt for the preſent; and would afterwards, when they ſaw it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrary ſide, alledging the ſame feare for their excuſe? Wherefore he thought it moſt behoovefull to win King *Philip* of *Macedon* unto their party: who (beſides that being once engaged, he ſhould not afterwards have power to recoyle and forſake them at his pleaſure) vvas a mighty Prince; and one that had meanes to ſuſtaine the *Roman* Warre with his proper forces. Now that *Philip* might be eaſily perſwaded to joyne with them; the benefit likely to redound unto himſelfe, by their ſociety, was a very ſtrong Argument: though indeede vvhat need vvas there, of proving by inference the likelihood of this hope? For, ſaid Hee, *Theſe Ætolians here preſent; and namely, this* Thoas, *being lately Embaſſadour from them into Aſia, among other Motives which he then uſed to excite the King unto this Expedition, inſiſted mainely on the ſame point. He told us that* Philip *was moved beyond all patience, with the Lordly inſolence of the* Romans: *likening that king to ſome wilde beaſt, that was chained or lockt up within ſome grate, and would faine break looſe. If this be ſo: let us breake his chaine, and pull downe the grate, that he may regaine his liberty, and ſatisfie his angry ſtomacke, upon thoſe that are common enemies to us and him. But if it prove otherwiſe, and that his feare be greater than his indignation: then ſhall it behoove us to looke unto him; that he may not ſeeke to pleaſe his good maſters the* Romans, *by offending us. Your ſonne* Seleucus *is now at* Lyſimachia, *with part of your Army: if* Philip *will not hearken to your Embaſſage; let* Seleucus *be in readineſſe to fall upon* Macedon, *and finde him work to defend his owne on the other ſide, without putting us here to trouble. Thus much concerning* Philip; *and the preſent war in* Greece. *But more generally for the mannaging of this great enterpriſe, wherein you are now embarqued againſt the* Romans, *I told you my opinion at the beginning: Whereto had you then given eare, the* Romans *by this time ſhould have heard other newes, than that* Chalcis *in* Eubœa *was become ours.* Italy *&* Gaul *ſhould have bin on fire with war; and,* *little to their comfort, they ſhould have underſtood, that* Hannibal *was againe come into* Italy. *Neither doe I ſee what ſhould hinder us even now from taking the ſame courſe. Send for all your Fleet and Army hither (but in any caſe let Ships of burden come along with them, loaden with ſtore of victuals: For as the caſe now ſtands, we have here too few hands, and too many mouthes.) Wherefore let the one halfe be imployed againſt* Italy; *whileſt you in perſon with the other halfe, tarrying on this ſide the* Ionian *Sea, may both take order for the affaires of* Greece, *and therewithall make countenance, as if you were even ready to follow us into* Italy: *yea, and be ready to follow us indeed, if it ſhall be requiſite. This is my advice; who though perhaps I am not very ſkilfull in all ſorts of Warre; yet how to war with the* Romans, *I have been inſtructed by long experience, both to their coſt and mine owne. Of this counſell which I give, I promiſe you my faithfull and diligent ſervice for the execution: but what counſell ſoever you pleaſe to follow, I wiſh it may bee proſperous.* Many were pleaſed with the great ſpirit of the man, and ſaid he had ſpoken bravely: but of all this was nothing done; ſave onely that one was ſent into *Aſia*, to make all things ready there. In the meane while they went in hand with *Theſſaly*; about which they had before diſputed. There when they had wonne one Towne by force, many other places, doubting their owne ſtrength, were glad to make ſubmiſſion. But *Lariſſa*, that was chiefe of the Country, ſtood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the walls with his whole Army. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For *M. Bæbius*, a *Roman* Proprætor, did ſend help thither. Likewiſe *Philip* of *Macedon* profeſſed himſelfe enemy unto *Antiochus*; whereby the fame of the ſuccour comming to *Lariſſa*, grew ſuch, as wrought more than the ſuccour could have done, had it arrived. For *Antiochus* perceiving many fires on the Mountains tops afarre off; thought that a great Army of *Romans* and *Macedonians* had been comming upon him. Therefore excuſing himſelfe by the time of the yeare; He brake up his ſiege, and marched away to *Chalcis*. At *Chalcis* he fell in love with a young Maiden, daughter unto a Citizen of the Towne; whom, without regard of the much diſproportion that was betweene them, both in years and fortune, He ſhortly married; and ſo ſpent the Winter following as delightfully as hee could, without thinking upon the War in hand. His great men and Captaines followed his example; and the ſouldiers as readily imitated their Captains: in ſuch wiſe, that when he took the field, he might evidently perceive in what looſe manner of diſcipline his Army had paſſed the winter. But *M. Acilius Glabrio*, the *Roman* Conſul, ſhal meet him very ſhortly, and help him to reclaime them from this looſeneſſe of nuptiall Revels; by ſetting them to harder exerciſe.

*M. Acilius* was choſen Conſul with *P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica*. The war againſt *Antiochus* fell to him by lot; whereas otherwiſe He was no way ſo honourable, as *Naſica* his Colleague: unto whom fell a charge, of far leſſe credit and importance. *Naſica*, beſides the great Nobility of his Family, had bin long ſince, in time of the *Punick Warre*, crowned with the title of *The beſt man in Rome*: when the Senate for very feare and ſuperſtition, durſt not have ſo pronounced him, had they not ſo thought him, as being commanded by Oracle, That none other man than the very beſt, ſhould entertaine an old ſtone; which the Divell then taught them to call *The Mother of the gods*. But no prerogative of Birth, Vertue, or good Opinion, gave ſuch advantage to the better man, as to make choice of his owne Province; or arrogate more unto himſelfe, than his lot ſhould affoord him. This unpartiall diſtribution of employments, helped well to maintaine peace and concord. *P. Scipio* therefore was appointed to make Warre againſt the *Bojians*; wherein he purchaſed the honour of a Triumph, nothing ſo glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchaſed with harder ſervice, requiring the more ability in matter of War. But *M. Acilius* went over into *Greece*, with ten thouſand Foot, two thouſand Horſe, and fifteen Elephants. *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, notwithſtanding his late Alliance with King *Antiochus*; and *Philip* King of *Macedon*; had lately ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, making offer to come each of them in perſon with all his forces into *Ætolia*, there to aſſiſt the Conſul in this War. *Ptolomie* ſent alſo gold and ſilver, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good earneſt. But he was too young, and dwelt too farre off. So his mony was returned unto him with thankes; and his loving offer as lovingly refuſed. Unto *Philips* Embaſſadors anſwer was made, that this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of *Rome* would thinke themſelves beholding to him, for the aſſiſtance that Hee ſhould give to *Acilius* the

Conſull. *Maſaniſſa* likewiſe, and the *Carthaginians*, did ſtrive, which of them ſhould bee moſt forward in gratifying the *Romans*. Each of them promiſed a great quantity of graine; which they would ſend partly to *Rome*, partly to the Army in *Greece*. And herein *Maſaniſſa* far out-went the poor City of *Carthage*; as alſo in that he offered to lend the Conſul five hundred Horſe, and twenty Elephants. On the other ſide, the *Carthaginians* undertook to ſet out a Fleet at their owne charges: and to bring in at one payment, all the Tribute-mony which was behind, and ought to be diſcharged by many yearly penſions. But the *Romans* did neither think it good, to let them arme a Fleet; nor would let them redeeme themſelves out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corne, it was accepted, with condition, That they ſhould be contented to receive the price of it.

The haſtie and ridiculous iſſue of this War, that began with ſuch noyſe and preparations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great between the *Roman* and the *Aſiatique* ſouldier. *Antiochus* had gotten this Spring a few townes of *Acarnania*, after the ſame maner as he had prevailed in other parts of *Greece*; partly by faire words, and treaſon of the Rulers; partly by terror, that was like to prove their excuſe, when they ſhould againe forſake him. But King *Philip* and *Bæbius* having recovered many places; and the *Roman* Conſul being arrived, againſt whom none made reſiſtance; He was glad to withdraw himſelfe. *Aminander* fled out of his *Athamania*: which the *Macedonian* tooke and enjoyed; as in recompence of his good ſervice to the *Romans*. *Philip* the brother of *Aminanders* wife, was taken by the Conſull, made a mocking-ſtock, and ſent away priſoner to *Rome*. The *Theſſalians* uſed much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yeelding to the King. All their cities, one after another, gave up themſelves: the Garriſons of *Antiochus*, compounding onely for their owne lives, and departing unarmed: yet ſo, that a thouſand of them ſtayed behind, and tooke pay of the *Romans*. This did wonderfully perplexe *Antiochus*; who having withdrawne himſelfe to *Chalcis*, and hearing how things went, cried out upon his friends: and ſaid, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deale of toyle during one halfe of a Winter, and ſpent the other halfe in ſuch Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of need, Hee found all the promiſes of the *Aetolians* meerely verball: and himſelfe reduced into termes of great extremity. He therefore admired *Hannibal* as a wiſe man, yea, a very Prophet, that had foreſeene all this long before. Nevertheleſſe, He ſent word to the *Aetolians*, that they ſhould now make ready all their forces: as conſidering their owne need to be no leſſe than his. But the *Aetolians* had cauſe to think, that they themſelves were ſhamefully diſappointed by *Antiochus*, who having promiſed to doe great wonders, was in all this while ſeconded by no greater numbers out of *Aſia*, than ſo many as would fill up the ſame ten thouſand which hee firſt brought over. Yet came there ſome of them, though fewer than at any time before, which joined with him. Hereat the King was angry: and could get no better ſatisfaction, than that *Thoas* and his fellowes had done their beſt in vaine, to have made all the Nation take Armes. Since therefore neither his owne men came over to him out of *Aſia*, nor his friends of *Greece* would appeare in this time of danger: Hee ſeized upon the Streights of *Thermopylæ*; as meaning to defend them againſt the *Romans*, untill more helpe ſhould come. Of the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, there hath beene ſpoken enough * before, upon many occaſions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* againſt the huge Armie of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may eaſily be conceived, how the *Romans*, that landed about *Apollonia*, and ſo came onwards into *Theſſaly*, were unable to paſſe that Ledge of Mountaines, dividing the one halfe of *Greece*; unleſſe they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference between *Leonidas* and *Antiochus*. The former of theſe, with an handfull of men, defended this paſſage two or three dayes together, againſt a World of men comming to invade the Country. The latter, having taken upon him to doe great miracles, and effect what he liſted himſelfe in *Greece*: did commit himſelfe unto the ſafety of this place, when he was charged by not many more than he had in his owne Army. There whileſt he lay, He ſent earneſt meſſengers one after another to the *Aetolians*, entreating them not to forſake him thus; but at leaſt wiſe now to helpe, and keepe the toppes of the Mountaines, leſt the *Romans*, finding any by-path, ſhould come downe upon him. By this importunity, he got of them two thouſand, that undertook to make good the few paſſages: by which onely and not without extreme difficulty, it was poſſible for the Enemy to aſcend. The *Roman* Conſul in like ſort, prepared to force

* L.3.c.6.§.3

the Streights: without ſtaying to expect King *Philip*: that was hindered by ſickneſſe from accompanying him. He had with him *M. Porcius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, that had both of them been Conſuls. Theſe he ſent forth by night with two thouſand men; to try whether by any meanes they could get up to the *Aetolians*. He himſelfe encouraged his Army: not onely by telling them with what baſe conditioned enemies they had to deale: but what rich kingdomes *Antiochus* held, that ſhould bountifully reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battell. All that night *Cato* had a ſore journey (for what happened unto *L. Valerius* it is uncertaine, ſave onely that he failed in his intent) and ſo much the worſe, for that he had no skilfull guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tyred, with climbing up ſteepie Rocks and crooked waies: He commanded them to repoſe themſelves; whileſt Hee, being a very able man of body, tooke in hand the diſcovery, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to himſelfe. After a great deale of trouble, He found at length a path: which he tooke to be, as indeed it was, the beſt way leading unto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the ſame path till toward break of day. It was a place not hanted, becauſe in time of peace, there was a faire way through the Streights below, that required no ſuch trouble of climbing; neither had this entrance of the *Thermopylæ* been ſo often the Seat of War, as might cauſe any travellers to ſearch out the paſſages of thoſe deſolate Mountaines. Wherefore the way that *Cato* followed, though it were the beſt: yet did it lead him to a bogge at the end, which would ſuffer him to paſſe no further. So he ſtaid there untill day-light: by which hee diſcovered both the Campe of the *Greekes* underneath him; and ſome of the *Aetolians* very neare unto him, that were keeping watch. He therefore ſent forth a luſty Crue of his men, whom he thought fitteſt for that ſervice; and willed them by any meanes to get him ſome priſoners. This was effected: and he thereby underſtood, that theſe *Aetolians* were no more than ſixe hundred; as alſo that King *Antiochus* lay beneath in the Valley. So he preſently ſet upon the *Aetolians*, overthrew them, ſlew a great part of them, and chaſed the reſt, that by flying to their Campe, guided him unto it. The fight was already begun betweene the Armies below: and the *Romans*, that had eaſily repelled the Kings men, and driven them into their Campe, found it in a manner a deſperate piece of worke to aſſault the Campe it ſelfe, which occupied the whole breadth of the Streights; was notably fortified; and not only defended by *Antiochus* his long Pikes, which were beſt at that kind of ſervice; but by Archers and Slingers, that were placed over them on the Hill-ſide, and powdred down a ſhowre of weapons on their heads. But *Cato* his approach determined the matter. It was thought at firſt that the *Aetolians* had beene comming to helpe the Kings men: but when the *Roman* armes and enſignes were diſcovered, ſuch was the terrour, that none made offer of reſiſtance; but all of them forſook the Camp, and fled. The ſlaughter was not great: for that the badneſſe of the way did hinder the *Roman* Army from making purſuit. Yet this daies loſſe drave *Antiochus* out of *Greece*, who directly fled to *Chalcis*; and from thence with the firſt opportunity, got him back into *Aſia*.

All the Cities that had imbraced the friendſhip of *Antiochus*, prepared forthwith to entertaine the *Romans*, and intreat for pardon: ſetting open their gates; and preſenting themſelves unto the Conſul, in manner of ſuppliants. Briefely, in few dayes all was recovered that *Antiochus* had gained: the *Aetolians* onely ſtanding out, becauſe they knew not what elſe to doe. Neither did the Conſul give them any reſpite. At his returne from *Chalcis*, he met with King *Philip*, that having recovered health, came to joyne with him againſt *Antiochus*: over whom ſince the victory was already gotten, He did gratulate unto the *Romans* their good ſucceſſe; and offered to take part with them in the *Aetolian* Warre. So it was agreed, That the Conſul ſhould beſiege *Heraclea*; and *Philip Lamia*, at the ſame time. Each of them plied his worke hard; eſpecially *Philip*, who faine would have taken *Lamia* before the Conſul ſhould come to help him. But it could not be. For his *Macedonians* that uſed to worke by Myne, were overmuch hindered by the ſtony ground. Yet was *Lamia* even ready to be taken, when the Conſul, having won *Heraclea*, came thither; and told *Philip*, that the ſpoile of theſe towns was a reward unto thoſe that had fought at *Thermopylæ*. Herewith *Philip* muſt be contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But *Acilius* that could ſo ill endure to ſee *Philip* in likelihood of thriving by the *Romans* victory, got not *Lamia* himſelfe: untill ſuch time as another Conſul was ready to eaſe him of his charge.

The loſſe of *Heraclea* did ſo affright the *Aetolians*, that they thought no way ſafer than to deſire peace. Yet had they ſent unto King *Antiochus* preſently after his flight: intreating him not to forſake them utterly, but either to returne with all thoſe forces which he had purpoſed to bring into *Greece*; or if any thing with-held him from comming in perſon, at leaſt wiſe to helpe them with money and other aide. They prayed him to conſider, that this did not onely concerne him in honour; but appertained unto his owne ſafety: ſince it would be much to his hurt, if the *Aetolians* being wholly ſubdued, the *Romans*, without any enemies at their backes, might ſet upon him in *Aſia*. He conſidered well of this, and found their words true. Therefore He delivered unto *Nicander*, one of their Embaſſadors, a ſumme of money, that might ſerve to defray the charges of the Warre: promiſing that ere long he would ſend them ſtrong aide, both by Land and Sea. *Thoas*, another of their Embaſſadors, Hee retained with him: who willingly ſtayed, that he might urge the King to make his word good. But when *Heraclea* was taken from them; then did the *Aetolians* lay aſide all hope of amending their fortune by the helpe of *Antiochus*; and made ſuit unto the Conſul to obtaine peace, upon any reaſonable Condition. The Conſull would ſcarce vouchſafe to give them audience, but ſaid, He had other buſineſſe in hand; onely he granted them tenne dayes of Truce, and ſent *L. Valerius Flaccus* with them to *Hypata*; willing them to make him acquainted with as much as they would have delivered unto himſelfe. At their comming to *Hypata*; they began, as men favouring their owne cauſe, to alledge how well they had deſerved of the *Romans*. Whereto *Flaccus* would not hearken. He told them plainely, That the memory of ſuch good Offices paſt, was quite obliterated by the malice which they had ſhewed of late. Wherefore he willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to doe ſo even betimes, than to ſtay till they were reduced into termes of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themſelves unto the faith of the *Romans*; and to that effect ſent Embaſſadors to the Conſul. This phraſe of *committing unto the faith*; ſignified, in their uſe of it, little elſe than the acknowledgement of a fault done, and the craving of pardon. But the *Romans* uſed thoſe words in another ſenſe; and counted them all one, as * *yeelding to diſcretion*. Wherefore when the Conſul heard them ſpeake in this manner: Hee asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They anſwered that it was: and ſhewed him the decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpoſe. Then ſaid he, I command you firſt of all, That none of you preſume to goe into *Aſia*, upon any buſineſſe private or publike: then, That ye deliver up unto me *Dicæarchus* the *Aetolian*, *Meneſtratus* the *Epirot*, *Aminander* the *Athamanian*, and ſuch of his Countrimen as have followed him in revolting from us. Whileſt he was yet ſpeaking: *Phameas* the Embaſſador interrupted him; and prayed him not to miſtake the cuſtome of the *Greekes*, who had yeelded themſelves *unto his faith; not unto ſlavery*. *What?* (ſaid the Conſul) *Doe ye ſtand to plead Cuſtome with mee, being now at my diſcretion? Bring hither a chaine*. With that, chaines were brought; and an iron collar by his appointment fitted unto every one of their necks. This did ſo affright them, that they ſtood dumbe and knew not what to ſay. But *Valerius* and ſome others entreated the Conſul, not to deale thus hardly with them, ſince they *came* as Embaſſadors; though *ſince*, their Condition was altered. *Phameas* alſo ſpake for himſelfe: and ſaid, That neither He, nor yet the *Apocleti* or ordinary Councell of the Nation, were able to fulfill theſe injunctions; without approbation of the generall Aſſembly. For which cauſe hee entreated yet further ten dayes reſpite; and had granted unto him Truce for ſo long.

* *Lega excerp. è Polyb. 13.*

This ſurceſance of Warre, during ten, and other ten daies together, began preſently after the taking of *Heraclea*; when *Philip* had beene commanded away from *Lamia*, that elſe he might have wonne. Now becauſe of the indignity herein offered unto that King, and to the end that he might not returne home with his Army, like one that could not bee truſted in employment: eſpecially the *Romans* being like hereafter to have further need of him in the continuance of this Warre: He was deſired to ſet upon the *Athamanians*, and ſome other petty Nations their borderers, whileſt the Conſul was buſie with the *Aetolians*; taking for his reward, all that he could get. And hee got in that ſpace all *Athamania*, *Perrhæbia*, *Aperantia*, and *Dolopia*. For the *Aetolians*, hearing what had befallen their Embaſſadors, were ſo enraged, That although they were very ill provided for Warre, yet they could not endure to heare more talke of Peace. And it happened, that *Nicander* about the ſame time was come back from *Antiochus*, with mony & hopefull promiſes: the *Romans* abiding ſtill about *Heraclea*; & *Philip* having lately riſen from before *Lamia*, yet not being far gone thence. His money *Nicander* conveighed into *Lamia*, by very unuſuall dexteritie. But he himſelfe being to paſſe further to the Aſſembly of the *Ætolians*, there to make report of his Embaſſage; was very much perplexed about this his journey, which lay between the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Campes. Yet he made the adventure: and keeping as farre as he could from the *Roman* ſide, fell upon a Station of *Macedonians*; by whom he was taken, and led unto their King. He expected no good; but either to be delivered unto the *Romans*, or uſed ill enough by *Philip*. But it ſeemes, that the King had not hitherto concocted well the indignitie, of his being ſent away from *Lamia*. For he commanded his ſervants to entreat *Nicander* friendly: and he himſelfe being then at ſupper, did viſit him as ſoone as he roſe up: giving him to underſtand, That the *Ætolians* did now reape the fruits of their own madneſſe; foraſmuch as they could never hold themſelves contented, but would needs be calling ſtrangers into *Greece*. They had pleaſed themſelves well, in their acquaintance firſt with the *Romans*, and then with King *Antiochus*; but himſelf, being their neighbour, they could never well endure. It was now therefore, he ſaid, high time for them to have regard unto his friendſhip, whereof hitherto they had never made any triall: for ſurely their good affection, one unto the other, would be much more availeable unto each of them, than their mutuall catching of advantages; whereby they had wrought themſelves much diſpleaſure. Thus much the King willed *Nicander* to ſignifie unto his Countrimen; and privately to hold in minde the courteſie which he then did him, in ſending him ſafe home. So giving him a Convoy to guard him to *Hypata*, he lovingly diſmiſſed him. For this benefit, *Nicander* was alwaies after dutifully affected to the crown of *Macedon*: ſo as in the war of *Perſeus* he made himſelfe ſuſpected unto the *Romans*, and therefore was had away to *Rome*, where he ended his life.

When the Conſul underſtood, that the *Ætolians* refuſed to make their ſubmiſſion, in ſuch wiſe as he required it: he forthwith meant to proſecute the warre againſt them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head againſt him at *Naupactus*: whither he therefore directly marched, to try what they could or durſt. The ſiege of *Naupactus* was of greater length, than the *Romans* had preconceived it: for it was a ſtrong City, and well manned. But *Acilius* ſtood upon point of honour; wherein he thought that he ſhould have beene a loſer, by riſing from before it without Victory. So he ſtaid there welneere all the following time of his Conſulſhip; whileſt the *Macedonian* king and the *Achæans* made farre better uſe of the *Roman* Victory. *Philip*, as is ſaid before, being allowed to take in ſuch places as had revolted unto *Antiochus*, and were not hitherto reclaimed, won the ſtrong Citie of *Demetrias*; and with an haſtie courſe of Victory, ſubdued the *Athamanians* and others. The *Achæans* called to account the *Elæans* and *Meſſenians*: which had long beene addicted to the *Ætolian* ſide; and followed it, in taking part with *Antiochus*. The *Elæans* gave good words; whereby they ſaved themſelves from trouble awhile. The *Meſſenians* being more ſtout, before they were invaded, had none other helpe when the *Achæan* Prætor waſted their Countrey, than to offer themſelves unto the *Romans*. *Titus* was then at *Corinth*: to whom they ſent word, That at his Commandement their gates ſhould be opened; but that unto the *Achæans* it was not their meaning to yeeld. A meſſage from *Titus* to the *Achæan* Prætor, did ſuffice to call home the Armie, and finiſh the Warre: as alſo the peremptorie Command of the ſame *Titus*, cauſed the *Meſſenians* to annexe themſelves unto the *Achæans*, and become part of their Common-weale. Such was now the Majeſtie of a *Roman* Embaſſadour. *Titus* did favour the *Achæans*; yet could not like it wel, that either they or any other ſhould take too much upon them. He thought it enough, that they had their libertie, and were ſtrong enough to defend it againſt any of their neighbours. That they ſhould make themſelves great Lords, and able to diſpute with the *Romans* upon even terms; it was no part of his deſire. They had lately bought the Ile of *Zacynthus*; which had once bin *Philips*, and was afterward given by him to *Aminander*, who ſent a Governor thither. But when *Aminander* in this preſent warre, was driven out of his own Kingdome by *Philip*; then did the Governour of *Zacynthus* offer to ſell the Iland to the *Achæans*; whom he found ready Chapmen. *Titus* liked not of this: but plainly told them, That the *Romans* would be their owne Carvers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to their Enemies;as a reward of the victorie which they had obtained. It was bootleſſe to diſpute. Wherefore the *Achæans* referred themſelves unto his diſcretion. So he told them,that their Commonwealth was like a Tortoiſe,whereof *Peloponneſus* was the ſhel: and that,holding themſelves within that compaſſe, they were out of danger ; but if they would needs be looking abroad , they ſhould lie open to blowes , which might greatly hurt them. Having ſettled things thus in *Peloponneſus* , he went over to *Naupactus*: where *Glabrio* the Conſull had laine two moneths , that might have beene farre better ſpent. There, whether out of compaſſion which he had upon the *Aetolians* , or out of diſlike of King *Philips* thriving ſo faſt: he perſwaded the Conſul to grant unto the beſieged,and to the whole Nation,ſo long truce,that they might ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome* ; and ſubmitting themſelves, crave pardon of the Senate. Moſt like it is , that *Naupactus* was in great danger: elſe would not the *Aetolians* have made ſuch earneſt ſuit as they did unto *Titus*,for procuring of this favour. But if *Glabrio* had bin ſure to carry it in any ſhort ſpace,it may well be thought he would not have gone away without it; ſince the winning of that Town,wherein was then the whole floure of the Nation , would have made the promiſed ſubmiſſion much more humble and ſincere. When they came unto *Rome*,no entreaty could helpe them to better Conditions , than one of theſe two ; That either they ſhould wholly ſubmit themſelves to the good pleaſure of the Senate;Or elſe pay a thouſand talents,and make neither peace nor war with any,further than as the *Romans* ſhould give approbation. They had not ſo much mony:neither could they wel hope to be gently dealt withall,if they ſhould give themſelves away *unto diſcretion* ; which what it ſignified,they now underſtood. Wherefore they deſired to have it ſet down,in what points,& how far forth they ſhould yeeld unto the good pleaſure of the Senate. But hereof they could get no certain anſwer: ſo that they were diſmiſſed as enemies, after long and vain attendance.

Whileſt the *Aetolians* were purſuing their hopes of peace,the Conſul had little to do in *Greece*,and therefore took upon him gravely to ſet things in order among the tractable *Achæans*. He would have had them to reſtore the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians* home into their Countrie,and to take the *Eleans* into the fellowſhip of their Commonwealth. This the *Achæans* liked well enough: but they did not like it,that the *Romans* ſhould be medling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deferred the reſtitution of the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*: intending to make it an Act of their own meere grace. As for the *Eleans*,they were loth to be beholding to the *Romans*,and thereby to diſparage the *Achæans*: into whoſe Corporation they were deſirous to be admitted , and ſaw that they ſhould have their deſire,without ſuch compulſive mediation.

The *Roman* Admirall *C. Livius*, much about the ſame time , fought a battell at Sea with *Polyxenidas*, Admirall to the King *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* brought help to the *Romans*,though it was not great: and five and twenty ſaile of *Rhodians* came after the battell, when they were following the Chaſe. The Kings Fleet was the better of ſaile ; but that of the *Romans* the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenidas* being vanquiſhed in fight,was yet out of danger ; as ſoon as he betook himſelfe to a ſpeedy retrait.

And ſuch end had the firſt yeers war between King *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. After this,as many of the *Greeks* as had followed the vain hopes of the *Aetolians*,were glad to excuſe themſelves by feare ; thinking themſelves happy when by Embaſſadors they had obtained pardon. On the contrarie ſide, *Philip* of *Macedon*, Arch-enemy of late unto the *Romans*,did now ſend to gratulate this their victorie: and,in recompence of his good affection,had reſtored unto him *Demetrius* his younger ſon ; whom ſome few yeeres they had kept as an hoſtage. Alſo King *Ptolomie* of *Egypt*,gratulating the *Roman* Victory, ſent word how greatly all *Aſia* and *Syria* were thereby terrefied. In which regard he deſired the Senate not to foreſlow time ; but to ſend an Armie, as ſoon as might be, into *Aſia*: promiſing, that his aſſiſtance,wherein ſoever it pleaſed them to uſe it,ſhould not be wanting. This *Ptolomie* was the ſonne-in-law of king *Antiochus*: but he was the friend of fortune. He underſtood long before,as did all that were indifferent beholders of the contention,that the *Romans* were like to have the upper hand. The ſame did *Antiochus* now begin to ſuſpect,who had thought himſelfe a while as ſafe at *Epheſus*,as if he had bin in another world: but was told by *Hannibal*, That it was not ſo far out of *Greece* into *Aſia*, as out of *Italy* into *Greece* ; and that there was no doubt but the *Romans* vvould ſoon be there, and make him trie the chance of a battell for his kingdome.

§.VIII.

## §. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, *having with him* Publius *the African his elder brother, for his Lievtenant, is ſent into Greece. He grants long Truce to the Ætolians, that ſo he might at leiſure paſſe into Aſia. Much troubleſome buſineſſe by Sea, and divers fights. An invaſion upon* Eumenes *his Kingdome; with the ſiege of Pergamus, rayſed by an handfull of the Achæans.* L. Scipio *the Conſul comes into Aſia: where* Antiochus *moſt earneſtly deſireth peace, and is denied it. The battell of* Magneſia: *wherein* Antiochus *being vanquiſhed, yeeldeth to the Romans good pleaſure. The conditions of the peace. In what ſort the Romans uſed their victorie.* L. Cornelius Scipio, *after a moſt ſumptuous triumph over* Antiochus, *is ſurnamed The Aſiatique, as his brother was ſtiled The African.*

*Lucius Cornelius Scipio*, the brother of *P. Scipio* the *African*, was choſen Conſul at *Rome* with *C. Lælius*. *Lælius* was very gracious in the Senate: and therefore being deſirous (as generally all Conſuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to referre to the arbitrement of the Senate, if *L. Cornelius* would be ſo pleaſed, the diſpoſition of their Provinces; without putting it to the hazzard of a Lottery. *Lucius* having talked with his brother *Publius*, approved well of the motion. Such a queſtion had not of long time bin put unto the Fathers: who therefore were the more deſirous to make an unblameable Decree. But the matter being otherwiſe ſomewhat indifferent, *P. Scipio* the *African* ſaid openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his brother to the war againſt *Antiochus*, He himſelfe would follow his brother in that war, as his Lievtenant. Theſe words were heard with ſuch approbation, that the controverſie was forthwith at an end. For if *Antiochus* relied upon *Hannibal*, and ſhould happen to be directed wholly by that great Captain, what better man could they oppoſe, than *Scipio*: that had bin victorious againſt that ſame Great Worthy? But indeed a worſer man might have ſerved well enough the turn. For *Hannibal* had no abſolute Command, nor ſcarce any truſt of great importance: excepting now and then in conſultation: where his wiſedome was much approved, but his liberty and high ſpirit as much diſliked. It is worthy of remembrance, as a ſigne of the freedome that he uſed in his cenſures, even whileſt he lived in ſuch a Court. *Antiochus* muſtered his Armie in preſence of this famous Captain: thinking, as may ſeem, to have made him wiſh, that he had bin ſerved by ſuch brave men in *Italy*. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Horſes, and Elephants, with ſuch coſtly furniture of gold, ſilver, and purple, as glittered with a terrible bravery on a Sun-ſhine day. Whereupon the King, well pleaſing himſelfe with that goodly ſpectacle, asked *Hannibal* what he thought; and whether all this were not enough for the *Romans*. *Enough* (ſaid *Hannibal*) *were the Romans the moſt covetous men in all the world*: meaning, that all his coſt upon the backs of cowardly *Aſiatiques*, was no better than a ſpoyle to animate good Souldiers. How little this anſwer pleaſed the king, it is eaſie to gheſſe. The little uſe that he made of this *Carthaginian*, teſtifies that his diſlike of the man, cauſed him to loſe the uſe of his ſervice, when he ſtood in greateſt neceſſity thereof.

The *Scipio's* made all haſte away from *Rome* as ſoon as they could. They carried with them, beſides other Souldiers newly preſt to the war, about five thouſand Voluntaries, that had ſerved under *P. Africanus*. There was alſo a Fleet of thirty *Quinquereme* Gallies, and twenty *Triremes* newly built, appointed unto *L. Æmilius Regillus*, that was choſen Admirall the ſame yeere for that voyage. At their comming into *Greece*, they found the old Conſul *Glabrio* beſieging *Amphyſſa* a City of the *Ætolians*. The *Aetolians* after that they were denied peace, had expected him once againe at *Naupactus*. Wherefore they not onely fortified that Towne, but kept all the paſſages thereto leading; which heedleſly, as in a time of confuſion, they had left unregarded the laſt yeere. *Glabrio* knowing this, deceived their expectation, and fell upon *Lamia*: which being not long ſince much weakened by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the ſudden; was carried at the ſecond aſſault. Thence went he to *Amphyſſa*: which he had almoſt gotten, when *L. Scipio*, his ſucceſſor, came with thirteene thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, and tooke charge of the Armie. The Towne of *Amphyſſa* was preſently forſaken by the Inhabitants: but they had a Caſtle, or higher Town, that was impregnable; whereinto they all retired. The *Athenian* Embaſſadors had dealt with *P. Scipio*, in behalfe of the *Aetolians*:

*lians*: entreating him to ſtand their friend, and helpe them in obtaining ſome tolerable Condition of peace. He gave them gentle words, and willed them to perſwade the *Ætolians*, that they ſhould faithfully and with true meaning deſire it. This was gladly taken. But many meſſages paſſing to and fro: though *Publius* continued to put them in good hope; yet the Conſull made ſtill the ſame anſwer, with which they had bin chaſed from *Rome*. The Concluſion was, That they ſhould ſue for a longer time of reſpite from war: whereby at more leiſure they might attend ſome better diſpoſition of the Senate; or any helpfull commoditie which time ſhould affoord. So they obtained halfe a yeeres truce: after which, the winter was like to affoord them another half yeers leiſure of breathing. Hereof were they not more glad, than was *P. Scipio*: who thought all time loſt, which with-held the War from paſſing over into *Aſia*.

The buſineſſe of *Aetolia* being thus laide aſide, and the old Conſull *Glabrio* ſent home into *Italy*, the *Scipio's* marched into *Theſſaly*; intending thence to take their way by Land, through *Macedon* and *Thrace* unto the *Helleſpont*. Yet they conſidered, That hereby they muſt commit themſelves unto the loyaltie of King *Philip*: who might either do them ſome miſchiefe by the way, if he were diſpoſed to watch a notable advantage: or at the leaſt, would he be unfaithfull; though he were not ſo couragious, yet might he take ſuch order with the *Thracians*, that even for want of victuals, if by no greater inconvenience, they ſhould be diſgracefully forced to returne. He had promiſed them the utmoſt of his furtherance: wherein, whether he meant ſincerely, they thought to make ſome triall; by cauſing a Gentleman to ride Poſt unto him, and obſerve his doings as he ſhould take him on the ſudden. The King was merry at a feaſt, and drinking, when the Meſſenger came: whom he lovingly bade welcome; and ſhewed him the next day, not only what proviſion of victuals he had made for the Army, but how he had made bridges over the rivers, and mended the bad wayes by which they were to paſſe. With theſe good newes *Gracchus* returned backe in haſte unto the *Scipio's*: who entring into *Macedon*, found all things in a readineſſe, that might helpe to advance their journy. The King entertained them royally, and brought them on their way, even to the *Helleſpont*: where they ſtayed a good while, untill their Navie was in readineſſe to tranſport them into *Aſia*.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this yeere; though, for the moſt part, little of importance. *Polyxenidas*, the Admirall of *Antiochus*, was a baniſhed *Rhodian*: true to the King; and deſirous of revenge upon his Country-men, that had expelled him. He, hearing that the *Rhodian* Fleet was at *Samos*, the *Romans* and *Eumenes* having not as yet put to Sea, thought to doe ſomewhat upon thoſe that were ſo early in their diligence, before their fellowes ſhould arrive to helpe them. Yet went he craftily to worke, and ſent word, as in great ſecrecie, to the *Rhodian* Admirall, That if the ſentence of his baniſhment might be repealed, He would, in requitall thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many paſſages to and fro, this was beleeved: and the *Rhodian* Admirall grew ſo careleſſe, expecting ſtill when he ſhould receive a watch-word from *Polyxenidas*, that he himſelfe was taken by *Polyxenidas* in his owne Haven. The Kings Fleet ſetting forth from *Epheſus* by night; and, for feare of being diſcovered, reſting one day in harbour by the way, came the ſecond night to *Samos*: where, by morning, it was ready to enter the Haven. *Pauſiſtratus* the *Rhodian* Admirall ſeeing this, thought it his beſt way of reſiſtance, to beſtow his men on the two head-lands or points of the Haven; ſo to guard the mouth of it: for that he ſaw no likelihood of defending himſelfe by Sea. But *Polyxenidas* had already landed ſome Companies in another part of the Iland: which falling upon the backe of *Pauſiſtratus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboord. This could not be without great confuſion: ſo as the enemies tooke him out of all order, and ſunke or boorded all his Navie, five excepted, that by a ſudden device made ſhift to eſcape. Each of them hung out a burning Creſcent upon two poles, at the Beake-head; and then rowed forwards directly upon the Enemie: who having not bethought himſelfe what ſhift to make againſt ſuch unexpected danger of firing, was content to give way unto theſe deſperate Gallies; for feare leſt they ſhould burn, together with themſelves, a part of the Kings Fleet.

Not long after this, the *Romans* had ſome loſſe by tempeſt: whereof *Polyxenidas* could not take ſuch advantage as he had hoped; becauſe, putting to Sea for that purpoſe, hee was driven backe againe by the like foule weather. But the *Rhodians*, to ſhew that they were not diſcouraged, ſet forth twenty other Gallies: the *Romans* alſo with King *Eumenes*, repaired their Fleet; and all of them together, in great bravery, preſented battell to *Polyxenidas* before the Haven of *Epheſus*. When he durſt not accept it: they vvent from place to place, attempting many things, as either they were entreated by the *Rhodians*, or perſwaded by ſome appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing: for that one while they were hindred by ſtormes at Sea; and another while by ſtrong reſiſtance made againſt them at Land.

*Eumenes* vvith his Fleet was compelled to forſake them; and returne home to the defence of his owne Kingdome. For *Antiochus* waſted all the grounds about *Elæa* and *Pergamus*: and leaving his ſonne *Seleucus* to beſiege the royall City of *Pergamus*: did vvith the reſt of his Army ſpoyle the vvhole Countrey thereabout. *Attalus*, the brother of king *Eumenes*, was then in *Pergamus*; having vvith him no better men to defend the City, than vvere they that lay againſt it. Wherefore he had reaſon to ſtand in feare; being too much inferior in number. There came to his aid a thouſand Foot, and an hundred Horſe of the *Achæans*: old ſouldiers all, and trained up under *Philopœmen*, vvhoſe Scholler, in the art of war, *Diophanes* their Commander vvas. This *Diophanes*, beholding from the wals of *Pergamus*, which was an high Town, the demeanour of the enemy; began to diſdain that ſuch men as they ſhould hold them beſieged. For *Seleucus* his army which was encamped at the hill-foot, ſeeing that none durſt ſally forth upon them, grew ſo careleſſe: as otherwiſe than by ſpoyling all behind their backes, they ſeemed to forget that they were in an enemies country. *Diophanes* therfore ſpake with *Attalus*: and told him that he vvould go forth to viſit them. *Attalus* had no liking to this adventure; for he ſaid, that the match was nothing equal. But the *Achæan* would needs have his wil: and iſſuing forth, encamped not far from the enemy. They of *Pergamus* thought him little better than mad. As for the beſiegers; they wondred at firſt what his meaning was: but when they ſaw that he held himſelf quiet, they made a jeſt of his boldneſſe; & laughed to ſee with what an handful of men he looked ſo ſtoutly. So they returned unto their former negligence & diſorders. Which *Diophanes* perceiving, He commanded all his men to follow him, even as faſt as they well might: & he himſelf, with the hundred horſe, brake out on the ſudden upon the ſtation that was next at hand. Very few of the enemies had their Horſes ready ſadled, but more few, or none had the hearts to make reſiſtance: ſo as he drave them all out of their Camp; and chaſed them as farre as he might ſafely adventure, vvith great ſlaughter of them, and no loſſe of his owne. Hereat all the Citizens of *Pergamus* (vvho had covered the walls of the Towne, men and women, to behold this ſpectacle) vvere very joyfull; and highly magnified the vertue of theſe *Achæans*. Yet would they not therefore iſſue forth of their gates, to helpe the *Achæans* in doing what remained to be done. The next day *Seleucus* encamped halfe a mile further from the Towne, than he had done before: and againſt him vvent forth *Diophanes* the ſecond time; vvho quietly reſted a while in his old Station. When they had ſtayed many houres, looking vvho ſhould begin: *Seleucus*, in faire order as he came, withdrew himſelfe toward his lodging that was further off. *Diophanes* moved not whileſt the Enemie was in ſight: but as ſoone as the ground betweene them hindred the proſpect, hee followed them in all haſte, and ſoone overtaking them vvith his Horſe, charged them in Rere; ſo as hee brake them, and with all his forces purſued them at the heeles, to their very Trenches. This boldneſſe of the *Achæans*, and the baſeneſſe of his own men, cauſed *Seleucus* to quit the ſiege, little to his honour. Such being the qualitie of theſe *Aſiatiques*, *Philopœmen* had cauſe to tell the *Romans*, That he envied their victory. For when *Antiochus* lay feaſting at *Chalcis* after his marriage, and his ſouldiers betook themſelves to Riot, as it had bin in a time of great ſecurity: a good man of war might have cut all their throats, even as they were tipling in their victualling houſes; which *Philopœmen* ſaid that he would have done, had he bin Generall of the *Achæans*, and not, as he then was, a private man.

*Antiochus* was full of buſineſſe: and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deale of travell, brought almoſt nothing to paſſe. He had beene at *Pergamus*: into which *Eumenes*, leaving the *Romans*, did put himſelfe with a few of his Horſe and light armature. Before *Pergamus* he left his ſon, as before hath beene ſhewed, and went to *Elæa*: whither he heard that *Æmylius* the *Roman* Admirall was come to bring ſuccor to *Eumenes*. There he made an Overture of peace: about which to conſult, *Eumenes* was ſent for by *Æmylius*, and came from *Pergamus*. But when it was conſidered, that no concluſion could be made without the Conſul: this Treatie brake off. Then followed the overthrow newly mentioned; which cauſed *Seleucus* to give over the ſiege of *Pergamus*. Afterwards, foure or five Townes of ſcarce any worth or note were taken by the King: and the *Syrian* Fleet, being of ſeven and thirty Saile, was beaten by the *Rhodian* which was of like number. But of this victorie the *Rhodians* had no great cauſe to rejoyce: for that *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, who, together with *Apollonius* a Courtier of *Antiochus*, was Admirall of the *Syrians*, did them in a manner as great hurt as they could doe to *Apollonius*; and having the victory taken out of his hands by *Apollonius* his flight, yet made ſuch a retrait, that the *Rhodians* durſt not farre adventure upon him. Now of theſe Actions which were but as Prefaces unto the warre, the laſt and greateſt was a victory of the *Romans* by Sea, againſt *Polyxenidas* the Kings Admirall. The battell was fought by *Myonneſus* a Promontorie in *Aſia*: where *Polyxenidas* had with him foureſcore and nine Gallies; and five of them greater than any of the *Romans*. This being all the ſtrength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanity of thoſe brags, wherewith *Antiochus* vaunted the laſt yeere, That his *Armada* ſhould cover all the ſhores of *Greece*. The *Romans* had eight and fiftie Gallies; the *Rhodians* two and twenty: the *Roman* being the ſtronger built, and more ſtoutly manned; the *Rhodian* more light-timbred and thin planckt, having all advantage of ſpeed, and good Sea-men. Neither forgot they to helpe themſelves by the ſame device, with which five of their Gallies had lately eſcaped from *Samos*. For with fire in their prowes they ran upon the enemy: who declining them for feare, laid open his ſide: and was thereby in greater danger of being ſtemmed. After no long fight, the Kings Navie hoyſted ſaile: and, having a faire wind, bore away toward *Epheſus* as faſt as they could. Yet forty of their Gallies they left behind them: whereof thirteen were taken, all the reſt burnt or ſunke. The *Romans* and their fellowes loſt only two or three ſhips: but got hereby the abſolute Maſterie of the Sea.

The report of this miſadventure, may ſeeme to have taken from *Antiochus* all uſe of reaſon. For as if no hope had bin remaining to defend thoſe places that he held in *Europe*, he preſently with-drew his Garriſons from *Lyſimachia*: which might eaſily have beene kept, even till the end of Winter following, and have reduced the beſiegers (if the ſiege had been continued obſtinately) unto termes of great extremity. He alſo gave over the ſiege of *Colophon*: and laying aſide all thought ſave onely of defence, drew together all his Armie; and ſent for helpe to his Father-in-law, King *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*.

Thus the *Roman* Conſull, without impediment, not onely came to the *Helleſpont*, but had yeelded unto him all places there, belonging to *Antiochus* on *Europe* ſide. The Fleet was then alſo in a readineſſe to tranſport him over into *Aſia*: where *Eumenes* had taken ſuch care before, that he landed quietly at his owne good eaſe; even as if the Countrie had been his already. The firſt newes that he heard of the Enemie, was by an Embaſſadour that came to ſue for peace. This Embaſſador declared in his Maſters name, That the ſame things which had hindered him from obtaining peace of the *Romans* heretofore, did now perſwade him, that he ſhould eaſily come to good agreement with them. For in all diſputations heretofore, *Smyrna*, *Lampſacus*, and *Lyſimachia*, had beene the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the King had now already given over *Lyſimachia*, and was further purpoſed, not to ſtrive with the *Romans* about *Lampſacus* and *Smyrna*: what reaſon was there, why they ſhould need to trouble him with warre? If it was their deſire, that any other Townes upon the Coſt of *Aſia*, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, ſhould be alſo ſet at libertie, or otherwiſe delivered into their hands: the King would not refuſe to gratifie them therein. Briefly, let them take ſome part of *Aſia*: ſo as the bounds, dividing them from the King, might not be uncertaine, and it ſhould be quietly put into their hands. If all this were not enough, the King would likewiſe beare halfe the charges, whereat they had been in this Warre. So praying the *Romans* to hold themſelves contented with theſe good offers, and not to be too inſolent upon confidence of their fortune, he expected their anſwer. Theſe offers which to the Embaſſador ſeemed ſo great, were judged by the *Romans* to be very little. For they thought it reaſonable, that the King ſhould beare all the charges of the warre, ſince it began through his owne fault: and that He ſhould not onely depart out of thoſe few Townes, vvhich he held in *Æolis* and *Ionia*, but quite out of *Aſia the leſſe*, and keep himſelfe on the other ſide of Mount *Taurus*. When the Embaſſadour therefore ſaw, that no better bargaine could be made; He dealt with *P. Scipio* in private: and to him he promiſed a great quantitie of gold, together with the free reſtitution of his ſonne; who (it is uncertaine by what miſchance) was taken priſoner, and moſt honourably entertained by the King. *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of gold: nor otherwiſe to the reſtitution of his ſonne, than upon Condition, That it might be with making ſuch amends for the benefit, as became a private man. As for the publique buſineſſe: He onely ſaid thus much, That ſince *Antiochus* had already forſaken *Lyſimachia*, and ſuffered the warre to take hold on his owne Kingdome; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yeeld to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, ſaid he, tell your King in my name, that I would adviſe him to refuſe no Condition whereby he may have peace.

The King was not any whit moved with this advice. For ſeeing that the Conſul demanded of him no leſſe, than if he had beene already ſubdued: little reaſon there was that he ſhould feare to come to battaile; wherein he could loſe, as he thought, no more, than by ſeeking to avoid it he muſt give away. He had with him threeſcore and tenne thouſand Foot, and twelve thouſand Horſe; beſides two and fifty Indian Elephants, and many Chariots armed with hookes or ſythes, according to the manner of the Eaſterne Countries. Yet was he nothing pleaſed, to heare that the Conſull drew neere him apace; as one haſtning to fight. But howſoever he was affected; He made ſo little ſhew of feare, that hearing *P. Scipio* to lie ſicke at *Elæa*, He ſent thither unto him his ſon without ranſome: as one both deſirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his ſickneſſe, and withall not deſirous to retaine the young Gentleman for a pledge of his owne ſafetie. Thus ought his bountie to be conſtant. Otherwiſe it might be ſuſpected, That herein hee dealt craftily. For ſince he could have none other ranſome of *Scipio*, than ſuch as an honourable man, that had no great ſtore of wealth, might pay: better it was to doe ſuch a courteſie before the battell, as would afterwards have beene little worth; than to ſtay untill the *Romans*, perhaps victorious, ſhould exact it at his hands. *P. Scipio* was greatly comforted with the recoverie of his ſonne: ſo as the joy thereof was thought, to have beene much availeable unto his health. In recompence of the Kings humanitie, Hee ſaid onely thus much unto thoſe that brought him this acceptable Preſent, *I am now able to make your King none other amends, than by adviſing him not to fight untill he ſhall heare that I am in the Campe.* What he meant by this, it is hard to conjecture. *Antiochus* reſolved to follow his counſaile: and therefore withdrew himſelfe from about *Thyatira*, beyond the River of *Phrygius* or *Hyllus*, unto *Magneſia* by *Sipylus*: where encamping, He fortified himſelfe as ſtrongly as he could. Thither followed him *L. Scipio* the Conſul, and ſate downe within foure miles of him. About a thouſand of the Kings Horſe, moſt of them *Gallo-Greeks*, came to bid the *Romans* welcome: of whom at firſt they ſlew ſome; and were anon, with ſome loſſe, driven backe over the River. Two daies were quietly ſpent, whileſt neither the King nor the *Romans* would paſſe the water. The third day the *Romans* made the adventure: wherein they found no diſturbance; nor were at all oppoſed, untill they came within two miles and a halfe of *Antiochus* his Campe. There as they were taking up their lodging, they were charged by three thouſand Horſe and Foote: whom the ordinary *Corps de garde* repelled. Foure dayes together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies; and ſet them in order before the Trenches, without advancing any further. The fift day the *Romans* came halfe way forward, and preſented battaile; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Conſull tooke advice what was to be done. For either they muſt fight upon whatſoever diſadvantage, or elſe reſolve to abide by it all Winter, farre from any Countrey of their friends, and therefore ſubject unto many difficulties: unleſſe they would ſtaine their honour by returning farre backe, to winter in a more convenient place; and ſo defer the warre untill the next Spring. The *Roman* Souldier was throughly perſwaded of that Enemies baſe temper. Wherefore it was the Generall Crie, That this great Army ſhould be aſſailed, even in the Campe where it lay: as if rather there were ſo many beaſts to be ſlaughtered, than men to bee fought with. Yet a day or two paſſed, in diſcovering the fortifications of *Antiochus*, and the ſafeſt way to ſet upon him. All this while *P. Scipio* came not. Wherefore the King, being loth to diſhearten his men, by ſeeming to ſtand in feare of the Enemie, reſolved to put the matter to triall. So when the *Romans* tooke the field againe, and ordered their Battells:

Hee alſo did the like; and advanced ſo farre, that they might underſtand his meaning to fight.

The *Roman* Army conſiſted of foure Legions, two *Roman* and two *Latine*: in each of which were five thouſand and foure hundred men. The *Latines*, as uſually, were in the points; the *Romans*, in the meane battell. All of them, according to their wonted forme, were divided into *Maniples*. The *Haſtati* had the leading: after them follow the *Principes*, at ſuch diſtance as was uſuall; and laſt of all, the *Triarii*. Now beſide theſe, there were about three thouſand *Auxiliaries*; partly *Achæans*, and partly ſuch as belonged to *Eumenes*: which were placed in an equall Front beyond the *Latines* in the right wing. Utmoſt of all (ſave ſome five hundred *Cretians*, and of the *Trallians*) were almoſt three thouſand Horſe: of which, *Eumenes* had brought thither eight hundred; the reſt being *Roman*. The left wing was fenced by the banke of the River: yet foure Troups of Horſe were placed there, though ſuch helpe ſeemed in a manner needleſſe. Two thouſand Voluntaries, *Macedonians* and *Thracians*, were left to guard the Campe. The Conſul had with him ſixteene *African* Elephants, which he beſtowed in his Rere: foraſmuch as had they come to fight with thoſe of *Antiochus*, they onely would have ſerved to diſcourage his men; as being ſure to bee beaten: the *Indian* being farre the greater, and more courageous beaſtes: whereof *Antiochus* had likewiſe much advantage in number.

The Kings Army being compounded of many Nations, diverſly appointed, and not all accuſtomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the ſeverall kindes, in ſuch wiſe as each might be of moſt uſe. The maine ſtrength of his Foot conſiſted in ſixteene thouſand, armed all *Macedonian*-like, and called *Phalangiers*. Theſe he placed in the middeſt, and divided into tenne Battalions: every one having two and thirty in File, and fifty in Front. Betweene every Battalion were two Elephants, goodly beaſtes, and ſuch as being adorned with Frontals, high Creſts, Towers on their backes, and beſides him that governed the Elephant, foure men in every Tower, made a gallant and terrible ſhew. On the right hand of theſe were fifteene hundred Horſe of the *Gallo-Greeks*: then, three thouſand Barbd Horſe: and a Regiment of almoſt a thouſand horſe, called the *Agema*, that were all *Medians*, the choice of the Countrie, and accompanied by ſome others. All which Troups of Horſe, divided in their ſeverall kindes, doe ſeeme to have followed one another in depth, rather than to have bin ſtretched out in Front. Adjoyning unto theſe, were ſixeteene Elephants together in one flocke. A little further to the right hand, was the Kings owne Regiment; called the *Argyraſpides*, or *Silverſhields*, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like ſo valiant as thoſe of the ſame name, that had ſerved under Great *Alexander*: then, twelve hundred Archers on horſebacke, three thouſand light-armed Foot, two thouſand and five hundred Archers of *Myſia*; with foure thouſand Slingers and Archers of the *Cirtæans*, and *Elymæans*. On the left hand of the *Phalangiers*, were placed the like numbers of *Gallo-Greeks*, and Barbd Horſe: as alſo two thouſand horſe that were ſent from *Ariarathes*, with two thouſand and ſeven hundred of divers Nations; and a Regiment of a thouſand Horſe more lightly armed, that were called *The Kings Troup*, being *Syrians*, *Phrygians*, and *Lydians*. In front of all theſe Horſe were the Chariots armed with hooks or ſythes, and the *Dromedaries*, whereon ſate *Arabians* with long Rapiers, that would ſerve to reach from thoſe high Camels. Beyond theſe were, as in the right wing, a rable of many Nations, *Carians*, *Cicilians*, *Pamphylians*, *Piſidians*, *Cyrtæans*, *Elymæans*, and many others, having alſo with them ſixteen Elephants. *Antiochus* himſelfe commanded in the right wing: *Seleucus* in the left: and three of his principall Captains commanded over the *Phalangiers*.

The firſt on-ſet was given by the *Dromedaries*, and armed Chariots: of which the one, being like to terrefie the Horſe; the other, to breake the Squadrons of the Foot; *Eumenes* with a few light-armed *Cretians*, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, eaſily made fruſtrate the danger threatned by them both. For with ſhoutings, and noiſes, and ſome wounds, they were driven out of the field; and running backe upon their owne men, did the ſame harme which they had intented to the Enemies. Wherefore the *Roman* Horſe following this advantage, charged upon the left wing: whereas they found no reſiſtance; ſome being out of order; others being without courage. It is ſhamefull to rehearſe, and ſo ſtrange, that it may hardly ſeeme credible: that the *Phalangiers*, with ſuch varietie of *Auxiliaries*, made little or no reſiſtance; but all of them fled, in a manner, as ſoone as they were charged. Onely the King, *Antiochus* himſelfe, being in the left wing of his owne battaile: and ſeeing the *Latines*, that ſtood oppoſite unto him, weakly flanked with Horſe: gave upon them couragiouſly, and forced them to retire. But *M. Æmilius*, that had the Guard of the *Roman* Campe, iſſued forth with all his power to helpe his fellowes: and, what by perſwaſion, what by threats, made them renew the fight. Succour alſo came from the right wing, where the *Romans* were already victorious: whereof when *Antiochus* diſcovered the approach; He not onely turned his Horſe about, but ranne away upon the ſpur without further tarriance. The Campe was defended a little while: and with no great valour; though by a great multitude that were fled into it. *Antiochus* is ſaid to have loſt in this battaile fifty thouſand Foot, and foure thouſand Horſe; beſides thoſe that were taken. Of the *Romans*, there were not ſlaine above three hundred Foot, and foure and twenty Horſe: of *Eumenes* his followers five and twenty.

*Antiochus* fled to *Sardes*, and from thence to *Apamea*, the ſame night; hearing that *Seleucus* was gone thither before. He left the cuſtody of *Sardes*, and the Caſtle there, to one whom he thought faithfull. But the Towneſ-men and Souldiers were ſo diſmayed with the greatneſſe of the Overthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Townes in thoſe parts, without expecting ſummons, yeelded up themſelves by Embaſſadours: whom they ſent to the *Romans*, whileſt they were on the way. Neither were many dayes ſpent, ere *Antiochus* his Embaſſadour was in the Campe: having none other errand, than to know what it would pleaſe the *Romans* to impoſe upon the King his Maſter. *P. Scipio* was now come to his brother, who obtained leave to make the anſwer, becauſe it ſhould bee gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, that he ſhould quite abandon his Dominions on this ſide *Taurus*. For their charges in that Warre, they required fifteene thouſand Talents: five hundred in hand; two thouſand and five hundred, when the Senate and People of *Rome* ſhould have confirmed the peace; and the other twelve thouſand, in twelve yeeres next enſuing, by even portions. Likewiſe they demanded foure hundred Talents for *Eumenes*; and ſome ſtore of Corne, that was due to him upon a reckoning. Now beſides twenty hoſtages which they required, very earneſt they were to have *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, and *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, with ſome others who had ſtirred up the King to this warre, delivered into their hands. But any wiſe man might ſo eaſily have perceived, that it would be their purpoſe to make this one of their principall demands; as no great art was needfull to beguile their malice. The Kings Embaſſadour had full commiſſion, to refuſe nothing that ſhould be enjoyned. Wherefore there was no more to doe, than to ſend immediatly to *Rome* for the ratification of the Peace.

There were new Conſuls choſen in the meane while at *Rome*, *M. Fulvius*, & *Cn. Manlius Volſo*. The *Ætolians* deſired peace, but could not obtaine it: becauſe they would accept neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, That one of the Conſuls ſhould make warre upon the *Ætolians*; the other, upon *Antiochus* in *Aſia*. Now though ſhortly there came newes that *Antiochus* was already vanquiſhed in battaile, and had ſubmitted himſelfe unto all that could be required at his hands: yet ſince the State of *Aſia* was not like to be ſo throughly ſettled by one Victory, but that many things might fall out worthy of the *Romans* care; *Cn. Manlius*, to whom *Aſia* fell by lot, had not his Province changed.

Soone after this, came the Embaſſadours of King *Antiochus* to *Rome*, accompanied with the *Rhodians* and ſome others: yea, by King *Eumenes* in perſon; whoſe preſence added a goodly luſtre to the buſineſſe in hand. Concerning the peace to be made with King *Antiochus*, there was no diſputation: it was generally approoved. All the trouble was, about the diſtribution of the purchaſe. King *Eumenes* reckoned up his own deſerts; and comparing himſelfe with *Maſaniſſa*, hoped that the *Romans* would be more bountifull to him than they had beene to the *Numidian*, ſince they had found him a King indeed, whereas *Maſaniſſa* was onely ſuch in title; and ſince both he and his Father had alwayes beene their friends, even in the worſt of the *Roman* fortune. Yet was there much adoe to make him tell what hee would have: He ſtill referring himſelfe to their curteſie; and they deſiring him to ſpeake plaine. At length he craved that they would beſtow upon him, as much of the Country by them taken from *Antiochus*, as they had no purpoſe to keepe in their owne hands. Neither thought he it needfull, that they ſhould trouble themſelves with the care of giving liberty to many of the *Greeke* Towns, that were on *Aſia* ſide. For ſince the moſt of thoſe Towns had been partakers with the King in his Warre; it was no reaſon that they ſhould be gainers by his overthrow. The *Rhodians* did not like of this. They deſired the Senate to be truely Patrons of the *Grecian* liberty; and to call to minde, that no ſmall part of *Greece* it ſelfe had bin ſubject unto *Philip*, and ſerved him in his War: which was not alledged againſt them as a cauſe why they ſhould not be made free, after that *Philip* was overcome. But the maine point whereon they inſiſted, was this, That the Victory of the *Romans* againſt King *Antiochus* was ſo great, as eaſily might ſatisfie the deſires of all their friends. The Senate was glad to heare of this; and very bountifully gave away ſo much, that every one had cauſe to be well pleaſed.

Such end had the Warre againſt King *Antiochus*: after which, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, returning home, had granted unto him the honour of a Triumph: the pompe whereof exceeded in riches, not only that of *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, but of any ten that *Rome* had beheld untill that day. Now foraſmuch as the ſurname of *The African* had been given unto *P. Scipio*, it was thought convenient by ſome, to reward *L. Scipio* with the title of *the Aſiatique:* which the fortune of his Victory had no leſſe deſerved; though the vertue, requiſite to the purchaſe thereof, was no way correſpondent.

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## §. IX.

*The Ætolians, and the Gallo-Greeks, vanquiſhed by the Roman Conſuls* Fulvius *and* Manlius. Manlius *hardly obtaines a Triumph: being charged (among other objections) with attempting to have paſſed the bounds appointed as fatall to the Romans by* Sybil. *Of* Sybils *Propheſies; the Bookes of* Hermes; *and that Inſcription*, Simoni Deo Sancto. *The ingratitude of Rome to the two* Scipio's: *and that beginning and faction among the Roman Nobility.*

MArc. *Fulvius* and *Cn. Manlius* had the ſame charge divided betweene them, which *L. Cornelius Scipio*, now ſtyled *Aſiaticus*, had lately undergone. It was found more than one mans worke, to looke at once to *Greece* and to *Aſia*. And for this reaſon was it apparent, that *L. Scipio* had granted ſo long a Truce to the *Ætolians*. But ſince, in this long *Interim* of *Truce*, that haughtie little Nation had not ſought to humble it ſelfe to the *Roman Majeſtie*, it was now to be brought unto more lowly termes than any other of the *Greeks*. The beſt was, that ſo great a ſtorme fell not unexpected upon the *Ætolians*. They had foreſeene the danger, when their Embaſſadours were utterly denied peace at *Rome:* and they had provided the laſt remedy; which was, to entreate the *Rhodians* and *Athenians* to become interceſſours for them. Neither were they ſo dejected, with any terrible apprehenſions, that they could not well deviſe, even upon helping themſelves, by repurchaſe of Countries loſt, where they ſpied advantage.

Poore King *Aminander* lived in exile among them, whilſt *Philip* of *Macedon* kept for him, poſſeſſion of his Lands and Caſtles. But the *Athamanians* (beſides that many of them bore a naturall affection to their owne Prince) having beene long accuſtomed to ſerve a Mountaine Lord, that converſed with them after an homely manner; could not endure the proud and inſolent manner of command, uſed by the Captaines of *Philip* his Garriſons. They ſent therefore ſome few of them to their King, & offered their ſervice towards his reſtitution. At the firſt there were onely foure of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fiftie, which undertooke the worke. Yet, aſſurance, that all the reſt would follow, made *Aminander* willing to trie his fortune. He was at the borders with a thouſand *Ætolians*, upon the day appointed: at what time his two and fifty adventurers, having divided themſelves into foure parts, occupied, by the ready aſſiſtance of the multitude, foure of the chiefe Towns in the Countrie, to his uſe. The fame of this good ſucceſſe at firſt; with divers letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to doe their beſt in helping forward the Action, made the Lieutenants of *Philip* unable to thinke upon reſiſtance. One of them held the Towne of *Theium* a few dayes; giving thereby ſome leiſure unto his King to provide for the reſcue. But when he had done his beſt, he was forced thence; and could onely tell *Philip*, whom he met on the way, that all was loſt. *Philip* had brought from home ſixe thouſand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in ſuch a running march, he left all ſave two thouſand behinde him, and ſo came to *Athenæum*, a little *Athamanian* Caſtle, that ſtill was his, as being on the frontier of *Macedon*. Thence he ſent *Zeno*, who had kept *Theium* a while, to take a place lying over *Argithea*, that was chiefe of the Countrie. *Zeno* did as he was appointed: yet neither he, nor the King had the boldeneſs to deſcend upon *Argithea*; for that they might perceive the *Athamanians*, all along the hill ſides, ready to come downe upon them, when they ſhould be buſie. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a ſafe retrait: eſpecially when *Aminander* came in ſight with his thouſand *Ætolians*. The *Macedonians* were called backe, from-wards *Argithea*, and preſently withdrawn by their King towards his owne borders. But they were not ſuffered to depart in quiet at their pleaſure. The *Athamanians* and *Aetolians* way-laid them, and purſued them ſo cloſely, that their retrait was in manner of a plaine flight, with great loſſe of men and armes, few of thoſe eſcaping, that were left behinde, as to make a countenance of holding ſomewhat in the Countrey, untill *Philip* his returne.

The *Aetolians* having found the buſineſſe of *Athamania* ſo eaſie, made an attempt in their owne behalfe, upon the *Amphilochians* and *Aperantians*. Theſe had belonged unto their Nation, & were lately taken by *Philip*; from whom they diligently revolted, and became *Aetolian* againe. The *Dolopians* lay next; that had beene ever belonging to the *Macedonian*, and ſo did ſtill purpoſe to continue. Theſe tooke Armes at firſt: but ſoone layed them away; ſeeing their neighbours ready to fight with them in the *Aetolian* quarrell, and ſeeing their owne King ſo haſtily gone, as if he meant not to returne.

Of theſe victories the joy was the leſſe; for that newes came of *Antiochus* his laſt overthrow, and of *M. Fulvius* the new Conſull his haſting with an Armie into *Greece*. *Aminander* ſent his excuſes to *Rome*, praying the Senate not to take it in deſpight, that he had recovered his owne from *Philip* with ſuch helpe as he could get. Neither ſeemes it that the *Romans* were much offended to heare of *Philip* his loſſes: for of this fault they neither were ſharpe correctors, nor earneſt reprovers. *Fulvius* went in hand with the buſineſſe, about which he came, and layed ſiege to *Ambracia*, a goodly City, that had beene the chiefe ſeate of *Pyrrhus* his Kingdome. With this he began, for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the *Aetolians*: yet could not by them be relieved, unleſſe they would adventure to fight upon equal ground. To help the *Ambracians*, it was not in the *Ætolians* power: for they were, at the ſame time, vexed by the *Illyrians* at ſea, and ready to be driven from their new conqueſt, by *Perſeus* the ſonne of *Philip*, who invaded the Countries of the *Amphilochians* and *Dolopians*. They were unable to deale with ſo many at once; and therefore as earneſtly ſought peace with the *Romans*, as they ſtoutly made head againſt the reſt. In the meane while the *Athenian* and *Rhodian* Embaſſadours came; who beſought the Conſull to grant them peace. It helped well that *Ambracia* made ſtrong reſiſtance, and would not bee terrefied, by any violence of the Aſſailants, or danger that might ſeeme to threaten. The Conſull had no deſire to ſpend halfe his time about one Citie, and ſo bee driven to leave unto his ſucceſſour the honour of finiſhing the Warre. Wherefore hee gladly hearkened unto the *Ætolians*, and bade them ſeeke peace with faithfull intent, without thinking it over-deare, at a reaſonable price; conſidering with how great a part of his Kingdome their friend *Antiochus* had made the ſame purchaſe. He alſo gave leave to *Aminander*, offering his ſervice as a mediatour, to put himſelfe into *Ambracia*, and trie what good his perſwaſions might doe with the Citizens. So, after many demaunds and excuſes, the concluſion was ſuch as was grievous to the weaker, but not unſufferable. The ſame Embaſſadours of the *Athenians* and *Rhodians*, accompanied thoſe of the *Ætolians* to *Rome*, for procuring the confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needfull in this interceſſion, for that *Philip* had made a very grievous complaint about the loſſe of thoſe Countries, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it did not hinder the peace, which thoſe good Mediatours of *Rhodes* and *Athens* did earneſtly ſolicite. The *Ætolians* were bound to uphold the Majeſtie of the people of *Rome*, and to obſerve divers Articles, which made them the leſſe free, and more obnoxions to the *Romans*, than any people of *Greece*; they having been the firſt that called theſe their Maſters into the Countrie. The Ile of *Cephalenia* was taken from them by the *Romans*: who kept it for themſelves (as not long ſince they had gotten *Zacynthus* from the *Achæans*, by ſtiffely preſſing their owne right) that ſo they might have poſſeſſion along the coaſt of *Greece*, whileſt they ſeemed to forbeare the Countrey. But concerning thoſe places, whereto *Philip*, or others, might lay claime, there was ſet down an Order ſo perplexed, as would neceſſarily require to have the *Romans* Judges of their controverſies, when they ſhould ariſe. And hereof good uſe will be ſhortly made: when want of employment elſewhere, ſhall cauſe a more Lordly Inquiſition to be held, upon the affaires of *Macedon* and *Greece*.

*Cn. Manlius*, the other Conſull, had at the ſame time warre in *Aſia*, with the *Gallo-Greeks* and others. His Armie was the ſame that had followed *L. Scipio*; of whoſe victorie, his acts were the conſummation. He viſited thoſe Countries on the hither ſide of *Taurus*, that had ſcarce heard of the *Romans*; to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among theſe there were ſome petty Lords, or Tyrants, ſome free Cities, & ſome that were together at Warres, without regard of the great alteration that hapned in *Aſia*. From every of theſe hee got ſomewhat; and by their quarrells found occaſion to viſite thoſe Provinces, into which he ſhould elſe have wanted an errand. He was even loaden with booty, when, having fetcht a compaſſe about *Aſia*, he came at length upon the *Gallo-Greeks*. Theſe had long domineered over the Countrie: though of late times, it was rather the fame & terror of their fore-paſſed acts, than any preſent vertue of theirs, which held them up in reputation. Of the *Romans* they had lately ſuch triall, when they ſerved under King *Antiochus*, as made them to acknowledge themſelves farre the worſe men. Wherefore they thought it no ſmall part of their ſafetie, that they dwelt upon the River *Halys*, in an In-land Countrie, where thoſe enemies were not very like to ſearch them out. But when ſuch hopes failed; and when ſome Princes of their owne Nation; that had beene friends of *Eumenes*, exhorted the reſt to yeeld: then was no counſaile thought ſo good, as to forſake their houſes and Countrey, and, with all that they could carry or drive, to betake themſelves unto the high mountaines of *Olympus* and *Margana*. Theſe mountaines were exceeding hard of aſcent, though none ſhould undertake the cuſtodie. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time; as alſo the naturall ſtrength being helpt, by ſuch fortification as promiſed greateſt aſſurance: it was thought, that the Conſull would either forbeare the attempt of forcing them, or eaſily be repelled, and that finally, when he had ſtayed there a while, winter, and much want, ſhould force him to diſlodge. Yet all this availed not. For whereas the *Gallo-Greeks* had beene careleſſe of furniſhing themſelves with caſting weapons, as if ſtones would have ſerved well enough for that purpoſe: the *Romans*, who came farre otherwiſe appointed, found greater advantage in the difference of Armes, than impediment in diſadvantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did eaſily prevaile againſt caſters of ſtones; eſpecially being ſuch as were theſe *Gallo-Greeks*, neither exerciſed in that manner of fight, nor having prepared their ſtones before-hand, but catching up what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than thoſe of a fit ſize. Finally, the *Barbarians*, wanting defenſive Armes, could not hold out againſt the Arrowes and weapons of the *Roman* light armature: but were driven from a piece of ground, which they had undertaken to make good, up into their Campe on the top of the mountaine; and being forced out of their Campe, had none other way left, than to caſt themſelves headlong downe the ſteepe rockes. Few of the men eſcaped alive: all their wives, children, and goods became a prey unto the *Romans*. In the very like manner, were the reſt of that Nation overcome ſoone after, at the other mountaine: onely more of them ſaved themſelves by flight, as having fairer way at their backes.

Theſe warres being ended: *Fulvius* and *Manlius* were appointed by the Senate, each of them to retaine as Proconſull, his Province for another yeere. *Fulvius*, in his ſecond yeer, did little or nothing. *Manlius* gave peace to thoſe whom he had vanquiſhed; as likewiſe to *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, and ſome others, not by him vanquiſhed, but ſubmitting themſelves for feare of the *Roman* armes. He drew from them all, what profit he could: and laid upon them ſuch conditions, as he though expedient. He alſo did finiſh the league of peace with *Antiochus*; whereto hee ſwore, and received the Kings oath by Embaſſadours, whom he ſent for that purpoſe. Finally, having ſet in order the matters of *Aſia*, he tooke his way toward the *Helleſpont*, loaden with ſpoile, as carrying with him (beſides other treaſures) all that the *Gallo-Greeks* had in ſo many yeers extorted, from the wealthy Provinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Army of *Manlius* returne home, rich in money alone, or cattell, or things of needfull uſe, which the *Roman* Souldier had beene wont to take as the onely good purchaſe; but furniſhed with ſumptuous houſhold-ſtuffe, and ſlaves of price, excellent Cookes, and Muſicians for banquets, and in a word, with the ſeedes of that luxurie, which finally over-grew and choked the *Roman* vertue.

The Country of *Thrace* lay between *Helleſpont* & the Kingdome of *Macedon*, which way *Manlius* was to take his journey homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the *Thracians*: either for that he paſſed through them, without any ſuch booty as might provoke them; or perhaps rather, becauſe *Philip* of *Macedon* had taken order, that the *Barbarians* ſhould not ſtirre. But when *Manlius* came along with a huge traine of baggage; the *Thracians* could not ſo wel contain themſelves. Neither was it thought, that *Philip* tooke it otherwiſe than very pleaſantly, to have this *Roman* Army robbed, & well beaten on the way. He had cauſe to be angry, ſeeing how little himſelfe was regarded, and what great rewards were given to *Eumenes*. For he underſtood, and afterwards gave the *Romans* to underſtand, that *Eumenes* could not have abidden in his owne Kingdome, if the people of *Rome* had not made warre in *Aſia*: whereas contrariwiſe, *Antiochus* had offered unto himſelfe three thouſand talents, and fiftie ſhips of warre, to take part with him and the *Ætolians*, promiſing moreover to reſtore unto him all the *Greeke* Cities, that had been taken from him by the *Romans*. Such being the difference between him and *Eumenes*, when the warre began: he thought it no even dealing of the *Romans*, after their victory, to give away not onely the halfe of *Aſia*, but *Cherſonneſus*, & *Lyſimachia* in *Europe*, to *Eumenes*; whereas upon himſelfe they beſtowed not any one Towne. It agreed not indeed with his Nobility to goe to *Rome* and begge Provinces in the Senate, as *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* had lately done. He had entertained lovingly the two *Scipio's*, whom he thought the moſt honourable men in *Rome*; and was grown into neer acquaintance with *Publius*, holding correſpondence with him by letters, whereby he made himſelfe acquainted with the warres in *Spaine* and *Africke*. This perhaps he deemed ſufficient, to breed in the *Romans* a due reſpect of him. But *Eumenes* tooke a ſurer way. For the *Scipio's* had not the diſpoſing of that which they wonne from *Antiochus*: as neither indeed had *Manlius*, nor the ten Delegates aſſiſting him; but the Senate of *Rome*, by which thoſe Delegates were choſen, and inſtructed how to proceed. When *Philip* therefore ſaw theſe upſtart Kings of *Pergamus*, whom he accounted as baſe companions, advanced ſo highly, and made greater than himſelfe; yea himſelfe unregarded, contemned, and expoſed to many wrongs: then found he great cauſe to wiſh, that he had not ſo haſtily declared himſelfe againſt *Antiochus*, or rather that he had joyned with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, by whom he might have beene freed from his inſolent Maſters. But what great argument of ſuch diſcontentedneſs the *Macedonian* had, we ſhall very ſhortly be urged to diſcourſe more at large. At the preſent it was beleeved, that the *Thracians* were by him ſet on, to aſſaile the *Romans* paſſing through their Country. They knew all advantages; & they fell, unexpected, upon the carriages, that were beſtowed in the midſt of the Armie; whereof part had already paſſed a dangerous wood, through which the baggage followed; part was not yet ſo farre advanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leave behinde: though both the getting and the ſaving, did coſt many lives, as well of the *Barbarians*, as of the *Romans*. They fought untill it grew night: and then the *Thracians* withdrew themſelves; not without as much of the bootie, as was to their full content. And of ſuch trouble there was more, though leſſe dangerous, before the Armie could get out of *Thrace* into *Macedon*. Through the Kingdome they had a faire march into *Epirus*; and ſo to *Apollonia*, which was their handle of *Greece*.

*Liv. lib. 39.*

To *Manlius*, and to *Fulvius*, when each of them returned to the Citie, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: eſpecially to *Manlius*, whom ſome of the ten Delegates, appointed to aſſiſt him, did very bitterly taxe, as an unworthy commander. Touching the reſt of their accuſation; it ſufficeth that he made good anſwer, and was approved by the chiefe of the Senate. One clauſe is worthy of more particular conſideration. Reprehending his deſire to have hindred the peace with *Antiochus*;

they

*Liv. lib.* 38.

*Tull. de Divin. lib.* 2.

*Iſaac. Caſaub. Exercita.* 1. *ad Annal. Bar. n.* 10. & 11.

*Euſeb. Eccl. hiſt. cap.* 13.

they ſaid, *That with much ado he was kept from leading his Army over* Taurus, *and adventuring upon the calamity threatned by* Sibyls *verſes, unto thoſe that ſhould paſſe the fatall bounds*. What calamity or overthrow this was, wherewith *Sibyls* prophecie threatned the *Roman* Captaine or Armie, that ſhould paſſe over *Taurus*, I doe not conceive. *Pompey* was the firſt, that marched with an Armie beyond thoſe limits: though the victories of *Lucullus* had opened unto him the way, & had before-hand won, in a ſort, the Countries on the other ſide of the Mount; which *Lucullus* gave to one of *Antiochus* his race, though *Pompey* occupied them for the *Romans*. But we finde not, that either *Lucullus* or *Pompey* ſuffered any loſſe, in preſuming to neglect the bounds appointed by *Sibyl*. Indeed the accompliſhment of this prophecie, fell out neere about one time, with the reſtitution of *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, that was forbidden unto the *Romans* by the ſame *Sibyl*. It may therefore ſeeme to have had reference unto the ſame things, that were denounced, as like to happen upon the reduction of the *Egyptian* King. Whether the Oracles of *Sibyl* had in them any truth, and were not, as *Tullie* noteth, *ſowed at randome in the large field of Time*, there to take root, and get credit by event; I will not here diſpute. But I hold this more probable, than that the reſtitution of *Ptolomy* to his Kingdome by *Gabinius* the *Roman*, ſhould have any way betokened the comming of our Saviour: as ſome both ancient and moderne Chriſtian Writers have beene well pleaſed to interpret *Sibyl* in that prophecie. Of the *Sibylline* predictions, I have ſometimes thought reverently: though not knowing what they were (as I thinke few men know) yet following the common beliefe and good authority. But obſervation of the ſhamefull Idolatry, that upon all occaſions was advanced in *Rome* by the bookes of *Sibyl*, had well prevailed upon my credulity, and made me ſuſpect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the judgement of *Euſebius*: when that learned and excellent worke of Maſter *Caſaubon* upon the Annales of Cardinall *Baronius*, did altogether free me from mine errour; making it apparent, That not only thoſe prophecies of *Sibyl*, wherein Chriſt ſo plainly was ſhewed, but even the bookes of *Hermes*, which have borne ſuch reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces, and at firſt entertained (whoſoever deviſed them) by the undiſcreet zeale of ſuch, as delighted in ſeeing the Chriſtian Religion ſtrengthened with forrein proofs. And in the ſame ranke, I thinke, we ought to place that notable Hiſtory, reported by *Euſebius* from no meane Authors, Of the honour which was done to *Simon Magus* in *Rome*; namely, of an Altar to him erected, with an inſcription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, that is, *To Simon the holy god*. For what can be more ſtrange, than that a thing ſo memorable, and ſo publique, ſhould have beene quite omitted by *Tacitus*, by *Suetonius*, by *Dion*, and by all which wrote of thoſe times? Philoſophers and Poets would not have ſuffered the matter to eſcape in ſilence, had it beene true; neither can it be thought that *Seneca*, who then lived and flouriſhed, would have abſtained from ſpeaking any word of an Argument ſo famous. Wherefore I am perſwaded, that this inſcription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was, by ſome bad *Critiſcime*, taken amiſſe in place of *Semoni Sango*: a title foure hundred yeeres older than the time of *Simon Magus*. For the goods of one *Vitruvius* a Rebell, had many ages before beene conſecrated *Semoni Sango*, that is, *To the Spirit or Demi-god Sangus*, in whoſe Chappell they were beſtowed. So as either by the ill ſhape of the old *Roman* letters, or by ſome ſpoile that Time had wrought upon them; it might eaſily come to paſſe, that the words ſhould be miſſe-read, *Simoni Sancto*, and that ſome Chriſtian who had heard of *Simon Magus*, but not of *Sangus*, thereupon ſhould frame the conjecture, which now paſſeth for a true Hiſtory. Such conjectures, being entertained without examination, finde credit by Tradition, whereby alſo, many times, their faſhion is amended, and made more Hiſtoricall, than was conceived by the Authour. But it cannot be ſafe, to let our faith (which ought to ſtand firme upon a ſure foundation) leane over-hardly on a well painted, yet rotten poſt.

Now concerning the Triumph of *Cn. Manlius*, it may be numbred among a few of the richeſt, which ever the Citie beheld. Out of that which he brought into the Treaſurie, was made the laſt payment of thoſe monies which the common-wealth had borrowed from private men, in the ſecond *Punick War*. So long was it, that *Rome* had ſtill ſome feeling of *Hannibal*: which being paſt, there was remaining neither care, nor memorie, of any danger. This Triumph of *Manlius* was deferred by him, even ſo long as he well could: for that he thought it not ſafe, to make his entrance into the Citie, untill the heat of an Inquiſition, then raging therein, ſhould be allayed. The two *Scipio's* were called one after other, into judgement, by two Tribunes of the people; men, onely by this accuſation, knowne to Poſterity. *P. Scipio* the *African*, with whom they began, could not endure that ſuch unworthy men ſhould queſtion him, of purloyning from the Common Treaſury, or of being hired with bribes by *Antiochus*, to make an ill bargaine for his Countrey. When therefore his day of anſwer came; he appeared before the Tribunes, not humbly as one accuſed, but followed by a great traine of his friends and Clients, with which he paſſed through the middeſt of the Aſſembly, and offered himſelfe to ſpeake. Having audience, he told the people, That upon they ſame day of the yeer he had fought a great battaile with *Hannibal*, and finiſhed the *Punick war* by a ſignall victory. In memory whereof, he thought it no fit ſeaſon to brabble at the Law; but intended to viſite the *Capitoll*, & there give thankes to *Jupiter*, and the reſt of the gods, by whoſe grace, both on that day and at other times, he had well & happily diſcharged the moſt weighty buſineſſe of the Common-weale. And hereto he invited with him all the Citizens: requeſting them, *That if ever ſince the ſeventeenth yeer of his life, untill he now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred upon him, had prevented the capacity of his age, & yet his deſerts had exceeded the greatneſſe of thoſe honourable places: then would they pray, that the Princes and great ones of their City might ſtill be like to him.* Theſe words were heard with great approbation: ſo as all the people, even the Officers of the court, followed *Scipio*, leaving the Tribunes alone, with none about them, excepting their owne ſlaves and a Crier, by whom ridiculouſly they cited him to judgement, untill for very ſhame, as not knowing what elſe to doe, they granted him, unrequeſted, a further day. After this, when the *African* perceived that the Tribunes would not let fall their ſuit, but enforce him to ſubmit himſelfe to a diſgracefull triall: he willingly relinquiſhed the City, and his unthankefull *Romans*, that could ſuffer him to undergoe ſo much indignity. The reſt of his time he ſpent at *Liternum*: quietly with a few of his inward friends, and without any deſire of ſeeing *Rome* againe. How many yeers he lived, or whether he lived one whole yeere, in this voluntary baniſhment; it is uncertaine. The report of his dying in the ſame yeere, with *Hannibal* and *Philopœmen*, as alſo of his private behaviour at *Liternum*, render it probable, that he out-lived the Tribuneſhip of his accuſers; who meant to have drawn him back to his anſwer, if one of their Colleagues (as one of them had power to hinder all the reſt from proceeding) had not cauſed them to deſiſt. Howſoever it was; the ſame Tribunes went more ſharply to work with *L. Scipio the Aſiatique.* They propounded a Decree unto the people, touching mony received of *Antiochus*, and not brought into the common Treaſury; that the Senate ſhould give charge unto one of the Prætors, to inquire, and judicially determine thereof. In favour of this Decree, an Oration was made by *Cato*, the ſuppoſed author of theſe contentions, & inſtigator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect, vertue; temperate, valiant, and of ſingular induſtrie; frugall alſo, both of the publique, and of his owne; ſo as in this kinde he was even faultie: for though he would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was he unmercifull and unconſcionable, in ſeeking to increaſe his owne wealth, by ſuch means as the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poiſoned with envie, troubled both himſelfe and the whole City, whileſt he lived. His meane birth cauſed him to hate the Nobility, eſpecially thoſe that were in chiefe eſtimation. Neither did he ſpare to bite at ſuch as were of his own ranke, men raiſed by deſert, if their advancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when *Glabrio*, whoſe Lieutenant he had beene at *Thermopylæ*, was his Competitor for the Cenſorſhip, and likely to carry it, he tooke an Oath againſt him, which was counted as no better than malicious perjurie, That he had not brought into the common Treaſury ſome veſſels of gold and ſilver, gotten in the Campe of *Antiochus*. Now the hatred which he bare unto the *Scipio's*, grew partly, (beſides his generall ſpight at the Nobility) from his owne firſt riſing, wherein he was countenanced by *Fabius Maximus*, who brooked not the *African*; partly from ſome checke, that was given unto himſelfe, in the *African* voyage, by *P. Scipio*, whoſe Treaſurer he then was. For when *Cato* did utter his diſlike of the Conſuls bad husbandry (judging Magnificence to be no better) in ſome peremptory maner; *Scipio* plainly told him, That he had no need of ſuch double diligence in his Treaſurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lyes he publiſhed, or for want of judgement, thinking unworthily of the vertue that was farre above him, *Cato* filled *Rome* with untrue reports againſt his Generall; whoſe noble deedes confuted ſufficiently the author of ſuch falſe tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded nor thought upon by the *Scipio's*, whileſt it was nouriſhed by their enemy, brake out upon advantage, eſpecially againſt *L. Scipio:* his brother being dead, or out of the way. A ſevere inquiry and judgement being appointed of purpoſe againſt *Scipio*, matters were ſo carried, that he was ſoone condemned in a ſum of money, far exceeding his ability to pay. For *non payment*, his body ſhould have beene laid up in priſon: but from this rigour of the Law he was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the ſame Tribune who had cauſed the ſuite againſt the *African* to be let fall. In his eſtate, which was confiſcated to the uſe of the Citie, when there neither appeared any ſigne of his having beene beholding to *Antiochus*, nor was found ſo much as what he had beene condemned to pay; then fell his accuſers, and all whoſe hands had been againſt him, into the indignation of *the People*. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. His kinred, friends, and Clients, made ſuch a Collection for him, as would have ſet him in better eſtate than before, if he had accepted it. He tooke no more than ſuch of his owne goods, as were of neceſſary uſe, being redeemed for him by his neereſt friends.

And thus began the civill warre of the *Tongue*, in the *Roman* pleadings: which had either not beene, or not beene much regardable, untill now, ſince the Punicke Warre. Security of danger from abroad; and ſome want of ſufficient employment, were eſpeciall helpes to the kindling of this fire; which firſt caught hold upon that great Worthy, to whoſe vertue *Rome* was indebted, for changing into ſo great ſecurity her extreme danger. But theſe factious contentions did no long while containe themſelves within heat of words, and cunning practice. For when the Art of leading the multitude, in ſuch quarrelſome buſineſſe, grew to perfection, they that found themſelves over-matched by their adverſaries at this kinde of weapon, began to make oppoſition, firſt, with clubs & ſtones, afterward with ſwords; and finally, proceeded from frayes & murders in the ſtreets, unto battaile in the open field. *Cornelia*, daughter of *Scipio* the *African*, a Lady of rare vertue, that in honour of her two ſons was more commonly named *Mother of the Gracchi*, ſaw thoſe her two ſons, whileſt they were but yong, ſlaughtered in *Rome*, together with ſome of their friends, by thoſe whom they oppoſed, and their death not revenged by order of Law, but rather approved by the Senate. At theſe times the Senatours began to take upon them authority, more than was to them belonging. They conferred upon the Conſuls all the whole power of the City, under this forme, *Let the Conſuls provide, that the Commonweale receive no detriment*. By this decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen *enemy to the State*, they thought to have wonne a great advantage over the multitude. But after the death of *C. Gracchus*, and of *Saturninus* a popular man, whom by ſuch authority they did put out of the way; it was not long ere *Marius*, a famous Captaine of theirs, was ſo condemned, who by force of armes returned into the Citie, and murdered all the principall Senators: whereupon began the civill warres; which giving unto *Sylla*, who prevailed therein, means to make himſelfe abſolute Lord of *Rome*, taught *Cæſar*, a man of higher ſpirit, to affect and obtaine the like ſoveraign power, when by the like Decree of the Senate he was provoked. It is true, that never any Conſull had finally cauſe to rejoyce, of his having put in execution ſuch authority to him committed by the Senate. But as the furie of the multitude, in paſſing their Lawes, by hurling of ſtones, and other violence, made the Citie ſtand in need of a Soveraigne Lord: ſo the vehemency of the Senate, in condemning as enemies thoſe that would not ſubmit themſelves, when they were over-topped by voyces in the Houſe, did compell *Cæſar*, or give him at leaſt pretence, to right himſelfe by armes: wherewith prevailing againſt his adverſaries, he tooke ſuch order, that neither Senate nor people, ſhould thenceforth be able to doe him wrong. So by inteſtine diſcord, the *Romans* conſuming all or moſt of their principall Citizens, loſt their owne freedome, and became ſubjects unto the arbitrary government of one: ſuffering this change in three generations, after this beginning of their inſolent rule, wherein they tooke upon them as the higheſt Lords on earth, to doe even what they liſted. Yet had not *Rome* indeed attained hitherto unto compleat greatneſſe, not beleeved of her ſelfe as if ſhe had, whileſt a King ſate crowned on the Throne of *Alexander*, continuing and upholding the reputation of a former Empire. Wherefore this conſummation of her honour was thought upon betimes. How it was effected, the ſequel will diſcover.

# Chap. VI.

## The ſecond Macedonian Warre.

### §. I.

*The Condition wherein thoſe Princes and Eſtates remained, which were aſſociates of the Romans, when the warre with* Antiochus *was finiſhed. The Romans quarrell with* Philip. *They deale inſolently with the Achæans. The Macedonian, being unreadie for warre, obtaines peace at Rome, by his ſon* Demetrius; *of whom thencefoorth he becomes jealous.*

AFTER the overthrow of *Antiochus*, although *Philip* of *Macedon*, *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, the Commonweale of the *Achæans*, and all other the States of *Greece*, were governed by the ſame Laws and Magiſtrates, as they formerly had been, before the arrivall of the *Romans* in thoſe parts: yet in very truth (the publique declaration excepted) they were none other than abſolute vaſſals to the People of *Rome*. For of thoſe five Prerogatives belonging to a Monarch, or unto Soveraign power, in whomſoever it reſt; namely, *To make Laws*, *To create Magiſtrates*, *To arbitrate Peace and Warre*, *To beate Monie*, & *to reſerve* (as the French call it) *le dernier Reſſort*, or *the laſt Appeales*, the *Romans* had aſſumed foure; and the greateſt of them ſo abſolutely, that is, *The Appeale*, or laſt reſort, as every petty injurie offered to each other by the forenamed Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the *Roman* Embaſſadours, or Commiſſioners, in thoſe places whence the Complaint came, or otherwiſe by the Senators themſelves within *Rome*; from whoſe arbitrement, or direction, if either King, or Common-weales, declined, He or they were beaten, and inforced to obedience, or had their Eſtates and Regalities utterly diſſolved. Nevertheleſſe it is true, that they had their owne Lawes, and Officers of their owne ordaining: yet ſo, as neither the Lawes were of force, when the *Romans* interpoſed their will to the contrary, neither was their election of Magiſtrates ſo free, as that they had not therein eſpeciall regard unto the good pleaſure of theſe their Maſters.

And to ſuch degree of ſervitude the ſeverall Eſtates of *Greece* did bow very gently: either as being thankefull for their deliverance from a yoke more ſenſibly grievous; or, as being skilfull in the Art of flattery, and therein taking delight, ſince therein conſiſted their chiefe hope of thriving; or, as being more fearefull of diſpleaſing the ſtrongeſt, than mindfull of their owne honour. But *Eumenes* living further off, & being moſt obſequious unto the *Romans*, was not, of long time, queſtioned about any of his doings: his conformity unto them in matter of war & peace, together with the diverſion of their thoughts another way, giving him leave to uſe his owne even as he liſted, untill they ſhould otherwiſe diſpoſe of him. Neither was it a little availeable to him, that his Kingdome bordered upon the Nations, by them not throughly ſubdued. For upon the ſame reaſon (as well as upon his owne high deſerts) were they very loving unto *Maſaniſſa*, and to his Houſe, untill *Carthage* was ruined, and their Dominion ſettled in *Africke*: as likewiſe afterwards to the Kings of *Mauritania*, *Cappadocia*, and others: holding people in ſubjection unto themſelves, by the Miniſtery of Kings; eſpecially of ſuch Kings, as were uſefull and obſequious unto them.

Now the *Macedonian* was of a more noble temper; & ſhewed himſelfe not forgetfull of his owne former greatneſſe, the honour of his race, or the high reputation of his Kingdome. But ſuch magnanimity was none otherwiſe conſtrued by the *Romans*, than as want of due reverence to their eſtate, and a valuation of himſelfe againſt them: which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not indure. Wherefore notwithſtanding that he had lately given paſſage to their Armies through his Country, prepared the wayes for them, and furniſhed them both with victualls, and other things needfull, to tranſport them over the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*, againſt *Antiochus*: yet upon the complaint of *Eumenes*, and the States of *Theſſalie* and *Thrace*, he was commanded to abandon the Cities of *Ænus* and

*Maronea*, with all Pieces and Places demanded by any of his neighbours; whereof many of them he had lately conquered, by direction, or licence, even from the *Romans* themſelves.

Theſe townes of *Ænus* and *Maronea* had beene part of *Lyſimachus* his Kingdome: who from *Thrace* Northwards, and to the Northweſt, extended his dominion very far. He is thought to have made himſelf Lord of *Tranſylvania*: in which Province it is ſaid, * That innumerable Medals of gold have beene found, in the age of our Grand-Fathers, each of them weighing two or three Crownes, and ſtamped with his Image on the one ſide, on the other ſide with *Victorie*. Of all theſe Lordſhips, the poſſeſſion, or rather the title (for he lived not to ſettle his eſtate in *Europe*) fell to *Seleucus Nicator* by right of war, wherein he vanquiſhed and ſlew *Lyſimachus*: as alſo, by the like right, *Ptolomy Ceraunus* thought them his owne, when he had murdered *Seleucus*. But the inundation of the *Gaules*, which the Kingdome of *Macedon* could not ſuſtaine, did ſhortly and eaſily waſh away from that crowne, together with the more part of *Thrace*, all thoſe heapes of land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Antigonus* the ſonne of *Demetrius*, and his ſucceſſors: though not much; for they were otherwiſe buſied. The furie of the *Gaules* being over-paſt, thoſe Countries which lately had beene oppreſſed by them, recovered their liberty; and not onely held it, but learned, ſome of them, eſpecially the *Dardanians* and wilde *Thracians*, to finde their advantages, and make uſe of them, even upon *Macedon*. Againſt the miſchiefs commonly done by theſe, King *Philip* did provide the moſt convenient remedies: by ſhutting up the wayes, whereby the *Dardanians* might enter into his Kingdome; and by occupying *Lyſimachia*, with ſome other townes in *Thrace*, which he fortified, as Bulwarkes of his owne Countrey, againſt the *Barbarians*. Now, although it behooved him thus to doe, for the defence of his owne eſtate: yet foraſmuch as theſe Townes were, in a manner, at abſolute libertie, his poſſeſſion of them was thought to partake more of violence than of juſtice. And in this reſpect he was formerly accuſed by the *Ætolians*, of wrongfull uſurpation and oppreſſion, in his having occupied *Lyſimachia*. Hereto hee made a good anſwer. That his Garriſon did only ſave it from the *Thracians*: who, as ſoone as he thence withdrew his men, did ſeize upon the Towne, and ruine it. The like perhaps he might have ſaid, touching *Ænus* and *Maronea*; That they were places unable to defend themſelves, and Gates, by which the *Barbarians* might have entrance into his Kingdome. But this Plea had not availed him, in the diſputation about *Lyſimachia*: & in the preſent queſtion, the *Romans* were not without their owne title; ſince *Antiochus* had gotten all the Country thereabout, whileſt *Philip* was buſied in his former warre: and ſince they, by their victory, had gotten unto themſelves all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he only ſubmitted his right unto the good pleaſure of the Senate: referring it unto their diſpoſition, Whether *Ænus* & *Maronea* ſhould be ſet at liberty: whether left in his hand, or whether beſtowed upon *Eumenes*; who begged them, as an appendix to *Lyſimachia* and *Cherſonneſus*, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine, he might eaſily perceive, by the demeanor of their Embaſſadors towards him: who ſitting as Judges betweene him and all that made complaint upon him, gave ſentence againſt him in every controverſie. Nevertheleſſe, he ſent Embaſſadours to *Rome*, there to maintaine his right unto theſe Townes; wherein he thought, that equity (if it might prevaile) was wholly on his ſide. For he had holpen their Conſuls in the warre againſt *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*: wherein whatſoever he had gotten for himſelfe, was now taken from him by their Embaſſadours: and would they now deprive him of thoſe two Towns, lying ſo fitly for the guard of his Kingdome, which he had gotten to himſelfe out of the ruines of *Antiochus*, like as out of his owne ruines *Antiochus* had gotten in thoſe quarters a great deale more? By ſuch allegations either he was likely to prevaile, or at leaſtwiſe to gaine time, wherein he might bethinke himſelfe what he had to doe. It was not long ere he had word from *Rome*, That the Senate were no more equall to him, than had beene their Embaſſadors. Wherefore, conſidering how inſolently the *Maronites* had behaved themſelves, in pleading againſt him for their liberty, he tooke counſell of his owne paſſions; and (as by nature he was very cruell) gave order to *Onomaſtus*, that was Warden of the Sea-coaſts, to handle theſe *Maronites* in ſuch ſort, as they might have little joy of the liberty by them ſo earneſtly deſired. *Onomaſtus* employed *Caſſander*, one of the Kings men dwelling in *Maronea*, and willed him to let in the *Thra-*

* Hiſt. of Hungarie by Mart. Fumee. lib. 5.

*cians* by night, that they might ſack the Towne, and uſe all cruelties of War. This vvas done: but ſo ill taken by the *Roman* Embaſſadors, who had better notice, than could have beene feared, of theſe proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more ſtrictly, than became his Majeſty, to an accompt. He would have removed the blame from himſelfe, and layed it even upon the *Maronites*: affirming, that they, in heat of their Factions, being ſome inclinable to him, other ſome to *Eumenes*, had fallen into ſuch outrage, that they had cut one anothers throates. And hereof he willed the Embaſſadors to enquire among the *Maronites* themſelves: as well knowing, that they who ſurvived, were either his owne friends; or ſo terrefied and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durſt not utter an offenſive word. But he found the *Romans* more ſevere, and more throughly informed in the buſineſſe, than to reſt contented with ſuch an anſwer. He was plainely told, That if he would diſcharge himſelfe of the crime objected; he muſt ſend *Onomaſtus* and *Caſſander* to *Rome*, there to be examined as the Senate ſhould thinke fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet he collected his ſpirits, and ſaid, that *Caſſander* ſhould be at their diſpoſition: but concerning *Onomaſtus*, who had not been at *Maronea*, nor neare to it, he requeſted them not to preſſe him; ſince it ſtood not with his honour ſo lightly to give away his friends. As for *Caſſander*, becauſe he ſhould tell no tales; Hee tooke order to have him poyſoned by the way. By this we ſee, that the doctrine, which *Machiavel* taught unto *Cæſar Borgia*, to imploy men in miſchievous actions, and afterwards to deſtroy them when they have performed the miſchiefe, was not of his owne invention. All ages have given us examples of this goodly policie, the latter having beene apt ſchollers in this leſſon to the more ancient: as the reigne of *Henry* the eighth, here in England, can beare good witneſſe; and therein eſpecially the Lord *Cromwell*, who periſhed by the ſame unjuſt Law that himſelfe had deviſed, for the taking away of another mans life.

Such actions of *Philip* made an unpleaſant noiſe at *Rome*, and were like to have brought upon him the Warre which he feared, before he was ready to entertaine it. Wherefore he employed his younger ſon *Demetrius* as Embaſſador unto the Senate: giving him inſtructions, how to make anſwer to all complaints, and withall to deliver his own grievances in ſuch wiſe, that if ought were amiſſe, yet might it appeare that he had been ſtrongly urged to take ſuch courſes. The ſumme of his Embaſſage was, to pacifie the *Romans*, and make all even for the preſent. *Demetrius* himſelfe was known to be very acceptable unto the Senate; as having been well approved by them, when he was Hoſtage in *Rome*: and therefore ſeemed the more likely to prevaile ſomewhat; were it onely in regard that would be borne unto his perſon.

Whileſt this buſineſſe with the *Macedonian* hung in ſuſpence, and whileſt he, by his readineſſe to make ſubmiſſion, ſeemed likely to divert from himſelfe ſome other way the *Roman* armes: the ſame Embaſſadors, that had beene Judges betweene him and his neighbours, made their progreſſe through the reſt of *Greece*; and tooke notice of the controverſies which they found betweene ſome Eſtates in the Countrey. The greateſt cauſe that was heard before them, was the complaint of the baniſhed *Lacedæmonians* againſt the *Achæans*. It was objected unto the *Achæans*, That they had committed a grievous ſlaughter upon many Citizens of *Lacedæmon*: That unto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing downe the walles of the City: as alſo further, in changing the Lawes, and abrogating the famous Inſtitutions of *Lycurgus*. Hereto *Lycortas*, then Pretor of the *Achæans*, made anſwer, That theſe baniſhed *Lacedæmonians*, who now tooke upon them to accuſe the Nation that had once protected them; were notoriouſly known to be the men, who had themſelves committed that murder, whereof ſhameleſly they laid the blame upon others: the *Achæans* having onely called thoſe unto judgement, that were ſuppoſed to bee chiefe Authors of a Rebellion againſt both them and the *Romans*: and theſe Plaintifes having ſlaine them, upon private, though juſt hatred, as they were comming to make anſwer for themſelves. Concerning their throwing downe the Walls of *Lacedæmon*, he ſaid it was moſt agreeable to *Lycurgus* his Ordinance: who, having perſwaded his Citizens to defend their Towne and liberty by their proper vertue, did inhibite unto them all kindes of fortifications: as the Retraits and Neſts either of Cowards, or (whereof *Lacedæmon* had wofull experience) of Tyrants and Uſurpers. Further he ſhewed, how the ſame Tyrants that had built theſe walls and hemmed in the *Spartans*, had alſo quite aboliſhed *Lycurgus* his ordinances; and governed the City by their owne lawleſſe Will. As for the *Achæans*; they communicated their owne Lawes, which they held for the beſt, or elſe would ſoone change them and take better, unto the *Lacedæmonians*; whom they found without Lawes, or any tolerable forme of policie. For concluſion, *Lycortas* plainely told *App. Claudius*, the chiefe of the Embaſſadors, That hee and his Countrimen held it ſtrange, being friends and faithfull Allies of the *Romans*, to ſee themſelves thus conſtrained, to anſwer and give account of their actions, as vaſſals and ſlaves unto the *people of Rome*. For if they were indeed at liberty: why might not the *Achæans* as well require to be ſatisfied about that which the *Romans* had done at *Capua*, as the *Romans* did buſie themſelves, to take account how things went at *Lacedæmon*? for if the *Romans* would ſtand upon their greatneſſe; and intimate as they began, that the liberty of their friends was nothing worth, longer than ſhould pleaſe themſelves to ratifie it: then muſt the *Achæans* have recourſe unto thoſe Agreements, that were confirmed by oath, and which without perjury could not be violated; as reverencing, and indeed fearing the *Romans*, but much more, the immortall gods. To this bold anſwer of *Lycortas*, *Appius* found little to reply. Yet taking ſtate upon him; he pronounced more like a Maſter than a Judge, That if the *Achæans* would not be ruled by faire meanes, and earne thankes whileſt they might; they ſhould be compelled with a miſchiefe, to doe what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This altercation was in the Parliament of the *Achæans*, which groned to heare the Lordly words of *Appius*. Yet feare prevailed above indignation: and it vvas permitted unto the *Romans* to doe as they liſted. Hereupon the Embaſſadors reſtored ſome baniſhed and condemned men: but the *Roman* Senate, very ſoone after, did make voyd all judgements of death or baniſhment, that had beene layd by the *Achæans*, upon any Citizen of *Lacedæmon*; as likewiſe they made it a matter of diſputation, whether or no the Citie and Territory of *Lacedæmon* ſhould be ſuffered to continue a member of the *Achæan* Common-wealth; or, taken from them, and made as it had been an Eſtate by it ſelfe. By bringing ſuch a matter into queſtion, the *Romans* well declared, That they held it to depend upon their owne will, how much or how little any of their Confederates ſhould be ſuffered enjoy: though by contributing *Sparta* to the Councell of *Achaia*, they diſcovered no leſſe, as to them ſeemed, the love which they bare unto the *Achaians*, than the power which they had over them.

Into ſuch ſlavery had the *Greeks*, and all Kings and Common-weales whatſoever, bordering upon any part of the Mediterran Seas, reduced themſelves; by calling in the *Romans* to their ſuccour. They wanted not the good counſell and perſwaſions of many wiſe and temperate men among them; they had alſo the examples of the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, and *Africans*, all ſubdued by the *Romans*; and, by ſeeking Patronage, made meere Vaſſals; to inſtruct them, what in the like caſe they ſhould expect: yet could not the true reaſons of Eſtate and Policy ſo prevaile with them, but their private paſſions, and neighbouring hatred, which hath evermore bought revenge at the price of ſelf-ruine, brought them from the honour which they enjoyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into moſt baſe and fearefull ſervility.

All this made well for *Philip* of *Macedon*: who though he ſaw the *Greekes* very farre from daring to ſtirre againſt thoſe, by whom both he and they were kept in awe; yet was he not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the *Romans* by freeing from his ſubjection, had made his implacable enemies) in hearty affection all the Countrey would be his, whenſoever he ſhould take Armes, as ſhortly he was like to doe. Young *Demetrius*, comming home from *Rome*, brought with him the deſired ratification of peace; though qualified with much indignity ſoone following. Hee had beene lovingly uſed at *Rome*, and heard with great favour in the Senate. There, being confounded with the multitude of objections, whereto his youth, unskilfull in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make anſwer: it was permitted unto him, to reade ſuch briefe notes as hee had received from his Father, and out of thoſe the Senate were contented to gather ſatisfaction; more for *Demetrius* his owne ſake, as they then ſaid, and wrote into *Macedon*, than for any goodneſſe in the defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the intreaty of his ſonne, together with ſome inſolence of his ſonne, growing (as appeared) from this favour of the *Romans*; did increaſe in *Philip* his hatred unto *Rome*, and breed in him a jealouſie of his too forward ſonne. To ſet him forward in theſe paſſions, there came daily new Embaſſadors from *Rome*, ſome bringing one commandement, ſome another; and ſome requiring him to fulfill thoſe things, which had beene impoſed upon him by their fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that obſerved his countenance: and when he had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge, that he had done things unwillingly, and would be obedient no longer than he needs muſt. With theſe Embaſſadors yong *Demetrius* was converſant: rather perhaps out of ſimplicity, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious reſpect; yet a great deale more than was pleaſing to his father. So the rumour grew current through all *Macedon*, That *Perſeus*, the elder ſon of the King, ſhould not ſucceed unto his father; but that the Diademe ſhould be conferred upon *Demetrius*, if not by ſome other pretence, yet by meere favour of the *Romans*. This offended not onely *Perſeus*, but *Philip* himſelfe: who ſuſpected his younger ſon, as more *Roman* than his owne; and accordingly miſ-conſtrued all his doings. But ere we proceed unto the bitter fruits of this jealouſie; it will not be amiſſe to ſpeak of ſome memorable accidents that were in the meane time.

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## §. II.

*The death of* Philopœmen, Hannibal, *and* Scipio. *That the Militarie profeſsion is of all other the moſt unhappy: notwithſtanding ſome examples, which may ſeeme to prove the contrary.*

THE *Romans* wanting other matter of quarrell in the Continent of *Greece*, had of late beene ſo peremptory with the *Achæans*; that they ſeemed not unlikely to take part againſt them, in any controverſie that ſhould be moved. Hereupon the *Meſſenians*, who againſt their will were annexed unto the *Achæan* Commonwealth, having long beene of a contrary Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themſelves from that Society, with purpoſe to ſet up againe an Eſtate of their owne, ſevered from communion with any other. This was the device of ſome that were powerfull in their City; who finding the multitude onely inclinable to their purpoſe, and not overſtrongly affected in the buſineſſe; were carefull to ſeeke occaſion of reducing things to ſuch paſſe, that all their Citizens might be entangled in a neceſsity of ſtanding out, and of not returning to the *Achæan* League. And hereupon they began to doe ſome acts of hoſtility; whereby it was probable that bloud ſhould bee drawne, and either ſide ſo farre exaſperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Upon the fame of their commotion and proceedings; *Philopœmen*, then Prætor of the *Achæans*, levied ſuch forces as he could in haſte, and went againſt them. Many principall Gentlemen of the *Achæans*, eſpecially of the *Megalopolitans*, were ſoon in a readineſs to wait upon him. Beſides theſe, which were all, or for the moſt part, Horſe, he had ſome Auxiliaries out of *Thrace* and *Crete*, that uſually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with *Dinocrates*, Captaine of the *Meſſenians*; whom he charged, and forced to runne. But whileſt his horſemen were too earneſt in following the chaſe; there arrived by chance a ſupply of five hundred from *Meſſene*, which gave new courage unto thoſe that fled. So the Enemies beganne to make head againe: and with the helpe of thoſe, who very ſeaſonably came to their aide, compelled *Philopœmens* Horſemen to turne backe. *Philopœmen* himſelfe had long beene ſicke of an Ague, and was then very weake: yet the greatneſſe of his courage would not ſuffer him to be negligent of their ſafety, which had ſo willingly adventured themſelves under his conduct. He tooke upon him to make the Retrait: and ſuffering his Horſemen to paſſe along by him in a narrow lane, he often turned about againſt the *Meſſenians*; whom the reputation, and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrefie from approaching over-neare to him. But it fell out unhappily, that being caſt to ground by a fall off his Horſe, and being withall in very weake plight of body, he was unable to get up againe. So the Enemies came upon him, and tooke him; yet ſcarce beleeved their fortune to be ſo good, although their eyes were witneſſes. The firſt meſſenger that brought theſe newes to *Meſſene*, was ſo farre from being beleeved, that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the Citie ranne forth to meete him, and behold the ſpectacle ſeeming ſo incredible. They cauſed him to be brought into the Theater, that there they might ſatisfie themſelves with beholding him. The greateſt part of them had compaſſion on his miſ-fortune: and in commemoration both of his vertue, and of the ſingular benefits by him done unto them, eſpecially in delivering them from *Nabis* the Tyrant; began to manifeſt their good will for his deliverie. Contrariwiſe, *Dinocrates* and his faction were deſirous haſtily to take away his life: becauſe they held him a man implacable, and one that would never leave any diſgrace, or injury, done to him, unrevenged. They durſt not one truſt another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a ſtrong Vault under ground, that had been made for the cuſtody of their Treaſure. So thither they let him downe faſt bound, and vvith an engine laid an heavie ſtone upon the mouth of the Vault. There he had not ſtayed long, ere his enemies had concluded his preſent death. The Hangman of the Citie was let downe unto him, vvith a cup of poyſon, which *Philopœmen* took in his hand: and aſking no more than whether the Horſmen were eſcaped, and particularly whether *Lycortas* was ſafe; when he heard an anſwer to his minde, he ſaid it was well: and ſo with a chearfull countenance, dranke his laſt draught. He was ſeventy yeares old, and weakned with long ſickneſſe, whereby the poyſon wrought the ſooner, and eaſily tooke away his life. The *Achæans*, vvhen they miſſed him in their flight, were marvellouſly offended with themſelves, for that they had been more mindefull to preſerve their owne lives, than to looke unto the ſafety of ſo excellent a Commander. Whileſt they were deviſing what to doe in ſuch a caſe: they got advertiſement of his being taken. All *Achaia* was by this report vehemently afflicted: ſo as Embaſſadors were forthwith diſpatched unto *Meſſene*, craving his enlargement: and yet preparation made withall, to obtaine it by force, in caſe that faire meanes would not ſerve. *Lycortas* was choſen Generall of the Army againſt *Meſſene*: who comming thither, and laying ſiege to the Towne, enforced it in ſhort ſpace to yeeld. Then *Dinocrates* knowing what he was to expect, laid hands upon himſelfe, and made an end of his owne life. The reſt of thoſe that had been partakers in the murder, were compelled to wait in bonds upon the aſhes of *Philopœmen* that were carried home in ſolemne pompe to *Megalopolis*; where they were all of them ſlaine at his funerall, as ſacrifices to his Ghoſt whom they had offended. *Q. Martius*, a *Roman* Embaſſador, was then in *Greece*; vvhence, upon one occaſion or other, the *Roman* Embaſſadors were ſeldome abſent. He vvould have entermedled in this buſineſſe of *Meſſene*, had not *Lycortas* made ſhort worke, and left him nothing to doe.

About the ſame time was *T. Quintius Flaminius* ſent Embaſſador to *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*: not ſo much to withdraw him from proſecuting the War againſt *Eumenes*, as to entreat him that he would deliver *Hannibal*, the moſt ſpightfull enemy in all the world unto the Senate and People of *Rome*, into his hands. *Pruſias* (therein unworthy of the Crowne he wore) did readily condeſcend: or rather (as *Livie* thinkes) to gratifie the *Romans*, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliver him alive to *Flaminius*. For upon the firſt conference betweene the King and *Flaminius*, a troupe of Souldiers were directed to guard and environ the lodging vvhere *Hannibal* lay. That famous Captaine having found cauſe before this to ſuſpect the faith of *Pruſias*, had deviſed ſome ſecret ſallies under-ground to ſave himſelfe from any treaſonable and ſudden aſſault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-cloſed, he had recourſe to his laſt remedy: vvhich he then was conſtrained to practiſe, as well to fruſtrate his enemies of their triumphing over him, as to ſave himſelfe from their torture and mercileſſe hands; who, as he well knew, would neither reſpect his famous enterpriſes, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he ſaw no vvay to eſcape, nor counſell to reſort unto, he tooke the poyſon into his hand, which he alwayes preſerved for a ſure Antidote againſt the ſharpeſt diſeaſes of adverſe fortune; which being ready to ſwallow downe, he uttered theſe vvords: *I will now* (ſaid he) *deliver the* Romans *of that feare which hath ſo many years poſſeſt them; that feare, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victory of* Flaminius, *over me, which am diſarmed, and betrayed into his hands, ſhall never be numbred among the reſt of his heroicall deeds: No, it ſhall make it manifeſt to all the Nations of the world, how farre the ancient* Roman *vertue is degenerate and corrupted. For ſuch was the nobleneſſe of their forefathers; as when* Pyrrhus *invaded them in* Italy, *and was ready to give them battell at their owne dores, they gave him knowledge of the treaſon intended againſt him by poyſon:*

*ſon; whereas theſe of a later race, have employed* Flaminius, *a man who hath heretofore beene one of their Conſuls, to practiſe with* Pruſias, *contrary to the honour of a King, contrary to his Faith given, and contrary to the Laws of Hoſpitality, to ſlaughter or deliver up his own Gueſt.* He then curſing the perſon of *Pruſias, and all his, and deſiring the immortall gods to revenge his infidelity,* dranke off the poyſon, and dyed.

In this year alſo (as good Authors have reported) to accompanie *Philopœmen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio* the *African:* theſe being all of them, as great Captains as ever the World had; but not more famous than unfortunate. Certainly, for *Hannibal*, whoſe Tragedy we have now finiſhed, had he beene Prince of the *Carthaginians*, and one who by his authority might have commanded ſuch ſupplies, as the War which he undertooke, required; it is probable, that he had torn up the *Roman* Empire by the roots. But he was ſo ſtrongly croſt by a cowardly and envious Faction at home; as his proper vertue, wanting publike force to ſuſtaine it, did laſtly diſſolve it ſelfe in his owne, and in the Common miſery of his Countrey and Common-weale.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the envie of our equals, and jealouſie of our Maſters, be they Kings or Common-weales, that there is no profeſſion more unproſperous than that of men of Warre, and great Captaines, being no Kings. For beſides the envie and jealouſie of men, the ſpoyles, rapes, famine, ſlaughter of the innocent, vaſtation, and burnings, with a world of miſeries laid on the labouring man, are ſo hatefull to God, as with good reaſon did *Monluc* the Marſhall of *France* confeſſe, That, *were not the mercies of* God *infinite, and without reſtriction, it were in vaine for thoſe of his profeſſion to hope for any portion of them: ſeeing the cruelties, by them permitted and committed, were alſo infinite.* Howſoever, this is true, That the victories which are obtained by many of the greateſt Commanders, are commonly either aſcribed to thoſe that ſerve under them, to Fortune, or the cowardiſe of the Nation againſt whom they ſerve. For the moſt of others, whoſe vertues have raiſed them above the levell of their inferiours, and have ſurmounted their envie: yet have they beene rewarded in the end, either with diſgrace, baniſhment, or death. Among the *Romans*, we finde many examples hereof; as *Coriolanus*, *M. Livius*, *L. Æmilius*, and this our *Scipio*, whom we have lately buried. Among the *Greekes* we reade of not many, that eſcaped theſe rewards. Yea, long before theſe times, it was a Legacie that *David* bequeathed unto his victorious Captaine *Joab*. With this fare *Alexander* feaſted *Parmenio*, *Philotas*, and others; and prepared it for *Antipater* and *Caſſander*. Hereto *Valentinian* the Emperour invited *Ætius:* who, after many other victories, overthrew *Attlia* of the *Hunnes*, in the greateſt battell for the well fighting and reſolution of both Armies, that ever was ſtrucken in the World; for there fell of thoſe that fought, beſide run-awayes, an hundred and foureſcore thouſand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told unto the Emperour by *Proximus*, That in killing of *Ætius*, he had cut off his owne right hand with his left: for it was not long after, that *Maximus* (by whoſe perſwaſion *Valentinian* ſlew *Ætius*) murdered the Emperor; which hee never durſt attempt, *Ætius* living. And, beſides the loſſe of that Emperour, it is true, That with *Ætius*, the glory of the Weſterne Empire was rather diſſolved, than obſcured. The ſame unworthy deſtiny, or a farre worſe, had *Belliſarius*; whoſe undertakings and victories were ſo difficult and glorious, as after-ages ſuſpected them for fabulous. For he had his eyes torne out of his head by *Juſtinian*: and hee died a blinde beggar. *Narſes* alſo, to the great prejudice of Chriſtian Religion, was diſgrac'd by *Juſtine*. That rule of *Cato* againſt *Scipio*, hath been well obſerved in every age ſince then; to wit, That the Common-weale cannot be accounted free, which ſtandeth in awe of any one man. And hence have the *Turkes* drawne another Principle, and indeed, a *Turkiſh* one: That every warlike Prince ſhould rather deſtroy his greateſt men of Warre, than ſuffer his owne glory to be obſcured by them. For this cauſe did *Bajazet* the ſecond diſpatch *Baſſa Acomat*; *Selim*, ſtrangle *Baſſa Muſtapha*; and moſt of thoſe Princes bring to ruine the moſt of their *Viſiers*. Of the *Spaniſh* Nation, the great *Gonſalvo*, who drave the *French* out of *Naples*: and *Ferdinando Corteſe*, who conquered *Mexico*; were crowned with nettles, not with Lawrell. The Earles of *Egmond* and *Horn* had no heads left them to weare garlands on. And that the great Captaines of all Nations have beene paid with this copper Coine; there are examples more than too many. On the contrary, it may be ſaid, That many have acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great ability in matter of Warre. This I confeſſe. Yet muſt it be had withall in conſideration, that theſe high places have been given or offered unto very few, as rewards of their military vertue; though many have uſurped them, by the helpe and favour of thoſe Armies which they commanded. Neither is it unregardable, That the Tyrants which have oppreſſed the liberty of free Cities: and the Lievtenants of Kings or Emperours, which have traiterouſly caſt downe their Maſters, and ſtepped up into their ſeats; were not all of them good men of Warre: but have uſed the advantage of ſome commotion, or many of them by baſe and cowardly practices, have obtained thoſe dignities, which undeſervedly were aſcribed to their perſonall worth. So that the number of thoſe that have purchaſed abſolute greatneſſe by the greatneſſe of their warlike vertue; is farre more in ſeeming than in deed. *Phocas* vvas a Souldier, and by helpe of the Souldiers he got the Empire from his Lord *Mauritius*: but he was a coward; and with a barbarous cruelty, ſeldome found in any other than Cowards, he ſlew firſt the children of *Mauritius*, a Prince that never had done him wrong, before his face, and after them *Mauritius* himſelfe. This his bloudy aſpiring was but as a debt, which was paid unto him againe by *Heraclius*: who tooke from him the imperiall Crowne, unjuſtly gotten; and ſet it on his owne head. *Leontius* laid hold upon the Emperour *Juſtine*, cut off his noſe and eares, and ſent him into baniſhment: but Gods vengeance rewarded him with the ſame puniſhment, by the hands of *Tiberius*; to whoſe charge he had left his owne men of Warre. *Juſtine*, having recovered forces, lighted on *Tiberius*, and barbed him after the ſame faſhion. *Philippicus* commanding the forces of *Juſtine*, murdered both the Emperour and his ſonne. *Anaſtaſius*, the vaſſall of this new Tyrant, ſurpriſed his Maſter *Philippicus*, and thruſt out both his eyes. But with *Anaſtaſius*, *Theodoſius* dealt more gently: for having wreſted the Scepter out of his hands, he enforced him to become a Prieſt. It were an endleſſe and a needleſſe worke to tell, how *Leo* rewarded this *Theodoſius*; how many others have beene repayed with their owne cruelty, by men alike ambitious and cruell; or how many hundreds, or rather thouſands, hoping of Captaines to make themſelves Kings, have by Gods juſtice miſerably periſhed in the attempt. The ordinary, and perhaps the beſt way of thriving by the practice of Armes, is to take what may be gotten by the ſpoyle of Enemies, and the liberality of thoſe Princes and Cities, in whoſe ſervice one hath well deſerved. But ſcarce one of a thouſand have proſpered by this courſe. For that obſervation, made by *Salomon*, of unthankfulneſſe in this kinde, hath beene found belonging to all Countries and Ages: *A little Citie, and few men in it, and a great King came againſt it, and compaſſed it about, and builded Forts againſt it: And there was found a poore and wiſe man therein, and he delivered the Citie by his wiſedome: but none remembred this poore man.* Great Monarchs are unwilling to pay great thankes, leſt thereby they ſhould acknowledge themſelves to have beene indebted for great benefits; which the unwiſer ſort of them think to ſavour of ſome impotency in themſelves. But in this reſpect they are oftentimes couſened and abuſed; which proves that weakeneſſe to be in them indeed, whereof they ſo gladly ſhun the opinion. Contrariwiſe, free Eſtates are bountifull in giving thankes; yet ſo, as thoſe thanks are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Captaines have made, by enriching themſelves with the ſpoyle of the Enemy, they are very inquiſitive to ſearch into it, and to ſtrip the well-deſervers out of their gettings: yea moſt injuriouſly to rob them of their owne, upon a falſe ſuppoſition: that even they whoſe hands are moſt cleane from ſuch offences, have purloyned ſomewhat from the common Treaſurie. Hereof I need not to produce examples: that of the two *Scipio*'s being ſo lately recited.

Eccl. 9. 14. & 15.

In my late Soveraignes time, although for the Warres, which for her owne ſafety ſhe was conſtrained to undertake, her Majeſty had no leſſe cauſe to uſe the ſervice of Martiall men both by Sea and Land, than any of her Predeceſſors for many years had: yet according to the deſtiny of that profeſſion, I do not remember that any of hers, the Lord Admirall excepted, her eldeſt, and moſt proſperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwiſe honoured, for any ſervice by them performed. And that her Majeſty had many adviſed, valiant, and faithfull men, the proſperity of her affaires did well witneſſe, who in all her daies never received diſhonour, by the cowardize or infidelity of any Commander, by her ſelfe choſen and imployed.

For as all her old Captaines by Land died poore men, as *Malbey*, *Randol*, *Drewrie*, *Reade*, *Wilford*, *Layton*, *Pellam*, *Gilbert*, *Conſtable*, *Bourchier*, *Barkeley*, *Bingham*, and others:

ſo thoſe of a later and more dangerous imployment, whereof *Norrice* and *Vere* were the moſt famous, and who have done as great honour to our Nation (for the means they had) as ever any did: thoſe (I ſay) with many other brave Colonels, have left behind them (beſides the reputation which they purchaſed with many travels and wounds) nor title nor eſtate to their poſteritie. As for the L. *Thomas Burrough*, and *Peregrine Berty*, L. *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the world their Titles and Eſtates.

That her Majeſtie in the advancement of her Men of warre did ſooner beleeve other men than her ſelfe, a diſeaſe unto which many wiſe Princes, beſides her ſelfe, have beene ſubject; I ſay that ſuch a confidence, although it may ſeem altogether to excuſe her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in ſome ſort accuſe her of weakeneſſe. And exceeding ſtrange it were, were not the cauſe manifeſt enough, that where the proſperous actions are ſo exceedingly prized, the Actors are ſo unproſperous and ſo generally neglected. The cauſe, I ſay, which hath wrought one and the ſame effect in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that thoſe which are neereſt the perſon of Princes (which Martiall men ſeldome are) can with no good grace commend, or at leaſt magnifie a profeſſion far more noble than their own, ſeeing therein they ſhould onely mind their Maſters of the wrong they did unto others, in giving leſſe honor and reward to men of far greater deſerving, and of far greater uſe than themſelves.

But his Majeſtie hath already paid the greateſt part of that debt. For beſides the relieving by Penſions all the poorer ſort, hee hath honoured more Martiall men than all the Kings of England have done for this hundred yeers.

He hath given a Coronet to the Lord *Thomas Howard* for his chargeable and remarkable ſervice, as well in the yeere 1588. as at *Caliz*, the Ilands, and in our owne Sea; having firſt commanded as a Captain, twice Admirall of a Squadron, and twice Admirall in chiefe. His Majeſtie hath changed the Baronies of *Montjoy* and *Burley* into Earldomes; and created *Sidney* Vicount, *Knolles*, *Ruſſel*, *Carew*, *Danvers*, *Arundel* of Warder, *Gerald*, and *Chicheſter*, Barons, for their governments and ſervices in the *Netherlands*, *France*, *Ireland*, and elſewhere.

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## §. III.

Philip, *making proviſion for war againſt the Romans, deals hardly with many of his own ſubjects. His negotiation with the Baſtarnæ. His cruelty. He ſuſpecteth his ſon* Demetrius. Demetrius *accuſed by his brother* Perſeus; *and ſhortly after ſlain by his fathers appointment.* Philip *repenteth him of his ſons death, whom he findeth to haue bin innocent: and intending to revenge it on* Perſeus, *he dieth.*

Q*uintius Martius* the *Roman* Embaſſador, who travelled up and downe, ſeeking what worke might be found about *Greece*, had received inſtruction from the Senate, to uſe the moſt of his diligence in looking into the Eſtate of *Macedon*. At his returne home, that he might not ſeeme to have diſcovered nothing, he told the *Fathers*, That *Philip* had done whatſoever they enjoyned him; yet ſo, as it might appear, that ſuch his obedience would laſt no longer, than meere neceſſity ſhould enforce him thereunto. He added further, That all the doings and ſayings of that King did wholly tend unto rebellion, about which he was deviſing. Now it was ſo indeed, that *Philip* much repented him of his faithfull obſequiouſneſſe to the *Romans*, and foreſaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdome into their owne hands; with ſafety of their honour, if they could finde convenient means; or otherwiſe (as to him ſeemed apparent) by what meanes ſoever. He was in an ill caſe: as having beene already vanquiſhed by them; having loſt exceedingly both in ſtrength and reputation; having ſubjects that abhorred to heare of Warre with *Rome*; and having neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto urged, would adventure to take his part: yet he provided as well as he could deviſe, againſt the neceſſity which he daily feared. Such of his owne people as dwelt in the maritime Townes, and gave him cauſe to ſuſpect that they would doe but bad ſervice againſt the *Romans*, he compelled to forſake their dwellings, and removed them all into *Emathia*. The Cities and Country, whence theſe were tranſplanted, hee filled with a multitude of *Thracians*, whoſe faith he thought a great deale more aſſured againſt thoſe enemies that were terrible to the *Macedonians*. Further, he deviſed upon alluring the *Baſtarnæ*, a ſtrong and hardie Nation, that dwelt beyond the river of *Danubius*, to abandon their ſeat, and come to him with all their multitude: who beſides other great rewards, would helpe them to root out the *Dardanians*, and take poſſeſſion of their Country. Theſe were like to doe him notable ſervice againſt the *Romans*: being not onely ſtout fighting men, but ſuch, as being planted in thoſe quarters by him, would beare reſpect unto him alone. The leaſt benefit that could be hoped by their arrivall, muſt be the utter extirpation of the *Dardanians*; a People alwayes troubleſome to the Kingdome of *Macedon*, whenſoever they found advantage. Neither was it judged any hard matter, to perſwade thoſe *Baſtarnæ*, by hope of ſpoyle, and other incitements, unto a more deſperate Expedition, through *Illyria*, and the Countries upon the *Adriaticke* Sea, into *Italie* it ſelfe. It was not knowne who ſhould withſtand them upon the way: rather it was thought, that the *Scordiſci*, and peradventure ſome others, through whoſe Countries they were to paſſe, would accompanie them againſt the *Romans*, were it onely in hope of ſpoyle. Now to facilitate the remove of theſe *Baſtarnæ* from their own habitations, into the Land of the *Dardanians*, upon the border of *Macedon*; a long and tedious journey unto them, that carried with them their wives and children: *Philip* with gifts did purchaſe the good will of ſome *Thracian* Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to paſſe. And thus hee ſought meanes to ſtrengthen himſelfe, with helpe of the wilde Nations, which neither knew the *Romans*, nor were knowne unto them; ſince he was not like to finde aſſiſtance from any civill Nation, about the whole compaſſe of the *Mediterranean* Seas. But theſe devices were long ere they tooke effect: ſo as the *Baſtarnæ* came not before ſuch time as he was dead; his death being the overthrow of that purpoſe. In the meane time he neglected not the trayning of his men to war, and the exerciſe of them in ſome ſmall Expeditions, againſt thoſe wild people that bordered upon him, and ſtood worſt affected toward him.

But theſe his counſels and proceedings were miſerably diſturbed by the calamities that fell upon him, both in his Kingdome, and in his owne houſe. The Families and whole Townſhips, which he had cauſed much againſt their wils to forſake their ancient dwellings, and betake themſelves to ſuch new habitations, as he in his diſcretion thought meeter for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at firſt contained it ſelfe within words: he having done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwiſe than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long lived: which alſo he did unwillingly, being himſelfe over-ruled by neceſſitie, that ſeemed apparent. This evill therefore would ſoone have beene determined, had not his cruell and vindicative nature made it worſe. He could not pardon words proceeding from juſt ſorrow: but imputed all to traiterous malice; and accordingly ſought revenge where it was needleſſe. In his rage he cauſed many to die: among whom were ſome eminent men; and few or none of them deſervedly. This increaſed the hatred of the people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curſes. Which grew the more generall, when the King in a barbarous and baſe furie, miſtruſting all alike whom hee had injured, thought himſelfe unlike to be ſafe, untill hee ſhould have maſſacred all the children of thoſe parents, whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his unmanly pleaſure, ſome accidents, more tragicall than perhaps he could have deſired, gave men cauſe to thinke (as they could not in reaſon thinke otherwiſe) that, not without vengeance powred on him from Heaven, hee felt the like miſerie in his owne children. It is hard to ſay what the *Romans* intended, in the extraordinary favour which they ſhewed unto *Demetrius*, the Kings younger ſonne. It may well be (though it may be alſo ſuſpected) that they had no purpoſe to make and nouriſh diſſention betweene the brethren, but onely to cheriſh the vertue and towardlineſſe of *Demetrius*; like as we find it in their Hiſtories. But their notable favour towards this young Prince, and his mutuall reſpect of them, bred extreme jealouſie in the fathers head. If any cuſtome of the *Romans*, the manner of their life, the faſhion of their apparell, or the unſightly contriving and building (as then it was) of the Towne of *Rome*, were jeſted at in ordinary diſcourſe and table-take, *Demetrius* was ſure to be preſently on fire, defending and praiſing them, even in ſuch points as rather needed excuſe. This, and his daily converſation with their Embaſſadours, as often as they came, gave his father cauſe to thinke, that he was no fit partaker of any counſell held againſt them. Wherefore he communicated all his devices with his elder ſon *Perſeus*: who fearing ſo much leſt his brother ſhould ſtep betweene him and the ſucceſſion, converted wholly unto his deſtruction, that grace which he had with his father. *Perſeus* was then thirty yeeres old; of a ſtirring ſpirit, though much defective in valour. *Demetrius* was younger by five yeeres, more open and unwarie in his actions, yet thought old and crafty enough, to entertaine more dangerous practices, than his free ſpeeches diſcovered. The jealous head of the King having entertained ſuch ſuſpitions, that were much increaſed by the cunning practice of his elder ſonne, a ſlight occaſion made the fire breake out, that had long layne ſmothered. A Muſter, and ceremonious luſtration of the Armie, was wont to be made at certaine times with great ſolemnitie. The manner of it at the preſent was thus: They cleft in twaine a bitch, and threw the head and fore-part, with the entrailes, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way which the Armie was to paſſe. This done, the armes of all the Kings of *Macedon*, from the very firſt originall, were borne before the Armie. Then followed the King betweene his two ſonnes: after him came his owne band, and they of his guard; whom all the reſt of the *Macedonians* followed. Having performed other ceremonies, the Armie was divided into two parts: which, under the Kings two ſonnes, charged each other in manner of a true fight, uſing poles, and the like, in ſtead of their pikes and accuſtomed weapons. But in this preſent ſkirmiſh there appeared ſome extraordinary contention for the victory: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captaines did over-earneſtly ſeeke each to get the upper hand, as a betokening of their good ſucceſſe in a greater triall. Some ſmall hurt there was done, and wounds given, even with thoſe ſtakes, untill *Perſeus* his ſide at length recoyled. *Perſeus* himſelfe was ſorry for this, as it had been ſome bad preſage: but his friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good uſe. They were of the craftier ſort: who, perceiving which way the Kings favour bent, and how all the courſes of *Demetrius* led unto his owne ruine, addreſſed their ſervices to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they ſaid, that this victory of *Demetrius* would affoord matter of complaint againſt him; as if the heate of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of that ſolemne paſtime. Each of the brethren was that day to feaſt his owne companions, and each of them had ſpies in the others lodging, to obſerve what was ſaid and done. One of *Perſeus* his Intelligencers behaved himſelfe ſo indiſcreetly, that he was taken & well beaten by three or four of *Demetrius* his men, who turned him out of doores. After ſome ſtore of wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would goe viſit his brother, and ſee what cheare he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting ſuch of them as had ill handled his brothers man: yet hee would leave none of his traine behinde, but forced them all to beare him company. They, fearing to be ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themſelves ſecretly to prevent all danger. Yet was there ſuch good eſpiall kept, that this their comming armed was forthwith made knowne to *Perſeus*: who thereupon tumultuouſly locked up his doores, as if he ſtood in feare to be aſſaulted in his houſe. *Demetrius* wondred to ſee himſelfe excluded, and fared very angerly with his brother. But *Perſeus* bidding him be gone as an enemie, and one whoſe murdrous purpoſe was detected, ſent him away with entertainment no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder brother accuſed the younger unto the father of them both. Much there was alledged, & in effect the ſame that hath bin here recited, ſave that by miſconſtruction all was made worſe. But the maine point of the accuſation, and which did aggravate all the reſt, was, That *Demetrius* had undertaken this murder, and would perhaps alſo dare to undertake a greater, upon confidence of the *Romans*; by whom he knew that he ſhould be defended and borne out. For *Perſeus* made ſhew, as if the *Romans* did hate him; becauſe he bore a due reſpect unto his father, and was ſorry to ſee him ſpoyled, and daily robbed of ſomewhat by them. And for this cauſe he ſaid it was, that they did animate his brother againſt him: as alſo that they ſought how to winne unto *Demetrius* the love of the *Macedonians*. For proofe hereof he cited a letter, ſent of late from *Titus Quintius* to the king himſelfe: whereof the contents were, That he had done wiſely in ſending *Demetrius* to *Rome*; and that hee ſhould yet further doe well to ſend him thither againe, accompanied with a greater and more honourable traine of *Macedonian* Lords. Hence he enforced, That this counſell was given by *Titus*, of purpoſe to ſhake the allegiance of thoſe, that

ſhould wait upon his brother to *Rome*; and make them, forgetting their duties to their old King, become ſervants to this yong Traytor *Demetrius*. Hereto *Demetrius* made anſwer, by rehearſing all paſſages of the day and night foregoing, in ſuch manner as he remembred them, and had conceived of them: bitterly reprehending *Perſeus*, that converted matters of Paſtime, and what was done or ſpoken in wine, to ſuch an accuſation, whereby he ſought his innocent brothers death. As for the love which the *Romans* did beare him, he ſaid that it grew, if not by his owne vertue, at leaſtwiſe from their opinion thereof: ſo as by any impious practice, he were more like to loſe it wholly, than to increaſe it. In this wretched pleading there wanted not ſuch paſſions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren; beſides thoſe that are common to all Plaintiffes and Defendants, before ordinary Judges. The King pronounced like a father, though a jealous father, That he would conclude nothing upon the exceſſe or error, whatſoever it were, of one day and night, nor upon one houres audience of the matter, but upon better obſervation of their lives, manners, and whole carriage of themſelves both in word and deed. And herein he may ſeeme to have dealt both juſtly and compaſſionately. But from this time forward he gave himſelf over wholly to *Perſeus*: uſing ſo little conference with his yonger ſon, that when he had matters of weight in hand, ſuch eſpecially as concerned the *Romans*, he liked neither to have him preſent, nor neere unto him. Above all, he had eſpeciall care, to learne out what had paſſed between *Demetrius* and *T. Quintius*, or any other of the *Roman* great ones. And to this purpoſe he ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, *Philocles* and *Apelles*; men whom he thought no way intereſſed in the quarrels between the brethren; though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they ſaw the more in grace. Theſe brought home with them a letter, ſaid to be written by *Titus* (whoſe ſeale they had counterfeited) unto the King. The contents whereof were, A deprecation for the young Prince; with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthful and ambitious deſires, had cauſed him to enter into practices unjuſtifiable, againſt his elder brother; which yet ſhould never take effect: for that *Titus* himſelfe would not be author, or abettor of any impious device. This maner of excuſe did forcibly perſwade the King to thinke his ſon a dangerous Traytor. To ſtrengthen him in this opinion, one *Didas*, to whom he gave *Demetrius* in cuſtodie, made ſhew as if he had pittied the eſtate of the un
happy Prince; and ſo wrung out of him his ſecret intentions, which he ſhortly diſcove
unto *Philip*. It was the purpoſe of *Demetrius* to flye ſecretly to *Rome*; where he m
hope not only to live in ſafety, from his father and brother, but in greater likelihood
he could finde at home, of bettering ſuch claime as he had in reverſion unto the Cro
of *Macedon*. Whatſoever his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought through
falſhood of *Didas*; who, playing on both hands, offered unto the Prince his helpe for ma
king the eſcape, and in the meane while revealed the whole mater to the King. So *Philip* reſolved to put his ſon to death, without further expence of time. It was thought behovefull to make him away privily, for feare leſt the *Romans* ſhould take the matter to heart, and hold it as a proofe ſufficient, at leaſt, of the Kings deſpight againſt them, if not of his meaning to renew the war. *Didas* therefore was commanded to rid the unhappy Prince out of his life. This accurſed Miniſter of his Kings unadviſed ſentence, firſt gave poyſon to *Demetrius*: which wrought neither ſo haſtily, nor ſo ſecretly, as was deſired. Hereupon he ſent a couple of Ruffians, to finiſh the tragedie: who villainouſly accompliſhed their work, by ſmothering that Prince, in whoſe life conſiſted the greateſt hope of *Macedon*.

In all the race of *Antigonus* there had not beene found a King, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his owne bloud. The houſes of *Lyſimachus* and *Caſſander* fell either with themſelves, or even upon their heeles; by inteſtine diſcord and jealouſies, grounded on deſire of ſoveraigne rule, or feare of loſing it. By the like unnaturall hatred, had almoſt bin cut off the lines of *Ptolomie* and of *Seleucus*: which, though narrowly they eſcaped the danger, yet were their kingdomes thereby grievouſly diſtempered. Contrariwiſe, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that upſtart family of the Kings of *Pergamus* had raiſed it ſelfe to marvellous greatneſſe, in very ſhort ſpace, from the condition of meere ſlavery: whereof a principall cauſe was, the brotherly love maintained by them, with ſingular commendation of their piety. Neither was *Philip* ignorant of theſe examples; but is ſaid to have propounded the laſt of them to his owne children, as a patterne for them to imitate. Certainely he had reaſon ſo to doe: not more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender foſterage, wherewith King *Antigonus* his Tutor had faithfully cheriſhed him in his minority. But he was himſelfe of an unmercifull nature; and therefore unmeet to be a good perſwader unto kindly affection. The murders by him done upon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the ſatiating of his bloud-thirſty appetite, he delightfully had committed upon many innocents, both ſtrangers, and ſubjects of his owne; did now procure vengeance downe from Heaven, that rewarded him with a draught of his owne Poyſon. After the death of his ſonne, he too late began to examine the crimes that had beene objected; and to weigh them in a more equall ballance. Then found he nothing that could give him ſatisfaction, or by good probabilitie induce him to thinke, that malice had not bin contriver of the whole proceſſe. His onely remaining ſon *Perſeus* could ſo ill diſſemble the pleaſure which hee tooke, in being freed from all danger of competition, as there might eaſily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from ſome other cauſe, than the remove of thoſe dangers which he had lately pretended. The *Romans* were now no leſſe to bee feared than at other times; when he, as having accompliſhed the moſt of his deſires, left off his uſuall trouble of minde, and carefulneſſe of making proviſion againſt them. He was more diligently courted, than in former times, by thoſe that well underſtood the difference betweene a riſing and a ſetting Sunne. As for old *Philip*, he was left in a manner deſolate, ſome expecting his death, and ſome ſcarce enduring the tediousneſſe of ſuch expectation. This bred in the King a deepe melancholy; and filled his head with ſuſpitious imaginations; the like whereof he had never beene ſlow to apprehend. He was much vexed: and ſo much the more, for that he knew neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complaine. One honourable man, a Couſin of his, named *Antigonus*, continued ſo true to *Philip*, that he grew thereby hatefull to *Perſeus*: and thus becomming ſubject unto the ſame jealous impreſſions which troubled the King, became alſo partaker of his ſecrets. This Counſellor, when he found that the anger conceived againſt *Perſeus* would not vent it ſelfe, and give eaſe to the King, untill the truth were known whether *Demetrius* were guilty or no of the treaſon objected; as alſo that *Philo*- [illegible]*les* and *Apelles*, (the Embaſſadours which had brought from *Rome* that Epiſtle of *Fla*- [illegible]*ius*, that ſerved as the greateſt evidence againſt *Demetrius*) were ſuſpected of forgery [illegible] e buſineſſe: made diligent inquirie after the truth. In thus doing, he found one *Xy*- [illegible] man moſt likely to have underſtood what falſe dealing was uſed by thoſe Embaſ- [illegible]s. Him he apprehended, brought to the Court, and preſented unto the King: ſay- [illegible] hat this fellow knew all, and muſt therefore be made to utter what he knew. *Xychus* [illegible] feare of torture, uttered as much as was before ſuſpected: confeſsing againſt himſelf, that he had beene employed by the Embaſſadors in that wicked piece of buſineſſe. No marvell, if the Fathers paſsions were extreme, when he underſtood that by the unnaturall practice of one ſonne, he had ſo wretchedly caſt away another, farre more vertuous and innocent. He raged exceedingly againſt himſelfe, and withall againſt the Authors of the miſchiefe. 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He had reigned about two and forty yeeres: alwaies full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexing himſelfe with continuall warres; of which that with the *Romans* was moſt unhappy, and few or none of the reſt found the concluſion, which a wiſe Prince would have deſired, of bringing forth together both honour and profit. But for all the evill that befell him, he might thanke his own perverſe condition: ſince his Uncle, King *Antigonus*, had left unto him an eſtate, ſo great, and ſo well ſettled, as made it eaſie for him, to accompliſh any moderate deſires, if he had not abhorred all good counſell. Wherefore he was juſtly puniſhed by feeling the difference between the imaginary happineſſe of a Tyrant, which he affected, and the ſhould wait upon his brother to *Rome*; and make them, forgetting their duties to their old King, become ſervants to this yong Traytor *Demetrius*. Hereto *Demetrius* made anſwer, by rehearſing all paſſages of the day and night foregoing, in ſuch manner as he remembred them, and had conceived of them: bitterly reprehending *Perſeus*, that converted matters of Paſtime, and what was done or ſpoken in wine, to ſuch an accuſation, whereby he ſought his innocent brothers death. As for the love which the *Romans* did beare him, he ſaid that it grew, if not by his owne vertue, at leaſtwiſe from their opinion thereof: ſo as by any impious practice, he were more like to loſe it wholly, than to increaſe it. In this wretched pleading there wanted not ſuch paſſions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren; beſides thoſe that are common to all Plaintiffes and Defendants, before ordinary Judges. The King pronounced like a father, though a jealous father, That he would conclude nothing upon the exceſſe or error, whatſoever it were, of one day and night, nor upon one houres audience of the matter, but upon better obſervation of their lives, manners, and whole carriage of themſelves both in word and deed. And herein he may ſeeme to have dealt both juſtly and compaſſionately. But from this time forward he gave himſelf over wholly to *Perſeus*: uſing ſo little conference with his yonger ſon, that when he had matters of weight in hand, ſuch eſpecially as concerned the *Romans*, he liked neither to have him preſent, nor neere unto him. Above all, he had eſpeciall care, to learne out what had paſſed between *Demetrius* and *T. Quintius*, or any other of the *Roman* great ones. And to this purpoſe he ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*, *Philocles* and *Apelles*; men whom he thought no way intereſſed in the quarrels between the brethren; though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they ſaw the more in grace. Theſe brought home with them a letter, ſaid to be written by *Titus* (whoſe ſeale they had counterfeited) unto the King. The contents whereof were, A deprecation for the young Prince; with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthful and ambitious deſires, had cauſed him to enter into practices unjuſtifiable, againſt his elder brother; which yet ſhould never take effect: for that *Titus* himſelfe would not be author, or abettor of any impious device. This maner of excuſe did forcibly perſwade the King to thinke his ſon a dangerous Traytor. To ſtrengthen him in this opinion, one *Didas*, to whom he gave *Demetrius* in cuſtodie, made ſhew as if he had pittied the eſtate of the unhappy Prince; and ſo wrung out of him his ſecret intentions, which he ſhortly diſcovered unto *Philip*. It was the purpoſe of *Demetrius* to flye ſecretly to *Rome*; where he might hope not only to live in ſafety, from his father and brother, but in greater likelihood, than he could finde at home, of bettering ſuch claime as he had in reverſion unto the Crowne of *Macedon*. Whatſoever his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought through the falſhood of *Didas*; who, playing on both hands, offered unto the Prince his helpe for making the eſcape, and in the meane while revealed the whole mater to the King. So *Philip* reſolved to put his ſon to death, without further expence of time. It was thought behovefull to make him away privily, for feare leſt the *Romans* ſhould take the matter to heart, and hold it as a proofe ſufficient, at leaſt, of the Kings deſpight againſt them, if not of his meaning to renew the war. *Didas* therefore was commanded to rid the unhappy Prince out of his life. This accurſed Miniſter of his Kings unadviſed ſentence, firſt gave poyſon to *Demetrius*: which wrought neither ſo haſtily, nor ſo ſecretly, as was deſired. Hereupon he ſent a couple of Ruffians, to finiſh the tragedie: who villainouſly accompliſhed their work, by ſmothering that Prince, in whoſe life conſiſted the greateſt hope of *Macedon*.

In all the race of *Antigonus* there had not beene found a King, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his owne bloud. The houſes of *Lyſimachus* and *Caſſander* fell either with themſelves, or even upon their heeles; by inteſtine diſcord and jealouſies, grounded on deſire of ſoveraigne rule, or feare of loſing it. By the like unnaturall hatred, had almoſt bin cut off the lines of *Ptolomie* and of *Seleucus*: which, though narrowly they eſcaped the danger, yet were their kingdomes thereby grievouſly diſtempered. Contrariwiſe, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that upſtart family of the Kings of *Pergamus* had raiſed it ſelfe to marvellous greatneſſe, in very ſhort ſpace, from the condition of meere ſlavery: whereof a principall cauſe was, the brotherly love maintained by them, with ſingular commendation of their piety. Neither was *Philip* ignorant of theſe examples; but is ſaid to have propounded the laſt of them to his owne children, as a patterne for them to imitate. Certainely he had reaſon ſo to doe: not more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender foſterage, wherewith King *Antigonus* his Tutor had faithfully cheriſhed him in his minority. But he was himſelfe of an unmercifull nature; and therefore unmeet to be a good perſwader unto kindly affection. The murders by him done upon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the ſatiating of his bloud-thirſty appetite, he delightfully had committed upon many innocents, both ſtrangers, and ſubjects of his owne; did now procure vengeance downe from Heaven, that rewarded him with a draught of his owne Poyſon. After the death of his ſonne, he too late began to examine the crimes that had beene objected; and to weigh them in a more equall ballance. Then found he nothing that could give him ſatisfaction, or by good probabilitie induce him to thinke, that malice had not bin contriver of the whole proceſſe. His onely remaining ſon *Perſeus* could ſo ill diſſemble the pleaſure which hee tooke, in being freed from all danger of competition, as there might eaſily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from ſome other cauſe, than the remove of thoſe dangers which he had lately pretended. The *Romans* were now no leſſe to bee feared than at other times; when he, as having accompliſhed the moſt of his deſires, left off his uſuall trouble of minde, and carefulneſſe of making proviſion againſt them. He was more diligently courted, than in former times, by thoſe that well underſtood the difference betweene a riſing and a ſetting Sunne. As for old *Philip*, he was left in a manner deſolate, ſome expecting his death, and ſome ſcarce enduring the tediouſneſſe of ſuch expectation. This bred in the King a deepe melancholy; and filled his head with ſuſpitious imaginations; the like whereof he had never beene ſlow to apprehend. He was much vexed: and ſo much the more, for that he knew neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complaine. One honourable man, a Couſin of his, named *Antigonus*, continued ſo true to *Philip*, that he grew thereby hatefull to *Perſeus*: and thus becomming ſubject unto the ſame jealous impreſſions which troubled the King, became alſo partaker of his ſecrets. This Counſellor, when he found that the anger conceived againſt *Perſeus* would not vent it ſelfe, and give eaſe to the King, untill the truth were known whether *Demetrius* were guilty or no of the treaſon objected; as alſo that *Philocles* and *Apelles*, (the Embaſſadours which had brought from *Rome* that Epiſtle of *Flaminius*, that ſerved as the greateſt evidence againſt *Demetrius*) were ſuſpected of forgery in the buſineſſe: made diligent inquirie after the truth. In thus doing, he found one *Xychus*, a man moſt likely to have underſtood what falſe dealing was uſed by thoſe Embaſſadors. Him he apprehended, brought to the Court, and preſented unto the King: ſaying, That this fellow knew all, and muſt therefore be made to utter what he knew. *Xychus* for feare of torture, uttered as much as was before ſuſpected: confeſsing againſt himſelf, that he had beene employed by the Embaſſadors in that wicked piece of buſineſſe. No marvell, if the Fathers paſsions were extreme, when he underſtood that by the unnaturall practice of one ſonne, he had ſo wretchedly caſt away another, farre more vertuous and innocent. He raged exceedingly againſt himſelfe, and withall againſt the Authors of the miſchiefe. 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He had reigned about two and forty yeeres: alwaies full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexing himſelfe with continuall warres; of which that with the *Romans* was moſt unhappy, and few or none of the reſt found the concluſion, which a wiſe Prince would have deſired, of bringing forth together both honour and profit. But for all the evill that befell him, he might thanke his own perverſe condition: ſince his Uncle, King *Antigonus*, had left unto him an eſtate, ſo great, and ſo well ſettled, as made it eaſie for him, to accompliſh any moderate deſires, if he had not abhorred all good counſell. Wherefore he was juſtly puniſhed by feeling the difference between the imaginary happineſſe of a Tyrant, which he affected, and the life of a King, whereof he little cared to performe the dutie. His death, even whileſt yet it was onely drawing neere, was fore-ſignified unto *Perſeus*, by *Caligenes* the Phyſician; who alſo concealed it a while from thoſe that were about the Court. So *Perſeus* came thither on the ſudden, and tooke poſſeſſion of the Kingdome: which in fine he no leſſe improvidently loſt, than he had wickedly gotten.

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## §. IV.

*How the Baſtarnæ fell upon Dardania. The behavior of* Perſeus *in the beginning of his reign. Some wars of the Romans: and how they ſuffered* Maſaniſſa *cruelly to oppreſſe the Carthaginians. They quarrell with* Perſeus. *They allow not their Confederates to make war without their leave obtained. The Treaſon of* Callicrates, *whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to Rome, than in former times. Further quarrels to* Perſeus. *He ſeeks friendſhip of the Achæans, and is withſtood by* Callicrates. *The Romans diſcover their intent of warring upon him.*

IMmediately upon the death of *Philip*, came the *Baſtarnæ* into *Thrace*: where order had beene taken, long before, both for the free paſſage, and for the indemnitie of the Countrey. This compact was friendly obſerved, as long as no other was knowne than that *Philip* did live to recompence all that ſhould be done, or ſuſtained, for his ſervice. But when it was heard, that a new King reigned in *Macedon*; and not heard withall, that he took any care what became of the enterprize: then was all daſht and confounded. The *Thracians* would no longer affoord ſo good markets unto theſe ſtrangers, as formerly they had done. On the other ſide, the *Baſtarnæ* would not be contented with reaſon, but became their owne carvers. Thus each part having loſt the rich hopes repoſed in *Philip*, grew carefull of thriving in the preſent; with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they fell to blowes; and the *Baſtarnæ* had the upper hand, ſo as they chaſed the *Thracians* out of the plaine Countries. But the victors made little uſe of their good fortune. For whether by reaſon of ſome overthrow, received by them in aſſaulting a place of ſtrength; or whether becauſe of extreme bad weather, which is ſaid to have afflicted them as it were miraculouſly: all of them returned home, ſave thirty thouſand, which pierced on into *Dardania*. How theſe thirty thouſand ſped in their voyage, I doe not finde. It ſeems that by the careleſſe uſing of ſome victories, they drew loſſe upon themſelves: and finally tooke that occaſion, to follow their companions backe into their own Country.

As for *Perſeus*, he thought it not expedient, in the noveltie of his reigne, to embroile himſelfe in a war ſo dangerous, as that with the *Romans* was likely to prove. Wherefore he wholly gave his minde to the ſettling of his Eſtate, which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himſelfe, as the condition of his affairs ſhould require, either for war or peace. To prevent all danger of rebellion, he quickly took away the life of *Antigonus*. To win love of his people, he ſate perſonally to heare their cauſes in judgement, (though herein he was ſo over-diligent and curious, that one might have perceived this his vertue of juſtice to be no better than fained) as alſo he gratified them with many delightfull ſpectacles, magnificently by him ſet forth. Above all, he had care to avoid all neceſſity of war with *Rome*: and therefore made it his firſt work, to ſend Embaſſadors thither, to renew the league; which he obtained, and was by the Senate ſaluted King, and friend unto the State. Neither was he negligent in ſeeking to purchaſe good will of the *Greeks*, and other his neighbours: but was rather herein ſo exceſſively bountifull, that it may ſeeme a wonder how in few yeers, to his utter ruine, he became ſo griping and tenacious. His feare was indeed the maſtring paſſion, which over-ruled him, and changed him into ſo many ſhapes, as made it hard to diſcern which of his other qualities were naturally his own. For proofe of this, there is requiſite no more, than the relation of his actions paſt and following.

The *Romans* continued, as they had long, buſie in warres againſt the *Spaniards* and *Ligurians*; people often vanquiſhed, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They alſo conquered *Iſtria*; ſubdued the rebelling *Sardinians*; and had ſome quarrels, though to little effect, with the *Illyrians* and others. Over the *Carthaginians* they bore (as ever ſince the victory) a heavie hand: & ſuffered *Maſaniſſa* to take from them what he liſted. The *Carthaginians*, like obedient Vaſſals to *Rome*, were affraid, though in defence of their owne, to take Armes: from which they were bound by an Article of peace, except it were with leave of the *Romans*. *Maſaniſſa* therfore had great advantage over them; and was not ignorant how to uſe it. He could get poſſeſſion by force, of whatſoever he deſired, ere their complaining Embaſſadors could be at *Rome*: and then were the *Romans* not hardly entreated to leave things as they found them.

So had he once dealt before, in taking from them the Country of *Emporia*: and ſo did he uſe them againe and againe; with pretence of title, where he had any; otherwiſe, without it. *Gala* the Father of *Maſaniſſa* had wonne ſome land from the *Carthaginians*; which afterward *Syphax* wanne from *Gala*, and within a while, reſtored to the right owners, for love of his Wife *Sophoniſba*, and of *Aſdrubal* his Father-in-law. This did *Maſaniſſa* take from them by force: and by the *Romans* (to whoſe judgement the caſe was referred) was permitted quietly to hold it. The *Carthaginians* had now good experience, how beneficiall it was for their Eſtate, to uſe all manner of ſubmiſſive obedience to *Rome*. They had ſcarcely digeſted this injury, when *Maſaniſſa* came upon them againe, and tooke from them above ſeventy Townes and Caſtles, without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embaſſadors, they made lamentable complaint unto the *Roman* Senate. They ſhewed how grievouſly they were oppreſſed by reaſon of two Articles in their League: That they ſhould not make Warre out of their owne Lands; nor with any Confederates of the *Romans*. Now although it were ſo that they might lawfully withſtand the violence of *Maſaniſſa*, invading their Countrey, howſoever he was pleaſed to call it his: yet ſince he was Confederate with the *Romans*, they durſt not preſume to beare defenſive armes againſt him, but ſuffered themſelves to be eaten up, for feare of incurring the *Romans* indignation. Wherefore they intreated, that either they might have fairer juſtice; or be ſuffered to defend their owne by ſtrong hand; or at leaſt, if right muſt wholly give place to favour, That the *Romans* yet would be pleaſed to determine, how farre forth *Maſaniſſa* ſhould be allowed to proceed in theſe outrages. If none of theſe petitions could be obtained, then deſired they, that the *Romans* would let them underſtand, wherein they had offended ſince the time that *Scipio* gave them peace; and vouchſafe to inflict on them ſuch puniſhment as they themſelves in honour ſhould thinke meet: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to ſuffer at once what ſhould be appointed by ſuch Judges; than continually to live in feare, and none otherwiſe draw breath, than at the mercy of this *Numidian* Hangman. And herewithall the Embaſſadors threw themſelves proſtrate on the ground, weeping, in hope to move compaſſion.

Here may we behold the fruits of their envie to that valiant houſe of the *Barchines*; of their irreſolution in proſecuting a war ſo important, as *Hannibal* made for them in *Italy*; and of their half-penny-worthing in matter of expence, when they had adventured their whole eſtate in the purchaſe of a great Empire. Now are they ſervants, even to the ſervants of thoſe men, whoſe fathers they have often chaſed, ſlain, taken & ſold as bondſlaves in the ſtreets of *Carthage*, and in all cities of *Africk* and *Greece*. Now have they enough of that *Roman* peace, which *Hanno* ſo often and ſo earneſtly deſired. Onely thy want peace with *Maſaniſſa*, once their mercenary, and now their maſter, or rather their tormentor; out of whoſe cruell hands, they beſeech their maſters to take the office of correcting them. In ſuch caſe are they, and adore the *Romans*, whom they ſee flouriſhing in ſuch proſperity as might have beene their owne. But the *Romans* had farre better entreated *Varro*, who loſt the battell at *Cannæ*; than *Hannibal* that wan it was uſed by the *Carthaginians*: they had freely beſtowed, every man of them, all his private riches upon the Commonwealth; and employed their labours for the publike, without craving recompence: as alſo they had not thought it much, though being in extreme want, to ſet out an Armie into *Spaine*, at what time the enemy lay under their owne walles. Theſe were no *Carthaginian* vertues: and therefore the *Carthaginians*, having fought againſt their betters, muſt patiently endure the miſeries belonging to the vanquiſhed. Their pitifull behaviour bred peradventure ſome commiſeration; yet their teares may ſeeme to have beene miſtruſted, as proceeding no leſſe from envie to the *Romans*, than from any feeling of their owne calamity. They thought themſelves able to fight with *Maſaniſſa*: which eſtimation of their forces was able to make them, after a little while, enter into compariſons with *Rome*. Wherefore they obtained no ſuch leave as they ſought, of defending their owne right by armes: but contrariwiſe, when without leave obtained, they preſumed ſo farre, the deſtruction of *Carthage* was thought an eaſie puniſhment of that offence. At the preſent, they received a gentle anſwer; though they had otherwiſe little amends. *Guluſſa* the ſonne of *Maſaniſſa* was then in *Rome*; and had not as yet craved audience. He therefore was called before the Senate; where he was demanded the reaſon of his comming; and had related unto him the complaint made by the *Carthaginians* againſt his father. He anſwered, That his Father not being throughly aware of any Embaſſadors thither ſent from *Carthage*, had therefore not given him inſtructions, how to deale in that buſineſſe. Onely it was knowne, that the *Carthaginians* had held Councell divers nights, in the Temple of *Æſculapius*: whereupon he himſelfe was diſpatched away to *Rome*, there to intreat the Senate, that theſe common enemies of the *Romans*, and of his Father, might not be overmuch truſted; eſpecially againſt his Father, whom they hated moſt maliciouſly, for his conſtant faith to the people of *Rome*. This anſwer gave little ſatisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replyed, that for *Maſaniſſa* his ſake, they had done, and would doe, whatſoever was reaſonable; but that it ſtood not with their juſtice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the *Carthaginians* thoſe Lands, which by the covenants of the League, were granted unto them freely to enjoy. With this milde rebuke they diſmiſſed *Guluſſa*; beſtowing on him friendly preſents (as alſo they did on the *Carthaginians*) and willed him to tell his Father, that he ſhould doe well to ſend Embaſſadors, more fully inſtructed in this matter. This happened when the *Macedonian* Warre was even ready to begin: at which time the *Romans* were not willing too much to offend, either the *Carthaginians* (for feare of urging them unſeaſonably to rebellion) or *Maſaniſſa*, at whoſe hands they expected no little helpe. So were they aided both by the *Carthaginians*, and *Maſaniſſa*: by the *Carthaginians*, partly for feare, partly for hope of better uſage in the future; by *Maſaniſſa*, in way of thankfulneſſe; though if it had happened (which was unlikely) that they ſhould be vanquiſhed; he made none other account, than that all *Africk* round about him, and *Carthage* therewithall, ſhould be his owne.

In the midſt of all theſe cares, the *Romans* had not been unmindfull of *Perſeus*. They viſited him daily with Embaſſadors; that is, with honourable ſpies to obſerve his behaviour. Theſe he entertained kindely at firſt, untill (which fell out ere long) he perceived whereto their diligence tended. Firſt they quarrelled with him about the troubles in *Dardania*: neither would they take any ſatisfaction, untill the *Baſtarnæ* were thence gone; though he proteſted, that he had not ſent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his doings; and were no leſſe ill contented with good offices, by him done, to ſundry of his neighbours, than with thoſe wrongs, which (they ſaid) that he did unto other ſome. Where he did harm to any; they called it, making War upon their friends: Where he did good; they called ſuch his bounty, ſeeking friends to take his part againſt them. The *Dolopians*, his ſubjects, (upon what occaſion it is uncertaine) rebelled, and with exquiſite torments ſlew *Euphranor*, whom he had appointed their Governour. It ſeemes that *Euphranor* had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a people without ſtrength to reſiſt the *Macedonian*: and therefore unlikely to have preſumed ſo farre, unleſſe either they had been extremely provoked; or elſe were ſecretly animated by the *Romans*. Whatſoever it was that bred this courage in them: *Perſeus* did ſoone allay it, and reclaime them by ſtrong hand. But the *Romans* took very angerly this preſumption of the King: even as if he had invaded ſome Countrey of their *Italian* Confederates, and not corrected his owne rebels at home. Faine they would have had him to draw in the ſame yoke with the *Carthaginians*; whereunto had he humbled once his necke, they could themſelves have done the part of *Maſaniſſa*; though *Eumenes*, or ſome other fit for that purpoſe, had beene wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That the Conditions of the League between them were ſuch as made it unlawfull, both to his Father heretofore, and now to him, to take armes without their licence firſt obtained.

To the ſame paſſe they would alſo faine have reduced the *Greeks*, and generally all their adherents, even ſuch as had entred into league with them upon equall termes: whom uſually they rewarded with a frowne, whenſoever they preſumed to right themſelves by force of Armes, without ſeeking firſt the Oracle at *Rome*. Hereof the *Achæans* had good experience: whoſe confidence in their proper ſtrength, made them otherwhiles bold to be their owne carvers, and whoſe hope of extraordinary favour at *Rome* cauſed them the more willingly to refer their cauſes to arbitrement. For when they went about to have chaſtiſed the *Meſſenians* by War; *T. Quintius* rebuked them, as too arrogant, in taking ſuch a worke in hand, without his authority: yet by his authority he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Semblably at other times were they reprehended; even with Lordly threats, when they tooke upon them to carry any buſineſſe of importance, by their owne power, without ſtanding unto the good grace of the *Romans*. Who nevertheleſſe upon ſubmiſſion, were apt enough to do them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their abſolute liberty, as by which they were not like to thrive; eſpecially in uſurping the practice of Arms, which belonged only to the Imperiall City. In learning this hard leſſon, they were ſuch untoward ſchollers, that they needed, and not long after felt, very ſharpe correction. Yet was there no ſmall part of blame to be imputed unto their Maſters. For the *Roman* Senate, being deſirous to humble the *Achæans*, refuſed not only to give them ſuch aide as they requeſted, and as they challenged by the tenour of the League betweene them; but further, with a careleſſe inſolencie, rejected this honeſt and reaſonable petition, That the Enemy might not be ſupplyed from *Italy*, with victuals or armes. Herewith not content, the Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affaires of *Greece*, pronounced openly, That if the *Argives*, *Lacedæmonians*, or *Corinthians* would revolt from the *Achæans*; they themſelves would thinke it a buſineſſe no way concerning them.

*Pol.Leg.51.&53.*

This was preſently after the death of *Philopœmen*: at what time it was beleeved, that the Common-wealth of *Achaia* was like to fall into much diſtreſſe; were it not upheld by countenance of the *Romans*. All this notwithſtanding; when *Lycortas* Prætor of the *Achæans* had utterly ſubdued the *Meſſenians* farre ſooner than was expected; and when as not only no towne rebelled from the *Achæans*, but many entred into their corporation: then did the *Romans* with an ill-favoured grace, tell the ſame Embaſſadors, to whoſe petition they had made ſuch bad anſwer (and who as yet were not gone out of the Citie,) That they had ſtreightly forbidden all manner of ſuccour to be carried to *Meſſene*. Thus thinking, by a fained gravity, to have ſerved their owne turnes; they manifeſted their condition; both to ſet on the weaker againſt the ſtronger and more ſuſpected; and alſo to aſſume unto themſelves a Soveraigne power, in directing all matters of Warre, which diſſemblingly they would have ſeemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their Confederates: not permitting any of them to make Warre, whether offenſive or defenſive; though it were againſt meere ſtrangers; without interpoſing the authority of the Senate and People of *Rome*: unleſſe peradventure, ſometimes they winked at ſuch violence, as did helpe towards the accompliſhment of their owne ſecret malice. Now theſe *Roman* Arts, howſoever many (for gainefull or timerous reſpects) would ſeeme to underſtand them; yet were generally diſpleaſing unto all men endued with free ſpirits. Only the *Athenians*, once the moſt turbulent Citie in *Greece*, having neither ſubjects of their owne that might rebell, nor power wherewith to bring any into ſubjection; for want of more noble argument wherein to practiſe their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the moſt mighty. So they kept themſelves in grace with the *Romans*, remained free from all trouble, untill the Warre of *Mithridates*: being men unfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratulators of the *Roman* victories, and Pardon-cravers for the vanquiſhed. Such were the *Athenians* become. As for thoſe other Common-weales and Kingdomes that with over-nice diligence, ſtrove to preſerve their Liberties and Lands, from conſuming by peice-meale: they were to be devoured whole, and ſwallowed up at once. Eſpecially the *Macedonian*, as the moſt unpliant, and wherein many of the *Greekes* began to have aſfiance, was neceſſarily to be made an example, how much better it were to bow, than to breake.

Neither *Perſeus* nor the *Romans* were ignorant, how the *Greeks* at this time ſtood aſfected. *Perſeus*, by reaſon of his neere neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce betweene them and his ſubjects, could not want good information of all that might concerne him, in their affaires. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which *Philopœmen* had long ſince foretold, of the miſerable ſubjection, whereinto *Greece* was likely to be reduced, by the *Roman* Patronage. Indeed they not onely perceived the approaching danger, but as being tenderly ſenſible of their liberty, felt themſelves grieved with the preſent ſubjection, whereto already they were become obnoxious. Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publike to fall out with the *Romans*; yet all of them had the care, to chooſe among themſelves none other Magiſtrates, than ſuch as affected the good of their Country, and would for no ambition, or other ſervile reſpect, be flatterers of the greatneſſe which kept all in feare. Thus it ſeemed likely, that all domeſticall conſpiracies would ſoone be at an end; when honeſtie, and love of the Common-weale, became the faireſt way to preferment. Of this carefull proviſion for the ſafety of *Greece*, the *Romans* were not throughly advertiſed: either becauſe things were diligently concealed from their Embaſſadours, whom all men knew to be little better than Spies; or becauſe little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by ſuch Traitors (of whom every Citie in *Greece* had too many) as were men unregarded among their owne people, and therefore more like to ſpeake maliciouſly than truely; or perhaps becauſe the Embaſſadours themſelves, being all Senators, and capable of the greateſt Office or charge, had no will to finde out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their owne deſires of employment. But it is hard to conceale that which many know, from thoſe that are feared or flattered by many. The *Achæans* being to ſend Embaſſadors to *Rome*, that ſhould both excuſe them, as touching ſome point wherein they refuſed to obey the Senate; and informe the Senate better in the ſame buſineſſe; choſe one *Callicrates*, among others, to goe in that Embaſſage. By their making choice of ſuch a man, one may perceive the advantage, which miſchievous wretches, who commonly are forward in purſuing their vile deſires, have againſt the plaine ſort of honeſt men, that leaſt earneſtly thruſt themſelves into the troubleſome buſineſſe of the weale publike. For this *Callicrates* was in ſuch wiſe tranſported with ambition, that he choſe much rather to betray his Country, than to let any other be of more authoritie than himſelfe therein. Wherefore in ſtead of well diſcharging his credence, and alledging what was meeteſt in juſtification of his people, he uttered a quite contrary tale; and ſtrongly encouraged the *Romans*, to oppreſſe both the *Achæans*, and all the reſt of *Greece*, with a far more heavie hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to look unto the ſettling of their authority, among his froward Countrimen; if they meant not wholly to forgoe it. For now there was taken up a cuſtome, to ſtand upon points of confederacy, and lawes: as if theſe were principally to be had in regard; any injunction from *Rome* notwithſtanding.

Hence grew it, that the *Achæans*, both now, and at other times, did what beſt pleaſed themſelves, and anſwered the *Romans* with excuſes: as if it were enough to ſay, That by ſome condition of League, or by force of ſome Law, they were diſcharged, or hindered, from obeying the decrees of the Senate. This would not be ſo, if hee, and ſome other of his opinion, might have their wills: who ceaſed not to affirme, That no Columes, or Monuments erected, nor no ſolemne oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie the obſervance of Confederacie or ſtatute, ought to be of force, when the *Romans* willed the contrary. But it was even the fault of the *Romans* themſelves, that the multitude refuſed to give eare unto ſuch perſwaſions. For howſoever in popular Eſtates, the ſound of libertie uſed to be more plauſible, than any diſcourſe tending againſt it: yet if they which undertooke the maintenance of an argument, ſeeming never ſo bad, were ſure by their ſo doing, to procure their owne good; the number of them would increaſe apace, & they become the prevalent faction. It was therefore ſtrange how the *Fathers* could ſo neglect the advancement of thoſe, that ſought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the *Roman* majeſty. More wiſely, though with ſeditious and rebellious purpoſe, did the *Greeks*: who many times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great honours, upon men otherwiſe of little account or deſert; only for having uttered ſome brave words againſt the *Romans*. The *Fathers* hearing theſe and the like reaſons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughly thoſe that were obſtinate, and by cheriſhing their friends, to make their partie ſtrong; reſolved to follow this good counſell, in every point; yea to depreſſe all thoſe that held with the right, and to ſet up their owne followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not only dealt thenceforth more peremptorily with the *Achæans*, than had been their manner in former times; but wrote at the preſent unto all Cities of *Greece*, requiring them to ſee that their mandate (which was concerning the reſtitution of thoſe that were baniſhed out of *Lacedæmon*) ſhould be fulfilled. Particularly in behalfe of *Callicrates*, they adviſed all men to be ſuch,

*Polyb.Leg.58.*

and ſo affected, as he was, in their ſeverall common-weales. With this diſpatch, *Callicrates* returned home a joyfull man: having brought his Country into the way of ruine, but himſelfe into the way of preferment. Nevertheleſſe he forbore to vaunt himſelfe of his eloquence uſed in the Senate. Onely he ſo reported his Embaſſage, that all men became fearefull of the danger, wherewith he threatned thoſe that ſhould preſume to oppoſe the *Romans*. By ſuch arts he obtained to be made Prætor of the *Achæans*: in which Magiſtracie, as in all his courſes following, he omitted nothing, that might ſerve to manifeſt his ready obſequiouſneſſe unto thoſe whom he had made his Patrons.

Now as the *Romans* by threatning termes wan many flatterers, and loſt as many true friends: ſo *Perſeus* on the other ſide, thinking by liberall gifts, and hopefull promiſes, to aſſure unto himſelfe thoſe that ill could brooke his enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honeſter than his enemies had. Thus were all the Cities of *Greece* diſtracted with factions: ſome holding with the *Romans*, ſome with the *Macedonian*, and ſome few, reſpecting onely the good of the Eſtates wherein they lived. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignitie not ſufferable, That a King, no better than their vaſſall, ſhould dare to become head of a faction againſt them. This therefore muſt be reckoned in the number of his treſpaſſes: whereof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, ſhall afford them juſt occaſion to make warre upon him. *Perſeus* having finiſhed his buſineſſe among the *Dolopians*, made a journey to *Apollo* his Temple at *Delphi*. He took his Army along with him: yet went, and returned in ſuch peaceable and friendly wiſe, that no place was the worſe for his journy, but the good affection towards him generally increaſed thereby. With thoſe that were in his way, he dealt himſelfe; to ſuch as lay further off, he ſent Embaſſadors or letters: praying them, That the memory of all wrongs whatſoever, done by his father, might be buried with his father; ſince his owne meaning was to hold friendſhip ſincerely with all his neighbours. The *Romans* perhaps could have beene pleaſed better, if he had behaved himſelfe after a contrary faſhion, and done ſome acts of hoſtilitie in his paſſage. Yet as if he ought not to have taken ſuch a journy, without their licence; this alſo was made a valuable matter, and caſt into the heap of his faults. He laboured greatly to recover the love of the *Achæans*: which his father had ſo loſt, that by a ſolemn decree, they forbade any *Macedonian* to enter their territories. It was jealouſie perhaps, no leſſe than hatred, which cauſed them, at the firſt, to make ſuch a decree. For howſoever *Philip* had by many vile acts, eſpecially by the death of the two *Arati*, given them cauſe to abhorre him: yet in the publike adminiſtration of their eſtate, he had, for the more part, been to them ſo beneficiall, that not without much adoe, and at length, without any generall conſent, they reſolved to forſake him. Wherefore it was needfull, even for preſervation of concord among them, to uſe all circumſpection, that he might not, by his agents, negotiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a country towards him ſo doubtfully affected: eſpecially when by hearkening to his meſſages, they might make themſelves ſuſpected by their new friends. But the continuance of this decree, beyond the time of Warre, and when all danger of innovation was paſt, was uncivill, if not inhumane; as nouriſhing deadly hatred, without leaving means of reconciliation. And hereof the *Achæans* reaped no good fruit. For although they were not, in like ſort, forbidden the kingdome of *Macedon*: yet underſtanding what would be due to them, if they ſhould adventure thither, none of them durſt ſet foot therein. Hence it came to paſſe, that their bondmen, knowing a ſafe harbour, out of which their maſters could not fetch them, ranne daily away in great numbers: exceedingly to the loſſe of ſuch, as made of their ſlaves very profitable uſe. But *Perſeus* tooke hold upon this occaſion: as fitly ſerving to pacifie thoſe, whoſe enmity faine he would have changed into love. He therefore apprehended all theſe fugitives, to ſend them home againe: and wrote unto the *Achæans*, That as for good will unto them, he had taken paines to reſtore back their ſervants; ſo ſhould they doe very well to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not run away again. His meaning was readily underſtood, and his letters kindly accepted by the greater part; being openly rehearſed by the Prætor, before the Councel. But *Callicrates* took the matter very angerly; and bade them be adviſed what they did: for that this was none other, than a plaine device, to make them depart from the friendſhip of the *Romans*. Herewithall he tooke upon him, ſomewhat liberally, to make the *Achæans* beforehand acquainted with the Warre, that was comming upon *Perſeus* from *Rome*. Hee told

told them how *Philip* had made preparations for the ſame Warre; how *Demetrius* had beene made away, becauſe of his good affection to the *Romans*; and how *Perſeus* had ſince his being King, done many things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly, He rehearſed all thoſe matters, which were afterwards alledged by the *Romans*; the invaſion of the *Baſtarnæ* upon the *Dardanians*; the Kings journey againſt the *Dolopians*; his voyage to *Delphi*; and finally, his peaceable behaviour, which was (he ſaid) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he adviſed them to expect the event of things, and not over-haſtily to enter into any degree of friendſhip with the *Macedonians*. Hereto good anſwer was made by the Pretors brother: That *Callicrates* was too earneſt in ſo light a matter; and that, being neither one of the Kings Cabbinet, nor of the *Roman* Senate, he made himſelfe too well acquainted with all that had paſſed, or was like to follow. For it was well known, that *Perſeus* had renewed his League with the *Romans*; that he was by them ſaluted King, and friend to the Eſtate; and that he had lovingly entertained their Embaſſadors: This being ſo: why might not the *Achæans*, as well as the *Ætolians*, *Theſſalians*, *Epirots*, and all the *Greeks*, hold with him ſuch correſpondence, as common humanity required? Nevertheleſſe *Callicrates* was growne a man ſo terrible, by his *Roman* acquaintance, that they durſt not over-ſtiffely gaineſay him. Therefore the matter was referred unto further deliberation: and anſwer made the whileſt, That ſince the King had onely ſent a letter without an Embaſſador, they knew not how to reſolve. Better it was to ſay thus, than that they were affraid to do as they thought moſt reaſonable and convenient. But when *Perſeus* herewith not contented, would needes urge them further, and ſend Embaſſadors: then were they faine, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and deny to give audience: which was proofe ſufficient (to one that could underſtand) of the condition wherein they lived. For harkening to this advice of *Callicrates*; they were ſoone after highly commended by a *Roman* Embaſſador: whereby it became apparent, that the *Romans* intended War upon the *Macedonian*; though hitherto no cauſe of War was given.

*Liv.lib.42.*

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## §. V.

*How* Eumenes *King of* Pergamus *was buſied with* Pharnaces, *the* Rhodians, *and others. His hatred to the* Macedonian: *whom he accuſeth to the* Roman *Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and contemnes his enemies the* Rhodians, *with the cauſes thereof. The unuſuall ſtoutneſſe of the* Macedonian *Embaſſadors.* Perſeus *his attempt upon* Eumenes. *The brotherly love between* Eumenes *and* Attalus. Perſeus *his device to poyſon ſome of the* Roman *Senators: whereupon they decree war againſt him, and ſend him defiance. Other things concerning the juſtice of this War.*

EUmenes King of *Pergamus* had beene troubled about theſe times, by the Kings *Pharnaces* and *Mithridates*, his neighbours. Hee had taken the right courſe; in making firſt his complaint to the *Romans*: by whom he was animated with comfortable words, and promiſe, That they, by their authority, would end the buſineſſe to his content. But in concluſion, by the helpe of the Kings, *Pruſias* and *Ariarathes*, he ended the War himſelfe; and brought his Enemies to ſeeke and accept peace, on ſuch conditions as pleaſed him to give them. After this, being at good leiſure; he began to conſider how the affaires of *Macedon* ſtood under *Perſeus*. His hatred to *Perſeus*, was very great: and therefore he was glad to underſtand, that the hatred of the *Romans*, to the ſame his Enemy, was as great, and withall notorious. Now, beſides his ancient and hereditarie quarrell with the *Macedonian*; it vexed him exceedingly, That his own honours (whereof the *Greekes*, prodigall in that kind, had heaped immoderate ſtore on his father and him) began to waxe every where ſtale: whilſt *Perſeus*, either by his currying favour, or by the envie borne to the *Romans*, had gotten their beſt liking and wiſhes. For deſpight of this indignity, He ſtirred up the *Lycians* againſt the *Rhodians* his old friends: and in helping theſe rebels was ſo violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, to open Warre. But ſmall pleaſure found he in theſe poore and indirect courſes of revenge. The *Lycians* could not be ſaved by his Patronage, from ſevere and cruell chaſtiſement, given to them by the *Rhodians*. This rendered him contemptible: as likewiſe, his acts of hoſtility, little different from robberies, made him hatefull to thoſe which loved him before. As for his honours in the Cities of *Greece*; they not onely continued falling

*Pol.Leg.56.&59.*

*Polyb.Leg.74.*

falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a decree of the *Achæans*, as too unmeaſured, miſbeſeeming them to give, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deſervings. All this (which he needed not to have regarded, had he not beene too vainely *Liv.lib.42.* ambitious) befell him, eſpecially for his being over-ſerviceable to the *Romans*, and for his malice to that noble Kingdome; which if it fell, the liberty of *Greece* was not like to ſtand. Now for the redreſſe hereof, he thought it vaine to ſtrive any longer with bounty, againſt ſuch an Adverſary, as by hopefull promiſes alone, without any great performance, had over-topped him in the generall favour. And therefore he reſolved even to overturn the foundations of this popularitie, by inducing the *Romans* utterly to take away from the eyes of men this Idol, the *Macedonian* Kingdome, which all ſo vainely worſhipped. Neither would it prove a difficult matter, to perſwade thoſe that were already deſirous: rather he was like to be highly thanked, for ſetting forward their wiſhes; & perhaps to be recompenced with ſome piece of the kingdome, as he had bin rewarded, for the like ſervice, when *Antiochus* was vanquiſhed.

To this end he made a ſecond voyage to *Rome*: where though hee had little to ſay, which they knew not before, yet his words were heard with ſuch attention, as if they had contained ſome ſtrange noveltie, and ſo pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turne the ballance, that before was equall. The death of *Demetrius*, the expedition of the *Baſtarnæ* into *Dardania*, that of *Perſeus* himſelfe againſt the *Dolopians*, and to *Delphi*, the great eſtimation of the *Macedonian* in *Greece*, his intermeddling in buſineſſe of his neighbours, his riches and his great proviſions, were all the materiall points of *Eumenes* his diſcourſe. Only he deſcended unto particulars, having ſearched into all (as he profeſſed) like unto a Spie. Hee ſaid, that *Perſeus* had thirty thouſand foot, and five thouſand Horſe, of his owne, money in a readineſſe to entertaine ten thouſand Mercenaries for ten yeeres, armes to furniſh a number thrice as great; The *Thracians* his friends at hand, ready, at a call, to bring him Souldiers as many as hee ſhould require; and that he prepared victuals for ten yeeres, becauſe he would not be driven, either to live upon ſpoyle, or to take from his owne Subjects. Herewithall he prayed them to conſider, that King *Seleucus*, the ſonne and ſucceſſour of *Antiochus* the Great, had given his daughter *Laodice* in marriage to *Perſeus*; *Perſeus* not wooing, but *Seleucus* offering the match; That King *Pruſias* of *Bithynia*, by earneſt ſuite, had gotten to wife the ſiſter of *Perſeus*, and that theſe marriages were ſolemnized with great concourſe of Embaſſages from all quarters. Neither ſpared he to tell them, (though ſeeming loth to utter it plainely) That even the envie to their Eſtate was the cauſe, why many that could not endure to heare of amitie with *Philip*, were now growne marvellouſly well affected to his ſonne. All this, and ſome facts of *Perſeus*, which might either be denied or juſtified, (as that he had procured the death of ſome which were friends to the *Romans*, and that he had expelled *Abrypolis* the *Illyrian*, who invaded *Macedon*, out of his kingdome, or Lordſhip) *Eumenes* failed not to amplifie unto the moſt; ſaying, that he thought it his duty to forewarne them: ſince it would be to himſelfe a great ſhame, if *Perſeus* got the ſtart of him, and were in *Italie* making war upon the *Romans*, ere *Eumenes* could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly, to beleeve that the *Romans* ſtood in feare of *Perſeus*, leſt he ſhould ſet upon them in *Italie*. Nevertheleſſe, foraſmuch as they loved not to make war without faire pretence, not onely of wrong done to them or their aſſociates, but of further hurt intended: great thankes were given to *Eumenes*, who had every way furniſhed them with ſuch goodly colour, to beautifie their intendment. Now though it were ſo that he told them little elſe than what they knew before: yet his perſon, and the manner of his comming, made all ſeeme greater. For if upon any relation made by their owne Embaſſadours, or upon tales deviſed by their flatterers and ſpies, they had warred againſt *Perſeus*, ere he had committed any open act of hoſtility againſt them; their injuſtice and oppreſſion would have beene moſt manifeſt. But when the wrongs to them done were ſo notorious, and the danger threatning them ſo terrible, that ſuch a Prince as *Eumenes* came out of his owne Kingdome, as farre as from *Aſia*, to bid them looke to themſelves; who could blame them, if they tooke the ſpeedieſt order to obtaine their owne right and ſecuritie? Toward this juſtification of the warre, and magnifying the neceſſitie that enforced them thereto, their more than uſuall curioſitie, in concealing what *Eumenes* had uttered in the Senate, when they could not but underſtand that his errand was well knowne; helped not a little. The *Macedonian* and *Rhodian* Embaſſadours were at *Rome*, provided of anſwers to the words, which they knew before-hand that he would ſpeake; and with matter of recrimination. The vanity, either of him, or of ſome about him, ſeemes to have diſcloſed all: when the wearineſſe of the *Fathers*, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable ſhew of ſome fearfull apprehenſion; againſt which, it behoved their wiſedome to neglect no poſſible remedy. Wherefore careleſſe audience was given to the *Rhodian* Embaſſadours; who accuſed *Eumenes*, as one more troubleſome to *Aſia*, than *Antiochus* had ever beene, and a provoker of the *Lycians* to rebellion. The *Rhodians* had with great pompe conveighed by ſea unto *Perſeus*, his bride *Laodice*; which friendly office, as the *Macedonian* bountifully requited, ſo the *Romans* deſpightfully accepted. Hence it grew, that when the *Lycians*, as already vanquiſhed, were ſettling themſelves in their obedience to the people of *Rhodes*: Embaſſadors came from *Rome* with ſtrange newes, which gave new life to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced, That it ſtood not with the manner of the *Romans*, to alien quite from their owne protection any people or Nation by them vanquiſhed: and that the *Lycians* were by them aſſigned unto thoſe of *Rhodes*, not as meere vaſſals, but as dependants and aſſociates. For proofe hereof, they referred themſelves unto the commentaries of the ten Embaſſadours; whom they had ſent to diſpoſe of things in *Aſia*, after the victory againſt King *Antiochus*. Hereat *Eumenes*, *Maſaniſſa*, the *Ætolians*, and all other Kings or Eſtates that were beholding to *Rome* for increaſing the number of their ſubjects, had cauſe to finde themſelves agrieved, if they well conſidered the matter: ſince by force of this or the like decree, thoſe their ſubjects might eaſily be made their fellowes, whenſoever it ſhould pleaſe the Senate: though it were ſo, that all men knew the preſent meaning of the Senate, which was only to plague the *Rhodians* for their good will to *Perſeus*, by ſetting them and the *Lycians* together by the eares. The *Fathers* could therefore ſee no reaſon to diſlike *Eumenes*, upon this complaint made by the *Rhodian* Embaſſadors; which indeed more neerely touched themſelves. Rather they honoured the King ſo much the more: for that others (as they would needs take it) conſpired againſt him, becauſe of his love to *Rome*.

Pol.Leg.60.&61

Liv.lib.41.

But the *Macedonian* Embaſſage they heard not ſo careleſly as angrily: though peradventure it well contented them to finde cauſe of anger. For whereas at other times all care had beene taken, to pacifie them with gentle words and excuſes: now heard they plainer language, and were told, That King *Perſeus* deſired much to give them ſatisfaction, concerning any deed or word of his, that might ſavour of hoſtilitie; but that, if his travell in this kinde proved vaine, then would he be ready to defend himſelfe by armes, and ſtand to the chance of warre, which often falls out contrary to expectation. Theſe bigge words may ſeeme to have proceeded from the vehemencie of *Harpalus*, that was chiefe of the Embaſſadors; rather than from inſtruction given by the King, with whoſe faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reaſon, why *Perſeus* himſelfe might, at this time, thinke to ſpeed better by a ſhew of daring, than he was like to do by any ſubmiſſion. For the eyes of all *Greece* being now caſt upon him, as on the greateſt hope of deliverance from the *Roman* ſervitude; it was not expedient, that he ſhould leſſen, or perhaps utterly cut off, the generall expectation, and the good affection borne to him, which thereon depended, by diſcovering his too much weakneſſe of ſpirit, unanſwerable to a worke of ſuch importance. Wherefore he, or his Embaſſador for him, was bold to ſet a good countenance on a game not very bad, but ſubject (in appearance) to fortune; which might have been his, had he known how to uſe it.

Now that this bravery (as better it may be termed than courage) proceeded from the Kings own heat, it appeares by his daring to adventure ſoone after, on a practice that more juſtly might anger the *Romans*, and give them fairer ſhew of reaſon to make warre upon him. It was known that *Eumenes*, in returning home, would take *Delphi* in his way, and there doe ſacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perſeus* deadly hating him, and thirſting after his blood, reſolved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a ſacrifice, to rid his owne hands of a moſt miſchievous enemy. So there were appointed three or foure ſtout ruffians to doe the murder: who placing themſelves behind a broken mud wall, on the ſide of a very narrow path leading up from the Sea to the Temple, did thence aſſault the King; whom they ſorely bruiſed with great ſtones, and left for dead. They might have finiſhed their work; ſuch was the opportunitie of the place which they had choſen; but feare of being apprehended, made them, without ſtaying to ſee all ſure, flee in ſuch haſte, that they killed one of their owne companions, who could not hold pace with them, becauſe he ſhould not diſcover them. *Eumenes* was conveighed away to the little Ile of *Ægina*, where he was cured: being all the while kept ſo ſecretly, that the fame of his death was current in *Aſia*. Hence it came, that his brother *Attalus* took upon him as King, and either tooke or would have taken to wife (ſuppoſing it belike a matter of State) *Stratonica* the daughter of king *Ariarathes*, whom he then thought the widow of *Eumenes*. It may wel be numbred among the rare examples of brotherly love, That when the king returned alive home, *Attalus* going forth to meet him and doe his dutie, as in former times, received none other check than, *that he ſhould forbeare to marie with the Queene, untill he were well aſſured of the Kings death.* More than this, *Eumenes* never ſpake of theſe matters; but bequeathed at his death, unto the ſame brother, both his wife and kingdome. As likewiſe *Attalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the king his brother: though the *Romans* (with whom he continued and grew in eſpeciall favour, when *Eumenes* fell into their hatred) were in good readineſſe, to have transferred the kingdome from his brother to him. By ſuch concord of brethren was the kingdome of *Pergamus* raiſed and upheld: as might alſo that of *Macedon* have been, if *Demetrius* had lived and employed his grace with the *Romans*, to the benefit *Perſeus*.

It is likely that *Perſeus* was very glad, when he underſtood that his miniſters had both accompliſhed his will, and had ſaved all from diſcoverie. But as he was deceived in the maine point, and heard ſhortly after, that *Eumenes* lived; ſo was he beguiled in that other hope, of the concealement; which he vainly eſteemed the leſſe materiall. For he had written to one *Praxo*, a Gentlewoman of *Delphi*, to entertain the men whom he ſent about this buſineſſe: and ſhe, being apprehended by *C. Valerius*, a *Roman* Embaſſadour, then attending upon the matters of *Greece*, was carried to *Rome*. Thus all came to light. *Valerius* alſo brought with him to *Rome*, out of *Greece*, one *Rammius*, a Citizen of *Brundusium*: who comming newly from the Court of *Macedon*, loaden with a dangerous ſecret, had preſently ſought out the Embaſſador, and thereof diſcharged himſelfe. *Brunduſium* was the ordinary Port for ſhips paſſing between *Italy* and *Greece*. There had *Rammius* a faire houſe, wherein he gave entertainment, being a wealthy man, to Embaſſadors, and other honourable perſonages, both *Romans* and *Macedonians*, journying to and fro. By occaſion of ſuch his hoſpitality, he was commended to *Perſeus*, and invited into *Macedon* with friendly letters; as one, whoſe many courteſies to his Embaſſadors, the King was ſtudious to requite. At his comming he was much made of; and ſhortly, with more familiaritie than he expected or deſired, made partaker of the Kings ſecrets. The ſumme of all was, That he muſt needs doe a turne, in giving to ſuch of the *Romans* as the King ſhould hereafter name, a poyſon of rare quality, ſure in operation, yet not to be perceived either in the taking or afterward. He durſt not refuſe to accept this employment: for feare leſt the vertue of this medicine ſhould be tryed upon himſelfe. But being once at liberty, he diſcovered all. *Rammius* was but one man, and one whom the King had never ſeene before, nor was like to ſee againe: and therefore, beſides that the Kings deniall ought to be as good as ſuch a fellowes affirmation, the accuſation was improbable. Thus did *Perſeus*, in time ſhortly following, anſwer for himſelfe; and in like ſort concerning the attempt upon *Eumenes*: denying to have had any hand, either in the one or other: yet withall profeſſing, That ſuch objections were not to be made unto a King, to prove the rightfulneſſe of making warre upon him; but rather unto a ſubject pleading for his life in judgement. But howſoever the *Romans* neglected the getting of ſtronger proofe (which might have beene eaſie) than any that we finde by them produced: yet the baſe and cowardly temper of *Perſeus* was very ſutable to theſe practices. Neither did the Senate greatly ſtand to diſpute the matter with him: theſe his treacheries being held inexcuſable. And as for his Royall Eſtate, wherein he ſuppoſed that they ought not to touch him for ſuch private offences, it gave him no priviledge: they judging him to have offended in the nature of a King. Herein ſurely they wanted not good reaſon. For if he might not lawfully make warre upon *Eumenes* their confederate, that is, if hee might not ſend men to waſte the kingdome of *Pergamus*, or to beſiege the Townes: might he ſend Ruffians to murder the King? If it were no leſſe breach of the league to deſtroy the Senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the ſword, was it lawfull for him to doe it by poyſon? Wherefore they preſently decreed warre againſt him; and ſent Embaſſadours douts to denounce it unto him, unleſſe he would yeeld to make ſuch amends as they ſhould require. He ſeemed at this time to have beene ſo confident in the generall favour of *Greece*, and other comfortable appearances, that if he deſired not war, yet he did not fear it: or at leaſt he thought by ſhew of courage, to make his enemies more calm. He cauſed the Embaſſadours to dance attendance, till being weary, they departed without audience. Then called he them back, and bade them doe their errand. They made a tedious rehearſall of all matters, which they had long bin collecting againſt him, and wherewith *Eumenes* had charged him: adding thereto, that he had entertained long and ſecret conference in the Ile of *Samothrace*, with Embaſſadours ſent to him out of *Aſia*, about ſome ill purpoſe. In regard of all which they peremptorily required ſatisfaction; as was their maner when they intended to give defiance. Better they might have ſtood upon the evidence, brought againſt him by *Rammius* and *Praxo*. For if thoſe accuſations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground whereon to build: of which otherwiſe they were deſtitute; it being no fault in a King, to be ſtrong, wel-beloved, and well friended. *Perſeus* anſwered, for the preſent, in a rage; calling the *Romans*, greedy, proud, inſolent, and underminers of him by their daily Embaſſadors, that were no better than meere ſpies. Finally, he promiſed to give them in writing their full anſwer: which was to this effect; That he would no longer ſtand to the league made between them and his father, and renewed by himſelf indeed only for fear: but wiſhed them to deſcend to more equal conditions: whereupon he, for his part, would adviſe, as they might alſo doe for theirs.

*Polyb. Legat. 9.*
*Liv. lib. 33.*

In the form of the league between *Philip* and the *Romans*, as it is ſet down by *Polybius*, we find no condition, binding the *Macedonian* to any inconvenience in the future; excepting thoſe which he immediately performed. But *Livie* inſerts a clauſe, whereby he was expreſly forbidden to make any war abroad, without leave of the *Romans*. It is moſt likely, that all the *Roman* confederates were included in this peace: whereby every one of the neighbours round about *Macedon*, entring ſhortly into league with *Rome*, did ſo bind the Kings hands, that he could no more make war abroad, than if he had bin reſtrained by plain covenant. And thus might that ſeem an article of the peace, which never was agreed upon, but only was inferred by conſequence. Now if the *Romans* would urge this point further, and ſay, that the *Macedonian* might not beare defenſive arms, without their permiſſion: then had *Perſeus* very juſt reaſon to find himſelfe aggrieved. For ſince they had allowed his father, without controle, to make war in *Thrace*, (whileſt they themſelves were unacquainted with the *Thracians*) and elſewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why ſhould they now interpret the bargaine after another faſhion? Was it now become unlawfull for him to chaſtiſe his own Rebels, or to repay an *Illyrian* that invaded *Macedon*? By ſuch allegations he maintained the right of his cauſe, in very milde ſort; when it was too late. At the preſent, by diſclaiming the league as unjuſt, he miniſtred occaſion unto the Embaſſadors, to give him defiance. Having heard the worſt of their meſſage, he commanded them to be gone out of his Kingdome in three dayes. But either he ſhould have bin leſſe vehement, or more conſtant in his reſolution. For if his heart could ſerve him to undertake the war, he ſhould courageouſly have managed it, and have fallen to worke immediately, whileſt the Enemie was unprepared; not have loſt opportunitie, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worſe peace than the former.

### §. VI.

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*The Romans ſolicit the Greeks, to joyn with them in the war againſt* Perſeus. *How the Greeks ſtood affected in that war. The timorouſneſſe of* Perſeus. Martius *a Roman Embaſſador deludes him with hope of peace. His forces. He takes the field, and wins part of Theſſaly. The forces of* Licinius *the Roman Conſul: and what aſſiſtants the Romans had in this war. Of Tempe in Theſſaly; and what advantages the Macedonian had, or might have had; but loſt by his feare.* Perſeus *braves the Romans, fights with them, knowes not how to uſe his victorie, ſues for peace, and is denied it by the vanquiſhed.* Perſeus *having the worſe in a skirmiſh, forſakes all the Countrey lying without Tempe. The Bœotians rebell againſt the Romans, and are rigorouſly puniſhed. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the war againſt* Perſeus. *They vexe the Greeks their friends; for whoſe eaſe the Senate makes proviſion, having heard their complaints. The flattering Alabanders.*

SO long had the *Romans* beene ſeeking occaſion to take in hand this *Macedonian* war, that well they might have beene ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behinde hand in proviſions. But it was on a ſudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the warre: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together ſeemed more than ſufficient. This opportunitie of making their cauſe honeſt in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwiſe they were unprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or having reaſon to beleeve, that their owne ſtrength was ſuch as would prevaile in the end; they haſtily embraced the faire occaſion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of Time. Neither was this their unreadineſſe a ſmall helpe, towards examining the diſpoſition of the *Greekes* and others; who muſt afterwards dearely pay for any backwardneſſe found in their good will. There was not indeed any cauſe to feare, that all of the *Greekes* or other Eaſtern people ſhould conſpire together, and take part with the *Macedonian*: ſuch was the diſſention betweene their ſeverall Eſtates; howſoever the generalitie of them were inclined the ſame way. Nevertheleſſe Embaſſadours were ſent to deale with them all; and to crave their helpe againſt *Perſeus*, or rather to demand it, in no leſſe ample manner, than heretofore they had yeelded it againſt *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in warres pretending the liberty of *Greece*. The Embaſſadors uſed as gentle words for faſhions ſake, as if they had ſtood in doubt that their requeſt might happen to be denied. But the *Greeks* were now growne well acquainted with ſuch *Roman* courteſie: and underſtood that not only ſuch as made refuſall, but even they who might ſeeme to have granted half unwillingly, were like to heare other manner of words, when once this buſineſſe was ended. Wherefore none of them were ſcrupulous in promiſing the beſt of their helpe to the *Romans*: the * *Achæans* and *Rhodians*, which were chiefe among them, being rather doubtfull, even when they had done their beſt, leſt it ſhould be ill taken, as if they had halted in ſome part of their dutie. It is ſtrange, that men could be ſo earneſt to ſet up the ſide, whereof they gladly would have ſeen the ruine. The vulgar ſort was every where addicted to *Perſeus*; of the Nobles and Rulers, if ſome were vehemently *Roman*, they wanted not oppoſers, that were wholly *Macedonian*; yea, the wiſeſt and moſt honeſt, who regarded only the benefit of their Country, wiſhed better to *Perſeus* than to the *Romans*. And of this number *Polybius* the chiefe of Hiſtorians was one: who though He * judged the victory of *Perſeus*, like to prove hurtfull unto *Greece*, yet wiſhed he the *Romans* ill to thrive, that ſo the *Greekes* might recover perfect liberty: for his endevours in which courſe, he was at length tyrannically handled, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. This conſidered, it appeares, that an extraordinary feare, and not only reverence of the Imperiall City, made the *Achæans*, and other Eſtates of *Greece*, thus conformable to the *Romans*. The occaſion of this their feare, may be juſtly imputed unto the timorous demeanour of *Perſeus* himſelfe. He had undertaken a warre, whereof the benefit ſhould redound, not only to his own Kingdome, but unto all that were oppreſſed by the *Romans*. Yet no ſooner vvere ſome few companies brought over-ſea, to make a countenance of meaning ſomwhat againſt him, than he began to ſpeak the enemy faire, and ſue for Peace at *Rome*. Since therefore it vvas known, that every ſmall thing vvould ſerve to terrefie him; and conſequently, that it ſhould at all times be in the *Romans* power, by

* *Polyb. Leg.* 72. 73. & 80.

* *Pol. Leg.* 77.

by giving him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take revenge at leiſure upon thoſe which had aſſiſted him: little cauſe was there why any ſhould adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noiſe; leading about his armie; taking by force or compoſition ſome few Townes, and ſoliciting all to joyne with him. But wiſe men could not be ſo beguiled. For at the ſame time, he ſought all meanes of pacification: and to that end, made humble ſuit unto the *Roman* Embaſſadours. *Q. Martius*, the chiefe of thoſe Embaſſadours, and a man of more fineneſſe in cunning than was uſuall among the *Romans*, made ſhew of inclination to the Kings deſire; and gave out ſuch comfortable words, that the King entreated, and obtained a meeting at the River *Peneus*. There did *Martius* very gently rebuke the King, and charge him with thoſe crimes that are before mentioned. Whereto though *Perſeus* made none other anſwer, than the ſame which they could have made for him, yet the Embaſſadours, and eſpecially *Martius*, tooke it in good part, as therewith ſatisfied: and adviſed him to give the like ſatisfaction to the Senate. That this might conveniently be done, a truce was agreed upon. Thus had *Martius* his deſire; which was, to make the King loſe time. For *Perſeus* had all things then in readineſſe, and might have done much, ere the *Roman* Armie could have beene in *Greece*. But by the interpoſition of this truce, he no way increaſed his forces; hee ſuffered a moſt convenient ſeaſon, of winning upon the enemy, to ſlip away; and obtained in recompence nothing elſe, than leiſure and vaine hope. Yet was he pleaſed herewith, as it had bin with ſome victory: publiſhing a copie of the diſputation between him and the *Romans*, whereby he gave men to underſtand, how much he had the better, and what great hope there was of peace. He ſent Embaſſadors alſo to the *Rhodians*, of whoſe good will to him he was beſt perſwaded; not onely to let them know how much he was ſuperiour in cauſe; but to intreat them, that they would take upon them, as Moderators, to compound the differences betweene him and the *Romans*, if perhaps, notwithſtanding the goodneſſe of his cauſe, he ſhould be denied peace. Theſe were poore helpes. For hereby it appeared, that his late ſtanding upon point of Honour, was no better than meere vanity: his owne ſafety being the utmoſt of his ambition. This his fearefulneſſe might ſeeme excuſable, and the blame thereof to appertaine unto the *Greekes*; who deceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in time of a neceſſitie, that was partly their owne: had it not bin his office, who tooke upon him as their Champion, to give ſuch a manly beginning to the warre, as might encourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more averſe from him; and were carefull, not to put their ſhoulders to a falling wall. The *Rhodians*, among whom he had many ſtout partizans, deſired him not to crave any thing at their hands, in which they might ſeem to doe againſt the good liking of the *Romans*. The *Bœotians* alſo, who had entred of late into a ſtrict ſocietie with the *Macedonian*; renounced it now, and made the like with the *Romans*: to whom further, in a ſort, they yeelded themſelves as vaſſals. Neither was *Martius* contented to accept their ſubmiſſion under a generall forme; but cauſed their ſeverall Townes to make covenant apart, each for it ſelfe; to the end, that being thus diſtracted into many little Common-weales, they might not (were they never ſo deſirous to rebell) have ſuch force to doe hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated in one, under the Citie of *Thebes*. This work, of ſeparating the *Bœotians* from *Thebes* their head, was more than *Ageſilaus* could effect, or *Epaminondas* would ſuffer, then when all *Greece* followed the *Lacedæmonians*. So far more availeable to *Thebes*, being deſtitute of help from abroad, was the vertue of *Epaminondas* and a few brave Citizens, than was the ſocietie with King *Perſeus*, againſt a number not ſo great as followed the *Lacedæmonians*.

*Martius* brought this to effect, whileſt the King ſate ſtill, as being bound by the truce: and having done this, he returned to the Citie; where vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though ſome reproved it as diſhoneſt) employed againe by the Senate, with commiſſion to deale as he ſhould thinke expedient. Touching the Embaſſadours which *Perſeus* had ſent, audience was given to them, for that they ſhould not plainly ſee how their Maſter was deluded: but neither excuſe, nor intreatie, would ſerve their turne; the Senate being reſolved before-hand what to doe. It was enough that they were admitted into the City, and had thirty daies reſpite allowed them to depart out of *Italy*: whereas they, who came laſt on the ſame errand, did their meſſage without the walls, in the Temple of *Bellona* (the uſuall place of giving audience to open enemies, or to ſuch Commanders, as might not, by reaſon of ſome cuſtome, enter the Citie) and had onely the ſhort warning of eleven dayes, to be gone out of *Italy*. Neither did this poore courteſie ſerve alone to hide the craft of *Martius*, as if he had meant none other than good earneſt: but it was a likely meane, both to keepe a long while from *Perſeus* the knowledge of his buſineſſe, and to ſtagger his reſolution, when hee ſhould need it moſt firme.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Licinius* the *Romane* Conſull, was at *Apollonia*, in a manner as ſoon, as the *Macedonian* Embaſſadors were with their King at *Pella*. Which, though it were enough to have rouzed *Perſeus*, and have made him lay aſide all cowardly hope of getting pardon, yet was hee content to deliberate a while, Whether it were not better to offer himſelfe tributary to the *Romans*, & to redeeme their good will with ſome part of his Kingdome, that ſo he might enjoy the reſt; than to put all at once to hazzard. But finally, the ſtouteſt counſell prevailed; which alſo was the wiſeſt, and ſo would have proved, had it beene ſtoutly and wiſely followed. He now beganne, as if the warre had not begunne untill now, to doe what ſhould have bin done long afore. He cauſed all his forces to be drawne together; and appointed their Rendevous at *Citium*, a Towne in *Macedon*. All being in readineſſe, he did royall ſacrifice, with an hundred beaſts, to I know not what *Minerva*, that was peculiarly honoured in his Country: and then with all his Courtiers, and thoſe of his guard, ſet forward to *Citium*. His army he found conſiſting of nine and thirty thouſand foot, and foure thouſand horſe, whereof about twelve thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, were ſtrangers, of ſundry nations, moſt part *Thracians*; the reſt his owne *Macedonians*. Theſe he animated with lively ſpeeches; laying before them the glory of their anceſtours, the inſolencie of the *Romans*, the goodneſſe of his cauſe, the greatneſſe of his proviſions, and the many advantages which they had of the Enemy, eſpecially in numbers. They anſwered him cherefully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all cities of *Macedon* there came likewiſe meſſengers, offering to helpe him with money and victualls, according to their ſeverall abilities. He gave them thankes: but anſwered, That his own proviſions would abundantly ſuffice, willing them only to furniſh him with carts, for his engines and munition.

Out of his owne Kingdome he iſſued forth into *Theſſaly*: knowing that the *Romans* were to paſſe through that Countrey, in their journey towards him. Some Townes of *Theſſaly* opened their gates unto him, without making offer to defend themſelves; ſome he balked, thinking them too ſtrong or well manned; and ſome he wan by force. Of theſe laſt was *Myla*; a Towne thought impregnable, & therefore, not more ſtoutly than proudly defended by the inhabitants, who gave contumelious language to the aſſailants. It was taken by reaſon of a ſally; which the Towneſmen raſhly made, and being driven backe, received the *Macedonians*, that entred pell mell with them at the gate. All cruelty of war was practiſed here: to the greater terrour of the obſtinate. So *Velatiæ* and *Connus* (townes of much importance, eſpecially *Connus*, which ſtood in the ſtreights of *Oſſa*, leading into *Tempe*) yeelded at the firſt. Having well fortified this paſſage, the King marched onwards to *Sycurium*, a towne ſeated on the foot of mount *Oſſa*; where he reſted a while, expecting newes of the Enemy.

*Licinius* the Conſull brought with him onely two *Roman* Legions: being promiſed other ſtrength of auxiliaries, which was thought ſufficient. *Eumenes* and *Attalus* his brother came to him in *Theſſaly*, with foure thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe. Thither alſo came, from every part of *Greece*, ſuch aide as the ſeverall Eſtates could afford, or thought expedient to ſend: which from the moſt of them was very little. Of the Kings abroad; *Maſaniſſa* ſent thither his ſonne *Miſagenes*, with a thouſand foot, as many horſe, and two and twenty Elephants. *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, by reaſon of his affinitie with *Eumenes*, was friend to the *Romans*, and had ſent to *Rome* his young ſonne, there to be brought up: yet he did little or nothing in this warre; perhaps becauſe *Eumenes* himſelfe beganne within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwiſe adviſed than he had beene in the beginning. *Pruſias* was content to be a looker on: as being allied to *Perſeus*, and yet fearing the *Romanes*. *Antiochus* and *Ptolomy* (though *Ptolomy* was then young, and under Tutors) had bnſineſſe of their owne; the *Syrian* meaning to invade the *Egyptian*: yet each of them promiſed helpe to the *Romanes*, which they cared not to perform. *Gentius* the *Illyrian* was inclinable to the *Macedonian*, yet made good countenance to the *Romans*, for feare. It was a pretty tricke, wherewith *M. Lucretius*, the *Roman* Admirals brother, ſerved him, for this his counterfeit good wil. This King had foure and fiftie ſhips, riding in the haven of *Dyrrachium*, uncertaine to what purpoſe: all which *Lucretius* tooke away, after a very kind ſort; making ſhew to beleeve, That for none other end than to ſerve the *Romans*, their good friend *Gentius* had ſent thither this fleet. But whatſoever *Gentius* thought in the beginning; he fooliſhly loſt both his Kingdome and himſelfe, in the end of this war; by offering, rather than giving, his helpe to *Perſeus*.

With none other company than what he brought over the ſea, *Licinius* came into *Theſſalie*: ſo tyred with a painefull journey, through the mountainous Countrey of *Athamania*, which ſtood in his way from *Epirus*; that if *Perſeus* had been ready, attending his deſcent into the Plaines, the *Romans* muſt needs have taken a great overthrow. He refreſhed himſelfe and his wearied army, by the river *Peneus*; where he encamped, attending his auxiliaries, that came in as faſt as they could. It was not any ſlender helpe, that could enable him to deale with *Perſeus*. Therefore he reſolved, to abide where he then was, and keepe his trenches, untill his numbers were ſufficiently increaſed: contenting himſelfe in the meane while, to have gotten quiet entrance into the Countrey. The land of *Theſſaly*, in which theſe two armies lay, was better affected to the *Romans*, than any part of *Greece* beſides: as having been freed by them from a more heavie yoke of bondage to the *Macedonian*, when there was little hope or expectation of ſuch a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitfull, and abounding in all things needfull to mans life. In the midſt of it, but ſomewhat more to the Eaſt, was that beautifull valley of *Tempe*, ſo exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often uſed at large, to ſignifie the moſt pleaſant and goodly places. This valley of it ſelfe was not great: but adding to it thoſe huge mountaines *Oſſa* and *Olympus* (famous in Poeſie) with their Spurres or Branches, by which it was on all ſides encloſed; it occupied the better part of *Theſſaly*. And this way were the *Romans* to enter into *Macedon*; unleſſe they would make an hungry journey, thorow the country of the *Daſſaretians*, as in the former warre with *Philip*, they had long, in vaine, attempted to doe. *Perſeus* therefore had no ſmall advantage, by being maſter of the ſtreights leading into *Tempe*: though farre greater he might have had, if by miſ-ſpending of time he had not loſt it. For if in defending the ragged paſſages of theſe mountaines, he were able to put the *Romans* often to the worſe; yea to winne upon them (for a while) every yeere more than other, both in ſtrength and reputation: queſtionleſſe he might have done farre greater things, had he ſeized upon the ſtreights of *Aous*, which his father once kept, and defended all the Countrey behinde the mountaines of *Pindus*. Surely not without extreme difficulty, muſt the *Romans* have either travelled by land, with all their carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no reliefe to bee found; or elſe have committed their armies, and all things thereto needfull, unto the mercie of Seas that were very dangerous; if they would have ſought other way into *Macedon*, than through the heart of *Greece*: upon neither of which courſes they once deviſed, notwithſtanding any trouble which they found in this preſent warre. It may perhaps bee ſaid, that the *Greekes*, and others, whom the King muſt have left on his backe, would have made him unable to defend any places too far from his owne home. But they were all, excepting the *Theſſalians*, better affected now to him, than they had bin to his father in the former warre. The *Ætolians*, upon whom the *Athamanians* depended, grew into ſuſpition with the *Romans* (as we ſhall finde anon) even as ſoone as they met with *Perſeus*. The *Bœotians*, how politikely ſoever *Martius* had wrought with them, adventured themſelves deſperately in the *Macedonian* quarrell: what would they have done, if he at firſt had done his beſt? The *Rhodians*, *Illyrians*, yea and *Eumenes* himſelfe, after a while began to waver, when they ſaw things goe better with *Perſeus*, than they had expected. So that if in ſtead of diſcouraging his friends, by ſuing baſely for peace; he had raiſed their hopes, by any brave performance in the beginning; and increaſed the number of his wel-willers, yea and bought downe with money (as he might have done) ſome of his enemies, and among them, *Eumenes*, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head: then might the *Romans* perhaps have bin compelled to forſake their imperious patronage over *Greece*; and to render the liberty, by them given, entire; which otherwiſe was but imaginary. Such benefit of this war, ſince it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reaſon have bin expected at firſt, from greater advantages. But as a fearefull companie running from their enemies, till ſome river ſtay their flight; are there compelled by meere deſperation to doe ſuch acts, as done, while the battell laſted, would have won the victory: ſo fell it out with *Perſeus*. In ſeeking to avoid the danger of that warre, whereof he ſhould have ſought the honour; he left his friends that would have ſtood by him, and gave them cauſe to provide for their owne ſafety: yet being overtaken by neceſſitie, he choſe rather to ſet his backe to the mountaines of *Tempe*, & defend himſelf with his proper forces; than to be driven into ſuch miſerie, as was inevitable, if he gave a little further ground. What was performed by him or the *Romans*, all the while that hee kept his footing in *Theſſalie*, it is hard to ſhew particularly, for that the hiſtory of thoſe things is much periſhed. Wherefore we muſt be contented with the ſumme.

The Conſul having no deſire to fight, untill ſuch time as all his forces were arrived; kept within his trenches, & lay ſtill encamped by the River of *Peneus*, about three miles from *Lariſſa*. That which perſwaded the Conſul to protract the time, did contrariwiſe incite the King, to put the matter unto a haſty triall. Wherefore he invited the *Romanes* into the field; by waſting the land of the *Pheræans* their confederates. Finding them patient of this indignity; he grew bold to adventure even unto their trenches: out of which if they iſſued, it was likely, that his advantage in horſe would make the victory his owne. At his comming they were troubled; for that it was ſudden: yet no way terrefied; as knowing themſelves to be ſafely lodged. They ſent out a few of King *Eumenes* his horſe, and with them ſome light armed foot, to entertaine skirmiſh. The Captaine, and ſome other of theſe were ſlaine: but no matter of importance done; for that neither *Licinius*, nor *Eumenes*, found it reaſonable to hazzard battell. Thus day after day, a while together, *Perſeus* continued offering battaile: which they ſtill refuſed. Hereby his boldneſſe much increaſed; and much more his reputation: to the griefe of thoſe who being ſo farre come to make a Conqueſt, could ill digeſt the ſhame, that fell upon them by their enduring theſe bravadoes. The Towne of *Sycurium*, where *Perſeus* then lay, was twelve miles from the *Romanes*: neither was there any convenient watering in that long march, which uſed to take up foure houres of the morning; but he was faine to bring water along with him in carts, that his men might not be both weary and thirſty when they came to fight. For remedy of theſe inconveniences, he found out a lodging, ſeven miles neerer to the enemy: whom he viſited the next day by the Sunne riſing. His comming at ſuch an unuſuall houre, filled the Campe with tumult: in ſo much as though he brought with him onely his horſe and light armature, that were unfit to aſſaile the trenches, yet the Conſull thought it neceſſary, and reſolved to give checke to his pride. Wherefore hee ſent forth his brother *C. Licinius*, King *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and many brave Captaines, with all his power of horſe, his Velites, and all the reſt of his light armature, to trie their fortune: he himſelfe remaining in the Campe, with his Legions in readineſſe. The honour of this morning, was the *Macedonian* Kings; for he obtained the victory in a manner entire (though the *Theſſalians* made a good retrait) with little loſſe of his owne. But he diſcovered his weakeneſſe ere night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly doe, to counſale given by one of his owne temper. For whereas the *Romans* were in great feare leſt he ſhould aſſault their campe; and to that purpoſe, upon the firſt newes of his ſucceſſe, his Phalanx was brought unto him by the Captaines, though unſent for: he neverthelеſſe tooke it for ſound advice, which indeed was timorous and baſe, To worke warily, and moderate his victory; by which meanes it was ſaid, that either he ſhould get honeſt conditions of peace, or at leaſtwiſe many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like, that his good fortune would exalt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet had it beene greater, and had he wonne the *Roman* Campe, his friends would have beene the more, and the bolder. But over-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace: and in ſuing for it, even when he had the victory, what elſe did he, than proclaime unto all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor bad fortune ſhould keep him from yeelding to the *Romans*, whenſoever they would be pleaſed to accept him? At this time the joy of his victory would admit none of theſe conſiderations. He had ſlaine of the *Roman* horſe two hundred, and taken of them priſoners the like number. Of their foot hee had ſlaine about two thouſand: looſing of his owne no more than twenty horſe and forty foot. The *Romane* Campe, after this diſaſter, was full of heavineſſe and feare: it being much doubted that the enemy would ſet upon it. *Eumenes* gave counſaile to diſlodge by night, and remove to a ſurer place beyond the River *Peneus*. The Conſull, though aſhamed to profeſſe, by ſo doing, in what feare he ſtood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the loſſe paſt, than by ſtanding on proud termes, to draw upon himſelfe a greater calamity. So hee paſſed the River in the dead of the night, and encamped more ſtrongly on the further ſide. The *Ætolians* were ſorely blamed for this loſſe: as if rather a traiterous meaning, than any true feare, had occaſioned their flight, wherein the reſt of the *Greeks* followed them. Five of them that were men of eſpeciall marke, had beene obſerved to be the firſt which turned their backes: an obſervation likely to coſt them deare, at a time of better leiſure. As for the *Theſſalians*, their vertue was honoured with reward: ſo as the *Greeks* might learne, by examples of either kinde, that if they would ſhunne indignation, or incurre favour, then muſt they adventure no leſſe for their Lords the *Romans*, than gladly they would doe for their owne liberty. Thus fared it with the Conſull and his Armie. *Perſeus* came the next day to correct the former dayes errour; which how great it was, he not untill then found. The *Romanes* were gotten into a place of ſafety; whither they could never have attained, if the King had either preſſed his victory, or given better heed to them that night; his light armature alone being ſufficient to have routed them whileſt they were conveying themſelves to the other ſide of *Peneus*. But it was vaine to tell what might have beene done, ſince there was no remedy. The *Romans* were beaten, even the flower of their City, the Gentlemen of *Rome*; out of whom were choſen their Senators, and conſequently the Generalls themſelves, Prætors, Conſuls, and all that bore office or command among them; yea, they were beaten ſo ſhamefully, that they ſtole away by night, and ſuffered him to gather up the ſpoiles of them without reſiſtance, as yeelding themſelves overcome. With ſuch brave words did the King ſet out the glory of his action; dividing the ſpoiles among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to have made his honor ſound. He came neerer to the *Romans*, and encamped at *Mopſelus*, a place in the mid-way betweene *Tempe* and *Lariſſa*: as if it were his meaning to preſſe them ſomewhat harder. Neverthelеſſe he was eaſily perſwaded to uſe the occaſion, which he ſeemed to have, of obtaining peace. Therefore he ſent unto the Conſull, and offered to yeeld unto the ſame Conditions, wherein his Father had beene bound to the *Romans*; if the warre might ſo take end. It were needleſſe here againe to ſhew the folly of this his courſe. Towards the accompliſhment of this deſired peace, there was in the Conſul no greater power than to grant a truce, whileſt Embaſſadours might goe to *Rome*: it reſting in the Senate and People to approve the conditions and ratifie the league. And of ſuch a truce granted by *Martius*, he had lately found no ſmall diſcommoditie redounding. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned anſwer, That other hope of peace there was none; ſave that *Perſeus* would yeeld both his Kingdome and perſon, ſimply and abſolutely, to diſcretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius* to be ſo reſolute in adverſitie. On the other ſide, it argued a very faint heart in *Perſeus*, that having received an anſwer ſo peremptory, he ſtill perſiſted, making vaine offers of greater tribute. Finding that the peace, which he ſo much deſired, could not be purchaſed with money, the King withdrew himſelfe backe to *Sycurium*. There he lay hearkening what the Enemy did; whoſe forces were well repaired by the comming of *Miſagenes* the ſon of *Maſaniſſa*, with the aide before mentioned. This diſtance betweene the King and them, cauſed the *Romans* to waxe the more bold in making their harveſt: about which buſineſs they ranged over all the fields. Their careleſſe demeanour gave him hope to doe ſome notable exploit: which he attempted, both upon their Campe, and upon thoſe that were abroad. The Campe he thought to have fired on the ſudden: but the alarme being taken in good ſeaſon, he failed in the enterprize. As for the forragers; he had a good hand upon them, if he could have withdrawne it, and given over in time. But whileſt he ſtrove to force a guard, he was viſited by the Conſul; by whom either in a ſkirmiſh of horſe, or (for the report is divers) in a great battell, he was overcome. This miſadventure, whether great or ſmall, cauſed *Perſeus*, after a few dayes, to fall backe into *Macedon*; as being naturally given to feare danger, even where none was; whereby what loſſe he felt, will appeare hereafter. He left all behinde him, ſave onely *Tempe*, weakely guarded: and conſequently an eaſie prey to the *Romanes*.

After the Kings departure, *Licinius* went ſtraight unto *Connus*; hoping to have taken it, and ſo to have gotten entrance into *Tempe*. But finding the worke too hard, he returned backe unto the *Perrabians* and others; from whom he won ſome townes, & among the reſt, *Lariſſa*. There were ſundry townes thereabout, bearing the ſame name of *Lariſſa*: ſo that this which the Conſull tooke, may ſeeme not to have belonged unto the *Theſſalians*; unleſſe, perhaps, after his victory, *Perſeus* did greater Acts than we finde recorded, and got ſome part of *Theſſaly*.

Of matters happening in *Greece* at this time, it is hard to give a preciſe account; for that the hiſtories of them are greatly defective. One may thinke it ſtrange, that the *Bœotians*, whom a *Roman* Embaſſadour could terrefie, and bring altogether to his owne will, ſhould not be afraid of a *Roman* Armie, then on foot in *Greece*, and a Navie on their coaſt. But more ſtrange it is, that the *Thebans*, from whom their dependants were taken by the Art of *Martius*, were more true to *Rome*, than other petty townes, which by that ſame diſtraction of the *Bœotians*, became within themſelves more abſolute, than formerly they had beene. The cauſes hereof were to have beene ſought among the changes, happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is now loſt. Some of them rebelled, and were throughly puniſhed by *Lucretius* the *Roman* Admirall: who got ſo much by ſpoiling them, that he would have brought others to rebell in like ſort, if by extreme oppreſſion he could have driven them ſo farre. Neither was *Licinius* the Conſull undiligent in the ſame kinde. What his doings were, after ſuch time as he was at leiſure from *Perſeus*, I finde no where mentioned. Onely this is ſaid in generall; That in the warre which he made, he cruelly and covetouſly demeaned himſelfe.

*Liv. lib. 43.*

After the ſame faſhion dealt they, that commanded in the yeere following; *Hoſtilius* the Conſull, and *Hortenſius* the Admirall, or Prætor of the Fleet. *Hoſtilius* ſhewed more of his induſtrie, in picking quarrels with the confederates of *Rome*, than in proſecuting the war againſt the *Macedonian*. For concerning the *Roman* warre upon his Kingdome, after that the Conſull had ſought paſſage in vaine over certaine mountaines, *Perſeus* ſeemed, in a maner, free from it. He was troubled indeed on that ſide which looked towards *Illyria*, by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the Conſull ſent thither with an Armie of foure thouſand, and who, by levies made upon the Confederates, doubled this his Armie. But *Claudius* thinking to have taken *Uſcana*, a border towne of *Illyria*, by treaſon, came thither in ſuch careleſſe order, that the inhabitants which had made ſhew of treaſon, with purpoſe onely to traine him into danger; ſallied forth upon him, overthrew him, and chaſed him ſo farre, that hardly he eſcaped with the fourth part of his company. Yet this towne of *Uſcana* ſhortly after became *Romane*: which howſoever it happened, *Perſeus* very ſoone recovered it, and many other places therewithall: *Cotys* a *Thracian* King, ſecuring him on the one ſide of *Macedon*; and *Cephalus* an *Epirot*, revolted from the *Romans*, on the other. *Perſeus* likewiſe made a painefull journey into *Ætolia*: where he was promiſed to be admitted into *Stratus*, that was the ſtrongeſt Citie in that Region. Of this hope though he were diſappointed by thoſe of the *Romane* faction, yet in his returne home, he tooke in *Aperantia*; and ſhortly heard good newes, that *Ap. Claudius* was againe throughly beaten by *Clevas*, one of his Lievtenants. Such ſucceſſe had the *Macedonian* war under *Hoſtilius*. The ſame Conſull offended much the *Greeks*, by the ſtrict inquiſition which his Embaſſadours made into mens affection towards *Rome*. For theſe Embaſſadours travellinig thorow all the Cities of *Peloponneſus*, gave out ſpeeches tending to ſhew, That they liked no better of thoſe who ſought not by might and maine to advance their buſineſſe, than of thoſe which were of the *Macedonian* faction. Their meaning was, to have accuſed by name, in the Parliament of *Achaia*, *Lycortas* that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the ſteps of *Philopœmen*; & together with him, his ſon *Polybius*, who ſoon after was Generall of the *Achæan* horſe, but more notable by that excellent hiſtorie which he wrote, than by his great employments, which he well and honourably diſcharged. The ſumme of the accuſation ſhould have beene; That theſe were not heartie friends unto the *Romans*, but ſuch as abſtained from raiſing troubles, more for lacke of opportunitie than for any love to the common quiet. But ſince no colour of truth could be found, that might give countenance to ſuch a tale; it was thought better, for the preſent, to let it alone, & give gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the *Ætolians*: They demanded hoſtages; and found ſome in the Councell that approved the motion: as alſo among the

*Polyb. Legat. 70.*

*Polyb. Leg. 74.*

the *Acarnanians*, there were that entreated to have *Roman* garriſons beſtowed in their townes. But neither the one nor the other of theſe propoſitions tooke effect. They of the *Roman* faction, accuſed not only ſuch as were inclinable to the *Macedonian*, but alſo the good Patriots; making it no leſſe than a matter of treaſon, to be a *Grecian* in *Greece*. On the contrary ſide, there wanted not ſome, who roundly told theſe pick-thankes of their baſe flattery; rating them openly, in ſuch ſort, that one of them hardly eſcaped being ſtoned, even in preſence of the Embaſſadours. Thus was all full of accuſations, and excuſes: among which the Embaſſadours carried themſelves, as men that could beleeve none ill; though it were well enough knowne what they thought. The beſt was, that an order from the Senate was brought into *Greece*, and publiſhed, to this effect: That it ſhould be free for all men, to refuſe obedience to any *Roman* Magiſtrate, impoſing any burthen for the preſent warre, unleſſe it were ſuch, as the Senate had likewiſe thought meete. Of this decree the whole Country was glad: for it was, or ſeemed, a good remedy of many inconveniences. But they that ſtanding on priviledge hereof, refuſed to fulfill every commandement, were numbred among the Patriots; which in the end of this warre, proved little better, if not worſe, than to have beene Traitors. The Senate was driven to ſet downe this order; by reaſon of the many & vehement complaints brought to *Rome*, concerning the wrongs done by *Roman* Magiſtrates, and eſpecially by the Admirals, *Lucretius* and *Hortenſius*. *Lucretius* was condemned in a great ſum of money, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the *Romans*, in that they loved not to have their ſubjects oppreſſed. *Hortenſius* being ſtill in office, had warning to amend.

Among the great number of Embaſſages that came to *Rome* about this time, either to ſeek redreſſe of injuries, or to offer their ſervices: it is note-worthy, that from *Alabanda*, a towne of the leſſer *Aſia*, there was preſented unto the Senate, and well accepted, a moſt baſe piece of flatterie. Theſe *Alabanders* brought three hundred horſemens targets, and a crowne of gold, to beſtow upon *Jupiter* in the Capitol. But having a deſire to gratifie the *Romans* with ſome exquiſite token of their dutifull obedience, wherein they would be ſingular; and being not able to reach unto any great performance: they built a Temple, unto the Towne *Rome*, & appointed anniverſary games to be celebrated among them, in honour of that *goddeſſe*. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of *Alexander*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolomy*, & the like vaine men, that would be thought gods; or at the ſhameleſſe flattery of ſuch as beſtowed upon men, and not the moſt vertuous of men, divine honours; when he ſees a towne of houſes, wherein powerfull men dwell, worſhipped as a goddeſſe; and receiving (without ſcorne of the givers, or ſhame of the Preſent) the title of *Deitie*, at the gift of ſuch a raſcall Citie as *Alabanda*?

## §. VII.

Q. Martius *the Roman Conſul, with extreme difficulty and danger, enters into Tempe. The cowardize of* Perſeus *in abandoning Tempe. The towne of Dium quitted by* Martius; *repaired and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, with ill ſucceſſe. Their affaires in hard eſtate.* Martius *a cunning and a bad man.* Polybius *ſent Embaſſadour to* Martius *from the Achæans.* Polybius *his honeſt wiſedome beneficiall to the Achæans. King* Eumenes *growes averſe from the Romans.* Perſeus *negotiates with* Antiochus, *and* Eumenes. *His falſe dealing with* Gentius *King of Illyria; whom he drawes into the Romane warre. He ſends Embaſſadours to the Rhodians; who vainely take upon them to be arbitrators betweene him and the Romans.* Perſeus *loſeth a mightie ſuccour of the Baſtarnæ, by his wretched parſimonie.*

AFter two yeeres of the *Macedonian* warre, things were further out of tune in *Greece*, than when the warre began; which had beene thought likely to reforme all thoſe Countries, and bring them to what paſſe the *Romans* deſired; as it did in the end. *Perſeus* had hitherto the better, and was ſtronger now, than when he lived in peace. He had enlarged his borders on the *Illyrian* ſide; his friends, in all parts of *Greece*, tooke courage daily; and his reputation grew ſuch, as cauſed thoſe that were before wholly *Roman*, to ſuſpect what the iſſue of the warre might prove, and thereupon to become wiſe for themſelves. Contrariwiſe, *Licinius*, & *Hoſtilius* the Conſuls, had one after the other ſpent their time in vaine, ſeeking way into *Macedon*; and defaced the glorious enterprize of conqueſt, by many loſſes received. The *Roman* Admiralls had ſo demeaned themſelves, that many Townes, even of the beſt affected to *Rome*, kept them out by force. Generally, the feare was great on the *Roman* ſide; and the Armie much leſſened, not onely by caſualties of warre, but by the facilitie of the Tribunes or Colonels, or elſe of the Conſul himſelfe (for they laid the blame one upon the other) in licenſing the ſouldiers to depart. *Quintius Martius* the new Conſul, who ſucceeded unto *Hoſtilius*, was to amend all this: which nevertheleſſe was more than he knew how to doe; though he brought with him a ſtrong ſupply of men. He began hotly to ſet the warre on foot, which a long time had ſlept. And he began the right way: not ſeeking to force the ſtreights that were ſurely guarded, but taking pains to climbe the mountains which were thought able to forbid all paſſage over them, without helpe or need of any cuſtodie. The King heard of his approach; and being uncertaine what way he meant to take, diſtributed his owne forces, to the defence of all places which might give entrance, or permit aſcent. But the Conſul proceeded in his journey: with hope, either not to be diſcovered by the Enemie, or to breake through all oppoſition, or at leaſtwiſe, to fight on as convenient ground, as they ſhould have that lay to ſtop him, and at length, if all failed, to make a ſafe retreat. He ſent before him foure thouſand of his moſt expedit foot, to diſcover the waies. Two daies was this company troubled, in overcomming the difficultie of no more than fifteene miles: after which they had ſight of the Enemie, that lay to denie their paſſage. They occupied therefore a ſafe peece of ground; and ſent backe word to the Conſull, where they were; intreating him to haſten unto them: which he did. The *Macedonians* were not a whit diſmayed at his arrivall; but met him, and fought with him, two or three dayes together; each returning to their owne Campe at night, with little loſſe on either ſide. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a mountaine, which gave ſcarcely roome unto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed: all the reſt were beholders. In this caſe, it was impoſſible to get forwards: yet a ſhame to returne. Wherefore *Martius* tooke the onely courſe remaining; and indeed the beſt: Part of his men hee left with *Popilius*, to attend upon the *Macedonians*: whileſt hee, with the reſt, fetcht a compaſſe about, and ſought out wayes that never had beene troden. Herein he found extreme difficultie: which notwithſtanding hee overcame. Beſides the troubles commonly incident to ſuch journeyes, through places unfit for habitation: he was compelled, by labour of hand, to make pathes where none were, yea, where Nature might ſeeme to have intended, that none ſhould bee. So ſteepe hee found the deſcent of the mountaines, in this way which he tooke: that of ſeven miles, which they travelled the firſt day, his men were compelled, for the more part, to rowle themſelves downe; as not daring to truſt their feet. Neither was this the worſt. For they met with rockes, that ſtood one over another, ſo upright, and cumberſome to get downe; that their Elephants were affraid of the giddy proſpect, and caſting their governours, made a terrible noiſe, which affrighted the horſes, and bred great confuſion. Having therefore gone, or wallowed, foure miles of this grievous journey; there was nothing more deſired by the ſouldiers, than that they might be ſuffered to creepe backe againe, the ſame way which they had come. But ſhift was made to let downe the Elephants, by a kinde of bridges, like unto falling draw-bridges: whereof the one end was joyned to the edge of the cliffe; the other ſuſtained by two long poſtes, faſtened in the ground below. Upon theſe two poſtes, or poles, (which indeed, not being very ſtrong, ſince it was intended that they ſhould bee either cut or broken) were faſtned two rafters, anſwerable in length to the diſtance, betweene the higher and the lower fall: ſo as the end of one bridge might reach to the beginning of another. Theſe were covered with plankes and turfe; that they might ſeeme continent with the ground; ſo to make the beaſtes adventurous to goe upon them. If there were a plaine of any good extent from the foot of a rocke, to the next downefall; then might the bridge be ſhorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretty way, upon one of theſe; the poſts upholding the frame were cut aſunder; thereby cauſing him to ſinke downe unto the next bridge; whence hee was conveyed in like manner, to the third, and onward ſtill to the verie bottome. Thus went they downe ſliding, ſome on their feet, others on their buttocks, till they came to an even valley. By this it appeares, how throughly provided the

*Romans* uſed to be in their journeyes, of things needfull in all occaſions: as alſo what ineſtimable paines they tooke in this deſcent, about the conveyance of themſelves and all their carriages downe the mountaines. The next day they reſted; ſtaying for *Popilius* and his company, who hardly or perhaps never, ſhould have overtaken them, if the Enemie had followed, and ſet upon him from aloft. The third and fourth dayes journeyes were like unto the firſt: ſave that cuſtome, and the neerneſſe to their wayes end without meeting enemy, cauſed them the better to endure the labour.

*Perſeus* could not be ignorant of the *Romans* comming towards him: ſince they fought with his men upon the paſſage, three daies together; he lying ſo nigh, that he might welneere have heard the noiſe. Yet was he ſo poſſeſſed with feare; that he neither ſtirred to helpe his owne men, or to hinder the Conſull, nor made any proviſion for that which might fall out; but as one void of counſaile, ſate hearkening after the event. Foure onely paſſages there were, leading into *Tempe:* the firſt by *Connus*; which the *Romans* were unable to force: the ſecond and third were the ſame which *Martius* had attempted in vaine, and another like unto it: the laſt, by the City of *Dium* out of *Macedon*. All theſe were ſufficiently guarded: and whoſoever would ſeeke any other way, muſt be faine to take ſuch paines as *Martius* had undergone. The entrance by *Dium* was fairer than any of the reſt: whereof only the King had benefit; for that his enemies could not get thither, ſave through the valley it ſelfe, into which they muſt firſt pierce another way. *Dium* ſtood upon the foot of the huge mountaine *Olympus*, about a mile from the ſea: of which mile, the River *Helicon* becomming there a lake, and called *Baphyras*, took up the one halfe; the reſt being ſuch as might eaſily have been fortified. Beſides all theſe, there was in the middeſt of *Tempe*, a paſſage which ten men might eaſily keepe: where the ſpurres of the mountaines, reaching farre into the valley, drew neere to the very bankes of *Peneus*, a goodly and deepe river which ran thorow it. Wherefore nothing had beene more eaſie, than to make the Conſul repent him of his troubleſome journey: if *Perſeus* could have ſeene his owne advantages. For the *Roman* Armie was not onely in ill caſe to fight, after the vexation of that miſerable travaile: but muſt needs have either periſhed for want of victualls, or bin inforced to returne the ſame way that it came, if the King had made good the ſtreight of *Dium*. To have returned, and climbed up with their Elephants and carriages, againſt thoſe rocks, from which, with extreme labour, they could hardly get downe, it ſeemes a matter of impoſſibilitie: eſpecially conſidering how the enemy from above their heads, would have beaten upon them; being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they ſtole away from him. It may therefore be thought ſtrange, that the *Romans* did not rather take their journey into *Macedon*, from the ſide of *Illyria*, whence that Kingdome had often beene invaded, as lying open on that part: than put themſelves to the trouble of breaking into *Tempe*, whence, after that they were arrived, there was no meanes to eſcape, without forcing one of thoſe paſſages, which they deſpaired to winne. But the cowardiſe of *Perſeus* did commend the counſell by them followed, as wiſe. For hee no ſooner heard that the Enemie was come over the mountaines into Tempe; than hee fared like one out of his witts; ſaying, That hee was vanquiſhed, and had loſt all without battaile. Herewithall he began to take out of *Dium*, what hee could carry away in haſte; and ſtraightwayes abandoned the Towne. In the ſame vehemencie of amazement, he ſent a ſtrait commandement to *Theſſalonica*, that the Arſenall there ſhould be ſet on fire; and to *Pella*, that his treaſures there ſhould be caſt into the ſea: as if the *Romans* were like preſently to be maſters of theſe two Cities. *Niceas*, who was appointed to drowne the treaſure, performed it haſtily as well as he could: though ſoone after, his maſter grew ſorie for the loſſe; and it was all, in a manner recovered by Divers from under the water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge to ſet fire on the Kings Arſenall, deferred the execution; foreſeeing that repentance might follow: and ſo he prevented the dammage. Whether *Niceas*, for his abſolute and blinde obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his carefull providence, merited the greater commendation, or more eaſie pardon; it reſted in the King to interpret. The reward of their ſervice, was this. *Perſeus* growing aſhamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this haſtie direction; cauſed them both to be ſlaine. Alſo thoſe poore men, which had fetcht his treaſure out of the Sea by their diving, were payed their wages after the ſame ſort: that ſo there might be no witneſſe of the Kings baſe folly. Such end muſt they feare, who are privie to diſhonourable actions of great Princes. If *Perſeus* would have gone ſurely to worke, for the hiding of his fault; then muſt he ſo royally have behaved himſelfe, that no man might beleeve him to be the author of any unworthy act or counſaile. But his vertue was of no ſuch capacity. He thought it enough to lay the blame upon others. And therefore, having called *Hippias* away (the Captaine which had ſtopped the Conſull on the top of the mountaine) & *Aſclepiodatus*, from defence of the paſſages, whereto they were by him appointed: he rated them openly; ſaying, that they had betrayed unto the Enemy the gates and bars of *Macedon*. Of this reproach, if they would diſcharge themſelves, by laying it upon him, to whom of right it belonged: then might they have ſped as did *Nicias* and *Andronicus*.

The Conſull *Martius* had great cauſe to rejoyce, for that the King ſo haſtily relinquiſhed his poſſeſſion of *Tempe*, and all the paſſages leading thereinto: ſince the *Roman* Army, this notwithſtanding, was hardly able to ſubſiſt, for want of victuals. He took *Dium* without reſiſtance; and thence went forward into *Macedon*: wherein having travelled about a dayes journey, and gotten one towne that yeelded, he was compelled by meere lacke of food for his men, to returne backe towards *Theſſaly*. His fleet came to him, in this time of neceſſity, well appointed to have holpen him in the warre: but having left behinde, at *Magneſia*, the ſhips of burthen, which carried the proviſions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lievtenants had beene carefull to occupy the Caſtles about *Tempe*, which were forſaken by the *Macedonians*: for by thoſe wayes onely might corne be brought into the Army. To meet the ſooner with this corne, which was moſt deſirouſly expected, he forſooke *Dium*, and went to *Phila*; by which fooliſh journey (if not worſe than fooliſh) he loſt more, than a little the longer faſting had beene worth. It is probable that his carts, with all or the moſt of his ſtore, were loſt among the mountaines: for otherwiſe it had beene madneſſe to put himſelfe on ſuch an enterpriſe, ſo ſlenderly provided, as that without enforcement, or ſight of the Enemie, he ſhould be faine to quit it. Howſoever it was: men thought him a coward, or at leaſt a badde man of warre; ſince he thus recoyled and gave off, when it moſt behooved him to have proſecuted the action.

By underſtanding the folly, or cowardize of *Martius*; the King recollected himſelfe, underſtood his owne error; ſought to hide it by ſuch poore meanes as have beene ſhewed, and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repoſſeſſed the towne of *Dium*, which he haſtily repaired, finding it diſmantled by the *Romans*. This done, he encamped ſtrongly by the River of *Enipeus*: meaning there to ſtop the Enemies proceeding all that Summer. Leſſe diligence, more timely uſed, would have beene enough, not onely to have delivered *Martius* into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace: but to have given him ſuch a noble victory, as might cauſe the *Romans* to ſeeke a good end of the warre upon faire conditions, and not to begin againe in haſte. Yet this recovery and fortification of *Dium*, was to the Conſull an exceeding hinderance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the conqueſt in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Onely the towne of *Heraclea*, ſtanding on the River of *Peneus*, five miles from *Dium*, was taken by force, or rather by a tricke of climing upon mens heads, ſomewhat after the manner of our tumblers. But it made ſuch defence as it could, and was not given up for feare. After this, *Martius* did ſet a bold face towards *Dium*; as if he would have taken it againe, and have driven the King further off: though his intent or hope was nothing like ſo great: his chiefe care, being to provide for his wintering. He ſent the Admirall to make attempt upon the Sea-Towns, *Theſſalonica*, *Caſſandrea*, *Demetrias*, and others. All theſe were aſſayed: but in vaine. The fields about *Theſſalonica* were waſted; and ſome companies, that ſundry times adventured forth of the Towne, were ſtill put to the worſe. As for the Town it ſelfe; there was danger in comming neere it, either by land or ſea; by reaſon of the engins, which ſhot from the walls, and reached unto the fleet. Wherefore the Admirall ſetting ſaile from thence, ran along by *Ænia*, and *Antigonea*, (landing neere to each of them, and both doing and receiving hurt) untill he came to *Pallene* in the territory of *Caſſandrea*. There King *Eumenes* joyned with him, bringing twenty ſhippes of Warre: and five other were ſent thither from King *Pruſias*. With this acceſſe of ſtrength, the Admirall was bold to trie his fortune at *Caſſandrea*: which was bad. There was a new ditch lately caſt by *Perſeus*, before the towne: which while the *Romans* were filling up, queſtion was made, what became of the earth taken thence, for that it lay not upon the banke. By this occaſion, it was learned, that there were arches in the town-wall filled up with that earth, & covered with one ſingle row of bricke. Hence the Admirall gathered hope of making way into the town, by ſapping the walls. To this worke he appointed ſuch as he thought meeteſt: giving an alarme to the other ſide of the town, thereby to ſhadow his attempt. The breach was ſoone made. But whilſt the *Romans* were ſhouting for joy, & ordering themſelves for the aſſault: the Captaines within the towne perceived what was done; and ſallying forth unexpected, gave a fierce charge on the companies that were between the ditch & the wall; of whom they ſlew about ſixe hundred, and ſuffered few to eſcape unwounded. This diſaſter, and the want of good ſucceſſe on that part of the town which King *Eumenes* aſſailed (a ſupply in the meane while entring the towne by ſea) cauſed the ſiege to breake up. *Torone* was the next place which the Admirall thought meet to attempt: and thence likewiſe he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards *Demetrias*: whereinto *Euphranor*, a *Macedonian* Captaine, was gotten before his comming, with ſuch forces, as were not onely ſufficient to have defended the Town, if the Admirall had layed ſiege to it, but to keepe the land about it from ſpoile; or at leaſt (as they did) to make the enemy pay deare for all that he there got. This *Euphranor* had taken his journey to *Demetrias*, by *Melibœa*; whither the Conſul (that he might not be quite without worke) had ſent his Lievtenant to beſiege it: and by the terrour of his appearing ſuddenly over their heads, cauſed the beſiegers to diſlodge in all haſte, ſetting their Campe on fire.

Such fortune attended on the *Romans*; or rather, ſo far was their ability ſhort of their Enterpriſes; ever ſince their Conſull (whether daſtardly, or careleſly) moſt unlike a good Commander, had let goe his hold of *Macedon*, by forſaking *Dium*: Yea, it is to be ſuſpected, that ſome greater harme befell them, or at leaſt, that they were in ſome greater danger, than is expreſſed in the broken remaining Hiſtorie of this Warre. For *Martius* perſwaded the *Rhodians* by *Ageſipolis* their Embaſſador, who came to him at *Heraclea* about other buſineſſe of leſſe importance, That they ſhould doe well to interpoſe themſelves as mediatours, and ſeeke to finiſh the Warre. Now, although *Polybius* doe moſt probably conjecture, that this was rather a malicious device of *Martius*, craftily ſeeking to bring the *Rhodians* in danger (as anon it fell out) by their oppoſing the reſolution of the Senate; than that it proceeded from any true feare in him, either of *Perſeus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an armie on foot: yet ſince he made ſhew of feare, it is like withall, that ſomewhat had happened, which might make his feare ſeeme not counterfeit. And ſo were the *Rhodians* moved to thinke of him; not onely for that the extraordinary courteſie, both of him and of the Admirall, towards their Embaſſadour, comming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cauſe it; but much more, for that ſhortly after the Embaſſadours of *Perſeus*, and of *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, did ſet out their buſineſſe at *Rhodes*, not more with the ſtrength of a good fleet, which the *Macedonian* had gotten, than with the honor of ſome victory, wherein he had lately ſlaine great numbers of the *Roman* horſe. Thus much we finde intimated: though the time, place, or other circumſtances of the fight, be not ſpecified. And hereto may be referred, the report of thoſe that were ſent from *Rome* to view the eſtate of *Martius* his army. For they found the Conſul wanting meat; the Admirall wanting men; and, for thoſe few that he had, wanting both money and cloathes: and *Ap. Claudius* the Prætor, who lay on the frontier of *Illyria*, ſo unable to invade *Macedon*, that contrariwiſe, he was in extreme danger; ſo as either he muſt quickly be ſent for thence, or a new army be ſent thither to him. Wherefore it may ſeeme, that ſome blow had beene taken on the *Illyrian* ſide, which made all to halt; or at leaſt, that the *Romans* with greater loſſe, than is before ſpoken of, had beene driven from ſome of the Townes which they beſieged.

Polyb. Legat. 80.

Polyb. Leg. 87.

Now although it were ſo, that *Martius* in very few of his actions, behaved himſelfe like a man of warre: yet in exerciſe of *Cunning*, which one hath moſt aptly termed, *a crooked or ſiniſter kinde of wiſedome*, he dealt as a craftſ-maſter, with a reſtleſſe working diligence. This indeed neither proved his ſufficiencie, nor commended his honeſtie: ſince thereby he effected nothing to his owne benefit; and neverthleſſe, out of envie, vaine-glory, or ſuch delight as weake and buſie-headed men take, in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made oppoſition to the good of his Countrey. At ſuch time as *Perſeus*, by the ſucceſſe of his doings againſt *Hoſtilius*, had gotten much reputation, and was thought likely to invade *Theſſaly*; *Archo*, *Lycortas*, and other good Patriots among the *Achæans*, judged it expedient for their Nation to helpe the *Romans*, as in a time of adverſity, whom in proſperity they loved not to flatter. Wherefore *Archo* propoſed a decree, which paſſed: That the *Achæans* ſhould ſend their whole power into *Theſſaly*, and participate with the *Romans* in all danger. So the Armie was levied; and *Polybius*, with others, ſent Embaſſadors unto *Martius*, to certifie him thereof, and know his pleaſure. *Polybius* found the Conſull buſie in finding paſſage through *Tempe* into *Macedon*. He went along with the Armie; and awaited the Conſulls leiſure till they came to *Heraclea*; where finding the time convenient, he preſented the Decree, and offered the ſervice of his Nation, wherein ſoever it ſhould be commanded. *Martius* tooke this very kindely; but ſaid, That he needed now no manner of helpe. Forthwith *Polybius* diſpatched home his companions, to ſignifie thus much: tarrying himſelfe behinde in the Campe. After a while, word was brought to *Martius*, that *Ap. Claudius* deſired, or rather imperiouſly required, of the *Achæans*, five thouſand men, to be ſent him into *Epirus*. It was manifeſt, that *Appius* had need of theſe men; and that if he were ſtrong in field, he might doe notable ſervice, by diſtracting the forces of *Perſeus*. But the *Labyrinthian* head of *Martius* could not allow of ſuch plaine reaſon. He called unto him *Polybius*, to whom he declared, that *Appius* had no need of ſuch aide, and therefore willed him to returne home, and in any wiſe take order that the men might not be ſent, nor the *Achæans* be put to ſuch needleſſe charges. Away went *Polybius*; muſing, and unable to reſolve, whether it were for love to the *Achæans*, that the Conſul was ſo earneſt in this buſineſs; or rather for envie, and to hinder *Ap. Claudius* from doing any thing, ſince himſelfe could doe nothing. But when *Polybius* was to deliver his opinion in the Councell touching this matter; then found he a new doubt, that more neerely concerned his owne ſelfe, and thoſe of his partie. For as he was ſure to incurre the great indignation of the Conſull, if he ſhould neglect what was given him in charge; ſo was it manifeſt on the other ſide, that the words by *Martius* uttered to him in private, would prove no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they ſhould refuſe to helpe *Claudius*, alledging that he had no need: In this caſe therefore, he had recourſe unto the Decree of the Senate: which exempted men from neceſſity of doing what the *Roman* Commanders ſhould require, unleſſe by ſpeciall order from the Senate, the ſame were likewiſe appointed. So for lack of warrant from the Senate, this demand of *Appius* was referred unto the advice of the Conſull: by whom it was ſure to bee made fruſtrate. Hereby the *Achæans* were ſavers, of more than an hundred and twenty Talents: though *Polybius* himſelfe ranne into danger of *Appius* his diſpleaſure; and for ſuch honeſt dealing in his Countries behalfe, was afterwards rewarded by the *Romans* with many a long yeers impriſonment.

*Polyb. Legat. 78.*

Whether it were by the like policie of *Martius*, that King *Eumenes* grew cold in his affection to the *Romans*; or whether this King began when it was too late, to ſtand in feare leſt the fire, which he himſelfe had helped to kindle, would ſhortly take hold on his own lodging; or whether the regard of money were able to overſway all other paſſions: it is hard to determine: ſince they that had better means to know the truth, have not preciſely affirmed any certainty. One report is, that *Eumenes* did not ſo much as give any helpe to *Martius*: but comming to have joyned with him, in ſuch friendly manner as hee did with the former Conſuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in ſuch anger, that he refuſed to leave behinde him certaine horſe of the *Gallo-Greeks*, being requeſted to have done it. If this were true; and that his brother *Attalus* tarrying behinde with the Conſul, did the *Romans* good ſervice: then is the reaſon apparent, of the hatred, borne afterwards by the Senate to *Eumenes*, & the love to *Attalus*. But it is more generally received; that *Eumenes* gave a willing eare to *Perſeus* his deſire of accord, for meere deſire of gaine. And it might well be, that covetouſneſſe drew him on, in the courſe, whereinto indignation firſt led him. Howſoever it befell; *Perſeus* cauſed *Eumenes* to be ſounded, and found him ſo tractable, that hee was bold to ſolicite him by an Embaſſage. The tenour of his advertiſements, both to *Eumenes* & *Antiochus*, was: That there could be no perfect love betweene a King and a free Citie: that the *Romans* had quarrell a like to all Kings, though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and uſed the helpe of one againſt another; that *Philip* was oppreſſed by them, with the helpe of *Attalus*; *Antiochus*, with the helpe of *Philip* and *Eumenes*; and now *Perſeus* aſſailed, with helpe of *Eumenes* and *Pruſias*. Herewith he willed *Eumenes* to conſider, that when *Macedon* was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in *Aſia*, which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to thinke better of *Pruſias*, than of him. In like ſort he admoniſhed *Antiochus*, not to looke for any good concluſion of his warre with the *Egyptian*, ſo long as the *Romans* could make him give over, by denouncing their will and pleaſure. Finally, he requeſted both of them, either to compell the *Romans* to ſurceaſe from their warre upon *Macedon*; or elſe to hold them as common enemies unto all Kings. *Antiochus* lay farre out of the *Romans* way: and therefore was little troubled with ſuch remonſtrances. *Eumenes* was more neerely toucht; and as he felt part of this to be true, ſo had he reaſon to ſtand in doubt of the reſt. Yet when he ſhould give anſwer; he began to offer a bargaine of peace for money. He thought the *Romans* to be no leſſe weary, than *Perſeus* was affraid. Wherefore he promiſed, for his owne part, That if he might have fifteen hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this war, then would he remaine a Neuter therein: and that for ſome greater quantitie of money (how much I finde not) he would alſo bring the *Romans* to condeſcend unto peace: and for aſſurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to give hoſtages. *Perſeus* liked well to receive the hoſtages: but not to lay out the money; eſpecially before hand, as was required. He would faine have peace with *Rome*, and not with *Eumenes* only. For procuring of this, he promiſed to be at any reaſonable coſt: but he would lay down the money in the Temple at *Samothrace*: whence it ſhould be delivered unto *Eumenes*, after that the peace was fully concluded and ratified. The Iſle of *Samothrace* was *Perſeus* his owne: and therefore *Eumenes* thought the money no neerer to him, being there, than if it remained in *Pella*. Beſides, his labour deſerved ſomewhat, howſoever the buſineſſe might happen to ſucceed: ſo that needs he would have part of his wages in *preſt*. Thus the two Kings did no more, than loſe time; and *Eumenes* grew ſuſpected of the *Romans*, as a Traytor.

After the ſame manner delt *Perſeus* with King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. He had attempted this *Illyrian* before; who dealt plainly, and ſaid, That without money he could not ſtirre. Hereunto *Perſeus* loved not to hearken; thinking, that his Treaſures would ſerve at the laſt caſt, to deliver him from all his feares. But when the *Romans* had gotten within *Tempe*, then did his feare urge him to prodigalitie; ſo as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents which *Gentius* demanded for a recompence. So the bargaine was ſoone made, and pledges on both ſides delivered for performance. This was openly done by *Perſeus*, to the end that all his Armie might have comfort, by ſuch acceſſe of ſtrength to their partie. Preſently upon the bargaine made, Embaſſadors were ſent to *Rhodes*, from both *Perſeus* and *Gentius*: who deſired the *Rhodians*, to take upon them, as arbitrators, between *Perſeus* and the *Romans*, and to bring the Warre to an end. The *Rhodians* thinking that *Martius* the Conſull was no leſſe deſirous of peace than the *Macedonian*, arrogantly promiſed, that they, by their authority, would make peace; wiſhing the Kings to ſhew themſelves conformable. But the *Roman* Senate, hearing proud words to the ſame effect, from the *Rhodian* Embaſſadours; gave an anſwer as diſdainfull, angry, and menacing, as they could deviſe: ſo as this vaine glory of the *Rhodians* was throughly chaſtiſed; and more throughly ſhould have beene, if their ſubmiſſion had not been as humble, as their folly was proud. Such uſe of *Gentius* his friendſhip, made *Perſeus*; without laying out one ounce of ſilver. Now faine he would have haſtened this young and raſh *Illyrian* to enter with all ſpeed into the Warre: but then muſt the money be haſtened away. *Pantauchus* the *Macedonian* Embaſſadour, who remained with *Gentius*, exhorted him daily to begin the Warre by land and ſea, whileſt the *Romans* were unprovided. But finding what it was that made all to ſtay; he ſent word to *Perſeus*. Hereupon ten Talents were ſent to *Pantauchus*: who delivered it to the young King, as earneſt of that which followed. More followed indeed; and ſealed up with the ſeale of the *Illyrians*; but carried by *Macedonians*, and not too faſt. Before this money came into *Illyria*, *Gentius* had layed hands upon two *Roman* Embaſſadours, and caſt them into priſon. Which *Perſeus* no ſooner heard, than he recalled his Treaſure-bearers, and ſent them with their loade to *Pella*; for that now the *Illyrian* was of neceſſitie to make warre with the *Romans*, whether he were hired thereto or not.

*Liv. lib. 44.*
*Plutarc. in vit. Aemil.*

There came about the ſame time, through *Illyria*, to the aid of *Perſeus*, under one *Clondicus* a petty King, tenne thouſand horſe and tenne thouſand foot, of the *Gaules*, which were (as *Plutarch* hath it) the *Baſtarnæ.* Theſe had before-hand made their bargaine, and were to receive preſent pay at the firſt. At their entry into the Kingdome, *Perſeus* ſent one to them; deſiring their Captaines to come viſit him, whom he promiſed to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the firſt queſtion that their Generall asked, was, Whether the King had ſent money to give the ſouldiers their pay in hand, according to his bargaine? Hereto the meſſenger had not what to anſwer. Why then (ſaid *Clondicus*) tell thy Maſter, That the *Gaules* will not ſtirre one foot further, untill they have gold, as was agreed, and hoſtages. *Perſeus* hereupon tooke counſell: if to utter his owne opinion before men ſo wiſe that they would not contradict him, were to take counſell. He made an invective againſt the incivilitie and avarice of the *Baſtarnæ:* who came with ſuch numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdome. Five thouſand horſe of them he ſayd would be as many as he ſhould need to uſe; and not ſo many, that he ſhould need to feare them. It had beene well done, if any of his Counſellors would have told him, That there wanted not employment for the whole Armie of them, ſince without any danger to the Kingdome, they might be let out, by the way of *Perræbia,* into *Theſſaly:* where waſting the Country, and filling themſelves with ſpoyle, they ſhould make the *Romans* glad to forſake *Tempe,* even for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the King notable ſervice, whether they won any victory or not. This, and a great deale more, might have beene alledged, if any man had dared to give advice freely. In concluſion, *Antigonus,* the ſame meſſenger that had beene with them before, was ſent againe, to let them know the Kings minde. He did his errand: upon which followed a great murmure of thoſe many thouſands that had beene drawne ſo far to no purpoſe. But *Clondicus* asked him now againe, Whether he had brought the money along with him to pay thoſe five thouſand, whom the King would entertain. Hereto when it was perceived that *Antigonus* could make no better anſwer, than ſhifting excuſes, the *Baſtarnæ* returned preſently towards *Danubius,* waſting the neighbour parts of *Thrace;* yet ſuffering this crafty meſſenger to eſcape unhurt: which was more than he could have well expected.

Thus dealt *Perſeus,* like a carefull Treaſurer, and one that would preſerve his mony for the *Romans,* without diminiſhing the ſum. But of this painfull Office he was very ſoon diſcharged by *L. Æmylius Paulus* the new Conſul: who in fifteen daies after his ſetting forth from *Italy,* brought the kingdome of *Macedon* to that end, for which God had appointed over it a king ſo fooliſh and ſo cowardly.

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## §. VIII.

*Of* L. Æmylius Paulus *the Conſul. His journey. He forceth* Perſeus *to diſcampe. He will not hazzard battell with any diſadvantage. Of an Eclipſe of the Moone.* Æmylius *his ſuperſtition. The battell of Pydna.* Perſeus *his flight. He forſakes his Kingdome: which haſtily yeelds to* Æmylius. Perſeus *at Samothrace. He yeelds himſelf to the Roman Admirall, and is ſent priſoner to* Æmylius.

BY the Warre of *Macedon,* the *Romans* hitherto had gotten much diſhonour. Which, though it were not accompanied with any danger, yet the indignity ſo moved them, that either * they decreed that Province to *L. Æmylius Paulus,* without putting it, as was otherwiſe their manner, to the chance of lot, betweene him and his fellow Conſull; or at leaſt were gladder that the lot had caſt it upon him, than that ſo worthy a man was advanced to the dignitie of a ſecond Conſulſhip. Hee refuſed to propound unto the Senate any thing that concerned his Province; untill by Embaſſadours, thither ſent to view the eſtate of the Warre, it was perfectly underſtood, in what condition both the *Roman* forces, and the *Macedonian,* at the preſent remained. This being throughly knowne to be ſuch, as hath been already told, the Senate appointed a ſtrong ſupply, not onely to the Conſul, but unto the Navie, and likewiſe to the Army that lay betweene *Illyria* and *Epyrus;* from which *App. Claudius* was removed, and *L. Anicius* ſent thither in his place. *Æmylius,* before his departure from *Rome,* making an Oration to the People, as was the cuſtome, ſpake with much gravitie and authoritie. Hee requeſted thoſe that thought themſelves wiſe

* *Plut. in vita Æmyl.*

enough to manage this warre, either to accompany him into *Macedon*, and there aſſiſt him with their advice; or elſe to govern their tongues at home, and not take upon them to give directions by hearesay, and cenſure by idle reports: for hee told them plainely, That he would frame his doings to occaſions; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like ſpeech of his father *L. Æmylius*, who died valiantly in the Battell of *Cannæ*, might well be living in ſome of their memories: which was enough to make them conforme themſelves the more gladly unto the inſtructions given by a wiſe and reſolute Conſul.

All his buſineſſe within the Citie being diſpatched, *Æmylius* was honourably attended, at his ſetting forth on his journy; with an eſpeciall hope of men, that he ſhould finiſh the war: though that he ſhould finiſh it ſo ſoon & happily, was more than could have bin hoped or imagined. He came to *Brunduſium*: whence, when the wind came faire, he ſet ſaile at break of day, and arrived ſafely at the Iſle of *Corcyra* before night. Thence paſſed he to *Delphi*: where, having done ſacrifice to *Apollo*, after the fifth day he ſet forwards to the Camp, and was there in five dayes more. So are there but five of the fifteen dayes remaining, in which he finiſhed the war.

*Perſeus* lay ſtrongly encamped at *Dium*; having ſpared no labour of men and of women to fortifie the bankes of *Enipeus*, where it was foordable in drie weather: ſo as there was little hope, or none, to force him; and conſequently, as little poſſibility to enter that way into *Macedon*. One great inconvenience troubling the *Romans*, and much diſabling them to make attempt upon *Dium*, was lacke of freſh water. For there were ten miles between *Dium* and *Tempe*; all the way lying between the Sea ſhore and the foot of *Olympus*, without any Brook or Spring breaking forth on that ſide. But *Æmylius* found preſent remedy for this, by digging Wells on the ſhore; where he found ſweet Springs: as commonly there is no ſhore that wants them, though they riſe not above the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder *Martius* from taking up his lodging any neerer to the enemie, than the Towne of *Heraclea*, on the river of *Peneus*; where he had watering at pleaſure, but could performe no ſervice of any worth. Yet when the *Roman* Campe had ſuch meanes to lye cloſe to the *Macedonian*, as it preſently did, the paſſage onward being defended as hath beene ſhewed, ſeemed no leſſe difficult than before. Wherefore it was neceſſarie to ſearch another way: which by enquirie was ſoone found out. There was a narrow paſſage over *Olympus*, leading into *Perræbia*; hard of aſcent, but ſlenderly guarded, and therefore promiſing a faire journey. *Martius* either had not been informed hereof, or durſt not attempt it; or perhaps could not get his Souldiers to make the adventure; they fearing leſt it would prove ſuch a piece of worke as had beene their march over *Oſſa* into *Tempe*. But *Paulus* was a man of greater induſtry, courage, and abilitie to command. He had reformed, even at his firſt comming, many diſorders in the *Roman* Camp: teaching the ſouldiers among other good leſſons, to bee obedient and ready in execution; without troubling themſelves, as had been their manner, to examine the doings and purpoſes of their Generall. And now hee appointed about five thouſand men to this enterpriſe; whereof he committed the charge unto *Scipio Æmylianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his owne ſons by nature, but adopted; the one of them, by a ſon of *Scipio* the *African*; the other, by one of the *Fabii*. *Scipio* took with him ſome light-armed *Thracians* and *Cretans*; but his main ſtrength was of Legionaries. For the Kings guard, upon the mountain, conſiſted in a maner, wholly of Archers and Slingers: who, though, at ſome diſtance they might doe notable ſervice againſt thoſe that ſhould climbe up unto them; yet when the darkneſſe took away their aime, they were like to make a bad nights work, being to deale with thoſe that were armed to fight at hand. To conceale the buſineſſe about which they went, *Scipio* and *Fabius* tooke a wrong way towards the Fleet; where victuals were provided for their journy: it being noiſed, that they were to run along the coaſt of *Macedon* by ſea, and waſte the country. All the while that they were paſſing the mountains (which was about three daies) the Conſul made ſhew of a meaning to ſet upon *Perſeus* where he lay, rather to divert the Kings attention from that which was his main Enterpriſe, than upon any hope to doe good, in ſeeking to get over *Enipeus*. The channell of *Enipeus*, which received in Winter time a great fall of waters from the mountains, was exceeding deep and broad; and the ground of it was ſuch, as though at the preſent it lay wel-neer all dry, yet it ſerved not for thoſe that were weightily armed to fight upon. Wherefore *Æmylius* employed none ſave his *Velites*; of whom the Kings light armature had advantage at farre diſtance, though the *Romans* were better appointed for the cloſe. The Engines from off the Towers which *Perſeus* had rayſed on his own bank, did alſo beat upon the *Romans*, and gave them to underſtand, that their labour was in vaine. Yet *Æmylius* perſiſted as he had begun; & recontinued his aſſault, ſuch as it could be, the ſecond day. This might have ſerved to teach the *Macedonians*, that ſome greater worke was in hand: ſince otherwiſe a good Captaine, as *Æmylius* was known to be, would not have troubled himſelfe with making ſuch bravado's, that were ſomewhat coſtly. But *Perſeus* looked only unto that which was before his eyes: untill his men, that came running fearfully down the Mountain, brought word into the camp, That the *Romans* were following at their backes. Then was all full of tumult; and the King himſelfe no leſſe (if not more) amazed than any of the reſt. Order was forthwith given to diſlodge: or rather without order, in all tumultuous haſte, the Campe was broken up, and a ſpeedy retrait made to *Pydna*. Whether it were ſo, that they which had cuſtodie of the paſſage were taken ſleeping, or whether they were beaten by plain force, *Scipio* and *Fabius* had very good ſucceſſe in their journey. It may well be, that they ſlept untill the *Romans* came ſomwhat neer to them; and then taking alarm, when their arrowes and ſlings could doe little ſervice, were beaten at handie-ſtrokes: ſo as the different relations that are cited by *Plutarch* out of *Polybius*, and an Epiſtle of *Scipio*, may each of them have beene true. Thus was an open way cleered into *Macedon*: which had bin effected by *Martius* in the yeere fore-going; but was cloſed up again, through his not proſecuting ſo rich an opportunitie.

*Perſeus* was in an extreme doubt what courſe to take, after this unhappy beginning. Some gave advice to man his Townes, and ſo to linger out the Warre: having beene taught by the laſt yeeres example, how reſolute the people were in making defence. But farre worſe counſell prevailed: as generally it doth in turbulent and fearefull deliberations. The King reſolved to put all at once to hazzard of battell: fearing belike to put himſelfe into any one Towne, leſt that ſhould be firſt of all beſieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures alwayes are jealous) not over-carefully relieved. This was even the ſame that *Æmylius*, or any invader, ſhould have deſired. So a place was choſen neere unto *Pydna*, that ſerved well for the *Phalanx*, and had likewiſe on the ſides of it ſome peeces of higher ground, fit for the Archers and light armature. There he abode the comming of the enemie; who ſtayed not long behinde him. As ſoone as the *Romans* had ſight of the Kings Armie; which, with greater feare than diſcretion, had haſted away from them, forſaking the Campe that was ſo notably well fortified: they deſired nothing more, than to give battell immediately: doubting leſt otherwiſe the King ſhould change his minde, and get further off. And to this effect *Scipio* brake with the Conſul; praying him not to loſe occaſion by delay. But *Æmylius* told him, that he ſpake like a young man; and therefore willed him to have patience. The *Romans* were tyred with their journey; had no Campe wherein to reſt themſelves; nor any thing there, ſave only the bare ground whereon they trode. For theſe, and the like reſpects, the Conſul made a ſtand: and ſhewing himſelfe unto the *Macedonian*, who did the like, in order of battell, gave charge to have the Camp meaſured out and entrenched behind the Armie; whereinto, at good leaſure, he fell back, without any maner of trouble. After a nights reſt, it was hoped, both by the *Romans* and the *Macedonians*, that the matter ſhould be determined; each part thinking their own Generall too blame, for that they had not fought the ſame day. As for the King, he excuſed himſelfe by the backwardneſſe of the enemie; who advanced no further; but kept upon ground ſerving ill for the *Phalanx*: as on the other ſide, the Conſul had the reaſons before ſhewed, which he communicated to thoſe about him the next day.

That evening (which followed the third of September, by the *Roman* account) *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former yeere beene Prætor, foretold unto the Conſull, and (with his good liking) unto the Armie, an Eclipſe of the Moone, which was to be the ſame night: willing the ſouldiers not to be troubled therewith, for that it was naturall, and might be knowne long before it was ſeene. It was the manner of the *Romans*, in ſuch Eclipſes, to beat Pannes of Braſſe, and Baſons, as wee doe in following a ſwarme of Bees; thinking that thereby they did the Moone great eaſe, and helped her in her labour. But this prognoſtication of *Sulpicius* converted their ſuperſtition into admiration of his deepe skill, when they ſaw it verified. Contrariwiſe,

trariwiſe,the *Macedonians* howled and made a great noyſe,as long as the Eclipſe laſted: rather perhaps becauſe it was their faſhion, than for that they were terrefied therewith, as with a prodigie betokening their loſſe; ſince their deſire to fight was no whit leſſened by it. I will not here ſtand to diſpute, Whether ſuch Eclipſes doe ſignifie,or cauſe any alteration in civill affaires,and matters that have ſmall dependance on naturall complexion: for the argument is too large. More worthy of obſervation it is,how ſuperſtition captivates the wiſedome of the wiſeſt, where the help of true religion is wanting. *Æmylius*,though he were ſufficiently inſtructed concerning this defect of the Moon,that it was no ſupernaturall thing,nor above the reach of humane underſtanding,ſo as he ſhould need to trouble himſelfe with any devout regard thereof: yet could he not refrain from doing his duty to this Moon,and congratulating with ſacrifice her deliverie,as ſoon as ſhe ſhone out bright again: for which he is commended even by *Plutarch*, a ſage Philoſopher,as a godly and religious man. If *Sulpicius* perhaps did not aſſiſt him in this fooliſh devotion, yet is it like,that he, being a Senatour, and one of the Councell for war, was partaker the next morning in a ſacrifice done to *Hercules*; which was no leſſe fooliſh. For a great part of the day was vainly conſumed,ere *Hercules* could be pleaſed with any Sacrifice, and vouchſafe to ſhew tokens of good luck in the entrailes of the beaſts. At length,in the belly of the one and twentieth ſacrifice,was found a promiſe of victory to *Æmylius*: but with condition,That he ſhould not give the onſet. *Hercules* was a *Greek*,and partiall, as neerer in alliance to the *Macedonian* than to the *Roman*. Wherefore it had bin better to call upon the new goddeſſe,lately canonized at *Alabanda*; or upon *Romulus*, founder of their Citie, on whom the *Romans* had beſtowed his Deitie; or (if a God of elder date were more authenticall) upon *Mars* the Father of *Romulus*,to whom belonged the guidance of militarie affairs; and who therefore would have limited his favour, with no injunctions contrarie to the rules of war.

Now concerning the Battell; *Æmylius* was throughly perſwaded,that the king meant to abide it: for that otherwiſe he would not have ſtayed at *Pydna*,when as,a little before, his leiſure ſerved to retire whither he liſted, the *Romans* being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Conſull thought that he might wait upon advantage,without making any great haſte. Neither was it to be neglected,that the morning Sun was full in the *Romans* faces: which would be much to their hinderance all the forenoon. Since therefore *Perſeus* kept his ground,that was commodious for the *Phalanx*, and *Æmylius* ſent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder,there was no likelihood of fighting that day. But about ten of the clock in the morning,a ſmall occaſion brought to paſſe that, which whereto neither of the Generals had over-earneſt deſire.

A Horſe brake looſe at watering, which two or three of the *Roman* ſouldiers followed into the river, wading after him up to the knees. The Kings men lay on the further bank; whence a couple of *Thracians* ran into the Water,to draw this horſe over to their own ſide. Theſe fell to blowes,as in a private quarrell;and one of the *Thracians* was ſlain. His Countrimen ſeeing this,haſted to revenge their fellowes death, and followed thoſe that had ſlaine him over the river. Hereupon company came in,to help on each part,untill the number grew ſuch,as made it paſt a fray,and cauſed both the Armies to be carefull of the event. In fine,each of the Generals placed his men in order of battell,accordingly as the maner of his country,and the Arms wherewith they ſerved,did require. The ground was a flat levell, ſave that on the ſides a few hillocks were raiſed here and there;whereof each part might take what advantage it could. The *Macedonians* were the greater number,the *Romans* the better ſouldiers,and better appointed. Both the King and the Conſul encouraged their men with lively words: which the preſent condition could bountifully affoord. But the King, having finiſhed his Oration, and ſent on his men, withdrew himſelfe into *Pydna*: there to doe ſacrifice, as he pretended, unto *Hercules*. It is the leſſe marvell, that he durſt adventure battell, ſince he had bethought himſelfe of ſuch a ſtratageme, whereby to ſave his owne perſon. As for *Hercules*, he liked not the ſacrifice of a Coward: whoſe unſeaſonable devotion could be no better than hypocriſie. For he that will pray for a good Harveſt, ought alſo to Plow, Sowe, and Weede his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battell, he found it no better than loſt: and he,in looking to his owne ſafetie, cauſed it to be loſt altogether, by beginning the flight.

The acts of this day, ſuch as we finde recorded, are, That the *Roman* Elephants could doe no manner of good; That the *Macedonian Phalanx* did ſo ſtoutly preſſe onwards, and beat off all which came before it, as *Æmylius* was thereat much aſtoniſhed; That the *Peligni* ruſhing deſperately on the *Phalanx*, were over-borne, many of them ſlaine; and the ſquadrons following them ſo diſcouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. Theſe were the things that fell out averſe to the *Romans*; and which the Conſul beholding, is ſaid to have rent his coat-armour for griefe. If the King with all his power of horſe, had in like manner done his devoyre, the victory might have beene his owne. That which turned the fortune of the battell, was the ſame which doubtleſſe the Conſull expected, even from the beginning: the difficultie or almoſt the impoſſibilitie of holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For whileſt ſome of the *Romans* ſmall battalions preſſed hard upon one part of it, and others recoyled from it; it was neceſſarie (if the *Macedonians* would follow upon thoſe which were put to the worſe) that ſome files having open way before them, ſhould advance themſelves beyond the reſt that were held at a ſtand. This comming ſo to paſſe, admoniſhed the Conſul what was to be done. The long pikes of the *Macedonians* were of little uſe, when they were charged in flanke by the *Roman* Targettiers; according to the direction given by *Æmylius*, when he ſaw the front of the Enemies great battell become unequall, and the ranks in ſome places open, by reaſon of the unequall reſiſtance which they found. Thus was the uſe of the *Phalanx* proved unavaileable againſt many ſmall ſquadrons, as it had beene formerly in the battell of *Cynoſcephalæ*: yea, this forme of embattailing was found unſerviceable againſt the other, by reaſon, that being not every where alike diſtreſſed, it would breake of it ſelfe; though here were little ſuch inconvenience of ground, as had beene at * *Cynoſcephalæ*.

* Chap. 4. §. 14.

*Perſeus*, when hee ſaw his battell begin to route, turned his bridle preſently, and ranne amaine towards *Pella*. All his horſe eſcaped, in a manner untouched, and a great number followed him; the little harme which they had taken, witneſſing the little good ſervice which they had done. As for the poore foote, they were left to the mercy of the Enemie: who ſlew above twenty thouſand of them; though having little cauſe to be furious, as having loſt in that battell, onely ſome foureſcore, or ſixeſcore men at the moſt. Some of the foot, eſcaping from the execution, overtooke the King and his company in a wood; where they fell to rayling at the horſemen, calling them cowards, traytors, and ſuch other names, till at length they fell to blowes. The King was in doubt leſt they had ill meaning to himſelfe: and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by ſuch as thought it good. The reſt of the company diſperſed themſelves: every one as his own occaſions guided him. Of thoſe that kept along with their King, the number began within a while to leſſen. For he fell to deviſing upon whom he might lay the blame of that dayes miſfortune, which was moſt due to himſelf: thereby cauſing thoſe that knew his nature, to ſhrinke away from him, how they could. At his comming to *Pella*, he found his Pages and houſhold ſervants, ready to attend him, as they had beene wont. But of his great men that had eſcaped from the battell, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholy time, there were two of his Treaſurers that had the boldneſſe to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their unſeaſonable admonitions, he ſtabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he ſent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore ſtanding in feare, leſt they that refuſed to come at his call, would ſhortly dare ſome greater miſchiefe, he ſtole out of *Pella* by night. Of his friends he had with him only *Evander* (who had been employed to kill *Eumenes* at *Delphi*) and two other. There followed him likewiſe about 500. *Cretians*, more for love of his mony than of him. To theſe he gave of his plate, as much as was worth about fiftie Talents, though ſhortly he coozened them of ſome part thereof; making ſhew as if he would have redeemed it, but never paying the money. The third day after the battell he came to *Amphipolis*, where he exhorted the Towneſ-men to fidelitie, with teares: and his owne ſpeech being hindered by teares, appointed *Evander* to ſpeake vvhat himſelfe vvould have uttered. But the *Amphipolitans* made it their chiefe care to looke vvell to themſelves. Upon the firſt fame of the overthrow; they had emptied their towne of two thouſand *Thracians* that lay there in garriſon: ſending them forth under colour of a gainefull employment, and ſhutting the gates after them. And now to be rid of the King, they plainly bade *Evander* to be gone. The King hearing this, had no minde to tarry: but embarking himſelfe and the treaſure which he had there, in certain veſſels that he found in the river *Strymon*; paſſed over to the Iſle of *Samothrace:* where he hoped to live ſafe, by priviledge of the religious Sanctuarie therein.

Theſe miſerable ſhifts of the King make it the leſſe doubtfull, how all the Kingdome fell into the power of *Æmylius*, within ſo few dayes after his victorie. *Pydna*, which was neereſt at hand, was the laſt that yeelded. About ſixe thouſand of the ſouldiers, that were of ſundry Nations, fled out of the battell into that Towne; and prepared for defence: the confuſed rabble of ſo many ſtrangers hindering all deliberation and conſent. *Hippius*, who had kept the paſſage over *Oſſa* againſt *Martius*, with *Pantauchus*, who had beene ſent Embaſſadour to *Gentius* the *Illyrian*, were the firſt that came in: yeelding themſelves, and the Towne of *Beræa*, whither they had retyred out of the battell. With the like meſſage came others from *Theſſalonica*, from *Pella*, and from all the Townes of *Macedon*, within two dayes: the loſſe of the head bereaving the whole body of all ſenſe and ſtrength. Neither did they of *Pydna* ſtand out any longer, when they knew that the King had forſaken his Countrey: but opened their gates upon ſuch termes, that the ſack of it was granted to the *Roman* Armie. *Æmylius* ſent abroad into the Countrey, ſuch as he thought meeteſt, to take charge of other Cities: he himſelfe marching towards *Pella*. He found in *Pella* no more than three hundred Talents; the ſame whereof *Perſeus* had lately defrauded the *Illyrian*. But within a very little while he ſhall have more.

It was ſoone underſtood, that *Perſeus* had taken Sanctuarie in the Temple at *Samothrace:* his owne leters to the Conſull confirming the report. He ſent theſe letters by perſons of ſuch mean condition; that his caſe was pittied, for that he wanted the ſervice of better men. The ſcope of this writing was, to deſire favour: which though he begged in termes ill beſeeming a King, yet ſince the inſcription of his Epiſtle was, *King Perſeus to the Conſul Paulus*; the Conſul, who had taken from him his Kingdome, and would not allow him to retaine the Title, refuſed to make any anſwer thereunto. So there came other letters, as humble as could be expected: whereby he craved and obtained, that ſome might be ſent to conferre with him about matters of his preſent eſtate. Nevertheleſſe, in this conference, hee was marvellous earneſt, that hee might be allowed ſtill to retaine the name of King. And to this end it was perhaps, that hee had ſo carefully preſerved his Treaſure, unto the very laſt: flattering himſelfe with ſuch vaine hopes as theſe; That the *Romans* would neither violate a Sanctuarie, nor yet neglect thoſe great riches in his poſſeſſion; but compound with him for money, letting him have his deſire to live at eaſe, and to be called King. Yea, it ſeemes that he had indeed, even from the beginning, a deſire to live in this Iſle of *Samothrace:* both for that in one of his conſultations about the Warre, he was dehorted by his friends, from ſeeking to exchange his Kingdome of *Macedon*, for * ſuch a paltrie Iland; and for that he offered to lay up the money which *Eumenes* demanded, in the holy Temple that was there. But he findes it otherwiſe. They urge him to give place unto neceſſitie, and, without more adoe, to yeeld to the diſcretion and mercy of the people of *Rome*. This is ſo farre againſt his minde, that the conference breakes off without effect. Preſently there arrives at *Samothrace Cn. Octavius* the *Roman* Admirall, with his fleet: who aſſayes, as well by terrible threats, as by faire language, to draw the King out of his lurking hole; wherein, for feare of impriſonment, he had now already impriſoned himſelfe. When all would not ſerve, a queſtion was moved to the *Samothracians*; How they durſt pollute their Temple, by receiving into it one that had violated the like holy priviledg of Sanctuary, by attempting the murder of King *Eumenes* at *Delphi*? This went to the quick. The *Samothracians*, being now in the power of the *Romans*, take this matter to heart; and ſend word to the King, That *Evander*, who lives with him in the Temple, is accuſed of an impious fact, committed at *Delphi*, whereof unleſſe he can cleere himſelfe in judgement, he muſt not be ſuffered to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reverence borne to his Majeſtie, now paſt, makes them forbeare to ſay, that *Perſeus* himſelfe is charged with the ſame crime. But what will this availe, when the miniſter of the fact being brought into judgement, ſhall (as is to be feared) appeach the author? *Perſeus* therefore willeth *Evander* to have conſideration of the little favour that can be expected at the *Ro-*

* *Liv.lib.42.*

*mans* hand; who are like to be preſidents and overſeers of this judgement: ſo as it were better to dye valiantly, ſince none other hope remaines, than hope to make good an ill cauſe; where though he had a good plea, yet it could not helpe him. Of this motion *Evander* ſeemes to like well: and either kils himſelfe, or hoping to eſcape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get poyſon wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandement. The death of this man, who had ſtucke to *Perſeus* in all times of need, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to forſake him: ſo as none are left with him, ſave his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be ſuſpected, that they which leave him upon this occaſion, will tell perillous tales, and ſay, That the King hath loſt the priviledge of this holy Sanctuary, by murdering *Evander* therein. Or if the *Romans* will affirme ſo much, who ſhall dare to gaineſay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formalitie, and even that alſo lyable to diſpute, which preſerves him from captivitie; he purpoſeth to make an eſcape, and flye, with his Treaſures, unto *Cotys* his good friend, into *Thrace*. *Oroandes*, a *Cretian*, lay at *Samothrace* with one ſhip; who eaſily was perſwaded to waft the King thence. With all ſecrecie the Kings mony, as much as could be ſo conveyed, was carried aboord by night; and the King himſelfe, with his wife and * children (if rather it were not true, that he had with him onely * *Philip* his elder ſonne, who was onely by adoption his ſonne, being his * brother by nature) with much adoe got out at a window by a rope, and over a mudde wall. At his comming to the Sea-ſide, he found no *Oroandes* there: the *Cretian* had played a *Cretian* tricke, and was gone with the money to his owne home. So it began to waxe cleare day, whileſt *Perſeus* was ſearching all along the ſhoare: who had ſtayed ſo long about this, that he might feare to be intercepted ere he could recover the Temple. He ranne therefore amaine towards his lodging: and thinking it not ſafe to enter it the common way, leſt he ſhould be taken, he hid himſelfe in an obſcure corner. His Pages miſſing him, ranne up and downe making inquirie; till *Octavius* made Proclamation, That all the Kings Pages, and *Macedonians* whatſoever, abiding with their maſter in *Samothrace*, ſhould have their lives and libertie, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that Iſle, or at home in *Macedon*, conditionally, That they ſhould preſently yeeld themſelves to the *Romans*. Hereupon they all came in. Likewiſe *Ion*, a *Theſſalonian*, to whom the King had given the cuſtodie of his children, delivered them up to *Octavius*. Laſtly, *Perſeus* himſelfe, with his ſon *Philip*, accuſing the gods of *Samothrace*, that had no better protected him, rendered himſelfe, and made the *Roman* victory compleat. If he had not truſted in thoſe gods of *Samothrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of *Macedon*, without other hope of living, than of reigning therein; he might well have brought this war to an happier end. Now, by dividing his cogitations, and purſuing, at once, thoſe contrary hopes of ſaving his Kingdome by arms, and himſelfe by flight, he is become a ſpectacle of miſery, and one among the number of thoſe Princes, that have bin wretched by their own default. He was preſently ſent away to *Æmylius*; before whom he fell to the ground ſo baſely, that he ſeemed thereby to diſhonour the victory over himſelfe, as gotten upon one of abject quality, and therefore the leſſe to be eſteemed. *Æmylius* uſed to him the language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for having, with ſo hoſtile a minde, made War upon the *Romans*. Hereto good anſwer might have been returned by one of better ſpirit. As for *Perſeus*, he anſwered all with a fearfull ſilence. He was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Conſull tearmed it) almoſt aſſurance; for that ſuch was the mercy of the people of *Rome*. After theſe good words, being invited to the Conſuls Table, and reſpectively entreated, he was committed priſoner to *Q. Ælius*.

*Plut.in.vit. Æmyl.*
*Liv.lib.45.*
*Liv.lib.45.*

Such end had this *Macedonian* War, after foure yeers continuance: and ſuch end therewithall had the Kingdome of *Macedon*; the glory whereof, that had ſometime filled all parts of the World then knowne, was now tranſlated unto *Rome*.

§.IX.

## §. IX.

### Gentius, *King of the Illyrians, taken by the Romans.*

ABout the ſame time, and with like celeritie, *Anicius* the *Roman* Prætor, who ſucceeded unto *App. Claudius*, had the like ſucceſſe againſt King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. *Gentius* had an Armie of fifteene thouſand; with which he was at *Liſſus*, ready to aſſiſt King *Perſeus* as ſoone as the money ſhould come, whereof he had received onely ten Talents. But *Anicius* arreſted him on the way, fought with him, overcame him, and drave him into * *Scodra*. This Towne was very defenſible by nature, beſides the help of fortification; and ſtrongly manned with all the force of *Illyria*; which, aſſiſted with the Kings preſence, made it ſeeme unpoſſible to be wonne, in any not a very long time. Yet *Anicius* was confident in his late victory; and therefore preſented his Armie before the walls, making countenance to give an aſſault. The *Illyrians*, that might eaſily have defended themſelves within the Towne, would needs iſſue forth and fight. They were, it ſeemes, rather paſſionate than couragious: for they were beaten; and thereupon forthwith began amazedly to treat about yeelding. The King ſent Embaſſadours; by whom, at firſt, he deſired truce for three dayes, that he might deliberate concerning his eſtate. It ill became him, who had layd violent hands on the *Roman* Embaſſadours, to have recourſe to ſuch meditation. But he thought his owne fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harme done by him, than the caſting of thoſe Embaſſadours into priſon, where they were ſtill alive. Having obtained three dayes reſpite, he paſſed up a River, within halfe a myle of the *Roman* Campe, into the Lake of *Scodra*, as it were to conſult the more privately; though indeed, to hearken whether the report were true, that his brother *Caravantius* was comming to his reſcue. Finding that no ſuch helpe was toward, it is wonder, that he was ſo fooliſh as to returne into *Scodra*. He ſent meſſengers craving acceſſe unto the Prætor: before whom having lamented his folly paſt (which, excepting the diſhoneſtie, was not ſo great as his folly preſent) he fell downe humbly, and yeelded himſelfe to diſcretion. All the Townes of his kingdome, together with his wife, children, brother, friends, were preſently given up. So this war ended in thirty daies: the People of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun, untill *Perpenna*, one of the Embaſſadors that had bin impriſoned, brought word from *Anicius* how all had paſſed.

* Called now *Scutari*.

## §. X.

### *How the Romans behaved themſelves in Greece and Macedon after their victory over* Perſeus.

NOw began the *Romans* to ſwell with the pride of their fortune; and to looke tyrannically upon thoſe that had beene unmannerly toward them before, whileſt the War with *Perſeus* ſeemed full of danger. The *Rhodian* Embaſſadors were ſtill at *Rome*, when the tidings of theſe victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them doe their errand againe. This they performed with a bad grace; ſaying, that they were ſent from *Rhodes* to make an overture of peace; foraſmuch as it was thought, that this Warre was no leſſe grievous to the *Romans* themſelves, than to the *Macedonians* and many others: but that now they were very glad, and in behalfe of the *Rhodians* did congratulate with the Senate and people of *Rome*, that it was ended much more happily than had beene expected. Hereto the Senate made anſwer, That the *Rhodians* had ſent this Embaſſage to *Rome*, not for love of *Rome*, but in favour of the *Macedonian*; whoſe partizans they were, and ſhould ſo be taken. By theſe threats, and the deſire of ſome (covetous of the charge) to have Warre proclaimed againſt *Rhodes*; the Embaſſadours were ſo affrighted, that in mourning apparrell, as humble ſuppliants, they went about the Citie; beſeeching all men, eſpecially the great Ones, to pardon their indiſcretion, and not to proſecute them with vengeance, for ſome fooliſh words. This danger of Warre from *Rome* being knowne at *Rhodes*, all that had beene any whit averſe from the *Romans* in the late Warre of *Macedon*, were either taken and condemned, or ſent priſoners to *Rome*; excepting ſome that ſlew themſelves for feare, whoſe goods alſo were confiſcated. Yet this procured little grace; and leſſe would have done, if old *M. Cato*, a man by nature vehement, had not uttered a milde ſentence, and advertiſed the Senate, That in decreeing war againſt *Rhodes*, they ſhould much diſhonour themſelves, and make it thought, that * rather the wealth of that Citie, which they were greedy to ranſacke, than any juſt cauſe, had moved them thereto. This conſideration, together with their good deſerts in the wars of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, helped well the *Rhodians*: among whom, none of any marke remained alive, ſave thoſe that had beene of the *Roman* Faction. All which notwithſtanding, many yeeres paſſed, ere by importunate ſuit, they could be admitted into the ſocietie of the *Romans*: a favour which till now they had not eſteemed; but thought themſelves better without it, as equall friends.

*Cæſar in orat. apud Saluſt. de Conjurat. Catilinæ.*

With the like, or greater ſeveritie, did the *Romans* make themſelves terrible in all parts of *Greece*. *Æmylius* himſelfe made progreſſe through the Countrey; viſiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleaſure: yet not forgetting to make them underſtand what power he had over them. More than five hundred of the chiefe Citizens in *Demetrias* were ſlaine at one time by thoſe of the *Roman* faction, and with help of the *Roman* ſouldiers. Others fled, or were baniſhed, and their goods confiſcated. Of which things, when complaint was made to the Conſul, the redreſſe was ſuch, as requited not the pains of making ſupplication. His friends, that is to ſay, thoſe which betrayed unto the *Romans* the liberty of their Countrey, he feaſted like a King, with exceſſive cheere; yet ſo, that he had all things very cheape in his Campe: an eaſie matter, ſince no man durſt be backward in ſending proviſions, nor ſet on them the due price. Embaſſadours likewiſe were ſent from *Rome*; ſome, to give order for ſettling the eſtate of *Macedon*, towards which they had more particular inſtruction from the Senate, than was uſuall in ſuch caſes; and ſome, to viſit the affaires of *Greece*. The kingdome of *Macedon* was ſet at liberty by *Æmylius* and the Embaſſadors, his aſſiſtants, who had order therefore from the Senate. But this liberty was ſuch as the *Romans* uſed to beſtow. The beſt part of it was, That the Tribute which had beene payed unto the Kings, was leſſened by halfe. As for the reſt, the Countrey was divided into foure parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the Nobility were ſent captive into *Italy*, with their wives and children, as many as were above fifteene yeeres old. The ancient Lawes of the Countrey were abrogated; and new given by *Æmylius*. Such miſchiefe the Senate thought it better to doe, at the firſt alteration of things in this Province, and in the time of Conqueſt, than otherwiſe to leave any inconvenience that ſhould be worſe in the future. But concerning the *Greekes*, that were not ſubjects to *Rome*, the things done to them could deſerve no better name than meere tyranny, yea, and ſhameleſſe perjury; were it not ſo, that the familiar cuſtome, among Princes and great Eſtates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oathes of confederation ſeeme of no validitie. The Embaſſadours that were ſent to viſit the *Greekes*, called before them all ſuch men of note, from every quarter, as had any way diſcovered an unſerviceable diſpoſition towards the *Romans*. Theſe they ſent to *Rome*; where they were made ſure enough. Some of theſe had ſent letters to *Perſeus*, which fell at length into the *Romans* hands: and in that reſpect, though they were no ſubjects, yet wanted there not colour, for uſing them as traytors, or at leaſt as enemies. But ſince onely two men were beheaded, for having been openly on the *Macedonian* ſide; and ſince it is confeſſed, that the good *Patriots* were no leſſe afflicted in this inquiſition, than they that had ſold themſelves to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcuſable Tyrannie. With the *Achæans* theſe Embaſſadours were to deale more formally: not ſo much becauſe that Common-wealth was ſtrong, (though this were to be regarded by them, having no Commiſſion to make or denounce Warre) and like to prove untractable, if manifeſt wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of ſigne, by letters, or otherwiſe, whereby any one of the *Achæans* could be ſuſpitiouſly charged to have held correſpondence with the *Macedonian*. It was alſo ſo, that neither *Callicrates*, nor any of his adherents, had bin employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their ſervice to the *Romans*; but onely ſuch as were the beſt *Patriots*. Yet would not therefore the Embaſſadours neglect to uſe the benefit of the time: wherein, ſince all men trembled for feare of *Rome*, the ſeaſon ſerved fitly to ranke the *Achæans* with the reſt.

And hereto *Callicrates* was very urgent: fearing, and procuring them to feare in behalfe of him and his friends, that if ſome ſharpe order were not now taken, he and his fellowes ſhould be made to pay for their miſchievous devices, ere long time paſſed. So the Embaſſadours came among the *Achæans*: where one of them, in open aſſembly of the Nation, ſpake as *Callicrates* had before inſtructed him. He ſaid, that ſome of the chiefe among them, had with money and other meanes befriended *Perſeus*. This being ſo, he deſired that all ſuch men might be condemned, whom, after ſentence given, he would name unto them. After ſentence given (cried out the whole aſſembly) what juſtice were this? Name them firſt, and let them anſwer; which if they cannot well doe, we will ſoone condemne them. Then ſaid the *Roman* boldly, that all their Prætors, as many as had led their Armies, were guilty of this crime. If this were true, ſaid *Xenon*, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence, then ſhould I likewiſe have beene friend to *Perſeus*: whereof if any man can accuſe me, I ſhall throughly anſwer him, either here preſently, or before the Senate at *Rome*. Upon theſe words of *Xenon* the Embaſſadour laid hold, and ſaid that even ſo it were the beſt way, for him and the reſt to purge themſelves before the Senate at *Rome*. Then began he to name others, and left not untill he had cited above a thouſand; willing them to appeare and anſwer before the Senate. This might even be termed the captivitie of *Greece*; wherein ſo many of the honeſteſt and worthieſt men were carried from home, for none other cauſe, than their love unto their Country; to be puniſhed according to the will of thoſe, who could not endure that vertue, and regard of the publike liberty, ſhould dwell together in any of the *Greeks*. At their comming to *Rome*, they were all caſt into priſon, as men already condemned by the *Achæans*. Many Embaſſages were ſent from *Achaia* (where it is to be wondred, that any ſuch honeſt care of theſe innocent men could be remaining: ſince honeſtie had bin thus puniſhed as a vice, in ſo many of the worthieſt among them) to informe the Senate, that theſe men were neither condemned by the *Achæans*, nor yet held to be offenders. But in ſtead of better anſwer, it was pronounced; That the *Senate thought it not expedient for the Countrie, that theſe men ſhould returne into Achaia*. Neither could any ſolicitation of the *Achæans*, who never ceaſed to importune the Senate for their libertie, prevaile at all; untill after ſeventeene yeeres, fewer than thirty of them were enlarged, of whom that wiſe and vertuous man *Polybius*, the great Hiſtorian, was one. All the reſt were either dead in priſon, or having made offer to eſcape, whether upon the way before they came to *Rome*, or whether out of Jayle, after that they were committed thereto, ſuffered death as malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done upon the *Epirots*. For the Senate being deſirous to preſerve the *Macedonian* Treaſure whole, yet withall, to gratifie the Souldiers, gave order, That the whole Country of *Epyrus* ſhould be put to ſacke. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as alſo it was performed by *Æmylius* with miſchievous ſubtiltie. Having taken leave of the *Greekes*, and of the *Macedonians*, with bidding them well to uſe the liberty beſtowed upon them by the people of *Rome*; hee ſent unto the *Epirots* for ten of the principal men out of every Citie. Theſe he commanded to deliver up all the Gold and Silver which they had; and ſent along with them, into every of their Townes, what companies of men he thought convenient, as it were to fetch the mony. But he gave ſecret inſtructions to the Captaines, that upon a certaine day by him appointed, they ſhould fall to ſacke, every one the Towne whereinto he was ſent. Thus in one day were threeſcore and tenne Cities, all confederate with the *Romans*, ſpoyled by the *Roman* ſouldiers; and beſides other acts of hoſtilitie in a time of peace, a hundred and fiftie thouſand of that Nation made ſlaves. It may be granted, that ſome of the *Epirots* deſerved puniſhment, as having favoured *Perſeus*. But ſince they, among this people, that were thought guilty of this offence; yea, or but coldly affected to the *Romans*, had beene already ſent into *Italie*, there to receive their due; and ſince this Nation, in generall, was not onely at the preſent in good obedience, but had even in this warre done good ſervice to the *Romans*: I hold this act ſo wicked, that I ſhould not beleeve it, had any one Writer delivered the contrary. But the truth being manifeſt by conſent of all, it is the leſſe marvellous, that God was pleaſed to make *Æmylius* childeleſſe, even in the glory of his triumph, how great ſoever otherwiſe his vertues were.

In ſuch manner dealt the *Romans*, after their victory, with the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*.

*ans*. How terrible they were to other Kingdomes abroad, it will appeare by the efficacy of an Embaſſage ſent from them to *Antiochus*; whereof before we ſpeake, we muſt ſay ſomewhat of *Antiochus* his foregoers, of himſelfe, and of his affaires about which theſe Embaſſadours came.

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## §. XI.

### *The War of* Antiochus *upon Egypt brought to end by the Roman Embaſſadours.*

ANtiochus the Great, after his peace with the *Romans*, did nothing that was memorable in the ſhort time following of his reigne and life. He died the ſixe and thirtieth yeere after he had worne a Crowne, and in the ſeventeenth or eighteenth of *Ptolomie Epiphanes*: while he attempted to rob the Temple of *Bel*, or (according to *Juſtine*) of *Jupiter*. He left behind him three ſons, *Seleucus Philopator*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Demetrius Soter*; and one daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom he had given in marriage to *Ptolomie Epiphanes* King of *Egypt*. *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, and the eldeſt of *Antiochus* his ſons; reigned in *Syria* twelve yeeres, according to *Euſebius*, *Appian*, and *Sulpitius*: though *Joſephus* give him but ſeven. A Prince, who as he was ſloathfull by nature, ſo the great loſſe which his father *Antiochus* had received, tooke from him the means of managing any great affaire. Of him, about three hundred yeers before his birth, *Daniel* gave this judgement; *Et ſtabit in loco ejus viliſſimus & indignus decore regio*. *And in his place* (ſpeaking of *Antiochus*, the Father of this man) *ſhall ſtart up a vile perſon, unworthy the honour of a King*. Under this *Seleucus*, thoſe things were done which are ſpoken of *Onias* the high Prieſt, in theſe words, and other to the ſame effect: *What time as the holy City was inhabited with all Peace, becauſe of the godlineſſe of* Onias *the Prieſt, it came to paſſe, that even the King did honour the place, and garniſhed the Temple with great gifts*. And all that is written in the third Chapter of the ſecond of *Macchabees*, of *Simon* of *Benjamin*, who by *Apollonius* betrayed the Treaſures of the Temple: and of *Heliodorus* ſent by the King to ſeize them; of his miraculous ſtriking by God, and his recovery at the prayers of *Onias*; of the Kings death, and of his ſucceſſour *Antiochus Epiphanes*. It is therefore from the reigne of this King, that the books of the *Macchabees* take beginning. Which books ſeem not to be delivered by one and the ſame hand. For the firſt book, although it touch upon *Alexander* the Great, yet it hath nothing elſe of his ſtorie, nor of the acts of his ſucceſſours, til the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the brother & ſucceſſor of this *Seleucus*; from whom downward to the death of *Simon Macchabæus* (who died in the hundred threeſcore & ſeventeenth yeere of the *Greeks* in *Syria*) that firſt book treateth. The Author of the ſecond book, although he take the Storie ſomewhat further off, by way of a Proæme, yet he endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth yeer of the *Grecian* reign, and with the death of *Nicanor*, ſlain by *Judas*: remembring in the fourth Chapter the practice of *Jaſon* the brother of *Onias*, who after the death of *Seleucus*, prevailed with *Antiochus Epiphanes*, his ſucceſſor, for the Prieſthood. It is alſo held by *Janſenius*, and other grave Writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Arius*, King of the *Spartans* ſent Embaſſadors to the *Jewes*, as to their brothers and kinſmen. Which intelligence between them and the *Greeks*, *Jonathan* the brother and ſucceſſor of *Judas*, remembreth in the Preamble of that Epiſtle, which he himſelfe directed to the people of *Sparta* by *Numenius* and *Antipater* his Embaſſadours, whom he employed at the ſame time to the Senate of *Rome*; repeating alſo the former Letters word by word, which *Arius* had ſent to *Onias* the high Prieſt, whereto *Joſephus* addes, that the name of the *Lacedæmonian* Embaſſador was *Demoteles*, and that the Letters had a ſquare Volume, and were ſealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her clawes.

*Strab.lib.16.*
*Iuſt.lib.35.*
*Euſeb.in Chro.*
*App.de bell. Syr.* *Ant.12.c.5.*
Dan.11.21.
2 Mac.3.
1 Mac.12.
*Super Eccl.c.5.*

Now to this *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, ſucceeded *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in the hundred and ſeven and thirtieth yeer of the *Greeks* in *Syria*. He was the ſecond ſon of the Great *Antiochus*: and he obtained his kingdome by procuring the death of the King his brother; which alſo he uſurped from his brothers ſon.

*Ptolomie Philometor*, his Nephew by his ſiſter *Cleopatra*, being then very young, had been about ſeven yeers King of *Egypt*.

*Ptolomie Epiphanes*, the Father of this King *Philometor*, had reigned in *Egypt* foure and twenty yeers, in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. *Philip* of *Macedon*, and the great *Antiochus*, had agreed to divide his Kingdome between them, whileſt he was a childe. But they found ſuch other buſineſſe, ere long, with the *Romans*, as made them give over their unjuſt purpoſe; eſpecially *Antiochus*, who gave with his daughter in marriage, unto this *Ptolomie*, the Provinces of *Cœloſyria*, *Phœnice*, and *Judæa*, which he had won by his victory over *Scopas*, that was generall of the *Egyptian* forces in thoſe parts. Nevertheleſſe, *Ptolomie* adhered to the *Romans*: whereby he lived in the greater ſecuritie. He left behind him two ſonnes; this *Ptolomie Philometor*, and *Ptolomie Phyſcon*, with a daughter *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the younger, by whom ſhe was caſt off, and her daughter taken in her ſtead. Such were the marriages of theſe *Egyptian* Kings.

*Ptolomie Philometor*, ſo called (that is, the lover of his mother) by a bitter nick-name, becauſe he ſlew her, fell into hatred with his ſubjects, and was like to be chaſed out of his Kingdome, his younger brother being ſet up againſt him. *Phyſcon* having a ſtrong party, got poſſeſſion of *Alexandria*; and *Philometor* held himſelf in *Memphis*, craving ſuccour of King *Antiochus* his Uncle. Hereof *Antiochus* was glad: who under colour to take upon him the protection of the young Prince, ſought by all means poſſible to poſſeſſe himſelfe of that Kingdome. He ſent *Apollonius* the ſonne of *Mneſtheus* Embaſſadour into *Egypt*, and under colour to aſſiſt the Kings Coronation, he gave him inſtructions to perſwade the governors of the young King *Philometor*, to deliver the king his Nephew, with the principall places of that Kingdome, into his hands; pretending an extraordinary care and deſire of his Nephewes ſafety and well doing. And the better to anſwer all argument to the contrary, he prepared a forcible armie to attend him. Thus came he alongſt the coaſt of *Syria* to *Joppe*, and from thence on the ſudden he turned himſelfe towards
2 Mac.4. *Jeruſalem*; where, by *Jaſon* the Prieſt, (a Chaplin fit for ſuch a Patron) he was with all pompe and ſolemnitie received into the Citie. For though lately, in the time of *Se*-
2 Mac.5. *leucus*, the brother and predeceſſour of *Epiphanes*, that impious Traytor *Simon* of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, Ruler of the Temple, when he would have delivered the treaſures thereof to *Apollonius* Governour of *Cœloſyria* and *Phœnicia*, was diſappointed of his wicked purpoſe by miracle from heaven; the ſaid *Apollonius* being ſtrucken by the Angell of God, and recovering againe at the prayer of *Onias*: yet ſufficed not this example to terrefie others from the like ungodly practices. Preſently upon the death of *Seleucus*, this *Jaſon*, the brother of *Onias*, ſeeking to ſupplant his brother, and to obtain the Prieſthood for himſelfe, offered unto the King three hundred and threeſcore talents of ſilver,
2 Mac.4. with other rents and ſummes of mony. So he got his deſire, though he not long enjoyed it.

This naughty dealing of *Jaſon*, and his being over-reached by another in the ſame kind, calls to mind a by-word taken up among the *Achæans*, when as that miſchievous *Callicrates*, who had beene too hard for all worthy and vertuous men, was beaten at his own weapon, by one of his owne condition. It went thus:

*One fire than other burnes more forcibly,*
*One Wolfe than other Wolves does bite more ſore,*
*One Hawke than other Hawkes more ſwift does fly.*
*So one moſt miſchievous of men before,*
Callicrates *falſe knave as knave might be,*
*Met with* Menalcidas *more falſe than he.*

And even thus fell it out with *Jaſon*: who within three yeares after was betrayed, and overbidden by *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, that for three hundred talents more obtained the Prieſthood for himſelfe: *Jaſon* thereupon being forced to flye from *Jeruſalem*, and to hide himſelfe among the *Ammonites*.

From *Jeruſalem Antiochus* marched into *Phœnicia*, to augment the numbers of his men of warre, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into *Egypt*; with which, and with a
1 Mac.1.17. mighty army of land-forces, *He went about to reigne over Egypt, that he might have the dominion of two Realmes, and entred Egypt with a mighty company; with Chariots and Elephants, with Horſemen, and with a great Navie, and moved warre againſt* Ptolomæus *King of Egypt; but* Ptolomæus *was afraid of him, and fled, and many were wounded to death.*
V.18,19,20, &c. *He wan many ſtrong Cities, and tooke away the ſpoyles of the Land of Egypt.* Thus was fulfilled

Prophecie of *Daniel*. *He ſhall enter into the quiet and plentifull Provinces, and he ſhall* Dan.11.24. *doe that which his Fathers have not done, nor his Fathers Fathers*. Never indeed had any of the Kings of *Syria* ſo great a victorie over the *Egyptians*, nor took from them ſo great riches. For he gave a notable overthrow to the Captaines of *Ptolomie*, between *Peluſium* Hier.in Dan. and the hill *Caſſius*, after which he entred and ſackt the greateſt and richeſt of all the Cities of *Egypt*, *Alexandria* excepted, which he could not force. In concluſion, after that *Antiochus* had ſmitten *Egypt*, *hee turned againe, and went up towards Iſrael and* Mac.l.1.c.1. *Jeruſalem with a mightie people, and entred proudly into the Sanctuarie, and took away the golden Altar, and the Candleſtick for the light, and all the inſtruments thereof, and the table of the Shew-bread, and the Powring Veſſels, and the Bolles, and the golden Baſons, and the Vaile, and the Crowns, and the golden Apparrell. He took alſo the Silver, and the Gold, and the precious Jewels, and the ſecret Treaſures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his owne Land, after he had murdered many men.*

It was about the beginning of the *Macedonian* war that *Antiochus* took in hand this Lib.6. *Egyptian* buſineſſe. At what time he firſt laid claime to *Cœloſyria*, juſtifying his title by * the ſame allegations which his father had made; and ſtiffely averring, that this Province * Cap.5.§.2. had not bin conſigned over to the *Egyptian*, or given in dowrie with *Cleopatra*. Eaſie it was to approve his right unto that which he had alreadie gotten, when he was in a faire Polyb.Leg.81. way to get all *Egypt*. The *Achæans*, *Rhodians*, *Athenians*, and other of the *Greeks*, preſſed 82.&c. him, by ſeverall Embaſſages, to ſome good concluſion. But his anſwer was, that if the *Alexandrians* could be contented to receive their King his Nephew *Philometor*, the elder brother of the *Ptolomies*, then ſhould the war be preſently at an end; otherwiſe not. Yet when he ſaw, that it was an hard piece of work to take *Alexandria* by force: he thought it better to let the two brothers conſume themſelves with inteſtine war, than by the terror of his arms, threatning deſtruction unto both of them, to put into them any deſire of comming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his forces for the preſent; leaving the *Ptolomies* in very weak eſtate, the younger almoſt ruinated by his invaſion; the elder hated and forſaken by his people.

But how weak ſoever theſe *Egyptians* were, their hatred was thought to be ſo ſtrong, that *Antiochus* might leave them to the proſecution thereof; and follow, at good leiſure, his other buſineſſe at *Jeruſalem* or elſewhere. So after the ſacke of *Jeruſalem*, he reſted him a while at *Antioch*, and then made a journey into *Cilicia*, to ſuppreſſe the Rebellion of the *Thracians* and others in thoſe parts, who had been given, as it were, by way of dowrie, to a Concubine of the Kings, called *Antiochis*. For Governour of *Syria* in his abſence he left one *Andronicus*, a man of great authoritie about him. In the meane while *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, the ſame who had thruſt *Jaſon* out of the Prieſthood, and promiſed the King three hundred talents for an In-come, committing the charge of the Prieſthood to his brother *Lyſimachus*, ſtole certaine veſſels of gold out of the Temple: whereof he preſented a part to *Andronicus* the Kings Lievtenant, and ſold the reſt at *Tyre*, and other Cities adjoyning. This he did, as it ſeemeth, to advance the payment of the three hundred talents promiſed; the ſame being now by *Soſtratus* eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Onias* the Prieſt (formerly diſpoſſeſſed by *Jaſon*) had certain knowledge, being moved with zeale, and deteſting the ſacriledge of *Menelaus*, he reproved him for it; and fearing his revenge, he withdrew himſelfe into a Sanctuarie at *Daphne*.

*Daphne* was a place of delight adjoyning as a ſuburb to *Antioch*. In compaſſe it had about ten miles: wherein were the Temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a Grove, ſweet Springs, banquetting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a manner, abuſed to luſt & other ſuch voluptuouſneſſe. Whether it were well done of *Onias* to commit himſelfe to the protection of *Apollo* and *Diana*, or to claim priviledge, from the holineſſe of a ground conſecrated to any of the Heathen gods, I will not ſtand to diſcourſe. Onely I ſay for mine owne opinion, that the inconvenience is farre leſſe, to hold this booke as Apocryphal, than to judge this fearfull ſhift which *Onias* (though a vertuous man) made for his life, either commendable or allowable, as the booke ſeemes to doe. As for this refuge, it could not ſave the life of the poore old man: for Menelaus *taking* Andronicus *apart, prayed him to ſlay* Onias. *So when hee came to* Onias, *hee counſelled him* Mac.2.4. *craftily, giving him his right hand with an oath, and perſwaded him to come out of the Sanctuarie; ſo he ſlew him incontinently without any regard of righteouſneſſe.* Hereof when complaint was made to *Antiochus* after his return out of *Cilicia*, *He took away* An- 2 Mac.4.38. dronicus *his garment of purple, and rent his cloaths, & commanded him to be led throughout the Citie; and in the ſame place where he had committed the wickedneſſe againſt* Onias, *he was ſlaine as a murderer*. In taking revenge of this innocent mans death, I ſhould have thought that this wicked King had once in his life-time done Juſtice. But preſently after this, at the ſuit of one *Ptolomie*, a Traytor to *Ptolomie Philometor*, he condemned innocent men to death, who juſtly complained againſt *Menelaus*, and his brother *Lyſimachus*, for a ſecond robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the veſſels of gold remaining. Hereby it is manifeſt, that he was guided by his own outragious will, and not by any regard of juſtice: ſince he revenged the death of *Onias*, yet ſlew thoſe that were Verſe 47. in the ſame cauſe with *Onias*; *Who, had they told their cauſe, yea, before the Scythians, they ſhould have bin heard as innocent*. By reaſon of ſuch his unſteadineſſe, this King was commonly termed *Epimanes*, that is, Mad, in ſtead of *Epiphanes*, which ſignifieth Noble or Illuſtrious.

2 Mac.5.1. After this, *Antiochus* made preparation for a ſecond voyage into *Egypt*, *and then were there ſeen throughout all the Citie of Jeruſalem, fortie daies long, horſemen running in the aire with robes of gold, and as bands of Spear-men, and as troups of Horſmen ſet in array, encountring and courſing one againſt another*. Of theſe prodigious ſignes, or rather forewarnings of God, all Hiſtories have delivered us, ſome more, ſome leſſe. Before the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* by *Veſpatian*, a ſtar in the form of a ſword appeared in the Heavens directly over the Citie, after which there followed a ſlaughter like unto this of *E*- Plin.l.2.c.57. *piphanes*, though far greater. In the *Cymbrian* wars, *Plinie* tels us, that Armies were ſeen fighting in the ayre from the morning till the evening.

In the time of Pope *John* the eleventh, a fountaine powred out bloud in ſtead of water, in or neare the Citie of *Genoa*; ſoone after which the Citie was taken by the *Saracens*, Mercur.Vipera de Prodig.lib.8. Vipera de Priſco & ſacro inſtituto. with great ſlaughter. Of theſe and the like prodigious ſigns, *Vipera* hath collected many, and very remarkeable. But this one ſeemeth to me moſt memorable, becauſe the moſt notorious. All men know, that in the Emperour *Nero*, the Off-ſpring of the *Cæſars*, as well naturall as adopted, tooke end; whereof this notable ſigne gave warning.

Sueton Galba. When *Livia* was firſt married to *Auguſtus*, an Eagle let fall into her armes a white hen, holding a Lawrell branch in her mouth. *Livia* cauſed this Hen to be carefully nouriſhed, and the Lawrell branch to be planted: of the Hen came a faire encreaſe of white Poultrie; and from the little Branch there ſprang up in time a Grove of Lawrell: ſo that afterwards, in all triumphs, the Conquerors did uſe to carrie in their hands a branch of Bayes taken out of this Grove; & after the Triumphs ended, to ſet it againe in the ſame ground: which branches were obſerved, when they hapned to wither, to foreſhew the death of thoſe perſons who carried them in triumph. And in the laſt year of *Nero*, all the broods of the white Hens died, and the whole Grove of Bayes withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the *Cæſars* Statues, and the Scepter placed in *Auguſtus* his hand, were ſtricken downe with lightning. That the Jewes did not thinke ſuch ſtrange ſigns to be unworthie of regard; it appears by their calling upon *God*, and praying, that theſe tokens might turne to good.

Now as the firſt voyage of *Antiochus* into *Egypt* was occaſioned by diſcord of the two brethren therein reigning: ſo was his ſecond Expedition cauſed by their good agreement. For the elder *Ptolomie* being left in *Memphis*, not ſtrong enough to force his brother, who had defended *Alexandria* againſt all the power of their Uncle; thought it the beſt way to ſeeke entrance into that royall Citie, rather by perſwaſion than by armes. *Phyſcon* had not yet forgotten the terrour of the former ſiege: the *Alexandrines* though they loved not *Philometor*, yet loved they worſe to live in ſcarcitie of victuals (which was alreadie great among them, and like to grow extreme) ſince nothing was brought in from the Countrey; and the friends of the younger brother ſaw no likelihood of good iſſue to be hoped for without reconciliation. Theſe good helpes, and above all theſe, the loving diſpoſition of *Cleopatra*, who then was in *Alexandria*, encouraged *Philometor*, in his purpoſe. But that which made him earneſtly deſirous to accompliſh it, was the feare wherein he ſtood of his Uncle. For though *Antiochus* was gone out of *Egypt* with his Armie; yet had he left behind him a ſtrong Garriſon in *Peluſium*; retaining that Citie, which was the Key of *Egypt*, to his owne own uſe. This conſideration wrought alſo with *Phyſcon*, and with thoſe that were about him; ſo as by the vehement mediation of *Cleopatra* their ſiſter, the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the newes of this accord was brought to *Antiochus*, he was greatly enraged: for notwithſtanding that he had pretended no other thing than the eſtabliſhment of the King *Philometor* his Nephew, and a meaning to ſubject his younger brother unto him, which he gave in anſwer to all Embaſſadours; yet he now prepared to make a ſharpe warre upon them both. And to this end he preſently furniſhed and ſent out his Navie towards *Cyprus*, and drew his land Armie into *Cœloſyria*, readie to enter *Egypt* the Spring following. When he was on his way as farre as *Rhinocorura*, he met with Embaſſadours ſent from *Ptolomie*. Their errand was partly to yeeld thanks to *Antiochus* for the eſtabliſhing of *Philometor* in his Kingdome; partly to beſeech him, That he would rather be pleaſed to ſignifie what he required to have done in *Egypt*, which ſhould be performed, than to enter it as an enemie with ſo puiſſant an Armie. But *Antiochus* returned this ſhort anſwer, That he would neither call backe his Fleet, nor withdraw his Armie, upon any other condition, than that *Ptolomie* ſhould ſurrender into his hands, together with the Citie of *Peluſium*, the whole Territorie thereto belonging: and that he ſhould alſo abandon and leave unto him the Ile of *Cyprus*, with all the right that he had unto either of them, for ever. For anſwer unto theſe demands, hee ſet downe a day certaine, and a ſhort one. Which being come and paſt, without any accord made, the *Syrian* Fleet entred *Nilus*, and recovered as well thoſe places which appertained to *Ptolomie* in *Arabia*, as in *Egypt* it ſelfe; for *Memphis*, and all about it, received *Antiochus*, being unable to reſiſt him. The King having now no ſtop in his way to *Alexandria*, paſſed on thitherwards by eaſie journies.

Of all theſe troubles paſt, as well as of the preſent danger wherein *Egypt* ſtood, the *Romans* had notice long agoe. But they found, or were contented to finde, little reaſon for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a civill warre: and wherein *Antiochus* ſeemed to take part with the juſter cauſe. Yet they gave ſignification, that it would be much diſpleaſing unto them, to have the Kingdome of *Egypt* taken from the rightfull owners. More they could not, or would not doe; being troubled with *Perſeus*; and therefore loath to provoke *Antiochus* too farre. Neverthelesse, the *Egyptian* Kings being reconciled, and ſtanding joyntly in need of helpe againſt their Uncle, who prepared and made open warre againſt them both: it was to be expected, that not only the *Romans*, but many of the *Greeks*, as being thereto obliged by notable benefits, ſhould arme in defence of their Kingdome. *Rome* had beene ſuſtained with food from *Egypt*, in the warre of *Hannibal*; when *Italie* lying waſte, had neither corn nor money wherewith to buy ſufficient ſtore. By helpe of the *Egyptian* had *Aratus* laid the foundation of that greatneſſe, whereto the *Achæans* attained. And by the like helpe had *Rhodes* beene defended againſt *Demetrius Poliorcetes*. Neither were theſe friendly turnes, which that bountifull houſe of the *Ptolomies* had done for ſundrie people abroad, ill followed, or ſeconded, by other as bad in requitall: but with continuance of ſutable beneficence, from time to time encreaſed. Wherefore the two brothers ſent abroad confidently for ayde; eſpecially to the *Rhodians* and *Achæans*, who ſeemed moſt able to give it effectually. To the *Romans* *Phyſcon* and *Cleopatra* had ſent, a yeere ſince; but their Embaſſadours lay ſtill in *Rome*. Of the *Achæans* they deſired in particular, that *Lycortas* the brave warriour might be ſent unto them, as Generall of all the *Auxiliaries*, and his ſonne *Polybius*, Generall of the Horſe. Hereunto the *Achæans* readily condeſcended: and would immediately have made performance, if *Callicrates* had not interpoſed his miſchievous art. He, whether ſeeking occaſion to vaunt his obſequiouſneſſe to the *Romans*; or much rather envying thoſe noble Captaines whoſe ſervice the Kings deſired; withſtood the common voyce; which was, That their Nation ſhould, not with ſuch ſmall numbers as were requeſted, but with all their power, be ayding unto the *Ptolomies*. For it was not now (he ſaid) convenient time to entangle themſelves in any ſuch buſineſſe, as might make them the leſſe able to yeeld unto the *Romans* what helpe ſoever ſhould be required in the *Macedonian* warre. And in this ſentence, he, with thoſe of his faction, obſtinately perſiſted: terrefying others with big words, as it were in behalfe of the *Romans*. But *Polybius* affirmed, that *Martius* the late Conſull had ſignified unto him, that the *Romans* were paſt all need of help: adding further, that a thouſand foot and two hundred horſe, might well be ſpared to the aid of their Benefactors, the *Egyptian* Kings, without diſabling their Nation to performe any ſervice to the *Romans*; for as much as the *Achæans* could without trouble, raiſe thirtie or fortie thouſand Souldiers. All this notwithſtanding, the reſolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken by the violence of *Callicrates*. For when it was thought that the Decree ſhould have paſſed; he brought into the Theater where the aſſembly was held, a Meſſenger with letters from *Martius*; whereby the *Achæans* were deſired to conforme themſelves to the *Roman* Senate; and to labour, as the Senate had done, by ſending Embaſſadours to ſet *Egypt* in peace. This was an advice againſt all reaſon. For the Senate had indeed ſent Embaſſadours to make peace; but as in a time of greater buſineſſe elſewhere, with ſuch milde words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely that the *Achæans* ſhould doe any good in the ſame kinde. Yet *Polybius* and his friends durſt not gaine-ſay the *Roman* Councell; which had force of an injunction. So the Kings were left in much diſtreſſe; diſappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perſeus* overcome: and then might the Embaſſadour, ſent from the *Roman* Senate, performe as much as any Armie could have done.

Audience had beene lately given by the Senate, unto thoſe Embaſſadours of *Phyſcon* and *Cleopatra*: which having ſtayed more than a whole yeare in the Citie, brought nothing of their buſineſſe to effect untill now. The Embaſſadors delivered their meſſage in the name of thoſe that had ſent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Philometor*, no leſſe than his brother and Siſter.

In this ambaſſage of *Ptolomie*, now requeſting help from *Rome*, appeared a notable change of his fortune, from ſuch as it had beene before three or foure yeares laſt paſt. For in the beginning of theſe his troubles, which began with the *Macedonian* Warre; either he, or *Eulæus*, or *Lenæus* (upon whom the blame was afterwards laid) which had the government of him, thought his affaires in ſuch good eſtate, that not only he determined to ſet upon *Antiochus* for *Cœloſyria*, but would have interpoſed himſelfe betweene the *Romans* and *Perſeus*, as a competent Arbitrator; though it fell out well, that his Embaſſadour was by a friend perſwaded to forget that point of his errand. From theſe high thoughts he fell on the ſudden, by the rebellion of his brother and ſubjects, to live under protection of the ſame *Antiochus*. And now at ſuch time as by attonement with his brother and ſubjects, he might have ſeemed to ſtand in no need of ſuch protection, he hath remaining none other help whereby to ſave both his kingdom & life, than what can be obtained by their interceſſion which were employed againſt him. This miſerable condition of him, his brother and ſiſter, ſhewed it ſelfe, even in the habit of thoſe Embaſſadours. They were poorely clad; the haire of their heads and beards overgrowne, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their hands branches of Olive. Thus they entred into the Senate, and there fell, groveling and proſtrate, upon the floore. Their garments were not ſo mean and mournfull, nor their lookes and Countenances ſo ſad and dejected, but that their ſpeech was than either of the other far more lamentable. For having told in what danger their King and Countrey ſtood, they made a pittifull and grievous complaint unto the Senate, beſeeching them to have compaſſion of their Eſtate, and of their Princes, who had alwayes remained friendly & faithfull to the *Romans*. They ſaid that the people of *Rome* had ſo much heretofore favoured this *Antiochus* in particular; and were of ſuch account and authoritie, with all other Kings and Nations; as if they pleaſed but to ſend their Embaſſadours, and let *Antiochus* know, that the Senate was offended with his undertaking upon the King their Confederate; then would he preſently raiſe his ſiege from before *Alexandria*, and with-draw his Armie out of *Egypt* into *Syria*. But that if the Senate protracted any time, or uſed any delay, then ſhould *Ptolomie* and *Cleopatra* be ſhortly driven out of their Realms, and make repaire to *Rome*, with ſhamefull diſhonour to the Senate and people thereof, in that, in the extreme dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchſafed to relieve them.

*Polyb. Leg. 72.*

The Lords of the Senate moved with compaſſion, ſent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenus*, *C. Decimius* and *A. Hoſtilius*, as Embaſſadours to determine and end the war betweene thoſe Kings. In commiſſion they had firſt to find King *Ptolomie*, and then *Antiochus*, and to let them both underſtand, that unleſſe they ſurceaſed, and gave over Armes, they would take that King no more for a friend to the Senate and people of *Rome*, whom they found obſtinate, or uſing delay. So theſe *Romans*, together with the *Alexandrine* Embaſſadours, tooke their leave, and went onward their way within three dayes after.

Whileſt *Popilius* and his fellowes were on their way toward *Egypt*, *Antiochus* had tranſported his Armie over *Luſine*, ſome fortie miles from *Alexandria*. So neer was he to the end of his journey, when the *Roman* Embaſſadours met him. After greeting and ſalutations at their firſt encounter, *Antiochus* offered his right hand to *Popilius*: but *Popilius* filled it with a Roll of paper; willing him to reade thoſe Mandates of the Senate before he did any thing elſe. *Antiochus* did ſo; and having a little while conſidered of the buſineſſe, he told *Popilius*, That he would adviſe with his friends, and then give the Embaſſadours their anſwer. But *Popilius*, according to his ordinarie blunt manner of ſpeech, which he had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rod which he held in his hand, willing him to make him ſuch an anſwer as hee might report to the Senate, before hee moved out of that Circle. The King aſtoniſhed at this ſo rude and violent a Commandement, after he had ſtayed and pawſed a while, I will be content (quoth hee) to doe whatſoever the Senate ſhall ordaine. Then *Popilius* gave unto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Allie of the *Romans*.

Thus *Antiochus* departed out of *Egypt*, without any good iſſue of his coſtly Expedition; even in ſuch manner as * *Daniel* had propheſied long before: yea, fulfilling every particular circumſtance, both of returning, and of doing miſchiefe to *Jeruſalem* after his returne; like as if theſe things had rather bin hiſtorified than fore-told by the Prophet. As for the *Roman* Embaſſadors, they ſtayed awhile, and ſettled the kingdome of *Egypt*, leaving it unto the elder brother, and appointed the younger to reign over *Cyrene*. This done, they departed towards *Cyprus*; which they felt, as it had beene, in the power of the *Egyptian*, having firſt ſent away *Antiochus* Fleet, which had alreadie given an overthrow to the *Egyptian* ſhips.

Dan.11.29. 30.&c.

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## §. XII.

*How the Romans were dreadful to all Kings. Their demeanour towards* Eumenes, Pruſias, Maſaniſſa, *and* Cotys. *The end of* Perſeus *and his children. The inſtabilitie of Kingly Eſtates. The Triumphs of* Paulus, Anicius, *and* Octavius. *With the Concluſion of the worke.*

BY this peremptorie demeanour of *Popilius*, in doing his Meſſage, and by the readie obedience of King *Antiochus* to the will of the Senate; wee may perceive how terrible the *Romans* were grown, through their conqueſt of *Macedon*. The ſame *Popilius* had bin well contented, a year before this, to lay aſide the roughneſſe of his naturall condition, & to give good language to the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*, when he went Embaſſadour to thoſe people of *Greece*, that were of far leſſe power than the King *Antiochus*. Likewiſe, *Antiochus* had with good words, and no more than good words, diſmiſſed other Embaſſadours which came from *Rome*, in ſuch ſort, as they complained not, much leſſe uſed any menacing termes, though he performed nothing of their requeſt. But now the caſe was altered. So found other Kings as well as *Antiochus*.

*Eumenes* ſent to *Rome* his brother *Attalus*, to gratulate the victorie over *Perſeus*, and to crave help or countenance of the Senate againſt the *Gallo-greeks*, which moleſted him. Very welcome was *Attalus*, and lovingly entertained by moſt of the Senators: who bad him be confident, and requeſt of the Senate his brothers kingdome for himſelfe; for it ſhould ſurely be given him. Theſe hopefull promiſes tickled *Attalus* with ſuch ambition, that he either approved, or ſeemed to approve the motion. But his honeſt nature was ſoon reclaymed by the faithfull counſell of *Stratius* a Phyſician; whom *Eumenes* had ſent to *Rome* of purpoſe to keep his brother upright. So, when he came into the Senate, he delivered the errand about which he had bin ſent; recounting his own ſervices done to the *Romans* in the late war, * where withall he forgat not to make of his brother as good mention

* Liv.lib.45.

mention as he could: and finally, requeſted; That the Townes of *Ænus* and *Maronea* might be beſtowed upon himſelfe. * By his omitting to ſue for his brothers Kingdome, the Senate conceived opinion, that he meant to crave another day of audience for that buſineſſe alone. Wherefore, to make him underſtand how gracious he was, they not only granted all his deſire; but in the preſents which they gave unto him (as was their cuſtome to Embaſſadors that came with an acceptable meſſage) they uſed ſingular magnificence. Neverthleſſe *Attalus* tooke no notice of their meaning, but went his way, contented with what they had alreadie granted. This did ſo highly diſpleaſe the Senate, that whilſt he was yet in *Italie*, they gave order for the libertie of *Ænus* and *Maronea*: thereby making uneffectuall their promiſe; which otherwiſe they could not, without ſhame, revoke. And as for the *Gallo-greekes*, which were about to invade the kingdome of *Pergamus*; they ſent Embaſſadours to them, with ſuch inſtructions, as rather encouraged than hindred them in their purpoſe. The diſpleaſure of the Senate being ſo manifeſt; *Eumenes* thought it worthie of his labour to make another voyage to *Rome*. He might well blame the follie of his ſecond voyage thither, for this neceſſitie of the third: ſince, by his malice to *Perſeus*, he had layd open unto theſe ambitious Potentates the way to his owne doores. No ſooner was he come into *Italie*, than the Senate was ready to ſend him going. It was not thought expedient to uſe him as an enemie, that came to viſit them in love: neither could they, in ſo doing, have avoided the note of ſingular inconſtancie: and to entertaine him as a friend, was more than their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King ſhould be ſuffered to come to *Rome*; and by vertue thereof ſent him home, without expence of much farther complement.

*Polyb.Leg.93.

Polyb.ibid.

*Pruſias* King of *Bithynia* had beene at *Rome* ſomewhat before; where he was welcommed after a better faſhion. He had learned to be have himſelf as humbly as the proud *Romans* could expect or deſire. For, entring into the Senate, he lay down, and kiſſed the threſhold, called the *Fathers* his gods and ſaviours: as alſo he uſed to weare a Cap, after the manner of ſlaves newly manumiſed, profeſſing himſelfe an enfranchiſed bondman of the People of *Rome*. He was indeed naturally a ſlave, and one that by ſuch abject flattery kept himſelfe ſafe; though doing otherwiſe greater miſchiefe than any wherewith *Perſeus* had beene charged. His errand was, beſides matter of complement, to commend unto the Senate the care of his ſon *Nicomedes*, whom he brought with him to *Rome*, there to receive education. Further petition he made, to have ſome Towns added to his kingdom: whereto, becauſe the grant would have bin unjuſt, he received a cold anſwer. But concerning the Wardſhip of his ſon, it was undertaken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleaſure lately done to *Egypt*, in freeing it from *Antiochus*, willed him thereby to conſider, what effectuall protection the *Romans* gave unto the children of Kings, that were to their patronage commended.

But above all other Kings, *Maſaniſſa* held his credit with the *Romans* good. His quarrels were endleſſe with the *Carthaginians*: which made the friendſhip of the *Romans* to him the more aſſured. In all controverſies they gave judgement on his ſide: and whereas he had invaded the Countrey of *Emporia*, holding the Lands, but unable to win the Towns; the *Romans* (though at firſt they could finde no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppreſſion) compelled finally the *Carthaginians* both to let goe all their hold, and to pay five hundred Talents to the *Numidian*, for having hindered him of his due ſo long. Now indeed had *Rome* good leaſure to deviſe upon the ruine of *Carthage*: after which, the race of *Maſaniſſa* himſelfe was ſhortly by them rooted up. But hereof the old King never dreamed. He ſent to *Rome* one of his ſons, to congratulate the victorie over *Perſeus*; and offered to come thither himſelfe, there to ſacrifice for joy unto *Jupiter* in the *Capitol*. His good will was lovingly accepted; his ſon rewarded; and he entreated to ſtay at home.

*Cotys* the *Thracian* ſent Embaſſadours to excuſe himſelfe touching the aide by him given to *Perſeus*, for that the *Macedonian* had him bound by hoſtages; and to intreat, That his ſonne, which was taken with the children of *Perſeus*, might be ſet at libertie, for convenient ranſome. His excuſe was not taken; ſince hee had voluntarily obliged himſelfe to *Perſeus*, by giving hoſtages without neceſſitie. Yet was his ſonne given backe to him ranſome-free; with admonition, to carry himſelfe better toward the

*Romans*

*Romanes* in time following. His Kingdome lay betweene *Macedon* and ſome barbarous Nations; in which reſpect, it was good to hold him in faire termes.

As for thoſe unhappie Kings *Perſeus* and *Gentius*, they were led through *Rome*, with their children and friends, in the Triumphs of *Æmylius* and *Anicius*. *Perſeus* had often made ſuit to *Æmylius*, that he might not be put to ſuch diſgrace: but he ſtill received one ſcornefull anſwer, That it lay in his owne power to prevent it; whereby was meant, that he might kill himſelfe. And ſurely, had he not hoped for greater mercie than he found, he would rather have ſought his death in *Macedon*, than have bin beholding to the courteſie of his inſolent enemies for a wretched life. The iſſue of the *Roman* clemencie, whereof *Æmylius* had given him hope, was no better than this: After that he, and his fellow King, had beene led in chaines through the ſtreets, before the Chariots of their triumphing Victors, they were committed to priſon, wherein they remained without hope of releaſe. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot up towards the *Capitol*, there to doe ſacrifice, he ſhould command the captives to be had away to priſon, and there put to death: ſo as the honour of the Vanquiſher, and miſerie of thoſe that were overcome, might be both together at the utmoſt. This laſt ſentence of death was remitted unto *Perſeus*: yet ſo, that he had little joy of his life; but either famiſhed himſelfe, or (for it is diverſly reported) was kept watching perforce by thoſe that had him in cuſtodie; and ſo died for want of ſleepe. Of his ſons, two died; it is uncertaine how. The youngeſt called *Alexander* (only in name like unto the Great, though deſtined ſometimes perhaps by his father, unto the fortunes of the Great) became a Joyner, or Turner, or, at his beſt preferment, a Scribe under the *Roman* Officers. In ſuch povertie ended the Royall Houſe of *Macedon*: and it ended on the ſudden; though ſome eightſcore yeares after the death of that Monarch, unto whoſe ambition this whole Earth ſeemed too narrow.

If *Perſeus* had knowne it before, that his owne ſon ſhould one day be compelled to earne his living by handie-work, in a painfull Occupation; it is like, that he would not, as in a wantonneſſe of Soveraigntie, have commanded thoſe poor men to be ſlain, which had recovered his treaſures out of the ſea, by their skill in the feat of diving. He would rather have beene very gentle, and would have conſidered, that the greateſt oppreſſors, and the moſt undertroden wretches, are all ſubject unto the One high Power, governing all alike with abſolute command. But ſuch is our unhappineſſe; in ſtead of that bleſſed counſel, ***Doe as ye would be done unto***, a ſentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicitie; we entertaine that arrogant thought, ***I will be like to the moſt High***: that is, I will doe what ſhall pleaſe my ſelfe. One hath ſaid truely:

*——Et qui nolunt occidere quenquam* Juven. ſat. 10.
*Poſſe volunt.——*

*Even they that have no murdrous will,*
*Would have it in their power to kill.*

All, or the moſt, have a vaine deſire of abilitie to doe evill without controll: which is a dangerous temptation unto the performance. God, who beſt can judge what is expedient, hath granted ſuch power to very few: among whom alſo, very few there are, that uſe it not to their owne hurt. For who ſees not that a Prince, by racking his Soveraigne authoritie to the utmoſt extent, enableth (beſides the danger to his owne perſon) ſome one of his owne ſonnes or nephewes to root up all his progenie? Shall not many excellent Princes, notwithſtanding their brotherhood, or other neereneſſe in bloud, be driven to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot that governes one, the moſt unworthie of his whole houſe, yet reigning over all? the untimely death of many Princes which could not humble themſelves to ſuch flatterie; and the common practice of the *Turkiſh* Emperours to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend; are too good proofes hereof. Hereunto may be added, That the heire of the ſame *Roger Mortimer*, who murdered moſt traiterouſly and barbarouſly King *Edward* the ſecond; was, by reaſon of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, heire apparent to the Crowne of *England*: which had he obtained, then had all the power of *Edward* fallen into the race of his mortall enemie, to exerciſe the ſame upon the Line of that unhappie King. Such examples of the inſtabilitie whereto all mortall affaires are ſubject; as they teach moderation, and admoniſh the tranſitorie gods of Kingdomes, not to authorize by wicked precedents, the evill that may fall on their own poſteritie: ſo do they neceſſarily make us underſtand, how happie that Countrie is, which hath obtained a King able to conceive and teach, That * *God is the ſoreſt and ſharpeſt Schoolemaſter that can be deviſed, for ſuch Kings, as thinke this world ordained for them, without controlement to turne it upſide-downe at their pleaſure.*

* The true Law of free Monarchies.

Chap.3.§.4.

Now concerning the Triumph of *L. Æmylius Paulus*, it was in all points like unto that of *T. Quintius Flaminius*: though farre more glorious, in regard of the Kings owne perſon, that was led along therein, as part of his owne ſpoyles; and in regard likewiſe both of the Conqueſt and of the Bootie. So great was the quantitie of Gold and Silver carried by *Paulus* into the *Roman* Treaſurie, that from thenceforth, untill the civill wars which followed upon the death of *Julius Cæſar*, the Eſtate had no need to burthen it ſelf with any Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to have bin hindred by the ſouldiers; who grudged at their Generall, for not having dealt more bountifully with them. But the Princes of the Senate over-ruled the People and Souldiers herein, and brought them to reaſon by ſevere exhortations. Thus *Paulus* enjoyed as much honour of his victorie as men could give. Nevertheleſſe, it pleaſed God to take away from him his two remaining ſons, that were not given in adoption: of which, the one dyed five dayes before the Triumph; the other three dayes after it. This loſſe he bore wiſely: and told the People, That he hoped to ſee the Common-wealth flouriſh in a continuance of proſperitie; ſince the joy of his victorie was requited with his owne private calamitie, in ſtead of the publike.

About the ſame time, *Octavius* the Admirall, who had brought *Perſeus* out of *Samothrace*: and *Anicius* the Prætor, who had conquered *Illyria*, and taken King *Gentius* priſoner; made their ſeverall triumphs. The glorie of which magnificent ſpectacles, together with the confluence of Embaſſages from all parts; and Kings, either viſiting the Imperiall Citie, or offering to viſit her, and doe their duties in perſon; were enow to ſay unto *Rome*, *Sume ſuperbiam*, *Take upon thee the Majeſtie that thy deſerts have purchaſed.*

By this which we have alreadie ſet downe, is ſeene the beginning and end of the three firſt Monarchies of the world; whereof the Founders and Erectors thought, that they could never have ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was alſo at this time almoſt at the higheſt. We have left it flouriſhing in the middle of the field; having rooted up, or cut downe, all that kept it from the eies and admiration of the world. But after ſome continuance, it ſhall begin to loſe the beautie it had; the ſtorms of ambition ſhall beat her great boughes and branches one againſt another; her leaves ſhall fall off, her limbes wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut her downe.

Now theſe great Kings, and conquering Nations, have bin the ſubject of thoſe ancient Hiſtories, which have bin preſerved, and yet remaine among us; and withall of ſo many tragical Poets, as in the perſons of powerfull Princes, and other mightie men have complained againſt infidelitie, Time, Deſtinie, and moſt of all againſt the Variable ſucceſſe of worldly things, and Inſtabilitie of Fortune. To theſe undertakings, theſe great Lords of the world have beene ſtirred up, rather by the deſire of Fame, which ploweth up the Aire, and ſoweth in the Winde; than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it ſo much vexation and ſo many cares. And that this is true, the good advice of *Cineas* to *Pyrrhus* proves. And certainely, as Fame hath often been dangerous to the living, ſo is it to the dead of no uſe at all; becauſe ſeparate from knowledge. Which were it otherwiſe, and the extreme ill bargaine of buying this laſting diſcourſe, underſtood by them which are diſſolved; they themſelves would then rather have wiſhed, to have ſtolne out of the world without noyſe, than to be put in minde, that they have purchaſed the report of their actions in the world, by rapine, oppreſſion, and crueltie: by giving in ſpoyle the innocent and labouring ſoule to the idle and inſolent, and by having emptied the Cities of the world of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them again with ſo many and ſo variable ſorts of ſorrowes.

Since the fall of the *Roman* Empire (omitting that of the *Germanes*, which had neither greatneſſe nor continuance) there hath beene no State fearefull in the Eaſt, but that of the *Turk*; nor in the Weſt any Prince that hath ſpred his wings far over his neſt, but the *Spaniard*; who ſince the time that *Ferdinand* expelled the *Moores* out of *Granado*, have made many attempts to make themſelves Maſters of all *Europe*. And it is true, that by the treaſures of both Indies, & by the many kingdoms which they poſſeſſe in *Europe*, they are at this day the moſt powerfull. But as the *Turke* is now counterpoiſed by the *Perſian*, ſo in ſtead of ſo many Millions as have beene ſpent by the *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Netherlands* in a defenſive war, and in diverſions againſt them, it is eaſie to demonſtrate, that with the charge of two hundred thouſand pound continued but for two yeares, or three at the moſt, they may not only be perſwaded to live in peace, but all their ſwelling and overflowing ſtreames may be brought back into their naturall channels and old bankes. Theſe two Nations, I ſay, are at this day the moſt eminent, and to be regarded; the one ſeeking to root out the Chriſtian Religion altogether, the other the truth and ſincere profeſſion thereof; the one to joyne all *Europe* to *Aſia*, the other the reſt of all *Europe* to *Spaine*.

For the reſt, if we ſeeke a reaſon of the ſucceſſion and continuance of this boundleſſe ambition in mortall men, we may adde to that which hath been alreadie ſaid; That the Kings and Princes of the world have alwaies laid before them the actions, but not the ends of thoſe great Ones which preceded them. They are alwayes tranſported with the glorie of the one, but they never minde the miſerie of the other, till they finde the experience in themſelves. They neglect the advice of God, while they enjoy life, or hope it; but they follow the counſell of Death, upon his firſt approach. It is he that puts into man all the wiſedome of the world, without ſpeaking a word; which God with all the words of his Law, promiſes, or threats, doth infuſe. Death, which hateth and deſtroyeth man, is beleeved; God, which hath made him, and loves him, is alwaies deferred. *I have conſidered* (ſaith *Salomon*) *all the workes that are under the Sunne, and behold, all is vanitie and vexation of ſpirit:* but who beleeves it till Death tels it us? It was Death, which opening the conſcience of *Charles* the fift, made him enjoyne his ſonne *Philip* to reſtore *Navarre*; and King *Francis* the firſt of *France*, to command that juſtice ſhould be done upon the Murderers of the *Proteſtants* in *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*, which till then he neglected. It is therefore death alone that can ſuddenly make man to know himſelfe. He tels the proud and inſolent, that they are but Abjects, and humbles them at the inſtant; makes them crie, complaine, and repent; yea, even to hate their forepaſſed happineſſe. He takes the account of the rich, and proves him a beggar; a naked beggar, which hath intereſt in nothing, but in the gravell that fils his mouth. He holds a Glaſſe before the eyes of the moſt beautifull, and makes them ſee therein their deformitie and rottenneſſe; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, juſt, and mightie Death! whom none could adviſe, thou haſt perſwaded; what none hath dared, thou haſt done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only haſt caſt out of the world and deſpiſed: thou haſt drawne together all the farre ſtretched greatneſſe, all the pride, crueltie, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with theſe two narrow words, *Hic jacet*.

Laſtly, whereas this Booke, by the title it hath, calls it ſelfe, *The firſt part of the Generall Hiſtorie of the World*, implying a *Second* and *Third* Volume; which I alſo intended,
and have hewne out; beſides many other diſcouragements, perſwading my ſilence; it hath pleaſed God to take that glorious *Prince* out of the world,
to whom they were directed; whoſe unſpeakeable and never
enough lamented loſſe hath taught mee to ſay
with *Job*, *Verſa eſt in Luctum Cithara
mea, & Organum meum in
vocem flentium.*

*FINIS.*

# TO THE READER.

*THe uſe of Chronologicall Tables is needfull to all Hiſtories, that reach to any length of time; and moſt of all, to thoſe that are moſt generall: ſince they cannot, like Annales, yeerely ſet downe all occurrences not cohærent. This here following, may ſerve as an Index to the preſent part of this worke, pointing unto the ſeveral matters, that having fallen out at one time, are far diſ-joined in the relation. Certainely it is not perfect, neither doe I thinke that any can bee. For howſoever the yeeres of the firſt Patriarchs may ſeem to have beene well neere compleat, yet in the reignes of the Kings of Juda and Iſrael, we finde many fractions, and the laſt yeer, or yeers, of one King reckoned alſo as the formoſt of another. The ſame is moſt likely to have fallen out in many other, though not ſo preciſely recorded. Hereto may be added the divers and imperfect forms of the yeere, which were in uſe among ſundry nations, cauſing the* * *Summer months, in proceſſe of ſome ages, to fall into the winter; and ſo breeding extreme confuſion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a ſmall part of trouble, to chooſe out of ſo many, and ſo utterly diſagreeing computations, as have already gotten authority, what may probably be held for truth. All this, and a great deale more, is to be alledged, in excuſe of ſuch errour, as a more intentive and perfect Calculator ſhall happen to finde herein. It may ſerve to free the booke, and likewiſe the Reader (if but of meane judgement) from any notorious* Anachroniciſme*; which ought to ſuffice. The booke indeed will need it, even in that regard; not onely for ſome errors of the preſſe, in the numbring of yeeres, but for ſome haſtie miſ-reckonings of mine owne, which I deſire to have hereby reformed, in hope that the printing of this table ſhall not want carefull diligence. The Reader, if he be not offended with the reſt, ſhall finde reaſon to be pleaſed with this, as tending wholly to his owne eaſe.*

* *See lib.2. Chap.3.§.6.*

*The titles over the Columnes, have reference to that which followes under them, as will readily be conceived. Where two titles, or more, are over the head, as* | Rome Nabonaſſar | *there doe the numbers underneath proportionably anſwer, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example, The walls of Jeruſalem were finiſhed in the 319. yeere from the building of Rome, and in the* 314. *from* Nabonaſſar. *In like manner it is to be underſtood, That* Jehoſaphat *began his reigne in the 3774. of the* Julian Æra, *in the 3092. of the world, and in the 99. yeere of the Temple. This needs not more illuſtration, nor indeed ſo much, to thoſe that are acquainted with workes of this kinde. To avoid prolixity, I have forborne to inſert thoſe yeeres, which I finde not ſigned with ſome regardable accident, as with the birth or death of ſome Patriarch; the beginning of ſome Kings reigne; ſome change of Governement; ſome battaile fought, or the like. So of the 13. yeeres wherein* Sylvius Capetus *reigned over the* Latines, *I note onely the firſt, that is, omitting all betweene the 4. of* Jehoſaphat, *wherein* Capetus *began, unto the 17. wherein* Sylvius Aventinus *ſucceeded, and wherein* Jehoram *firſt reigned with* Jehoſaphat *his father. For I thought it vaine to have filled up a page with 12. lines of idle ciphers, numbring forth 2.3.4.5. and ſo ſtill onwards, till I had come to the firſt of* Aventinus, *and the 17. of* Jehoſaphat. *In ſetting downe the Kings, there is noted over the head of every one, what place hee held in order of ſucceſſion: as whether he were the firſt, ſecond, fiſt, ſeventh, or ſo forth, in ranke of thoſe that reigned in his countrey, without notable interruption: Before the name is the firſt yeer of his reigne; at the end or foot of the name (as the ſpace gives leave) is the whole number of yeeres in which he reigned, in the ſpaces following underneath, are thoſe yeeres of his, which were concurrent with the beginning of ſome other King, or with the yeere of any remarkable accident. Where two numbers, or more, are found before one Kings name; there it is to bee underſtood, that the ſame yeere belonged not onely to the King then beginning, but unto ſome one, or more of his foregoers: as the firſt yeere of* Jehoram *King of Iſrael, was the ſame with the ſecond of his brother* Ahaziah, *and the 22. of his father* Ahab. *So where two or three names are found in one ſpace, as in the 3077. yeere of the World,* Zimri, Tibni, *and* Omri, *it is meant that every one of them reigned in ſome part of the ſame yeere, which is reckoned the ſecond of* Ela, *and the firſt of* Omri. *Particularly, under the reignes of the Egyptian Kings are ſet downe the yeares of thoſe* Dynaſties, *which it was thought meet to inſert; as likewiſe otherwhiles, the day, the moneth, upon which* Nabonaſſars *yeere began, which, how it varied from other yeeres, may be found in the place laſt above cited.*

# To the Reader.

Concerning the Æra, or account of yeeres, from Iphitus, who began the Olympiads, from Rome built, from Nabonaſſar, and the like; as much as was thought convenient hath bin ſaid, where due place was, in the booke it ſelfe: ſo as it remaineth onely to note, that under the title of Olympiads is ſet downe firſt the number of the Olympiad, and beneath it, the yeer of that Olympiad: as that Cyrus began his reigne in Perſia, in the 55. Olympiad, and the firſt yeere thereof.

Now, for that the yeeres of the world, of the Olympiads, of Rome, of Nabonaſſar, and other, had not beginning in one moneth, but ſome of them in March, ſome in April, ſome about Midſummer, and ſome at other times: the better to expreſſe their ſeverall beginnings, ſome painefull Chronologers have divided them proportionably in their ſeverall Columnes, oppoſing part of the one yeere to part of the other: not (as I have here done) cutting all overthwart with one ſtraight line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour have I ſpared, as more troubleſome than uſefull, ſince the more part would not have apprehended the meaning, and ſince the learned might well be without it. It will only be needfull to obſerve that howſoever the Æra of the Olympiads bee 24. yeeres elder than that of Rome, and 29. than that of Nabonaſſar, yet the reigne of ſome King may have begun at ſuch a time of the yeer as did not ſute with this difference. But hereof I take little regard. The more curious will eaſily finde my meaning: the vulgar will not finde the difficulty. One familiar example will explaine all. Queen Elizabeth began her reigne the 17. of November, in the yeere of our Lord 1558. She was crowned, held a Parliament, brake it up, threw downe Images, and reformed many things in religion, all in her firſt yeere, yet not all in that yeere 1558. but the greater part in the yeer following, whether we begin with the firſt of January, or with the 25. of March. The like may be otherwhiles found in this Table, but ſo, as the difference is never of a whole yeere.

The Julian Period, which I have placed as the greater number, over the yeeres of the world, was delivered by that honourable, and excellently learned Joſeph Scaliger: being accommodated to the Julian yeeres, now in uſe among us. It conſiſteth of 7980. yeeres, which reſult from the multiplication of 19. 28. and 15. that is, of the Cycle of the Moone, the Cycle of the Sunne, and the yeeres of an Indiction. Being divided by any of theſe, it leaves the number of the preſent yeere, or if no fraction remaine, it ſhewes the laſt yeere of that Cycle to be current. For example, in the 4498. of this Period, when was fought the great battaile of Cannæ, the Prime or golden number was 14. the Cycle of the Sun, 18. and conſequently the Dominicall letter F. as may be found by dividing the ſame number of the Julian Period 4498. by 19. for the Prime, by 28. for the Cycle of the Sunne. This Julian Period, after the preſent accompt, alwaies exceeds the yeers of the World by 682. Beſides the former uſes, and other thence redounding, it is a better Character of a yeer, than any other Æra (as, From the beginning of the World, From the Floud, From Troy taken, or the like) which are of more uncertaine poſition. More I ſhall not need to write, as touching the uſe or explication of theſe Tables. Neither was thus much requiſite to ſuch as are converſant in workes of this kinde: it ſufficeth if hereby all bee made plaine enough to the vulgar.

# A
# CHRONOLOGICALL TABLE.

## Yeeres of the Julian Period, VVorld, Patriarches, &c.

| | *Julian. The World, and Adam.* | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 683<br>1. *Adã*<br>930 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 813<br>131 | 1. *Seth.*<br>912 | | | | | | | | |
| | 918<br>236 | 106 | 1. *Enos*<br>905 | | | | | | | |
| | 1008<br>326 | 196 | 91 | 1. *Cainan.*<br>910 | *All the yeres of the Patriarks, wherein they begat childrẽ, died, or performed any thing, are reckoned compleat: which is inferred out of the addition of the yeres before they begat children, unto those that followed; making alwayes a compleat ſumme, Gen. 5.* | | | | | |
| | 1078<br>396 | 266 | 161 | 71 | 1. *Mahalalel*<br>895 | | | | | |
| | 1143<br>461 | 331 | 226 | 136 | 66 | 1. *Jared*<br>962 | | | | |
| | 1305<br>623 | 493 | 388 | 298 | 228 | 163 | 1. *Enoch.*<br>265 | | | |
| | 1370<br>688 | 558 | 453 | 363 | 293 | 228 | 66 | 1. *Methuſela*<br>969 | | |
| | 1557<br>875 | 745 | 640 | 550 | 480 | 415 | 253 | 188 | 1. *Lamech.*<br>777. | |
| *Adam dyed about the end of the yeere.* | 1612<br>930 | 800 | 695 | 605 | 535 | 470 | 308 | 243 | 56 | |
| *Henoch tranſlated.* | 1669<br>987 | 857 | 752 | 662 | 592 | 527 | 365 | 300 | 113 | |
| *Seth dyed about the end of this yeere.* | 1724<br>1042 | 912 | 807 | 717 | 647 | 582 | | 355 | 168 | |
| | 1739<br>1057 | | 822 | 732 | 662 | 597 | | 370 | 183 | 1. *Noah.*<br>950 |

| | *Julian*<br>*The World.* | *Enos.* | *Cainã* | *Meha-laleel.* | *Jared.* | *Me-thuſe-lah.* | *La-mech.* | *Noah* | *Sem.* | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Enos dyed.* | 1822<br>1140 | 905 | 815 | 745 | 680 | 453 | 266 | 84 | | | | | |
| *Cainan dyed.* | 1917<br>1235 | | 910 | 842 | 775 | 548 | 351 | 179 | | | | | |
| *Mahalaleel dyed this yeere.* | 1972<br>1290 | | | 895 | 830 | 603 | 416 | 234 | | | | | |
| *Jared dyed.* | 2104<br>1422 | | | | | 735 | 584 | 356 | | | | | |
| *Floud threatned, Gen.6.3.* | 2219<br>1537 | | | | | 850 | 663 | 481 | | | | | |
| | 2241<br>1559 | | | | | 872 | 685 | 503 | 1. *Sem.*<br>600 | | | | |
| *Lamech dyed.* | 2333<br>1651 | | | | | 964 | 777 | 595 | 93 | | | | |
| *Methuſelah died this yeer a little before the Floud. Noah entreth into the Arke.C.7.§.8.& 9 The Floud.* | 2338<br>1656 | | | | | 969 | | 600 | 98 | | | | |
| *The Floud ceaſeth. Noah iſſued out of the Arke.* | 2339<br>1657 | | | | | | | 601 | 99 | | | | |
| | *Julian*<br>*World.*<br>*Floud.* | *Noah.* | *Sem.* | 1. *Ar-phaxad*<br>438 | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2341<br>1659 | 603 | 101 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2376<br>1694<br>37 | 638 | 136 | 36 | 1. *Sa-lah.*<br>433 | | | | | | | | |
| | 2406<br>1724<br>67 | 668 | 166 | 66 | 31 | 1. *He-ber.*<br>464 | | | | | | | |
| | 2440<br>1758<br>101 | 702 | 200 | 100 | 65 | 35 | 1. *Pe-leg.* | | *Kings of Aſ-ſyria.* | | | | |
| | 2470<br>1788<br>131 | 732 | 230 | 130 | 95 | 65 | 31 | 1. *Reu.*<br>239 | 1. *Nim-rod.*<br>114 | | | | |
| | 2502<br>1820<br>163 | 764 | 262 | 162 | 127 | 97 | 63 | 33 | 33 | 1. *Sa-rug.*<br>230 | *Kings of E-gypt.* | | |
| *Vide lib.2.c.2.§.2.* | 2530<br>1848<br>191 | 792 | 290 | 190 | 155 | 125 | 91 | 61 | 61 | 29 | 1<br>1 *Cham*<br>161 | | |
| | 2532<br>1850<br>193 | 694 | 292 | 192 | 157 | 127 | 93 | 63 | 63 | 31 | 3 | 1. *Na-hor.*<br>148 | |
| | 2561<br>1879<br>222 | 823 | 321 | 221 | 186 | 156 | 122 | 92 | 92 | 69 | 32 | 30 | 1.*T*<br>*rah*<br>20 |
| | 2584<br>1902<br>245 | 846 | 344 | 244 | 209 | 179 | 145 | 115 | 2<br>1. *Be-lus,* 65 | 83 | 55 | 53 | 24 |

|  | *Julian.<br>World.<br>Floud.* | *Noah.* | *Sem.* | *Arphaxad.* | *Salah.* | *Heber.* | *Peleg.* | *Reu.* | *Assyria.* | *Sarug.* | *Egypt.* | *Nahor* | *Terah* | *Kings of Sicyō* |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 2618<br>1936<br>279 | 880 | 378 | 378 | 243 | 213 | 179 | 149 | 35 | 117 | 89 | 87 | 58 | 1<br>1. *Aegyleus.* 3 |  |
|  | 2649<br>1967<br>316 | 911 | 409 | 309 | 274 | 244 | 210 | 180 | 3<br>1. *Ninus,* 52 | 148 | 120 | 118 | 89 | 32 |  |
|  | 2670<br>1988<br>331 | 932 | 430 | 330 | 295 | 265 | 231 | 201 | 22 | 169 | 141 | 139 | 110 | 2<br>1. *Europs* 45 |  |
| *The last yeere of Peleg his life.* | 2678<br>1996<br>339 | 940 | 438 | 338 | 303 | 273 | 239 | 209 | 30 | 177 | 149 | 147 | 118 | 9 |  |
| *he death of Nabor.* | 2679<br>1997<br>340 | 941 | 439 | 339 | 304 | 274 |  | 210 | 31 | 178 | 150 | 148 | 119 | 10 |  |
| *Noah died this yeer* | 2688<br>2006<br>349 | 950 | 448 | 348 | 313 | 283 |  | 219 | 40 | 187 | 159 |  | 128 | 19 |  |
| *The 16. Dynastie Egypt, Vid.* L. 2. 3.§.3.4.5.&c. | 2691<br>2009<br>352 |  | 451 | 351 | 316 | 286 |  | 222 | 43 | 190 | 2<br>1. *Mizraim or Osiris.* |  | 131 | 22 | 1. *Abram.* 275 |
|  | 2701<br>2019<br>362 |  | 451 | 361 | 326 | 296 |  | 232 | 4<br>1 *Semiramis.* 42 | 200 | 11 |  | 141 | 32 | 11 |
| *e last yeer of Reu* | 2708<br>2026<br>369 |  | 463 | 368 | 333 | 303 |  | 239 | 8 | 207 | 18 |  | 148 | 39 | 18 |
|  | 2715<br>2033<br>376 |  | 475 | 375 | 340 | 310 |  |  | 15 | 214 | 25 |  | 155 | 3<br>1. *Telkin or Selchin,* 20 | 25 |
| *last of Sarug.* | 2731<br>2049<br>392 |  | 491 | 391 | 356 | 326 |  |  | 31 | 230 | 41 |  | 171 | 17 | 41 |

|  | *Julian.<br>World.<br>Floud.* | *Sem.* | *Arphaxad.* | *Salah.* | *Heber* | *Assyria.* | *Egypt.* | *Terah.* | *Sicyon* | *Abram.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 2735<br>2053<br>396 | 495 | 395 | 360 | 330 | 35 | 45 | 175 | 4<br>1. *Apis,* 25 | 45 |
|  | 2743<br>2061<br>404 | 503 | 403 | 368 | 338 | 5<br>2. *Ninias,* 28 | 53 | 183 | 9 | 53 |
|  | 2760<br>2078<br>421 | 520 | 420 | 385 | 355 | 18 | 70 | 200 | 5<br>1 *Thelxion or Thelasion,* 52 | 70 |
| *am receives the pro-*<br>*eb dyes in Haran.*<br>.c.1.§.1,2,3. | 2765<br>2083<br>426 | 525 | 425 | 390 | 360 | 23 | 75 | 205 | 6 | 75 |

|  | *Iulian.<br>World.<br>Promise.* | *Sem.* | *Arphaxad.* | *Salah.* | *Heber.* | *Abram.* | *Assyria.* | *Egypt.* | *Sicyon.* |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *m enters into Canaan, d descends into Egypt. e first of the 430. yeers itude.* | 2766<br>2084<br>1 | 526 | 426 | 391 | 361 | 76 | 24 | 76 | 7 |  |
| *Abram returnes into aan.* s | 2767<br>2085<br>2 | 527 | 427 | 392 | 362 | 77 | 25 | 77 | 8 |  |
| *Abram his victory over lorlaomer, and other gs,* L.2.c.1.§.8.9.&c. | 2775<br>2093<br>10 | 535 | 435 | 400 | 370 | 85 | 33 | 85 | 16 |  |
| *ael borne.* | 2777<br>2095<br>12 | 537 | 437 | 402 | 372 | 87 | 35 | 87 | 18 |  |
| *rphaxad dyes.* | 2778<br>2096<br>13 | 538 | 438 | 403 | 373 | 88 | 36 | 88 | 19 |  |

|  | *Julian World. promiſe* | *Sem.* | *Salah.* | *Heber.* | *Abraham.* | *Aſſyria.* | *Egypt.* | *Sicyon* |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 2781<br>2099<br>16 | 541 | 405 | 376 | 91 | 6<br>1. *Arius*, 30 | 91 | 22 |  |
| *Iſaac borne when Abraham was* 100.*yeeres old compleat*.101.*current*. | 2791<br>2109<br>25 | 551 | 416 | 386 | 101 | 11 | 101 | 32 | 1. *Iſaac*<br>180 |
| *The laſt yeere of Salah.* | 2808<br>2126<br>43 | 568 | 433 | 403 | 118 | 28 | 118 | 49 | 18 |
|  | 2811<br>2129<br>46 | 571 |  | 406 | 121 | 7<br>1. *Aralius*, 40 | 121 | 52 | 21 |
|  | 2812<br>2130<br>47 | 572 |  | 407 | 122 | 2 | 122 | 6<br>1. *Ægir*' 34 | 22 |
| *Sarai the wife of Abraham dyed this yeere.* | 2827<br>2145<br>62 | 587 |  | 422 | 137 | 17 | 137 | 16 | 37 |
| *Iſaac tooke Rebecca to wife, when he was* 40. *yeeres old compleat.* | 2831<br>2149<br>65 | 591 |  | 426 | 141 | 21 | 141 | 20 | 41 |
| *The laſt yeere of Sem.* | 3840<br>2158<br>75 | 600 |  | 435 | 150 | 30 | 150 | 29 | 50 |

|  | *Julian World. promiſe* | *Heber.* | *Abraham.* | *Iſaac.* | *Jacob.* | *Aſſyria.* | *Egypt.* | *Sicion.* | *Argives.* |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 2846<br>2164<br>81 | 441 | 156 | 56 |  | 36 | 156 | 7<br>1. *Thurimachus.*<br>45 |  |  |
|  | 2851<br>2169<br>86 | 446 | 161 | 61 | 1 *Jacob*<br>147 | 8<br>1. *Baleus*,30 | 161 | 6 | 1<br>1. *Inachus.* 50 |  |
| *Abraham dyed this yeere.* | 2865<br>2183<br>100 | 460 | 175 | 75. | 15 | 15 | 175 | 20 | 15 |  |
| *Heber dyed this yeere.* | 2869<br>2187<br>104 | 464 |  | 79 | 19 | 19 | 179 | 24 | 19 |  |
| *The* 17. *Dynaſtie, called of the Shepheards, beginning this yeere, laſted* 103. *yeeres.* | 2881<br>2199<br>116 |  |  | 91 | 31 | 9<br>1. *Armamithres.*<br>38 | 191<br>1 | 36 | 31 |  |
|  | 2891<br>1209<br>126 |  |  | 101 | 41 | 11 | 201<br>11 | 1<br>1. *Leucippus*, 53 | 41 |  |
|  | 2901<br>2219<br>136 |  |  | 111 | 51 | 21 | 211<br>21 | 11 | 2<br>1. *Phoroneus*, 60 |  |
| *The Floud of Ogyges, a thouſand and twentie yeeres before the Olympiads.*<br>See lib.1.c.7.§.2. | 2919<br>2237<br>154 |  |  | 129 | 69 | 10<br>1. *Belocus Priſcus*, 35 | 229<br>39 | 29 | 19 |  |
|  | 2942<br>2260<br>177 |  |  | 152 | 92 | 24 | 252<br>62 | 52 | 42 | 1.<br>*ſep* |
|  | 2944<br>2262<br>179 |  |  | 154 | 94 | 25 | 254<br>64 | 9<br>1. *Moſſapius*, 47 | 44 |  |
| See L.2.c.2.§.6. | 2952<br>2270<br>187 |  |  | 162 | 102 | 34 | 3.and 4.<br>1. *Typhon, and after him Hercul.* 7.<br>72 | 9 | 52 |  |
|  | 2954<br>2272<br>189 |  |  | 164 | 104 | 11<br>1 *Baleus*, 52 | 3<br>74 | 11 | 54 |  |

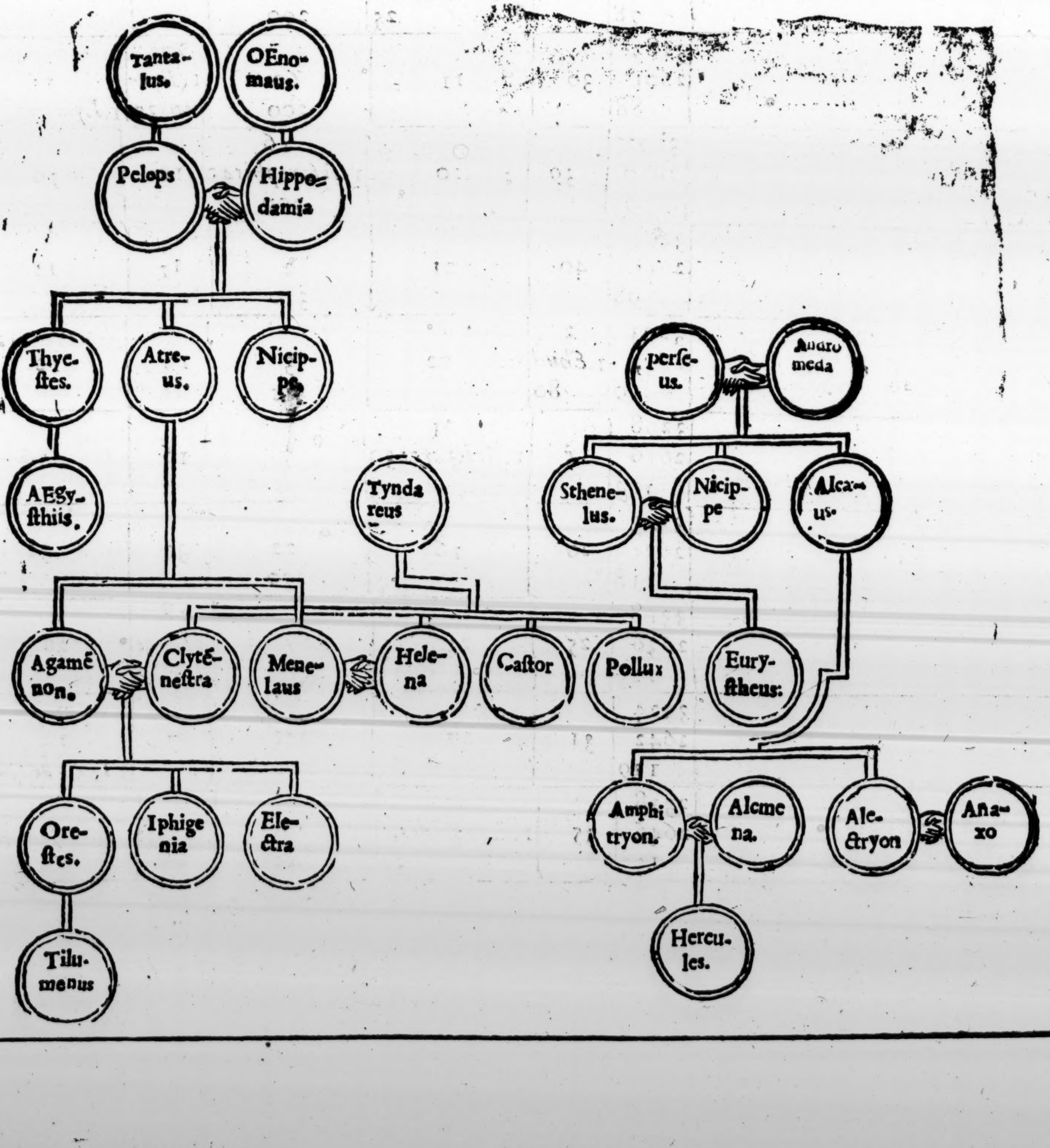
| | Julian<br>World.<br>promiſe | | | Iſaac. | Jacob. | Aſſyria. | Egypt | Sicyon. | Argives. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Joſeph ſold into Egypt.* | 2959<br>2277<br>194 | | | 169 | 109 | 6 | 5<br>1. *Orus*, 79.<br>115. | 16 | 59 | 18 |
| | 2961<br>2279<br>196 | | | 171 | 111 | 8 | 3<br>81 | 18 | 3<br>1. *Apis.*<br>35 | 20 |
| *The laſt yeere of Iſaac.* | 2970<br>2288<br>205 | | | 180 | 120 | 17 | 12<br>90 | 27 | 10 | 29 |
| *Iſrael into Egypt.* | 2980<br>2298<br>215 | | | | 130 | 27 | 22<br>100 | 37 | 20 | 39 |
| *The eighteenth Dynaſtie in Egypt, which laſted 348. yeeres.* | 2984<br>2302<br>219 | | | | 134 | 31 | 26<br>1 | 41 | 24 | 43 |
| | 2991<br>2309<br>226 | | | | 141 | 38 | 33<br>8 | 10<br>1. *Peratus.* 46 | 31 | 50 |
| | 2996<br>2314<br>231 | | | | 146 | 43 | 38<br>13 | 6 | 4<br>1. *Argus.* | 55 |
| *Jacob dyes in Egypt.* | 2997<br>2315<br>232 | | | | 147 | 44 | 39<br>14 | 7 | 2 | |

| | Julian<br>World.<br>promiſe | Joſeph | Aſſyria. | Egypt. | Sicyon. | Argives. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3006<br>2324<br>241 | 65 | 12<br>1. *Altades.* 32 | 48<br>23 | 16 | 11 | | |
| | 3037<br>2355<br>272 | 96 | 32 | 79<br>54 | 11<br>1. *Plemnæus.* 48 | 42 | | |
| | 3038<br>2356<br>273 | 97 | 13<br>1 *Mamitus* 30 | 80<br>55 | 2 | 43 | | |
| *The laſt yeere of Joſeph.* | 3051<br>2369<br>286 | 110 | 14 | 93<br>68 | 15 | 56 | | |
| | 3066<br>2384<br>301 | | 29 | 108<br>83 | 30 | 5<br>1. *Piraſus, or Criaſus.* 54. | | |
| | 3068<br>2386<br>303 | | 14<br>1. *Mancaleus.*<br>30 | 110<br>85 | 32 | 3 | | |
| | 3074<br>2392<br>309 | | 7 | 6<br>1. *Seſoſtris the Great:* 33<br>91 | 38 | 9 | | |
| | 3085<br>2403<br>320 | | 18 | 12<br>102 | 12<br>1 *Orthopolis.* 63 | 20 | | |
| | 3098<br>2416<br>333 | | 15<br>1. *Spherus, or Iphereus*, 20. | 25<br>115 | 14 | 33 | | |
| | 3107<br>2425<br>342 | | 10 | 7<br>1. *Seſoſtris the ſecond.* 14<br>124 | 23 | 42 | | |
| | 3116<br>2434<br>351 | 1. *Moſes.* 120 | 19 | 10<br>133 | 32 | 51 | | |

|  | Julian<br>World.<br>promiſe | Moſes. | Aſſyria. | Egypt. | Sicyon. | Argives. |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 3118<br>2436<br>353 | 3 | 16<br>1.Mamilas,or Mamelius,30 | 12<br>135 | 34 | 53 |  |
|  | 3120<br>2438<br>355 | 5 | 3 | 14<br>137 | 36 | 6<br>1.Phorbas,35 |  |
|  | 3121<br>2439<br>356 | 6 | 4 | 8<br>1. Orus 2.or Buſiris, 38.138. | 37 | 2 | Athenians. |
|  | 3148<br>2466<br>383 | 33 | 17<br>1.Sparetus,40 | 28<br>165 | 13<br>1.Marathius, 30 | 29 |  |
|  | 3151<br>2469<br>386 | 36 | 4 | 31<br>168 | 4 | 32 | 1<br>1. Cecrops. 50 |
| *Moſes viſits his brethren the Iſraelites kils an Egyptian, and flies into Midian.* | 3155<br>2473<br>390 | 40 | 8 | 35<br>172 | 8 | 7<br>1.Tripas, 46 | 5 |
|  | 3159<br>2477<br>394 | 44 | 12 | 9<br>1.Thermutis,or Acencherres, Qu.12. 176. | 12 | 5 | 9 |
|  | 3171<br>2489<br>406 | 56 | 24 | 10<br>1.Rathoris,or Achoris.9.188. | 24 | 17 | 21 |
|  | 3178<br>2469<br>413 | 63 | 31 | 8<br>195 | 14<br>1. Marathus. 20 | 24 | 28 |
|  | 3180<br>2498<br>415 | 65 | 33 | 11<br>1.Chencres,16<br>197 | 3 | 26 | 30 |
|  | 3188<br>2506<br>423 | 37 | 18<br>1.Aſcatades.<br>40 | 9<br>205 | 11 | 34 | 38 |
| *Moſes his wandring into Egypt.* | 3195<br>2513<br>430 | 80 | 8 | 16<br>212 | 18 | 41 | 45 |
|  | Julian<br>World.<br>Exod. | Moſes | Aſſyria. | Egypt. | Sicyon. | Argos | Athes. |
| The Paſſeover. Iſrael delivered out of Egypt. Pharaoh drowned. The Law given. The firſt of the 480 yeeres from Exodus to the building of the Temple. | 3196<br>2514<br>1 | 81 | 9 | 12<br>1. Acherres, 8<br>213 | 19 | 42 | 46 |
| *The Flood of Deucalion, and conflagration of Phaeton about this time.* | 3198<br>2516<br>3 | 83 | 11 | 3<br>215 | 15<br>1.Echireus 55 | 44 | 48 |
|  | 3201<br>2519<br>6 | 86 | 14 | 6<br>218 | 4 | 8<br>1.Crotopus, 21 | 2<br>1.Cranaus 10 |
|  | 3204<br>2522<br>9 | 89 | 17 | 13<br>1.Cherres,15.<br>221 | 7 | 4 | 4 |
|  | 3211<br>2529<br>16 | 96 | 24 | 8<br>228 | 14 | 11 | 3<br>1.Amphitryon.12 |
|  | 3219<br>2537<br>24 | 104 | 32 | 14<br>1.Armeus,or Danaus.5.236 | 22 | 19 | 9 |
|  | 3222<br>2540<br>27 | 107 | 35 | 4<br>239 | 25 | 9<br>1.Sthenelus.11 | 12 |

|  | *Julian World. Exod.* | *Moſes.* | *Aſſyria.* | *Egypt.* | *Sicyon.* | *Argos.* | *Athẽs.* |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 3223<br>2541<br>28 | 108 | 36 | 5<br>240 | 26 | 2 | 4<br>*Ericthonius,50* |  |
|  | 3224<br>2542<br>29 | 109 | 37 | 15<br>1,*Rameſſes*.68<br>241 | 27 | 3 | 2 | *Troy.* |
|  | 3228<br>2546<br>33 | 113 | 19<br>1. *Amyntas*,4 | 5<br>245 | 31 | 7 | 6 |  |
|  | 3229<br>2547<br>34 | 114 | 2 | 6<br>246 | 32 | 8 | 7 | 1<br>1 *Dardanus*, 6 |
|  | 3233<br>2551<br>38 | 118 | 6 | 10<br>250 | 36 | 10<br>1.*Danaus*,50. | 11 | 5 |
| *The laſt yeere of Moſes.* | 3235<br>2553<br>40 | 120 | 8 | 12<br>252 | 38 | 3 | 13 | 7 |
|  | *Julian. World. Exod.* | *Iſrael.* | *Aſſyria.* | *Egypt.* | *Sicyon* | *Argos.* | *Athẽs.* | *Troy.* |
| *The Iſraelites enter the Land of Promiſe.* | 3236<br>2554<br>41 | 1<br>1 *Joſua*<br>18 | 9 | 13<br>253 | 39 | 4 | 14 | 8 |
|  | 3253<br>2571<br>58 | 18 | 26 | 30<br>270 | 16<br>1. *Corax*.30 | 21 | 31 | 25 |
|  | 3254<br>2572<br>59 | 2<br>1. *Othoniel*,40 | 27 | 31<br>271 | 2 | 22 | 32 | 26 |
|  | 3273<br>2591<br>78 | 20 | 20<br>1. *Belochus the ſecond.* 25 | 50<br>290 | 21 | 41 | 5<br>1.*Pandion* 40 | 45 |
|  | 3283<br>2601<br>88 | 30 | 11 | 60<br>300 | 17<br>1.*Epopeus* 35 | 11<br>1.*Lynceus*. 41 | 11 | 55 |
|  | 3292<br>2610<br>97 | 39 | 20 | 16<br>1.*Menophis* 40<br>309 | 10 | 10 | 20 | 64 |
|  | 3293<br>2611<br>98 | 40 | 21 | 2<br>310 | 11 | 11 | 21 | 2<br>1 *Ericthonius*, 46 |
|  | 3294<br>2612<br>99 | 3<br>1.*Ehud* 80 | 22 | 3<br>311 | 12 | 12 | 22 | 2 |
|  | 3298<br>2616<br>103 | 5 | 21<br>1.*Belopares* 30 | 7 | 16 | 16 | 26 | 6 |
|  | 3313<br>2631<br>118 | 20 | 16 | 22<br>330 | 31 | 31 | 6<br>1.*Ericthеus*. 50 | 21 |
|  | 3318<br>2636<br>123 | 25 | 21 | 27<br>335 | 18<br>1 *Lamedon*.40 | 36 | 6 | 26 |
|  | 3324<br>2642<br>129 | 31 | 27 | 33<br>341 | 7 | 12<br>1. *Abbas*,2. | 12 | 32 |
|  | 3328<br>2646<br>133 | 35 | 22<br>1. *Lamprides*, 32 | 37<br>345 | 11 | 5 | 16 | 36 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The* 19. Dynaſtie *: of the* Larthes, 194. *yeeres,* See L.2.c.26.§.4. | 3332<br>2650<br>137 | 39 | 5 | 17<br>1. *Zethus, or Sethoſis,* 55<br>1 | 15 | 9 | 20 | 40 |
| | 3339<br>2657<br>144 | 46 | 12 | 8<br>8 | 22 | 16 | 27 | 3<br>1. *Tro*<br>16 |
| Tantalus *in Phrygia.* | 3347<br>2665<br>152 | 54 | 20 | 16<br>16 | 30 | 13<br>1. *Prœtus,* 17 | 35 | 9 |
| | 3358<br>2676<br>163 | 65 | 31 | 27<br>27 | 19<br>1. *Sicyon,* 45 | 12 | 46 | 20 |
| | 3360<br>2678<br>165 | 67 | 23<br>1. *Soſares,* 20 | 29<br>29 | 3 | 14 | 48 | 22 |
| | 3363<br>2681<br>168 | 70 | 4 | 32<br>32 | 6 | 17 | 7<br>1. *Cerops. the ſecond* 40 | 25 |
| Pelops *in Piſa, who gave name to Peloponneſus.* | 3364<br>2682<br>169 | 71 | 5 | 33<br>33 | 7 | 14<br>1. *Acriſius,* 31 | 2 | 26 |
| Ion *and* Xuthus *the ſonne of* Hellen. See lib.2.c.17.§.6. | 3374<br>2692<br>179 | 4<br>1. *Debora & Ba.* 40 | 15 | 43<br>43 | 17 | 11 | 12 | 36 |
| | 3380<br>269<br>185 | 7 | 24<br>1. *Lampares.* 30 | 49<br>49 | 23 | 17 | 18 | 42 |
| | 3387<br>2705<br>192 | 14 | 15 | 18<br>1. *Ramſes.* 66.<br>56 | 30 | 24 | 25 | 49 |
| *After the death of Acriſius, the Kingdome of the Argives was divided into many ſmall parts, and overgrowne by that of Mycena, whereof ſome Kings deſcended from Perſeus, others from Pelops, as in the Pedegree following.* | 3394<br>2712<br>199 | 21 | 15 | 8<br>63 | 37 | 31 | 32 | 56 |


Tantalus.
OEnomaus.
Pelops
Hippodamia
Thyestes.
Atreus.
Nicippe.
AEgysthiis.
Perseus.
Andromeda
Tyndareus
Sthenelus.
Nicippe
Alcaeus.
Agamemnon.
Clytæmnestra
Menelaus
Helena
Castor
Pollux
Eurystheus.
Orestes.
Iphigenia
Electra
Amphitryon.
Alcmena.
Alectryon
Anaxo
Tilumenus
Hercules.

|  | Julian<br>World.<br>Exod. | Iſrael. | Aſſyria. | Egypt. | Sicyon. | Myce-na. | Athes. | Troy. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 3399<br>2717<br>204 | 26 | 20 | 13<br>68 | 42 |  | 37 | 4<br>1. *Ilus*, 55. |
|  | 3402<br>2720<br>207 | 29 | 23 | 16<br>71 | 45 | 1 *Euriſtheus*, 45 | 40 | 4 |
|  | 3403<br>2721<br>208 | 30 | 24 | 17<br>72 | 20<br>1 *Polybus*. 40 | 2 | 8<br>1. *Pandic the 2* 25. | 5 |
|  | 3410<br>2728<br>215 | 37 | 25<br>1. *Panzias*, 45 | 24<br>79 | 8 | 9 | 8 | 12 |
|  | 3414<br>2732<br>219 | 5<br>1. *Gedeon*. 40 | 5 | 28<br>83 | 12 | 13 | 12 | 16 |
| *Pandion chaſed out of his Kingdome, which is recovered by his nne* Aegeus, *in few yeeres after. The omiſſion of this interreg-non, and reckoning the yeeres in the forty eight of* Aegeus, *or the numbring them apart by themſelves, breeds anſwerable difference in the times of the Athenians following, as of* Mneſtheus, Ca-*ops, and the reſt.* | 3427<br>3745<br>232 | 14 | 28 | 41<br>96 | 25 | 26 | 25 | 29 |
|  | 3432<br>2750<br>237 | 19 | 23 | 45<br>101 | 30 | 31 | 9<br>1. *Ageus*, 40 | 34 |
| ***Oedipus in Thebes.*** | 3443<br>2751<br>248 | 30 | 34 | 57<br>112 | 21<br>1. *Inachus*. 4 | 42 | 12 | 45 |
|  | 3447<br>2765<br>252 | 34 | 38 | 61<br>116 | 5 | 1. *Atreus and Tyreſtes*, 65 | 16 | 49 |
|  | 3453<br>2771<br>258 | 40 | 44 | 19<br>1. *Amenophis*<br>122 40 | 11 | 7 | 22 | 55 |
|  | 3454<br>2772<br>259 | 6<br>1. *Abimelech*. | 45 | 2<br>123 | 12 | 8 | 23 | 5<br>1. *Lacmedon*. 36 |
|  | 3455<br>2773<br>260 | 2 | 26<br>1 *Soſarmus* 19. | 3<br>124 | 13 | 9 | 24 | 2 |
|  | 3457<br>2775<br>262 | 7<br>1 *Tholas*, 23 | 3 | 5<br>125 | 15 | 11 | 26 | 4 |
|  | 3474<br>2792<br>379 | 18 | 27<br>1. *Mitreus*, 27 | 22<br>143 | 32 | 28 | 43 | 21 |
|  | 3480<br>2798<br>285 | 8<br>1. *Iair*. 22 | 7 | 28<br>149 | 38 | 34 | 10<br>1. *Theſeus*, 30 | 27 |
|  | 3485<br>2803<br>290 | 6 | 12 | 33<br>154 | 22<br>1. *Pheſtus*, 8 | 39 | 6 | 32 |
|  | 3490<br>2808<br>295 | 11 | 17 | 38<br>159 | 6 | 44 | 11 | 6<br>1. *Priamus*. 40 |
|  | 3493<br>2811<br>298 | 14 | 20 | 20<br>1. *Annemenes*<br>162 26 | 23<br>1. *Adraſtus*, 4 | 47 | 14 | 4 |
|  | 3497<br>2815<br>302 | 18 | 24 | 5<br>166 | 24<br>1. *Polyphides*. 31 | 51 | 18 | 8 |
|  | 3501<br>2819<br>306 | 22 | 28<br>1. *Tautanes*, 32 | 9<br>170 | 5 | 55 | 22 | 12 |

| | Julian World. Exod. | Israel. | Assyria. | Egypt. | Sicyon. | Mycenæ. | Athens | Troy. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3502<br>2820<br>307 | 9<br>1. Jephta, 6 | 2 | 10<br>171 | 6 | 56 | 23 | 13 |
| | 3508<br>2826<br>313 | 10<br>1. Ibzan. 7 | 8 | 16<br>177 | 12 | 62 | 29 | 19 |
| | 3510<br>2828<br>315 | 3 | 10 | 18<br>179 | 14 | 64 | 11<br>1. Mnesthe' 24 | 21 |
| | 3512<br>2830<br>317 | 5 | 12 | 20<br>181 | 16 | 1 Agamemnon. 18 | 3 | 23 |
| | 3515<br>2833<br>320 | 11<br>1. Elon 10 | 15 | 23<br>184 | 19 | 4 | 6 | 26 |
| *The warre of Troy began this yeere.* | 3519<br>2837<br>324 | 5 | 19 | 21<br>1. Thuoris, 7.<br>188 | 23 | 8 | 10 | 30 |
| | 3525<br>2843<br>330 | 12<br>1. Abdon. 8 | 25 | 7<br>194 | 29 | 14 | 16 | 36 |
| *The 20. Dynastie, called of the Diapolitani, began this yeere in Egypt, and lasted 178. yeeres,* See lib. 2. cap. 26. §. 4. | 3526<br>2844<br>331 | 2 | 25 | 20<br>1. Dynastie, 178 | 30 | 15 | 17 | 37 |
| | 3528<br>2846<br>333 | 4 | 28 | 3 | 25<br>1. Pelasgus. 20. | 17 | 19 | 39 |
| *Troy taken 408. yeeres, before the beginning of the Olympiades.* See lib. 2. c. 14. §. 1. | 3529<br>2847<br>334 | 5 | 29 | 4 | 2 | 18 | 20 | 40. Troy taken. |

| | Julian World, Exod. | From Troy taken. | Israel. | Assyria | Egypt | Sicyon | Mycenæ. | Athẽs. | The king of the La |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3530<br>2848<br>335 | 1 | 6 | 30 | 5 | 3 | 1. Aegysthus. 6. | 21 | |
| | 3533<br>2851<br>338 | 4 | 13<br>1 Sampson, 20 | 29<br>1. Teuteus 40 | 8 | 6 | 4 | 24 | 1<br>1. Æneas |
| | 3534<br>2852<br>339 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 12<br>1 Demophon, 33 | 2 |
| | 3536<br>2854<br>341 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 11 | 9 | 1. Orestes, 70 | 3 | 2<br>1. Ascani |
| | 3548<br>2866<br>353 | 19 | 16 | 16 | 23 | 26<br>1. Zeucippus. 32 | 13 | 15 | 13 |
| | 3553<br>2871<br>358 | 2 | 14<br>1. Eli, 40 | 21 | 28 | 6 | 18 | 20 | 18 |
| | 3567<br>2885<br>372 | 38 | 15 | 35 | 42 | 20 | 32 | 13<br>1 Oxintes, 12 | 32 |
| | 3573<br>2891<br>378 | 44 | 21 | 30<br>1 Thynens 30 | 48 | 26 | 38 | 7 | 38 |
| | 3574<br>2892<br>379 | 45 | 22 | 2 | 49. | 27 | 39 | 8 | 3<br>1. Syl. Po<br>humus. |

|  | Julian<br>World.<br>Exod. | From Troy taken. | Iſrael. | Aſſyria. | Egypt. | Sicyon | Mycena. | Athēs. | The Kingdome of the Latines. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The Sycionian Kings ended in Zeuſippus. | 3579<br>2897<br>384 | 50 | 27 | 7 | 54 | 32 | 44 | 14<br>1 Aphilas, 1. | 6 |
|  | 3580<br>2898<br>385 | 51 | 28 | 8 | 55 |  | 45 | 15<br>1. Timæles, 8. | 7 |
|  | 3588<br>2906<br>393 | 59 | 36 | 16 | 63 |  | 53 | 16<br>1. Melanthus. 37. | 15 |
|  | 3593<br>2911<br>398 | 64 | 15<br>1. Samuel, & after him Saul, 40. | 21 | 68 |  | 58 | 6 | 20 |
|  | 3603<br>2921<br>408 | 74 | 11 | 31<br>1. Dercilus. 40. | 78 |  | 68 | 16 | 4<br>1 Sylvius Æneas. 31. |
|  | 3606<br>2924<br>411 | 77 | 14 | 4 | 81 |  | 1<br>Tiſamenus. 2 | 19 | 4 |
| he deſcent of the Heraclidæ into Peloponneſus, gave end to the ngdome of Mycenæ, and beginning to the Kingdome of Spar- rinth, and Meſſone, the Kings whereof, I forbeare to inſert in his. table. | 3609<br>2927<br>414 | 80 | 17 | 7 | 84 |  |  | 22 | 7 |
|  | 3625<br>2943<br>430 | 96 | 33 | 23 | 100 |  |  | 17<br>1. Codrus 21 | 23 |

|  | Julian<br>World.<br>Exod. |  | From Troy taken. | Iſrael. | Aſſyria. | Egypt. | Athēs | Latins |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 3633<br>2951<br>438 |  | 104 | 1. David, 40. | 31 | 108 | 9 | 31 |
|  | 3634<br>2952<br>439 |  | 105 | 2 | 32 | 109 | 10 | 5<br>1 Syl. Latinus 50 |
|  | 3643<br>2961<br>448 |  | 114 | 11 | 32<br>1. Eupales, 38 | 118 | 19 | 10 |
| he Medontidæ ſucceede unto the Athenian gs after the death of Codrus. lib.2.c.17.§.10. | 3646<br>2964<br>451 |  | 117 | 14 | 4 | 121 | 1<br>1. Medon, 20 | 13 |
|  | 3666<br>2984<br>471 |  | 137 | 34 | 24 | 141 | 2<br>1. Agaſtus, 36 | 33 |
| phres raigneth in Egypt, See L.2.c.26.§.5. | 3673<br>2991<br>478 | Tēple.<br>1 | 144 | 1. Salomon, 40 | 31 | 148 | 8 | 40 |
| lomon began to build the Temple 480. yeers pleat after the deliverance out of Egypt. | 3676<br>2994<br>481 | 1 | 147 | 4 | 34 | 151 | 11 | 43 |
|  | 3681<br>2999 | 6 | 152 | 9 | 33<br>1. Læoſthenes, 45 | 156 | 16 | 48 |
|  | 3684<br>3002 | 9 | 155 | 12 | 4 | 159 | 19 | 6<br>1. Syl. Alba. |
|  | 3692<br>3010 | 17 | 163 | 20 | 12 | 1 Seſac<br>26<br>167 | 27 | 9 |
|  | 3702<br>3020 | 27 | 173 | 30 | 22 | 11<br>177 | 3<br>1. Archippus, 19 | 19 |

|  | *Julian World.* | *Temple* | *From Troy taken.* | *Israel* | *Assyria.* | *Egypt.* | *Athes.* | *Latins* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The 21. Dynastie in Ægypt, which lasted 130. yeres.* | 3704<br>3022 | 29 | 175 | 32 | 24 | 13<br>1 | 3 | 21 |
| *The Ionicke migration after the taking of Troy, 180 yeeres.* See L.2.c.17.§.6. | 3709<br>3027 | 34 | 180 | 37 | 29 | 18<br>6 | 8 | 26 |

|  | *Julian. World. Tẽple.* | *Troy.* | *Juda.* | *Israel.* | *Assyria.* | *Egypt.* | *Athẽs.* | *Latin* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 3713<br>3031<br>38 | 148 | 1<br>1. *Rehoboam.*<br>17 | 1<br>1. *Jeroboam.*<br>22 | 33 | 22<br>10 | 12 | 30 |
|  | 3718<br>3036<br>43 | 189 | 6 | 6 | 38 | 1. *Chemmis.* 50.<br>15. | 17 | 35 |
|  | 3721<br>3039<br>46 | 192 | 9 | 9 | 41 | 4<br>18 | 4<br>1. *Tecsippus,* 41. | 38 |
|  | 3723<br>3041<br>48 | 194 | 11 | 11 | 43 | 6<br>20 | 3 | 7<br>1 *Syl*<br>*ys,* |
|  | 3726<br>3044<br>51 | 197 | 14 | 14 | 34<br>1. *Pyrithiades*<br>30 | 9<br>23 | 6 | 4 |
|  | 3730<br>3048<br>55 | 201 | 2<br>1. *Abijam,* 3 | 18 | 5 | 13<br>27 | 10 | 8 |
|  | 3733<br>3051<br>58 | 204 | 3<br>1. *Asa,* 41. | 21 | 8 | 16<br>30 | 13 | 11 |
|  | 3734<br>3052<br>59 | 205 | 2 | 22<br>2<br>1. *Nadab.* 2. | 9 | 17<br>31 | 14 | 12 |
|  | 3735<br>3053<br>60 | 206 | 3 | 2<br>3<br>1. *Bansha,* 24. | 10 | 18<br>32 | 15 | 13 |
|  | 3749<br>3067<br>74 | 220 | 17 | 15 | 24 | 32<br>46 | 29 | 8<br>1. *S*<br>*Cap.* |
|  | 3756<br>3074<br>81 | 227 | 24 | 22 | 35<br>1. *Ophrateus.*<br>20 | 39<br>53 | 36 | 8 |
|  | 3758<br>3076<br>83 | 229 | 26 | 24<br>4<br>1. *Ela,* 2. | 3 | 41<br>55 | 38 | 10 |
| *Of those Israelitish Kings*, See lib.2.c.19.§.5. | 3759<br>3077<br>84 | 230 | 27 | 2 5<br>1 { *Zimri*<br>6. *Tibni*<br>7. *Omri.* 12 | 4 | 42<br>56 | 39 | 1 |
|  | 3762<br>3080<br>87 | 233 | 30 | 4 | 7 | 45<br>59 | 2<br>1 *Phorbas,* 31 | 14 |
|  | 3768<br>3086<br>93 | 239 | 36 | 10 | 13 | 1. *Cheops,* 56.<br>65 | 7 | 20 |
|  | 3770<br>3088<br>95 | 241 | 38 | 12<br>8<br>1. *Ahab,* 22. | 15 | 3<br>67 | 9 | 2 |
|  | 3774<br>3092<br>99 | 245 | 4<br>1. *Jehosaphat.*<br>25 | 5 | 19 | 7<br>71 | 13 | 2 |

| | *Julian World. Temple* | *Troy.* | *Juda.* | *Iſrael.* | *Aſſyria.* | *Egypt.* | *Athẽs.* | *Latine* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3776<br>3094<br>101 | 247 | 3 | 7 | 36<br>1. *Ophratanes*.50 | 9<br>73 | 15 | 28 | |
| | 3777<br>3095<br>102 | 248 | 4 | 8 | 2 | 10<br>74 | 16 | 9<br>1.*Syl.Capetus*,13 | |
| Of Jehoram *his ſundry beginnings to reigne.* See lib.2.c.20.§.1.& 2. | 3790<br>3108<br>115 | 261 | 17<br>5<br>1. *Jehoram.* | 21<br>9<br>1. *Ahazia*,2 | 15 | 23<br>87 | 29 | 10<br>1.*Syl.Tyberinus*, 8 | |
| | 3791<br>3109<br>116 | 262 | 18<br>2 | 22<br>2<br>10<br>1.*Jehoram.* | 16 | 24<br>88 | 30 | 2 | |
| | 3793<br>3111<br>118 | 264 | 20<br>0 | 3 | 18 | 26<br>90 | 6<br>1.*Mezades.* 30 | 4 | |
| | 3795<br>3113<br>120 | 266 | 22<br>1.*Jehoram againe*,8. | 5 | 20 | 28<br>92 | 3 | 6 | |
| Jehoſaphat *dyes, and* Jehoram *reignes alone.* | 3798<br>3116<br>123 | 269 | 25<br>4 | 8 | 23 | 31<br>95 | 6 | 11<br>1.*Syl.Agrippa.* | |
| | 3802<br>3120<br>127 | 273 | 8<br>6<br>1.*Ahazia*.1. | 12 | 27 | 35<br>99 | 10 | 5 | |
| | 3803<br>3121<br>128 | 274 | 7<br>1.*Athalia.* | 11<br>7 1,*Jehu*.28. | 28 | 36<br>100 | 11 | 6 | |
| | 3809<br>3127<br>134 | 280 | 7<br>8<br>1.*Joas*.40. | 7 | 34 | 42<br>106 | 17 | 12 | |
| *Carthage built.*L.2.c.22.§.6. | 3819<br>3137<br>144 | 290 | 11 | 17 | 44 | 52<br>116 | 27 | 22 | |
| | 3825<br>3143<br>148 | 294 | 15 | 21 | 48 | 56<br>120 | 7<br>1.*Diognetus*,28 | 26 | |
| | 3824<br>3142<br>149 | 295 | 16 | 22 | 49 | 1.*Cephrenes*,50.<br>121 | 2 | 27 | |
| | 3826<br>3144<br>151 | 297 | 18 | 24 | 37 *Ocrazapes*,*Or* 1.*Anacyndaraxes* 42 | 3<br>123 | 4 | 29 | |
| | 3831<br>3149<br>156 | 303 | 23 | 12<br>1.*Jehoahaz.*<br>17 | 6 | 8<br>128 | 9 | 34 | |
| *The end of the* 21.*Dynaſtie. The Dynaſties following I omit.* | 3833<br>3151<br>158 | 304 | 25 | 3 | 8 | 10<br>130 | 11 | 36 | |
| | 3839<br>3157<br>164 | 310 | 31 | 9 | 14 | 16 | 17 | 12<br>1.*Syl.Alladius*,19 | |
| Joas *reigned with his Father.*L.2.c.22.§.7. | 3845<br>3163<br>170 | 316 | 37 | 15<br>13<br>1.*Joas.* | 20 | 22 | 23 | 7 | |
| Joas *reignes alone.* | 3847<br>3165<br>172 | 318 | 39 | 1.*Joas*,16. | 22 | 24 | 25 | 9 | |
| | 3848<br>3166<br>173 | 319 | 40<br>9<br>1.*Amazia*,20 | 2 | 23 | 25 | 26 | 10 | |

|  | *Julian*<br>*World.*<br>*Tẽple.* | *Troy.* | *Juda.* | *Israel.* | *Aſſyria.* | *Egypt.* | *Athẽs.* | *Latins* |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 3851<br>3169<br>176 | 322 | 4 | 5 | 26 | 28 | 8<br>1. *Pheredus.* 19 | 13 |  |
|  | 3858<br>3756<br>183 | 329 | 11 | 12 | 33 | 35 | 8 | 13<br>1. *Syl. Aventinus.* 37 |  |
|  | 3862<br>3180<br>187 | 333 | 15 | 16<br>14<br>1. *Jeroboã.* 41 | 37 | 39 | 12 | 5 |  |
|  | 3868<br>3186<br>193 | 339 | 21 | 7 | 38<br>1. *Sardanapalus.* 20 | 45 | 18 | 11 |  |
|  | 3870<br>3188<br>195 | 341 | 23 | 9 | 3 | 47 | 9<br>1. *Ariphron.* 20 | 12 |  |
|  | 3874<br>3192<br>199 | 345 | 27 | 13 | 7 | 1. *Micerinus* 6 | 5 | 16 |  |
|  | *Julian*<br>*World.*<br>*Tẽple.* | *Troy.* | *Juda.* | *Israel.* | *Aſſyria.* | *Egypt.* | *Athẽs.* | *Latins* | *Media* |
| L.2.C.22.§.11. | 3877<br>3195<br>202 | 348 | 1 *Interregnum*<br>11. *yeeres.* | 16 | 10 | 4 | 8 | 19 |  |
|  | 3880<br>3198<br>205 | 351 | 4 | 19 | 13 | 1. *Bocchorus* 44 | 11 | 22 |  |
| L.2.C.22.§.12. | 3887<br>3205<br>212 | 358 | 11 | 25 | 20. *Sardanapalus ſlaine.* | 8 | 18 | 29 |  |
| L.2.c.33.§.1.&4. | 3888<br>3206<br>213 | 359 | 10<br>1. *Uzzia,* 0<br>*Azaria.* 52 | 27 |  | 9 | 19 | 30 | 1<br>1. *Arbaces* 28 |
|  | 3890<br>3208<br>215 | 361 | 3 | 29 |  | 11 | 10<br>1. *Theſporus,* 27 | 32 | 3 |
| L.2.c.23.§.4. | 3892<br>3210<br>217 | 363 | 5 | 31 | 1<br>1. *Beloſus.* *or* *Phul.* 48 | 13 | 3 | 34 | 5 |
|  | 3895<br>3213<br>220 | 365 | 8 | 34 | 4 | 16 | 6 | 14<br>1. *Syl. Procas* 23 | 8 |
| L.2.c.23.§.1. | 3903<br>3221<br>228 | 374 | 16 | 1. *Interregnũ*<br>23 *yeeres.* | 12 | 24 | 14 | 9 | 16 |
|  | 3916<br>3234<br>241 | 387 | 29 | 14 | 25 | 37 | 27 | 22 | 2<br>1 *Soſarmus.* 30 |
|  | 3917<br>3235<br>242 | 388 | 30 | 15 | 26 | 38 | 11<br>1. *Agamneſtar.* 20 | 23 | 2 |
|  | 3189<br>3236<br>243 | 389 | 31 | 16 | 27 | 39 | 2 | 15<br>1. *Syl. Amulius,* 44 | 3 |
|  | 2924<br>3242<br>249 | 395 | 37 | 22 | 33 | 1. *Aſychis & after him Amyſis.* 6 | 8 | 7 | 9 |
| Zacharia *began at the very end of the yeere.*<br>L.2.c.23.§.1. | 3925<br>3243<br>250 | 396 | 38 | 23<br>15<br>Zacharia *ſix Moneths.* | 34 | 2 | 9 | 8 | 10 |

|  | *Julian*<br>*World*<br>*Temple* | *Troy.* |  |  | *Juda.* | *Israel.* | *Aſſyria* | *Egypt.* | *Athens* | *Latins* | *Media* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 3926<br>3244<br>251 | 397 |  |  | 39 | 16<br>*Shallum one month*<br>17<br>*Menahem* | 35 | 3 | 10 | 9 | 11 |
| *This yeare nearly concurres with the firſt of* Menahem. | 3927<br>3245<br>252 | 398 |  |  | 40 | 10<br>1 | 36 | 4 | 11 | 10 | 12 |
|  | 3930<br>3248<br>255 | 401 |  |  | 43 | 4 | 39 | 1. *Sabaccus the Ethiopian.* 50 | 14 | 13 | 15 |
|  | 3937<br>3255<br>262 | 408 | *Iphit.* | *Olympiads.* | 50 | 18<br>1. *Pekahia.* 2. | 46 | 8 | 12<br>1. *Æſchylus.* 23 | 20 | 22 |
| *The beginning of the Olympiads.* L. 2. c. 23. §. 5. | 3938<br>3256<br>263 | 409 | 1 | 1<br>1 | 51 | 2 | 47 | 9 | 2 | 21 | 23 |
|  | 3939<br>3257<br>264 | 410 | 2 | 1<br>2 | 52 | 19<br>1. *Peka Romeliæ* 20 | 48 | 10 | 3 | 12 | 24 |
| L.2.c.23.§.6. | 3940<br>3258<br>265 | 411 | 3 | 1<br>3 | 11<br>1 *Jothã* 16 | 2 | 2<br>1. *Tiglath Phul. Aſſar.* 27 | 11 | 4 | 23 | 25 |

|  | *Julian*<br>*World*<br>*Temple* | *Iphit.* | *Olym.* | *Juda.* | *Iſrael.* | *Aſſyria* | *Egypt* | *Athens* | *Latins* | *Media* |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 3946<br>3264<br>271 | 9 | 3<br>1 | 7 | 8 | 7 | 17 | 10 | 29 | 3<br>1. *Medidus.* 40 |  |
|  | 3955<br>3273<br>280 | 18 | 5<br>2 | 16<br>12<br>1. *Ahaz.* 16 | 17 | 16 | 26 | 19 | 38 | 10 |  |
|  | 3959<br>3277<br>284 | 22 | 6<br>2 | 5 | 1. *Interregnũ 7. yeares.* | 20 | 30 | 23 | 42 | 14 |  |
|  | 3960<br>3278<br>285 | 23 | 6<br>3 | 6 | 2 | 21 | 31 | 13<br>1. *Alcmenõ.* 2 | 43 | 15 |  |

|  | *Julian*<br>*World*<br>*Temp.* | *Rome.*<br>*Nabon* | *Iphit.* | *Olym.* | *Juda.* | *Iſrael.* | *Aſſyria* | *Egypt* | *Athens* | *Romãs* | *Media* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rome *built*, Lib.2.chap.24.§.5. Carops *the Firſt, governing in Athens for ten yeers: after whom ſucceeded ſix, choſen each after other for the like time; and thence the Office became Annuall.* | 3962<br>3280<br>287 | 1 | 25 | 7<br>1 | 8 | 4 | 23 | 33 | 1.<br>1. *Carops,* 10 | 1<br>1. *Romulus.* 37. | 17 |
|  | 3966<br>3284<br>291 | 5 | 29 | 8<br>1 | 12 | 20<br>1. *Hoſea* 9 | 27 | 37 | 5 | 5 | 21 |
| *The Æra of* Nabonaſſar. Lib.2.c.25.§.1. | 3967<br>3285<br>292 | 6<br>1 | 30 | 8<br>2 | 13 | 2 | 3<br>1. *Salmanaſſar, or Nabonaſſar* 10 | 38 | 6 | 6 | 22 |
| Ezekia *began in the very end of this yeare.* L.2.c.25.§.1. | 3968<br>3286<br>293 | 7<br>2 | 31 | 8<br>3 | 14<br>13<br>*Ezekiah.* 29. | 3 | 2 | 39 | 7 | 7 | 23 |
| *This year concurres with the firſt of* Ezekia. *Ibid.* | 3969<br>3287<br>294 | 8<br>4 | 32 | 8<br>4 | 15<br>1 | 4 | 3 | 40 | 8 | 8 | 24 |
| *The beginning of the firſt Meſſenian warre. Whereof ſee* L.2. c.27. §.4. *It laſted* 20. *yeares.* | 3971<br>3289<br>296 | 10<br>5 | 34 | 9<br>2 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 42 | 10 | 10 | 26 |
| *Samaria is beſieged by* Salmanaſſar. | 3972<br>3290<br>297 | 11<br>6 | 35 | 9<br>3 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 43 |  | 11 | 27 |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The captivitie of the ten Tribes.* | 3974<br>3292<br>299 | 13<br>8 | 37 | 10<br>1 | 6 | 9 | 8 | 45 | | 13 |
| | 3976<br>3294<br>301 | 15<br>10 | 39 | 10<br>3 | 8 | | 10<br>4<br>1. *Senacherib*.7. | 47 | | 15 |
| L.2.c.26. §.7. | 3980<br>3298<br>305 | 19<br>14 | 43 | 11<br>3 | 12 | *Kings of the Chaldeans.* | 5 | 1. *Sethon.*<br>33 | | 19 |
| Senacheribs *Army destroyed, and he slain.*<br>L.2.c.25. §.2. | 3982<br>3300<br>307 | 21<br>16 | 45 | 12<br>1 | 14 | | 7 | 3 | | 21 |
| | 3983<br>3301<br>308 | 22<br>17 | 46 | 12<br>2 | 15 | 1. *Merodach, or Mardocempadus* | 5<br>1. *Asarhaddon.*<br>10 | 4 | | 22 |
| | 3986<br>3304<br>311 | 25<br>20 | 49 | 13<br>1 | 18 | 4 | 4 | 7 | | 25 |
| Merodach *gets the whole Empire. This yeere or in the end of the yeere foregoing. An eclipse of the Moone.* | 3993<br>3311<br>318 | 32<br>27 | 56 | 14<br>4 | 25 | 1<br>1. *Merodach*,40. | 11 | 14 | | 32 |
| | *Julian World. Temple* | *Rome. Nabon* | *Iphit.* | *Olym.* | *Juda.* | *Caldea* | *Egypt* | *Rome.* | *Media* | *Lydia.* |
| *Two eclipses of the Moone, in the second yeere of* Mardocempadus. | 3994<br>3312<br>319 | 33<br>28 | 57 | 15<br>1 | 25 | 2 | 15 | 33 | 9 | |
| | 3997<br>3319<br>322 | 36<br>31 | 60 | 15<br>4 | 29 | 5 | 18 | 36 | 12 | 1<br>1. *Gyges*,38 |
| | 3998<br>3316<br>323 | 37<br>32 | 61 | 16<br>1 | 14<br>1. *Manasses.*<br>55. | 6 | 19 | 37 | 13 | 2 |
| | 3999<br>3317<br>324 | 38<br>33 | 62 | 16<br>2 | 2 | 7 | 20 | *Interregnum one yeer* | 5<br>1. *Deioces.*<br>53. | 3 |
| | 4000<br>3318<br>325 | 39<br>34 | 63 | 16<br>3 | 3 | 8 | 21 | 2.<br>1. *Numa Pompilius*<br>43. | 2 | 4 |
| L. 2. c.27. §.2. | 4013<br>3331<br>338 | 52<br>47 | 76 | 19<br>4 | 16 | 21 | 1. *Interregnum* 2. | 14 | 15 | 17 |
| | 4015<br>3333<br>340 | 54<br>49 | 78 | 20<br>2 | 18 | 23 | 1. 12.<br>*Princes*,15 | 16 | 17 | 19 |
| *The beginning of the second Messenian Warre; which lasted about* 18. *yeeres.*<br>L.2.c.27. §.4. | 4029<br>3347<br>354 | 68<br>63 | 92 | 23<br>4 | 32 | 37 | 15.<br>1. *Psammiticus*,<br>44. | 30 | 31 | 33 |
| L.2.c.28. §.3. | 4033<br>3351<br>358 | 72<br>67 | 96 | 24<br>4 | 36 | 2<br>1. *Ben Merodach*, 21 | 5 | 34 | 35 | 37 |
| | 4035<br>3353<br>360 | 74<br>69 | 98 | 25<br>2 | 38 | 3 | 7 | 36 | 37 | 2<br>1. *Ardys*,49. |
| | 4043<br>3361<br>368 | 82<br>77 | 106 | 27<br>2 | 46 | 11 | 15 | 3<br>1. *Tullus Hostilius*,<br>32 | 45 | 9 |
| | 4052<br>3370<br>377 | 91<br>86 | 115 | 29<br>3 | 55 | 20 | 24 | 10 | 6<br>1. *Phraortes*,24. | 18 |
| | 4053<br>3371<br>378 | 92<br>87 | 116 | 29<br>4 | 15<br>1. *Amon*,2. | 21 | 25 | 11 | 2 | 19 |

|  | Julian.<br>World.<br>Temple | Rome.<br>Nabon | Iphit. | Olymp. | Juda. | Chaldæa. | Egypt. | Rome. | Media | Lydia. |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The expedition of the Scythians.*<br>l. 2. c. 28. §. 3. & 4. | 4054<br>3372<br>379 | 93<br>88 | 117 | 30<br>1 | 2 | 3<br>1. *Nabulaſſer*, 35. | 26 | 12 | 3 | 20 |  |
|  | 4055<br>3373<br>380 | 94<br>89 | 118 | 30<br>2 | 16<br>1. *Joſias*,31. | 2 | 27 | 13 | 4 | 21 |  |
| Lib. 2. c. 28. §. 1. | 4073<br>3391<br>398 | 112<br>107 | 136 | 34<br>4 | 19 | 20 | 1. *Neco*. 17. | 31 | 22 | 39 |  |
|  | 4075<br>3393<br>400 | 114<br>109 | 138 | 35<br>2 | 21 | 22 | 3 | 4<br>1. *Ancus Martius* 34 | 24 | 41 |  |
|  | 4076<br>3394<br>401 | 115<br>110 | 139 | 35<br>3 | 22 | 23 | 4 | 2 | 7<br>1. *Cyaxares*, 40. | 42 |  |
|  | 4084<br>3402<br>409 | 123<br>118 | 147 | 37<br>3 | 30 | 31 | 12 | 10 | 9 | 3.<br>1. *Sadyottes*, 12. |  |
| Lib. 2. c. 28. §. 1. & 2. | 4085<br>3403<br>410 | 124<br>119 | 148 | 37<br>4 | 37<br>17<br>*Jehohaz*, 3. moneths | 32 | 13 | 11 | 10 | 2 |  |
| Nabuchodonoſor *had reigned one yeere with his Father*, ich *is to be regarded in Aſtronomicall obſervations concerning time.*<br>Lib. 2. c. 25. §. 1. & c. 28. §. 6. | 4086<br>3404<br>411 | 125<br>120 | 149 | 38<br>1 | 18<br>1. *Jehojakim*, 11. | 33 | 14 | 12 | 11 | 3 |  |
|  | 4089<br>3407<br>414 | 128<br>123 | 152 | 38<br>4 | 4 | 4.<br>*Nabuchodonoſor the great*, 44. | 17 | 15 | 14 | 6 |  |
|  | 4090<br>3408<br>415 | 129<br>124 | 153 | 39<br>1 | 5 | 2 | 1 *Pſammis*, 12 | 16 | 15 | 7 |  |
|  | 4096<br>3414<br>421 | 135<br>130 | 159 | 40<br>3 | 11<br>19<br>1 *Jechoni*. 3. months.<br>20 | 8 | 7 | 22 | 21 | 4<br>1. *Halyattes* 57 |  |
| Zedekiah *his journey to Babylon*.<br>Lib. 2. c. 28. §. 6. | 4099<br>3417<br>424 | 138<br>133 | 162 | 41<br>2 | *Zed:kiah 11. yeeres.*<br>4 | 11 | 10 | 5.<br>1. *L. Tarquin. Priſcus*, 38. | 24 | 4 |  |
|  | 4102<br>3420<br>427 | 141<br>136 | 165 | 42<br>1 | 7 | 14 | 1. *Apries or Hophra.* | 4 | 27 | 7 |  |
| *Jeruſalem taken by* Nabuchodonoſor, *with* oſe 18. *for the more part, and partly with* oſe 19. *this yeere concurres.* | 4106<br>3424<br>431 | 145<br>140 | 169 | 43<br>1 | 11 | 18 | 5 | 8 | 31 | 11 |  |
|  | *Julian.*<br>*World* | *Rome.*<br>*Nabon* | *Iphit.* | *Olymp.* | *Captivity.* | *Caldea* | *Egypt.* | *Rome.* | *Media* | *Lydia.* |  |
| *Jeruſalem deſtroyed.* | 4107<br>3425 | 146<br>141 | 170 | 43<br>2 | 1 | 19 | 6<br>1. *Phar. Hophra ſlaine, and the kingdome of Egypt governed 40 yeeres by Viceroyes* | 9 | 32 | 12 |  |
| *Egypt conquered by* Nabuchodonoſor.<br>3. c. 1. §. 8. & 9. | 4111<br>3429 | 150<br>145 | 174 | 44<br>2 | 5 | 23 |  | 13 | 36 | 16 |  |
|  | 4116<br>3434 | 155<br>150 | 179 | 45<br>3 | 10 | 28 | 6 | 18 | 8<br>1. *Aſtyages*, 35 | 21 |  |
| abuchodonoſor *lives wilde: and his kingdom governed by others for him, during ſeven yeers.*<br>3. c. 1. §. 13. | 4125<br>3443 | 164<br>159 | 188 | 47<br>4 | 19 | 37<br>1. *Evilmerodac* | 15 | 27 | 10 | 30 |  |
|  | 4127<br>3445 | 166<br>161 | 190 | 48<br>2 | 21 | 39<br>1. *Nigliſar*, & *Nitocris*, 4. | 17 | 29 | 12 | 32 |  |

|  | *Julian and World* | *Rome. Nabon* | *Iphit.* | *Olymp* | *Juda.* | *Chaldea.* | *Egypt.* | *Rome.* | *Media* | *Lydia.* |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nabuchadnezzar *recovers his ſenſe and kingdome.* | 4131<br>3449 | 170<br>165 | 194 | 49<br>2 | 25 | 43<br>*1. Laboroſardach. 9. mon.* | 21 | 33 | 16 | 36 |  |
| L.3.c.1.§.6.<br>*The* 37. *of* Jeconia *his captivity compleat, and he enlarged.* | 4133<br>3451 | 172<br>167 | 196 | 49<br>4 | 27 | 5<br>*Evilmerodach.* 26 | 23 | 35 | 18 | 38 |  |
|  | 4137<br>3455 | 176 | 200 | 50<br>4 | 31 | 5 | 27 | 6<br>*1. Servius Tullus.* 44 | 22 | 42 |  |
| *Forty yeeres after the conqueſt of Egypt paſt,* Amaſis *began his reigne: this being incluſively the* 41. *and therefore the next yeere ſeemes concurrent with* Amaſis *his firſt.* | 4151<br>3469 | 190<br>185 | 214 | 54<br>2 | 45 | 19 | *Amaſis,* 34 | 15 | 9<br>*1. Cyaxares or Darius the Mede,* 26 | 56 |  |
|  | 4153<br>3471 | 192 | 216 | 54<br>4 | 47 | 21 | 2 | 17 | 3 | 5<br>1. *Crœſus,* 14 |  |
|  | *Julian World.* | *Rome. Nabon* | *Iphit.* | *Olymp.* | *Perſia* | *Caldea* | *Egypt.* | *Rome.* | *Media* | *Lydia.* | *Jew* |
|  | 4154<br>3472 | 193<br>188 | 217 | 55<br>1 | 1<br>*1. Cyrus. in Perſia.* 23 | 22 | 3 | 18 | 4 | 2 | 48 |
| *The ſeven Sages in Greece.* | 4159<br>3477 | 198<br>193 | 222 | 56<br>2 | 6 | 6<br>*1. Balthaſar.* 17 | 8 | 23 | 9 | 7 | 53 |
| *Piſiſtratus makes himſelfe Tyrant in Athens.* | 4164<br>3482 | 203<br>198 | 227 | 57<br>3 | 11 | 6 | 13 | 28 | 14 | 12 | 58 |
|  | 4166<br>3484 | 205<br>200 | 229 | 58<br>1 | 13 | 8 | 15 | 30 | 16 | 14<br>*Crœſus taken by Cyrus.* | 60 |
| *The end of the Caldean Empire.* | 4175<br>3493 | 214<br>209 | 238 | 60<br>2 | 22 | *17. Balthaſar ſlaine.* | 24 | 39 | 25 |  | 69 |
|  | 4176<br>3494 | 215<br>210 | 239 | 60<br>3 | 23 | *1. Darius the Mede* 2 | 23 | 40 | 26 |  | 70 |
| *The beginning of Cyrus his Empire.*<br>*His Edict of liberty to the Jewes.* | 4177<br>3495 | 216<br>211 | 240 | 60<br>4 | *1. Cyrus.* 7 | 2 | 26 | 41 | *Yeeres from 1 Cyrus* |  | *Zoro babel* |
|  | 4181<br>3499 | 220<br>215 | 244 | 61<br>4 | 5 |  | 30 | 7<br>*L. Tarquinius Superbus,* 25 | 5 | *Onely* Zorobabe *and* Nehemias *a remembred as gove nours of the Jewe unto the* 32. *of* A taxerxes Mnemo *But there were m ny before* Nehemi *as, as himſelfe wi neſſeth* Ch.5.v.15 *ſo that the ſtories o them, their numbe and names are u certaine.* |  |
|  | 4184<br>3502 | 223<br>218 | 247 | 62<br>3 | 2<br>*1. Cambyſes.* 7 |  | 33 | 4 | 8 |  |  |
| *The* 2. *firſt years of Pſammeticus, and part of the third may be added to the yeeres of his father, if it be true that Cambyſes wan Egypt preſently on the death of Amaſis,* L.3.c.4.§.2. | 4186<br>3504 | 225<br>220 | 249 | 63<br>1 | 3 |  | *1 Pſammeticus.* 3 | 6 | 10 |  |  |
| *The conqueſt of Egypt by Cambyſis.* | 4188<br>3506 | 227<br>222 | 251 | 63<br>3 | 5 |  | 3 | 8 | 12 |  |  |
|  | *Julian World.* | *Rome. Nabon* | *Iphitus* | *Olymp* | *Perſia.* | *Egypt.* | *Rome.* | *Greece* | *Jewes* | *From Cyrus.* |  |
| *Cambyſis reigned ſeven yeres & five moneths, ſo as his laſt yeer was filled up by the Magi, and (as may ſeeme) a good part of the next,* L.3.c.4.§.4. | 4191<br>3509 | 230<br>225 | 254 | 64<br>2 | 8<br>*The Magi one yeere.* |  | 11 |  |  | 15 |  |
|  | 4192<br>3510 | 231<br>226 | 255 | 64<br>3 | 3<br>*1. Darius Hyſtaſpis,* 36 |  | 12 |  |  | 16 |  |

|  | *Julian*<br>*World.* | *Rome.*<br>*Nabon* | *Iphit.* | *Olym.* | *Perſia.* | *Egypt.* | *Rome.* | *Greece.* | *Jewes & from Cyrus.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 4197<br>3515 | 236<br>231 | 260 | 65<br>4 | 6 |  | 17 | *Hippias the ſon of Piſiſtratus Tyrant in Athens.* | 21 |
|  | 4204<br>3522 | 243<br>238 | 267 | 67<br>3 | 12<br>*Babylon, which had rebeld, taken by Darius.* |  | 42 |  | 28 |
| *The* Tarquines *expelled Rome.*<br>L.4.c.7.§.1. | 4205<br>3523 | 244<br>239 | 268 | 67<br>4 | 14 |  | 25 |  | 29 |
| *The Carthaginians firſt league with Rome.*<br>L.5.c.1.§.2. | 4206<br>3524 | 245<br>240 | 269 | 68<br>1 | 15 |  | *Brutus & Publicola* } *Conſuls.* |  | 30 |
| L.3.c.5.§.4. | 4211<br>3529 | 250<br>245 | 274 | 69<br>2 | 20 *Darius his expeditio againſt the Sythians* |  |  |  | 35 |
|  | 4212<br>3530 | 251<br>246 | 275 | 69<br>3 | 21 |  |  | *The Athenians and Ionians take Sardes.* | 36 |
|  | 4222<br>3540 | 261<br>356 | 285 | 72<br>4 | 31 |  | *Sp. Caſſius Poſth. Cominius. Conſuls.* | *The battaile of Marathon* | 46 |
|  | 4226<br>3544 | 265<br>260 | 289 | 73<br>1 | 35 | *Ægypt rebelleth againſt Darius.* |  |  | 50 |
|  | 4228<br>3546 | 267<br>262 | 291 | 73<br>3 | 4<br>1. Xerxes, 21 |  |  |  | 50 |
| *The Law Agraria in Rome propounded, for diviſion of Lands : which bred great commotion.* | 4229<br>3547 | 268<br>263 | 292 | 73<br>4 | 2 | *Egypt recovered by Xerxes.* | *Proc. Virginius, Sp. Caſsius* } *Conſ.* |  | 52 |
| *An Eclipſe of the Sun.* L.3.c.6.§.2. | 4233<br>3551 | 272<br>267 | 296 | 74<br>4 | *6. The great muſter of Xerxes his armie at Sardes.* |  |  |  | 57 |
| L.3.c.6.§.3.& 6. | 4234<br>3552 | 273<br>268 | 297 | 75<br>1 | 7 |  |  | *The battailes at Thermopylæ, Artemiſium, and Salamis.* | 58 |
| L.3.c.6.§.9.10.& 11. | 4235<br>3553 | 274<br>269 | 298 | 75<br>2 | *8. Xerxes his tragicall love.* |  |  | *The battaile of Platæa and Mycale.* | 59 |
| L.3.c.7.§.1,& 2. | 4237<br>3555 | 276<br>271 | 300 | 75<br>4 | 10 |  |  | *The Athenians rebuild their walls, & lay the foundation of their Dominion.* | 62 |
|  | 4244<br>3562 | 283<br>278 | 307 | 77<br>3 | 17 |  |  | *The great victories of Simon, at Eurymedon and elſewhere.* | 68 |
| L.3.c.7.§.3. | 4248<br>3566 | 287<br>282 | 311 | 78<br>3 | 21<br>*The death of Xerxes by the treaſon of Artabanus.* |  |  |  | 72 |
|  | 4249<br>3567 | 288<br>283 | 312 | 78<br>4 | 5<br>1. *Artaxerxes Longimanus.* 46. |  |  | *Themyſtocles being baniſhed, flyes to Artaxerxes.* | 73 |
|  | 4251<br>3569 | 290<br>285 | 314 | 94<br>2 | 3 | *Inarus ſet up as King by the Egyptians.* |  |  | 75 |
| L.3.c.7.§.5.& 7. | 4255<br>3573 | 294<br>289 | 318 | 80<br>2 | *7. The marriage of Heſter.* | *Inarus vanquiſhed by the Perſians.* | *The decemviri choſen to compound a body of the Roman Lawes.* |  | *79. Eſdras commeth to Jeruſalem, Daniel his 70. weekes, or 490 yeeres beginneth.* |
|  | 4264<br>3582 | 303<br>298 | 327 | 82<br>3 | 16 |  |  | *Hippocrates the great Phyſitian, and Democritus the Philoſopher flouriſh.* | 10 |

| *The Accompt from the ſolution of the Captivitie, is the ſame with that from* Cyrus. | *Julian.*<br>*World* | *Rome.*<br>*Nabon.* | *Ipitus.* | *Olymp.* | *Perſia.* | *Egypt.* | *Rome.* | *Greece.* | *Jewes, or from Cyrus and Daniel.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 4265<br>3583 | 304<br>299 | 328 | 82<br>4 | 17 | | *The decemviri choſen for a ſecond yeere, tyrannize & uſurpe the place a 3. yeere.* | *Symons voyage to Cyprus, in which he dyed.* | 89<br>11 |
| Nehemias *comes to Jeruſalem.* | 4268<br>3586 | 307 | 331 | 83<br>3 | 20 | | | *A league for 36. yeeres, betweene Athens & Sparta.* | 92<br>14 |
| | 4272<br>3590 | 311<br>306 | 335 | 84<br>3 | 24 | | *Tribuni Militum firſt choſen in ſtead of Conſuls.* | | 96<br>18 |
| | 4273<br>3591 | 312<br>307 | 336 | 84<br>4 | 25 | | *Dionyſ. Livy placeth them in the 110 yeere of Rome.* | *The conqueſt of Samos by the Athenians under Pericles.* | 97<br>19 |
| | 4278<br>3596 | 317<br>312 | 341 | 86<br>1 | 30 | | | *The Athenians & the Corcyræans againſt the Corinthians.* | 102<br>24 |
| *The walls of Jeruſalem finiſhed.*<br>Nehemias *returnes to King* Artaxerxes. | 4280<br>3598 | 319<br>314 | 343 | 86<br>3 | 32 | | | | 104<br>26 |
| Lib.3.c.8.§.1. | 4283<br>3601 | 322<br>317 | 346 | 67<br>2 | 25 | | | *The firſt yeere of the Peloponneſian Warre.* | 107<br>29 |
| L.3.c.9.§.1.<br>L.3.c.8.§.4. | 4289<br>3607 | 328<br>323 | 352 | 88<br>4 | 6.<br>*Xerxes* 2 *months.*<br>7<br>*Sogdianus* 8. *months.* | | | *The victorie of the Athenians at Pylus.* | 113<br>35 |
| L.3. c.9.§.1. | 4290<br>3608 | 329<br>324 | 353 | 89<br>1 | 8.<br>1. *Darius Nothus.* 19. | | | | 114<br>36 |
| L.3. c.8. §. 5. & 6. | 4292<br>3610 | 331<br>326 | 355 | 89<br>3 | 3 | | | *A vaine & troubleſome peace betweene Athens & Sparta.* | 116<br>38 |
| L.3.c.9. §. 1. & c.8. §.8. | 4301<br>3619 | 340<br>335 | 364 | 91<br>4 | 12. *Egypt rebelleth againſt the Perſian, and ſets up Kings that reigne ſucceſſively, till Ochus his re-conqueſt.* | 1.<br>1. *Amyrtæus*, 6. | | *The Athenian forces in Sicil utterly deſtroyed.* | 125<br>48 |
| Cap.8.§.9. | 4302<br>3620 | 341<br>336 | 365 | 92<br>1 | 13. *Darius enters into confederacie with the Spartanes.* | 2 | | *The government of the 460. in Athens, which was ſuppreſſed the yeere following.* | 128<br>50 |
| *The Carthaginians invade Sicil with an Army of* 300000. L.5.c.1.§.4†.3. | 4304<br>3622 | 343<br>338 | 367 | 92<br>3 | 15 | 4 | | *The Athenians begin to recover ſtrength.* | 125<br>50 |
| L. 3. c. 8. §.10. | 4306<br>3624 | 345<br>340 | 369 | 93<br>1 | 17 | 6 | | *Alcibiades after many victories returnes from baniſhment to Athens: is made Generall, and baniſhed againe.* | 130<br>52 |
| | 4307<br>3625 | 346<br>341 | 370 | 93<br>2 | 18 | 2<br>1. *Nephres*, 6 | | *The battaile at Arginuſæ.* | 131<br>53 |
| | 4308<br>3626 | 347<br>342 | 371 | 93<br>3 | 19 | 2 | | *Dionyſius the elder uſurps tyrannie in Syracuſe.* | 132<br>54 |
| L.3. c.8. §.12. | 4309<br>3627 | 348<br>343 | 372 | 93<br>4 | 9<br>1. *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, 43. | 3 | | *The battaile at Argos, Potamos, &c.* | 133<br>55 |
| | 4311<br>3629 | 350<br>345 | 374 | 94<br>2 | 3 | 5 | *The ſiege of Veii, laſted, 10 yeeres.* | | 135<br>57 |
| L.3. c.10. §.1. | 4313<br>3631 | 352<br>347 | 376 | 94<br>4 | *The expedition of Cyrus againſt Artaxerxes.* | 3.<br>1. *Acoris*, 12. | | *Socrates put to death. The 30. tyrants put downe in Athens.* | 137<br>59 |

| | Julian and World | Rome. and Nabon | Iphit. | Olympiads. | Perſia. | Ægypt. | Rome. | Greece. | Jewes From Cyrus Daniel. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| L.3.c.11.§.4. | 4318<br>3636 | 357<br>352 | 381 | 96<br>1 | 10 | 6 | | *Ageſilaus warreth in Aſia.* | 142<br>64 |
| L.3.c.11.§.7. | 4320<br>3638 | 359<br>354 | 383 | 96<br>3 | 12 | 8 | | *The victorie of Conon at Gnidus &c.* | 144<br>66 |
| | 4321<br>3639 | 360<br>355 | 384 | 96<br>4 | 13 | 9 | *Veii taken by Camillus.* | *Xenophon and Plato flouriſh.* | 145<br>67 |
| | 4325<br>3643 | 364<br>359 | 388 | 97<br>4 | 17 | 3<br>1. Pſammiticus the ſon of Inarus, & after him Nephres, that had bin expelled reigned in all about two yeeres. | The honorable victorie of Camillus over the Faliſci. | | 149<br>71 |
| L.4.c.7.§.1.<br>L.3.c.11.§.9. | 4326<br>3644 | 365<br>360 | 389 | 98<br>1 | 18 | 2 | *Rome taken & burnt by the Gaules.* | *The Peace of Antalcidas.* | 150<br>72 |
| | 4327<br>3645 | 376<br>361 | 390 | 98<br>2 | 19 | 4<br>1. *Nectanebus*<br>18 | | | 151<br>73 |
| | 4332<br>3650 | 371<br>366 | 395 | 99<br>3 | 24 | 6 | *M. Manilius Capitolinus put to death.* | The Lacedæmonians take the Citadell of Thebes by treaſon. | 156<br>78 |
| L.3.c.11.§.11. | 4336<br>3654 | 375<br>370 | 399 | 100<br>3 | 28 | 10 | | The Thebans recover their Citadell, and make ſtrong warre upon the Lacedamonians. | 160<br>82 |
| | 4340<br>3658 | 379<br>374 | 403 | 101<br>3 | 32 | 14 | Tribunes of the people continued 5. yeers in office, propound popular Lawes, among which, That one of the Conſuls ſhould be ſtill a Plebeian. | | 164<br>86 |
| L.3.c.12.§.1. | 4343<br>3661 | 382<br>377 | 406 | 102<br>2 | 35 | 17 | | *The famous battaile of Leuctra.* | 167<br>89 |
| L.3.c.12.§.4. | 4345<br>3363 | 384<br>379 | 408 | 102<br>4 | 37 | 4<br>1. Tachus 8. Euſebius gives onely 2. yeeres to Tachus. Reinec. 6. but the ſtorie of him proves more. | L. Sextius a Plebeian, and L. Æmylius, Conſuls. | *The haſtie growth of the Theban Eſtate.* | 169<br>91 |
| | 4351<br>3669 | 390<br>385 | 414 | 104<br>2 | 43. Many Provinces rebell againſt Artaxerxes, and are ſoone reclaimed | 7 | | The great Battaile of Mantinæa, Epaminondas dies. | 175<br>97 Jonathan |
| L.3.c.12.§.8. | 4352<br>3670 | 391<br>386 | 415 | 104<br>3 | 10<br>1. *Ochus.*<br>23 | 8. Tachus betrayed by Ageſilaus.<br>1. Nectanebus 13 | | Peace in Greece. The Athenians weakẽ themſelves by cõverting their treaſure to vaine uſes. | 176 about this time High Prieſt.<br>98 |
| | 4354<br>3672 | 393<br>388 | 417 | 105<br>1 | 3 | 3 | | *1. Philip King of Macedõ 24. yeers and part of the 25* | 178<br>100 |
| L.4.c.1.§.4. | 4359<br>3677 | 398<br>393 | 422 | 106<br>2 | 8 | 8 | | *6 The Phocian warre beginnes.* | 183<br>105 |
| | 4364<br>3682 | 403<br>398 | 427 | 107<br>3 | *13 Ochus reconquers Egypt.* | *13. Nectanebus flies into Æthiopia.* | | 11 | 188<br>110 |
| L.4.c.1.§6. | 4368<br>3686 | 407<br>402 | 431 | 108<br>3 | 17 | | | *15 The end of the Phocian Warre.* | 192<br>114 |
| 5.c.1.§.4.†.4. | 4369<br>3687 | 408<br>403 | 432 | 108<br>4 | 18 | | | *16 Timoleon his voyage into Sicil* | 193<br>115 |
| | 4370<br>3688 | 409<br>404 | 433 | 109<br>1 | 19 | *Nabonaſſar. Novemb. the 17.* | | 17. Philip waſteth Illyria, and drawes the Theſſalians to follow him. | 194<br>116 |
| After this, the yeeres<br>m Cyrus and Da-<br>el are too few, by | 4375<br>3693 | 414<br>409 | 438 | 110<br>2 | 11<br>1. *Arſes* 3. | | | 22 | 199 *Jaddus High*<br>121 *Prieſt* 16 |

|  | *Julian and World* | *Rome. and Nab.* | *Iphit.* | *Olympiads.* | *Perſia.* | *Ægypt.* | *Rome.* | *Grecce.* | *Jewes From Cyru Daniel.* |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 4376<br>3694 | 415<br>410 | 439 | 110<br>3 | 2 |  |  | 23<br>*The battaile of Cheronaa. Philip choſen Captaine Generall of the Greekes.* | 2<br>199<br>121 |  | Th<br>Kinga<br>Greek |
|  | 4378<br>3696 | 417<br>412 | 441 | 111<br>1 | 12<br>1. *Darius 6. yeeres & ſomwhat more.* | *Nabon. Novemb.* 15. |  | 25<br>*Philip ſlaine by Pauſanias. 1. Alexander the great, 12. yeeres and five months.* | 4<br>201<br>123 |  | Alc<br>ins a<br>Kin |
|  | 4379<br>3697 | 418<br>413 | 442 | 111<br>2 | 2 |  |  | 2<br>*Thebes razed by Alexander* | 5<br>202<br>124 |  | Lib.4 |
|  | 4380<br>3698 | 419<br>414 | 443 | 111<br>3 | 3 |  |  | 3<br>*Alexāder paſſeth into Aſia.* | 6<br>203<br>125 |  |  |
| L.4.c.2. §.4. | 4381<br>3699 | 420<br>415 | 444 | 111<br>4 | 4<br>*The battaile of Iſſus.* |  |  | 4 | 7<br>204<br>126 |  |  |
| L.4.c.2.§.5.6.& 7. & L.5.c.2.§. 8. | 4382<br>3700 | 421<br>416 | 445 | 112<br>1 | 5 |  | *The Gaules enter into league with the Romans.* | 5<br>*Alexander winnes Tyre and Egypt.* | 8<br>205<br>127 | *Jaddus me ting Alex der,is reve ced by him* | Lib.6 |
|  | *Julian* *World.* | *Rome.* *Nabon* | *Iphit.* | *Olymp.* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *An Eclipſe of the Moon.* | 4383<br>3701 | 422<br>417 | 446 | 112<br>2 | 6<br>*The battaile of Arbela.* |  |  |  | 6<br>*Babylon, Suſa, and Perſepolis wonne by Alexander.* | 9<br>20<br>12 |  |
| L.4.c.2.§.13. | 4384<br>3702 | 423<br>418 | 447 | 112<br>3 | 7<br>*Darius ſlaine by Beſſus.* |  |  |  | 7 | 10<br>207<br>129 |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | *Macedon.* | *Ægypt.* |  | Greece. | *Romās* | *Jewe*<br>*Danie* |  |
|  | 4385<br>3703 | 424<br>419 | 448 | 112<br>4 | 8. *Alexander changeth conditions: hee puts to death Parmenio and Philotas* |  |  |  |  | 11<br>13 | he tra<br>ible<br>nt. |
|  | 4380<br>3704 | 425<br>420 | 449 | 113<br>1 | 9. *Alexander paſſeth into India: kills Clytus and Calliſthenes.* |  |  |  |  | 12<br>131 | .4.c.<br>7.§.2 |
| Alexander *died 17. dayes before the ſummer Solſtice. From* Nabonaſſar *hitherto are collected* 424. *yeares: and hence to the reigne of* Auguſtus, 294. *The ſumme is,* 718. *years, which agrees with this accompt.* Ptolom. Almageſt. l.3.c. 8. | 4390<br>3708 | 429<br>424 | 453 | 114<br>1. | 13. *Alexander dies at Babylon.* | *Nabon. Novemb.* 12. |  |  |  | 16<br>135 | .c.7. |
|  | 4391<br>3709 | 430<br>425 | 454 | 114<br>2 | 1. *Aridæus,* 6. *and* 4. *months.* | 1<br>1. *Ptolomie Lagi.* 39. | L.3.c.3. §. 1. 2. & 3. | *The Lamian Warre.* |  | 1. On<br>as. 2<br>136 |  |
|  | 4394<br>3712 | 433<br>428 | 457 | 115<br>1 | 4 | 4. *Perdiccas ſlaine in Egypt.* } *Nab. Nov.* 11 | L.4.c.3. §.8. & 9. | *Victories of Eumenes.* |  | 4<br>13 | §.c.2 |
|  | 4395<br>3713 | 434<br>429 | 458 | 115<br>2 | 5. *Antigonus ſent againſt Eumenes.* | 5 |  |  |  | 5<br>140 |  |
| Aridæus *ſlaine by* Olympias. Antigonus *beaten by* Eumenes. | 4397<br>3715 | 436<br>431 | 460 | 115<br>4 | 7 | 7 |  |  |  | 7<br>142 | c.7.§ |
| Eumenes *betrayed to* Antigonus. Olympias *ſlaine by* Caſſander. Antigonus *growes dreadfull.* | 4398<br>3716 | 437<br>432 | 461 | 116<br>1 | 1. *Caſſander.* 19. | 8 |  | *Thebes reedified by Caſſander.* |  | 8<br>143 | lation<br>ified,<br>ius. |
| *Some place the beginning of* Seleucus *in this* 12. *from* Alexander, *by which accompt he raigned* 32. *yeeres.* | 4402<br>3720 | 441<br>436 | 465 | 117<br>1 | 5 | 12<br>*Nabonaſſar. Novemb.* 9. | *Demetrius beaten at Gaza, by* Ptolomie, *and* Seleucus. |  |  | 12<br>147 | Ancie |
| *Peace between* Alexanders *Captains: with diviſion of Provinces.* | 4403<br>3721 | 442<br>437 | 466 | 117<br>2 | 6 | 13 |  |  |  | 13<br>14 | c been<br>that L<br>ns to n |

|  | *Julian. and World.* | *Rome. Nabon* | *Iphit.* | *Olymp.* | *Macedon.* | *Egypt.* | *Syria and the Kingdome of the Greeks.* | *Greece.* | *Romans.* | *Jewes Daniel* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *The Æra of the Kingdome of the reekes.* | 4404<br>3722 | 443<br>438 | 467 | 117<br>3 | 7 | 14 | 1<br>1.*Seleucus*,30<br>1 | Lib.4.c.5.§.7 |  | 14<br>149 |
| Alexanders Cap-<br>*ins aſſume the name Kings.* | 4406<br>3724 | 445<br>440 | 469 | 118<br>1 | 9 | 16<br>*Ptolomy overcome by Demetrius at Cyprus.* | 3<br>3 | *Athens ſet free by Demetrius the ſon of Antigonus.* |  | 16<br>151 |
| Lib.4.c.6.§.4. | 4413<br>3731 | 452<br>447 | 476 | 119<br>4 | 16 | 23 | *10. The battaile at Ipſus, wherein Antigonus was ſlaine.*<br>10 |  |  | 23<br>158 |
|  | 4414<br>3732 | 453<br>448 | 477 | 120<br>1 | 17 | 24 | *11.Seleucus makes alliance with Demetrius.*<br>11 |  |  | *1.Timon the ancient.* 13<br>159 |
|  | 4417<br>3735 | 456<br>451 | 480 | 120<br>4 | *1. Antipater and Alexander the ſon of Caſſander.* | 27 | 14<br>14 |  |  | 4<br>162 |
| Lib.4.c.6.§.7. | 4421<br>3739 | 460<br>455 | 484 | 121<br>4 | 1.*Demetrius*6 | 31 | 18<br>18 |  |  | 8<br>166 |

|  | *Julian World* | *Rome. Nabon* | *Iphit.* | *Olympiads.* | *Macedon.* | *Egypt.* | *Syria.* | *Greece.* | *Rome.* | *Jewes. Daniel* |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 4427<br>4745 | 466<br>461 | 490 | 123<br>2 | 1.*Pyrrhus*,7 *Moneths.* | 37 | 24 |  |  | *1.Eleazar hie Prieſt* 19<br>172 |  |
|  | 4428<br>3746 | 467<br>462 | 491 | 123<br>3 | 1. *Lyſimachus* 5 | 38 | 25 |  |  | 2<br>173 |  |
|  | 4429<br>3747 | 468<br>463 | 492 | 123<br>4 | 2 | 39 9<br>*1.Ptolomy Philadelphus.* 38 | 25<br>26 |  |  | 3<br>174 |  |
| *e tranſlation of<br>ible by the Sep-<br>int.* | 4432<br>3750 | 471<br>466 | 495 | 124<br>3 | 5 | 4 | 29<br>29 |  | *The Tarentines raiſe warre in the easterne parts of Italy, and cal in Pyrrhus againſt the Romans.* | 6<br>177 |  |
| .4.c.6.§.9.and<br>7.§.2. | 4433<br>3751 | 472<br>467 | 496 | 124<br>4 | 6. *Lyſimachus ſlaine.*<br>*Seleucus.7.Mon.* | 5 | 30.*Seleucus ſlaine in the end of the* 124. *Olymp.*Polyb. and Juſtin. 30 |  | *Pyrrhus his victory againſt the Romanes.* | 7<br>178 |  |
| 4.c.7.§.3&.7. | 4434<br>3752 | 473<br>468 | 497 | 124<br>1 | 1.*Ptol.Ceraunus, Antipater, Melcager, Soſthenes.* | 6<br>*Nabon Nou.*1 | 2<br>1.*Antiochus Soter* 19<br>31 | *The Gauls doe great ſpoile in Macedon & Greece, under Brennus and Belgius.* |  | 8<br>179 |  |
|  | 4436<br>3754 | 475<br>470 | 499 | 125<br>1 | 1<br>1.*Antigonus Gonatas.* 26 | 8 | 3<br>33 |  | *Pyrrhus goes into Sicil.* | 10<br>181 |  |
| 5.c.2.§.6. | 4438<br>3756 | 477<br>472 | 501 | 126<br>1 | 3 | 10.*Nabonaſſars yeere begins,Oct.*1 | 5<br>35 | *About theſe times the Achæans begun their ſociety.* | *Pyrrhus called out of Sicill againſt the Ro.* | 12<br>183 |  |
|  | 4439<br>3757 | 478<br>473 | 502 | 126<br>2 | 4 | 11 | 6<br>26 |  | *Pyrrhus overthrowne by the Romans.* | 13<br>184 |  |
| c.7.§.5. | 4441<br>3759 | 480<br>475 | 504 | 126<br>4 | 6 | 13 | 8<br>38 | *Pyrrhus ſlaine at Argos.* | *The Tarentines crave ayde of the Carthaginians.* | 15<br>186 |  |
| *lation by the Sep-<br>iſhed, this 17. of<br>ous.* | 4445<br>3763 | 484<br>497 | 508 | 127<br>4 | 10 | 17 | 12<br>42 |  |  | 19<br>190 | *Cōſuls* |
|  | 4446<br>3764 | 485<br>480 | 509 | 128<br>1 | 11 | 18. *Nabonaſſar Oct.*29 | 13<br>43 |  |  | *1.Manaſſes high Prieſt.* 27<br>191 |  |
| *Ancient Roman<br>ave beene often ſo<br>that Livie hath<br>em to name.* | 4450<br>3768 | 489<br>484 | 513 | 129<br>1 | 15 | 22. *Nabonaſſar Octob.*28. | 17<br>47 | L.5.c.1.§.3. | *The beginning of the firſt Punicke warre,* | 5 | *Ap.Claudius. M.Fulvius.* |

|  | *Julian and World.* | *Rome. Nabon* | *Iphit.* | *Olymp* | *Macedon.* | *Egypt.* | *Syria and the Kingdome of the Greeks.* | *Greece.* | *Romans.* | *Jewes. Danie.* | *Consuls.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 4453<br>3771 | 492<br>487 | 516 | 129<br>4 | 18 | 25 | 3<br>1. *Antiochus Theus.* 16<br>15 |  |  | 8<br>198 | *L.Valerius.*<br>*T.Octacili* |
| L.5.c.1.§.6. | 4454<br>3772 | 393<br>488 | 517 | 130<br>1 | 19 | 26 | 2<br>51 |  | *Duilius his victory at Sea* | 9<br>199 | *C.Duilius.*<br>*Cn.Corneli* |
|  | 4457<br>3775 | 496<br>491 | 220 | 130<br>4 | 22 | 29 | 5<br>54 |  | *Regulus paſſeth into Africk.* | 12<br>202 | *M.Attil.R*<br>*Cn.Corneli* |
| Lib.5.c.1.§.8. | 4458<br>3776 | 497<br>492 | 521 | 131<br>1 | 23 | 30 | 6<br>55 | *Marcus Carymenſis Prætor of the Achæas* | *Regulus taken priſoner.* | 13<br>203 | *L.Manliu*<br>*Q.Caditu* |
|  | 4463<br>3781 | 502<br>497 | 526 | 132<br>2 | 28 | 35 | 11<br>60 | *Aratus recovers Sicyon, & joynes it to the Achæans.* |  | 18<br>208 | *L.Cæcilius*<br>*C.Furius.* |
| *The Roman Conſuls beaten at Lilybæum.*<br>*The beginning of the Parthian Kingdome.* | 4464<br>3782 | 503<br>498 | 457 | 132<br>2 | 29 | 36 | 12<br>61 |  | *Regulus his death.* | 19<br>209 | *C.Atilius.*<br>*L.Manli* |
|  | 4465<br>3783 | 504<br>499 | 528 | 132<br>4 | 30 | 37 | 13<br>62 |  | *Shipwracke, & unhappy fight of the Romans at Sea.* | 20<br>210 | *P.Claudi*<br>*Pulcher,*<br>*L.Junius* |
|  | 4467<br>3785 | 506<br>501 | 530 | 133<br>3 | 32 | 1.*Ptolomy Euergetes.* 26 | 15<br>64 |  |  | 22<br>212 | *L.Cæcili*<br>*M.Fabiu* |
| Amilcar *the Carthaginian in Sicil.*<br>L.5.c.1.§.11. | 4469<br>3787 | 508<br>503 | 532 | 133<br>4 | 34 | 3 | 4<br>1.*Seleucus Callinicus.* 20<br>66 |  |  | 24<br>214 | *M.Fabiu*<br>*C.Atilius* |
|  | 4472<br>3790 | 511<br>506 | 535 | 134<br>3 | 2<br>*Demetrius* 10 | 6 | 4<br>69 |  | *Luctatius his great victorie at Ægateis.* | 27<br>217 | *C Luct.C*<br>*A Poſthu* |
| *The war of the Mercenaries with the Carthaginians.* L.5.c.2. | 4473<br>3791 | 512<br>507 | 536 | 134<br>4 | 2 | 7 | 5<br>70 | *Aratus wins Corinth.* | *Peace granted to Carthage.* | *Onias* 1<br>218 | *Q.Luct*<br>*A. Me* |
|  | 4474<br>3792 | 513<br>508 | 537 | 135<br>1 | 3 | 8<br>*Nabon Oct.* 22 | 6<br>71 |  |  | 1.*Simon the iuſt.* 28<br>219 | *C.Claud*<br>*M Sempr* |
| *The warre with the Mercenaries ended.* | 4476<br>3794 | 515<br>510 | 539 | 135<br>3 | 5 | 10 | 8<br>73 |  | *The Romans take Sardinia from the Carthaginians.* | 3<br>221 | *Gracch*<br>*Falco.* |
|  | 4482<br>3800 | 521<br>516 | 545 | 137<br>1 | 3<br>1.*Antigonus Doſon,* 10. | 16 | 14<br>79 |  |  | 9<br>227 | *Lepidus.*<br>*Malleol* |
|  | 4483<br>3801 | 522<br>517 | 546 | 137<br>2 | 2 | 17 | 15<br>80 |  | *A Roman Embaſſadour ſlaine by Queene Teuta.* | 12<br>230 | *M.Em*<br>*M.Ju* |
| L.5.c.2.§.7. | 4485<br>3803 | 524<br>519 | 548 | 137<br>4 | 4 | 19 | 17<br>82 |  | *Teuta, Queene of Illyria, ſubdued by the Romans.* | 10<br>234 | *L.Poſt*<br>*C.Ful* |
| L.5.c.5.§.1. | 4489<br>3807 | 528<br>523 | 552 | 138<br>4 | 8 | 23 | 5<br>1.*Seleucus Ceraunus.* 3<br>86 |  |  | 16<br>224 | *L.Æ*<br>*C.Ati* |
| *Flaminius was alſo Conſul this yeere.*<br>See lib.5.c.2.§.8. | 4492<br>3810 | 531<br>526 | 555 | 139<br>3 | 11 | 26 | 5<br>1. *Antiochus the Great.* 36.<br>89 |  | *Marcellus his victory over the Gauls about Millan.* | 19<br>237 | *C.Cor*<br>*M.Ma* |
| L.5.c.5.§.2. | 4493<br>3811 | 532<br>527 | 556 | 139<br>4 | 12 | 4<br>1.*Ptolomy Philopater.* 27 | 2<br>90 |  |  | 20<br>238 | *P.Cor*<br>*M.Mi* |
|  | 4494<br>3812 | 533<br>528 | 557 | 140<br>1 | 4<br>1.*Philip.* 42 | 2 | 3<br>91 |  |  | 20<br>239 | *L.Vetu*<br>*C Lu* |

|  | Julian<br>World. | Rome.<br>Nabon | Iphit. | Olymp | Macedon. | Egypt | Syria & Kingdome of the Greeks. | Greece | Rome. | Jewes and Daniel | Consuls. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hannibal taketh Saguntum. | 4495<br>3813 | 534<br>529 | 558 | 140<br>2 | 2 | 3 | 4<br>92 | Demetrius Pharius chased out of his Lordship. L.5. c 3. § 4. |  | 22<br>240 | L. Æmylius<br>M.Livius. |
| The beginning of the second Punick warre | 4496<br>3814 | 534<br>529 | 559 | 140<br>3 | 3 | 4 | 4 |  | The battails of Ticinus and Trebia. | 23<br>241 | P.Cor.Scipio.<br>T. Sempronius. |
| The occurrences of this yeere, are referred by Polyb.l.5. to the 3 of the 14. Olymp This battel of Thrasymene was fought in the Spring: the Olympian yeer began at the Sumer solstice. | 4497<br>3815 | 536<br>530 | 560 | 140<br>4 | 4.Sol.Eclips.Liv. l.22.Feb 11. reckoning by Jul.yeer. | 5.Warre in Syria between Antiocus and Ptol. | 6<br>94 | Philip and the Achæans at peace with the Ætol. | The battails of Thrasymene. | 24<br>242 | C.Flaminius.<br>Cn.Servilius. |
|  | 4498<br>3816 | 537<br>532 | 561 | 141<br>1 | 5 | 6. Nabonassars yeere begins October 16. | 7<br>95 |  | The great battell at Cannæ. | 25<br>243 | C. Terent. Varro.<br>L.Æm.Paul. |
| Hannibal and Marcellus. Hiero King of Syracuse dyes. Hieronymus succeeds. | 4499<br>3817 | 538<br>533 | 562 | 141<br>2 | 6 | 7 | 8<br>96 |  | Posthumius the Ro.Consul slain by the Gauls. | 26<br>244 | L.Posthumius.<br>T.Semp.Grac.<br>Q.Fabius. |
| The two Scipioes slaine in Spaine. Hānibal winnes Tarentum. | 4502<br>3820 | 541<br>536 | 565 | 142<br>1 | 9 | 10 | 11<br>99 | Philip and the Achæans war with the Etolians & Romans in Greece. | Syracuse won by Marcellus. Capua besieged. | 247<br>1. Onias hie priest.<br>39. | Ap. Claudius.<br>Q. Fulvius. |
| Hannibal at the walls of Rome. | 4503<br>3821 | 542<br>537 | 566 | 142<br>2 | 10 | 11 | 12<br>100 |  | Yong Scipio sent into Spaine.<br>Capua wonne by the Romans. | 2<br>248 | Cn. Fulvius.<br>P. Sulpitius. |
|  | 4507<br>3825 | 546<br>541 | 570 | 143<br>2 | 14 | 15 | 16<br>104 |  | The battaile at Metaurus. | 6<br>252 | C. Clau. Nero.<br>M. Livius. |
|  | 4508<br>3826 | 547<br>542 | 571 | 143<br>3 | 15 | 16 | 17<br>105 |  | Scipio drives the Carthaginians quite out of Spain. | 7<br>253 | Q. Cæcilius.<br>L. Veturius. |
|  | 4510<br>3828 | 549<br>544 | 573 | 144<br>1 | 17 | 5.<br>1.Ptolomy Epiphanes. | 19<br>107 |  | Scipio invades Africke. | 9<br>255 | Cethegus.<br>P.Sempronius. |
|  | 4511<br>3829 | 550<br>545 | 574 | 144<br>2 | 18 | 2 | 20<br>108 |  | King Syphax taken. | 10<br>256 | Servilius, and Servilius. |
|  | 4512<br>3830 | 551<br>546 | 575 | 144<br>3 | 19 | 3 | 21<br>109 |  | Hannibal vanquished by Scipio. | 11<br>257 | T.Claudius.<br>M.Servilius. |
| The end of the second Punick warre, and beginning of the Macedonian warre with Philip. | 4513<br>3831 | 552<br>547 | 576 | 144<br>4 | 20 | 4 | 22<br>110 |  | Scipio triumphs over Carthage. | 12<br>258 | Lentulus.<br>Pætus. |
| This yeere and the next were three Eclipses of the Moon. | 4516<br>3834 | 555<br>550 | 579 | 145<br>3 | 23. Philip overcome at the River Apsus, by the Romanes. | 7 | 25<br>113 |  | L.5.c.4.§.1.3. | 15<br>261 | T.Q.Flamin.<br>Sex.Ælius. |
| L.5.c.5.§.14. | 4517<br>3835 | 556<br>551 | 580 | 145<br>4 | The battaile at Cynoscephalæ. 24. | 8 | 26<br>114 | Libertie of Greece proclaymed by the Romans. |  | 16<br>262 | Cethegus.<br>Q. Minutius. |
| Hannibal expelled Carthage.L.5.c.5. 4. & c.4. §.15. | 4518<br>3836 | 557<br>552 | 581 | 146<br>1 | 25. Peace betweene Philip & the Romans. | 9 | 27<br>115 |  |  | 17<br>263 | L. Furius.<br>Marcellus. |
| C.5.§.5. | 4519<br>3837 | 558<br>553 | 582 | 146<br>2 | 26 | 10 | 28<br>116 | War upon Nabis the tyrãt. |  | 18<br>264 | M. Cato.<br>L.Valerius |
| C.5.§.7. | 4522<br>3840 | 561<br>556 | 585 | 147<br>1 | 29 | 13 | 31. Antiochus at Chalcis.<br>119 |  |  | 21<br>267 | L. Quintius<br>Cn. Domitius. |
|  | 4523<br>3841 | 562<br>557 | 586 | 147<br>2 | 30 | 14 | 52<br>Antiochus vanquished at Thermopilæ. 120. |  | The great victory of L. Scipio over Antiochus in Asia which gave beginning to the Roman Luxurie. | 22<br>268 | Acil. Glabrio.<br>Nasica. |
|  | 4524<br>3842 | 563<br>558 | 587 | 147<br>3 | 31 | 15 | 33<br>121 | c.5.§.8 |  | 23<br>269 | L. Scipio.<br>C. Lælius. |

*

|  | Julian<br>World. | Rome.<br>Nabon | Iphit. | Olym. | Macedon. | Egypt. | Syria & kingdome of the Greeks. | Greece | Rome. | Jewes and Daniel | Conſuls. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| L.5.c.5.§.9. | 4527<br>3845 | 566<br>561 | 590 | 148<br>2 | 34 | 18 | 36<br>124 |  | Scipio baniſheth himſelfe frõ Rome. | 26<br>272 | Lepidus.<br>Flaminius. |
|  | 4528<br>3846 | 567<br>562 | 591 | 148<br>3 | 35 | 19 | 6<br>1. Seleucus Philopator, 12.<br>125 |  |  | 27<br>273 | S. Poſthumius.<br>Q. Martius. |
| L.5. c.6.§.2. | 4531<br>3849 | 570<br>565 | 594 | 149<br>2 | 38 | 22 | 4<br>128 |  | Scipio, Hannibal, and Philopœmen dye. Tully placeth Scipioes death two y. earlier. | 30<br>276 | Marcellus.<br>Q. Fabius. |
| L. 5.c.6.§.3. | 4532<br>3850 | 571<br>566 | 595 | 149<br>3 | 39<br>The tirãny of Philip His ſon Demetrius accuſed to him, and ſlain the next yeere. | 23 | 5<br>129 |  |  | 31<br>277 | Paulus.<br>Cn. Bæbius. |
| Cap.6.§.4. | 4533<br>3851 | 572<br>567 | 596 | 149<br>4 | 40 | 24 | 6<br>130 | Callicrates betrays the Achæans, & all the Greeks. |  | 32<br>278 | Cethegus.<br>M. Bæbius. |
|  | 4534<br>3852 | 573<br>568 | 597 | 150<br>1 | 41 | 1. Ptolemeus Philometor, and his brother Phyſcon.<br>35 | 7<br>131 |  |  | 33<br>279 | A. Poſthumius.<br>Piſo. |
|  | 4535<br>3853 | 574<br>569 | 598 | 150<br>2 | 42<br>1. Perſeus, 11. or 12. yeeres. | 2 | 8<br>132 |  |  | 34<br>280 | Piſo.<br>Manlius. |
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|  | 4541<br>3859 | 580<br>575 | 604 | 151<br>4 | 7 | 8 | 2<br>138 |  | See l.5 cap. 6. §. 11. | Jaſon buieth the hie prieſthood, and after him Menelaus. | L. Poſthumius.<br>M. Popilius. |
|  | 4543<br>3861 | 582<br>577 | 606 | 152<br>2 | 9<br>The beginning of the warre of Perſeus. | 10 | 4<br>140 |  | c.6.§.6 | 288. | P. Licinius.<br>C. Caſsius. |
|  | 4545<br>3863 | 584<br>579 | 608 | 152<br>4 | 11 | 12. Egypt invaded by Antiochus under pretence of helping one King againſt the other. | 6<br>142 |  |  | 290 | Martius.<br>Servilius. |
| A totall Eclipſe of the Moon, foregoing the overthrow of Perſeus, in the y. of Nabonaſſar here noted. | 4546<br>3864 | 585<br>580 | 609 | 153<br>1 | 12<br>Perſeus vanquiſhed and taken. | 13. Antiochus commanded out of Egypt by the Romans, ſpoyles the Temple. | 7<br>143 | Cap.6 §.8. 9. & 11. | Gentius King of Illyria taken. | 192. Perſecution in Fury for religiõ. | L. Æm. Paul<br>C. Licinius. |
|  | 4547<br>3865 | 586<br>581 | 610 | 153<br>2 | Macedon made a Romane Province. | 14 | 8<br>144 | The captivity of all the beſt among the Greekes. | Triumphs in Rome | C.6.§. 10. & 12. | Pætus.<br>Junius. |
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## FINIS.

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FINIS.

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